ON THE COPULA IN THE *KIKAE* DIALECT OF SWAHILI

MAKOTO FURUMOTO

The Kikae dialect is a regional variety of Swahili spoken in the southern part of Unguja, the largest island of the Zanzibar archipelago. In this dialect, the morpheme -*wa* preceded by a subject prefix, which agrees with the subject in person or noun class, is used as a copula. This form is used in neither Standard Swahili nor the Kiunguja dialect considered prestigious dialects of Swahili. In this paper, I describe the morphological and semantic characteristics of this copula, which have not been observed in previous studies, and propose a possible grammaticalisation path of the copula based on its synchronic properties and typological evidence. The following three claims will be made: 1. the subject prefix -wa morphologically corresponds to the perfect form, but does not encode a prior event unlike the perfect form of other verbs. 2. The use of the subject prefix -wa copula is restricted to 'predicational sentences'. 3. It is highly probable that the subject prefix -wa has grammaticalized from a locative verb.

Introduction

In this paper, I discuss the copula -wa marked only with the subject prefix in the Kikae dialect of Swahili[1]. The morpheme -*wa* is a verb stem and has the meaning 'be, become'[2]. The meaning of the subject prefix -*wa* has been given as 'I am, you are, he is' (Chum 1963: 66). This copulative element is employed to mark a relation between the subject and the complement as in (1a), which I call the relational use, and represent the location of the subject as in (1b), which I call the locative use.

(1)   a.   *mie*   *nyi-wa*   *mwanafuzi*[3]

            1SG   1SG.SM-be.PRF   student

            'I am a student.'

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[1] The Kikae dialect is a regional variety of Swahili spoken in the southern part of the Unguja Island in the Zanzibar Archipelago. The speakers mainly inhabit Makunduchi district with enclaves in other areas of the island (Whiteley 1959: 43, Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 11). All of the examples in this paper are, unless otherwise noted, from the speakers in the Kajengwa area and its neighborhood.

[2] There is also another, semantically vacuous use of -wa, in which it is used to indicate an additional TAM prefix, as illustrated in the following example: ka-cha-wa ka-malizi kazi yake juzi (3sg/g1.sm-irr -be 3sg/g1.sm-finish.prf work his.g9 the day before yesterday) 'Probably, he has finished his work the day before yesterday.'

[3] The phonemes of the Kikae dialect are as follows. The vowels /i, e [ɛ], a, o [ɔ], u/, the unaspirated stops /p, t, k/, the unaspirated affricate /ch [ʧ]/, the aspirated stops /p' [pʰ], t' [tʰ], k' [kʰ]/, the aspirated affricate /ch' [ʧʰ]/, the prenasalized obstruents /mb, nd, (nz), nj [ndʒ], ng [ŋg]/, the implosives /b [ɓ], d [ɗ], j [ʄ], g [ɠ]/, the fricatives /f [ɸ], v [β], th [θ], dh [ð], s, z, sh [ʃ], gh [ɣ], h/, the nasals /m, m̩, n, ny [ɲ], ng' [ŋ], N/, the liquids /l, r/, the approximants /y [j], w/. /m̩, N/ are syllabic nasals. The place of articulation of /N/ is underspecified and assimilated with the following consonant. The IPA symbols in brackets are closer to actual phonetic values, those preceding them will be used for transcription.

b.   *mie*   *nyi-wa*   *nyumbani*

       1SG   1SG.SM-be.PRF   house.LOC

      'I am at home.'

While the latter is mentioned in Racine-Issa (2002: 172), the former is not discussed at all in previous descriptions even though examples for it such as (2) and (3) can be found.

(2)   *miye*[4] *m̩-na-tenda*   *kazi*   *ino*   *nyi-wa*   *m̩kongwe*[5]

     1SG   NMLZ-IPFV-do   work   this.G[6]9   1SG.SM-be.PRF   old person

     'I, who am doing this job, am an adult.' (Whiteley 1959: 64)

(3)   *ka-wa*   *m̩nyonge*   *ha*[7]*-gomo*[8]   *ku-nunua*   *nyama*

     3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF   poor person   3SG/G1.SM.NEG-be able.PRF   INF-buy   meat

     'He is poor, he cannot buy meat.' (Racine-Issa 2002: 112)

The purpose of this paper is to present the following three observations which have not been made in previous descriptions: 1. the form subject prefix *-wa* is analyzed as 'perfect', but differs from the perfect form of other verbs in aspect, 2. the relational use of the subject prefix *-wa* is mostly restricted to what I call 'predicational sentences'[9], and 3. it is highly probable that the relational use of the subject prefix *-wa* has developed from its locative use. In the following part, I will refer to this copulative subject prefix *-wa* as the *wa*-copula.

The form of the *wa*-copula and it's aspect

In this section, I will show that the form of the *wa*-copula is 'perfect' but its aspectual properties differ from those of other 'perfect' verb forms.

The form of the regular verbs and the *wa*-copula

The regular finite verbs, except for the perfect form, consist of a subject prefix, a TAM (tense-aspect-mood) prefix, an object prefix and a verb stem consisting of a base and a final vowel. The

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[4] The first person singular pronoun has no glide sound in the data I collected.

[5] The transcriptions of (2), (3) and (57) were modified to match the format used in this paper, the glosses in (2), (3) and (57) are added in this paper.

[6] Nouns are classified into noun classes numbered from 1 to 18 (11 - 14 and 17 are missing) on the basis of agreement. 'G' is used as the gloss indicating the noun class.

[7] Though the negative subject prefixes may be segmented into a negative prefix and a subject prefix except for those of the first, second and third person singular, I do not show them as separate morphemes for ease of exposition.

[8] This form is the perfect form. In positive sentences, perfect verbs mostly imply the prior event as mentioned in section 2.2, but in the negative sentences, verbs in this form never imply the prior event.

[9] While locative sentences are typically considered as a subtype of predicational sentences, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, I use the terms 'predicational' and 'predicational sentences' following Higgins (1979) and Declerck (1988), who distinguish them from locative sentences.

subject prefix agrees with person or noun class of the subject. The object prefix agrees with person or noun class of the object and is optional. Except for perfect, tense[10], aspectual or modal information is encoded in a TAM prefix on the verb stem. The regular marking of verbal inflection is shown below.

(4)   [subject prefix -TAM prefix - (object prefix) - [base -final vowel[11]]]

In the TAM prefix slot, the following TAM prefixes can occur: *-na-* 'imperfective', *-cha-* 'irrealis', *-me-* 'inchoative', *-mena-* 'inchoative-progressive'[12], *-li-* 'perfect negative', *-ja-* 'inchoative negative'. The verb stem final vowel is always a in such a construction[13]. (5) is an example of a typical finite verb.

(5)   *ka-na-tend-a*   *kazi*
        3SG/G1.SM-IPFV-do-FV   work
        'He is working.'

In contrast, the perfect form is segmented as below.

(6)   [subject prefix - (object prefix) - [base- final vowel]]

The perfect form is not accompanied by a TAM prefix. The final vowel slot is filled with a copy of the last vowel of the base [14] (7) is an example of a verb in its perfect form.

(7)   *ka-tend-e* (<*tenda*)   *kazi*
        3SG/G1.SM-do-FV.PRF   work
        'He has worked.'

However, the verbs with the stem form *-Ca* show no modification of stems in the perfect form.[15] (8) is an example of a *-Ca* stem verb.

(8)   *ka-ja* (<*ja*)   *kale*   *kweli*
        3SG/G1.SM-come.PRF   long ago   really
        'He has come a long time ago.'

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[10] No absolute tense marker emerges in this slot in the Kikae dialect.

[11] In the other sections, I never show base and final vowel separately.

[12] The morpheme *-me-* expresses an event has started, and *-mena-* expresses an event has started and is still going on.

[13] Most of the loanword verbs without the derivational suffixes are not accompanied by the final vowel.

[14] The passive form of verbs, the loanword verbs, which do not end on *a* and the verb *-ijua* 'know' show no modification of stems either. Other one syllable stems are transformed differently. The *-Cy(w)a* stems *-lya* 'eat', *-nya* 'defecate, rain', *-nywa* 'drink' end on *i*. e.g. *ka-li* (3SG/G1.SM-eat.PRF) 'He has eaten.' The *-Cwa* stems *-fwa* 'die', *-gwa* 'fall' end on *u*. e.g. *ka-fu* (3SG/G1.SM-die.PRF) 'He has died.' *-Ta* 'lay egg' , *-cha* 'dawn' and *chwa* 'be sunset' show irregular modification. *-Ta* ends on *i*, *-cha* and *-chwa* end on *e*.

[15] The other *-Ca* stem verb *-k'a* 'give' also shows no modification like *-ja* and *-wa*.

Thus, the form of the *wa*-copula, the subject prefix *-wa*, can be analyzed as a perfect form as it corresponds to the perfect form of the *-Ca* stem verbs. Compare the verb form in (8) with that in example (9).

(9) *sasa* ka-*wa*   *mwalimu*

  now   3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF   teacher

  'Now, he is a teacher.'

The function of 'perfect'

Verbs in perfect form can represent three types of situations, depending on the lexically encoded aspectual properties of the verb and on the context[16] when the reference time and the utterance time are the same. First, verbs can represent an event prior to the reference time as in (10). Second, verbs can represent an event prior to the reference time and imply relevance to the situation at utterance time as in (11). Third, verbs can represent a resultative state as in (12).

(10) *ka-fiki*   *vano* *tangu* saa *sita* *hea* *ke-me-uka*

  3SG/G1.SM-arrive.PRF here   since   hour six   but   3SG/G1.SM-INCH-leave

  'He arrived at 12 o'clock[17] but left.'

(11) *unju*   *Fatuma*   *k-ende*   *skuli*

  morning   Fatuma.PN   3SG/G1.SM-go.PRF   school

  'In the morning, Fatuma has gone to school.' (Fatuma is still in school.)

(12) *ka-vwaa*   *nguo*   *zuri*

  3SG/G1.SM-wear.PRF clothes   good.G9

  'He's wearing good clothes'

Aspect in these three examples thus differs, but the denoted event has taken place before the reference time in all of them. We conclude that, in a typical perfect, some event prior to the reference time is expressed or implied.

Do the wa-copula sentences express or imply a prior event?

One of the meaning components of *-wa* is 'become', that is, a change of state as mentioned in section 1. This meaning component can also be observed in (13).

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[16] The perfect form of *-lala* 'sleep' can represent both the present state like 'he is sleeping now' and the prior event like 'he slept eight o'clock last night'.

[17] There is a gap of 6 hours between the real time and the time represented by a number.

(13) *usumba*   *u-na-wa*   *kamba*

coconut fiber   G3[18].SM-IPFV-be   rope

'Usumba (coconut fiber) becomes a rope.'

As the form of the *wa*-copula is perfect, we would expect the *wa*-copula sentence to imply some event prior to the reference time. However, this is not necessarily the case.

(14) a. *Asani*   *ka-wa*   *kaka*   *angu*

Hassan   3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF   brother   my.G9

      b. *Asani*   *kaka*   *angu*

Hassan   brother   my.G9

          'Hassan is my brother.'

(15) *wajerumani*   *wa-wa*   *warefu*

German people   3PL/G2.SM-be.PRF   tall.G2

      'German people are tall.'

(16) a. *embe*   *zi-wa*   *mbichi / mbivu*

mango   G10.SM-be.PRF   unripe / ripe

          'The mangoes are unripe / ripe.'

      b. *embe*   *zi-me-wa*   **mbichi / mbivu*

mango   G10.SM-INCH-be   unripe / ripe

          'The mangoes have been *unripe / ripe (for a while).'

While it seems possible to assume a prior event of 'becoming my brother' in (14a), this is less likely when we consider that there is no aspectual information in (14b), which has the same meaning. There is no conceivable prior event expressed by (15), the context for which is a teacher talking about Germans to their students. (16a) also shows that there is no prior event necessary to license, as there is no event 'Mangoes becoming unripe'. In contrast to this, (16b) shows that a previous event is necessary to license the TAM prefix *-me-* preceding *-wa*. We conclude that the *wa*-copula does not imply the existence of an event prior to the reference time[19].

The relational use of the wa-copula is restricted to predicational sentences.

In this section, I will show that there is a semantic restriction on the relational use of the *wa*-copula. The *wa*-copula occurs in sentences like (17) - (20).

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[18] Though *usumba* is classified as Class 11 prescriptively, it is conceivable based on agreement patterns that Class 11 has merged into Class 3 and does not exist as an independent class.

[19] In the Kikae dialect, *-ijua* 'know' does not imply a previous event in its perfect form either. See (47).

(17)   *mie*   *si-li*[20]   *kaka*   *nyi-wa*   *baba*

      1SG   1SG.SM.NEG-be   brother   1SG.SM-be.PRF   father

      'I am not a "brother", I am a "father".'

(18)   *yuno*   *ka-wa*   *muongo*

      This G1   3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF   liar

      'This is a liar.'

(19)   *Shabani*   *ka-wa*   *ṃkulima*

      Shabani.PN   3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF   farmer

      'Shabani is a farmer.'

(20)   *kino*   *chumba*   *kikubwa*   *ki-wa*   *cheupe*

      this.G7   room   big.G7   G7.SM-be.PRF   white.G7

      'This big room is clean.'

In contrast, the *wa*-copula cannot be inserted in the copular sentences (21) and (22).

(21)   a.   *N-na-yo-i-chaka*   *ino*

           1SG.SM-IPFV-G9.REL-G9.OM-want   this.G9

      b.   **N-na-yo-i-chaka*   *i-wa*   *ino*

           1SG.SM-IPFV-G9.REL-G9.OM-want   G9.SM-be.PRF   this.G9

           'What I want is this.'

(22)   X: *nani*   *Hassim*

           who   Hassim.PN

           'Who is Hassim?'

      Y: a.   *Hassim*   *yulya*   *mw-a*[21]*-kaa*   *kitako*

              Hassim.PN   that.G1   NMLZ-PRF-sit   seat

          b.   **Hassim*   *ka-wa*   *yulya*   *mw-a-kaa*   *kitako*

              Hassim.PN   3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF   that.G1   NMLZ-PRF-sit   seat

              'Hassim is the guy who is sitting.'

These examples are compatible with the assumption that the use of the *wa*-copula is restricted to the sentences in which complements express properties of subjects.

In the following section, I will explain the classification of copular sentences based on semantic types, proposed in Higgins (1979), Declerck (1988) and Nishiyama (2003). After that, I

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[20] The negative subject prefix *-li* is an item corresponding to the *wa*-copula. I will discuss this later.

[21] The TAM prefix *-a-* can occur only after the nominalizer *m-*.

will show that the relational use of the *wa*-copula is restricted to sentences called 'predicational sentences' in this classification.

On the classification of copular sentences

Higgins (1979), Declerck (1988) and Nishiyama (2003) classify English and Japanese copular sentences into three major types: 'predicational sentences', 'specificational sentences' and 'identificational sentences' or 'descriptionally-identifying sentences'. [22]

Predicational sentences are defined as the sentences, which ascribe a characteristic to the referent of the subject. (23) is an example of a predicational sentence.

(23)   John is a teacher. (Declerck 1988: 55)

The noun phrase denoting the property is called the predicational NP. The predicational NP is non-referential and behaves as an adjectival rather than a nominal (Declerck 1988: 57, 65).

Specificational sentences are defined as sentences, which specify values for a variable. 'The one who stole the money' is variable and 'Fred' is value in the following example (24).

(24)   The one who stole the money is Fred. (Declerck 1988: 2)

Specifying values for a variable is sometimes explained as enumerating the items on a list or providing an answer to a question (Declerck 1988: 6, 9). That is, the variables correspond to WH-questions and the values correspond to answers.

Identificational sentences provide identifying information, which enables the hearer to associate the subject with a particular entity. In (25), the speaker is providing the information that 'Mike is my brother' because the hearer cannot resolve the identity of 'Mike' to an individual.

(25)   Mike? Who's Mike? ― Mike is my brother. (Declerck 1988: 95)

While specificational sentences pick out a referent from a set, identificational sentences associate a referent, which has already been specified with a particular entity, which the hearer knows (Declerck 1988: 95-96). Identifying information is sometimes expressed by noun phrases, which can be predicational NPs. The noun phrases representing identifying information are referential though they cannot be replaced with deixis, but predicational NPs are non-referential as stated above (Kumamoto 1995: 160).

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[22] 'Identificational sentences' is the term used in Higgins (1979), 'descriptionally-identifying sentences' is the term used in Declerck (1988). In this paper, I use the former term.

The use of the wa-copula in the Kikae dialect

Examples (17) - (22) show that the use of the *wa*-copula in the Kikae dialect is restricted to predicational sentences. (17) - (20) in which the *wa*-copula occurs are interpreted as predicational sentences because the properties or characteristics of the subjects are expressed by the complements. In contrast, the *wa*-copula cannot be used in (21) and (22). (21) is a specificational sentence. The subject of (21) functions as variable (WH-question) as in 'What do I want?' and the complement is its value (answer) 'this one'. (22) is an identificational sentence. An individual 'Hassim' is picked out in advance but Y is not able to associate *'Hassim'* with a particular person who Y knows, so X provides further information which makes it possible for Y to resolve *'Hassim's'* identity to an individual.

Examples (26) - (28) confirm that the use of the *wa*-copula is limited to predicational sentences. The subjects of (26) - (28) are the same, *uyomona jana* 'the one who you met yesterday', and only the complements differ from each other. The *wa*-copula can be inserted when the complement noun expresses a property of the subject. In (26), *mwanafuzi* 'a student' can be a property of the subject. In (27), *ṃnene* is an adjective, functioning as same as a predicational NP. Both (26) and (27) are regarded as predicational sentences. In (28), however, the *wa*-copula cannot be inserted. (28) is not a predicational sentence because the complement is a demonstrative and referential. (28) is an identificational sentence.

(26) a. *u-ϕ-yo-m-ona* *jana* *mwanafuzi*

　　　2SG.SM-PRF-G1.REL-3SG/G1.OM-see　yesterday　student

　　b. *u-ϕ-yo-m-ona* *jana* *ka-wa* *mwanafuzi*

　　　2SG.SM-PRF-G1.REL-3SG/G1.OM-see　yesterday　3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF　student

　　　'The one whom you met yesterday is a student.'

(27) a. *u-ϕ-yo-m-ona* *jana* *ṃnene*

　　　2SG.SM-PRF-G1.REL-3SG.OM/G1-see　yesterday　fat.G1

　　b. *u-ϕ-yo-m-ona* *jana* *ka-wa* *ṃnene*

　　　2SG.SM-G1.REL-PRF-3SG/G1.OM-see　yesterday　3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF　fat.G1

　　　'The one whom you met yesterday is fat.'

(28) a. *u-ϕ-yo-m-ona* *jana* *yuno*

　　　2SG.SM-G1.REL-PRF-3SG/G1.OM-see　yesterday　this.G1

　　b. **u-ϕ-yo-m-ona* *jana* ka-wa *yuno*

　　　2SG.SM-G1.REL-PRF-3SG/G1.OM-see　yesterday　3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF　this.G1

　　　'The one whom you met yesterday is this one.'

Note that the use of the wa-copula in predicational sentences is optional though there are some exceptions as stated in 3.4 below. Therefore, the *wa*-copula can be omitted as in (29) repeated from (1a).

(29) a.   *mie*   *nyi-wa*   *mwanafuzi*

            1SG   1SG.SM-be.PRF   student

      b.   *mie*   *mwanafuzi*

            1SG   student

           'I am a student.'

Some exceptions

I have outlined the distribution of the *wa*-copula according to the classification of copular sentences proposed by some authors and showed that the *wa*-copula emerges only in predicational sentences. There are, however, exceptions to the rule.

First, the *wa*-copula cannot be used in sentences, which ask for and represent the class of the referents of the subjects, as in examples (30) and (31).

(30) X: *tunda lino*   *ɸ /*li-wa*   *tunda*   *gani*

         fruit   this.G5   Ø / G5.SM-be.PRF   fruit   what kind of

         'What kind of fruit is this (fruit)?'

      Y: *lino*   *ɸ /*li-wa*   *fenesi*

         this.G5   Ø / SM.G5-be.PRF   jack fruit

         'This is a jack fruit.'

(31) X: *icho*   *ɸ /*ki-wa*   *nini*

         that.G7   Ø / G7.SM-be.PRF   what

         'What is that?'

      Y: *icho*   *ɸ /*ki-wa*   *kiti*

         that.G7   Ø / G7.SM-be.PRF   chair

         'That is a chair.'

Most authors seem to avoid discussing the semantic properties of such sentences. In this paper, I will not discuss into what type such copular sentences can be classified or whether or not new categories might be necessary to classify them exhaustively. However, in the Kikae dialect, the *wa*-copula cannot be used in some predicational sentences if the first element of the complement represents the class of the subject, as in (32) and (33).

(32) a.   **uno*   *u-wa*   *m̩nazi*   *m̩refu*

		this.G3	G3.SM-be.PRF	coconut palm	long.G3

'This is a long palm tree.'

	b.	*uno*	*u-wa*		*ṃrefu*
		this.G3	G3.SM-be.PRF		long.G3

'This (tree) is long.'

(33)	a.	**Juma*	*ka-wa*	*ṃt'u*	*ṃrefu*
		Juma.PN	3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF	person	tall.G1

'Juma is a tall man.'

	b.	*Juma*	*ka-wa*	*mwalimu*	*ṃrefu*
		Juma.PN	3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF	teacher	tall.G1

'Juma is a tall teacher'

Though all of the sentences are predicational sentences, the wa-copula cannot be used in (32a) and (33a). If the nouns *ṃnazi* 'coconut palm' in (32a) and *ṃt'u* 'person' in (33a), which represent the class of the subjects, are removed or replaced with another noun which can, for example, be a predicational NP, the *wa*-copula can be inserted as shown in (32b) and (33b). Furthermore, the *wa*-copula can be used, even though the sentence is not a predicational sentence like (34) if the first element of the complement can be interpreted as a predicational NP. In (34), the *wa*-copula can be used even though (34) seems to be an identificational sentence. [23]

(34)	*Makoto ka-wa*	*mwanafuzi*	*u-ø-yo-m-ona*	*jana*
	Makoto 3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF	student	2SG.SM-G1.REL-PRF-3SG/G1.OM-see	yesterday

'Makoto is the student whom you met yesterday.'

In brief, when the predicate NP consists of more than one element, the copula appears to only select the first element.

The other exceptions are sentences that ask for personal names and their replies.

(35)	X:	*weye*	*ku-wa*	*nani*
		2SG	2SG.SM-be.PRF	who

'Who are you?'

	Y:	*mie*	*nyi-wa*	*Hidaya*
		1SG	1SG.SM-be.PRF	Hidaya.PN

'I am Hidaya.'

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[23] In the Kikae dialect, a relative clause can modify the head noun non-restrictively. Therefore, (35) could also be a predicational sentence in which the predicational NP *mwanafuzi* 'a student' is followed by a non-restrictive relative clause.

Sentences like (35) may be classified into predicational sentences, following Nishiyama (2003: 126), who argues that personal names can be predicational NPs. Conversations like that in (35) may seem to be a pair of the predicational sentences if X and Y actually meet each other: X asks Y's name as a property and Y replies his/her own name as a property. However, sentences like (35) are used when X receives a telephone call, and what X wants to do is to identify the person who X is talking to on the phone. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that (35) is an identificational sentence, not a predicational sentence. Note that this type of sentences are more acceptable in the case where the subject is first person or second person singular.

The use of the wa-copula in sentences with adjectives.

As shown in (20) and (27), the wa-copula can co-occur with adjectives.

(36) a. *kisu*   *kino*   *ki-wa*   *kikali*
          knife   this.G7   G7.SM-be.PRF   sharp.G7

      b. *kisu*   *kino*   *kikali*
          knife   this.G7   sharp. G7
          'This knife is sharp.'

The *wa*-copula is optional for sentences with adjectives like *kikali* 'sharp' in (36) which can be divided into a prefix *ki-* and a stem *-kali* like some nouns. In some adjectival sentences as that in (37), however, the *wa*-copula is mandatory.

(37) a. *ng'ombe*   *ka-wa*   *hai*
          cow   3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF   alive

      b. **ng'ombe*   *hai*
          cow   alive
          'The cow is alive.'

The *wa*-copula is obligatory when *hai* 'alive', *wazi* 'open' or *macho* 'awake' follow it. I will discuss such sentences in section 5.

Negative copular sentences

There are also two types of negative copular sentences. In the first type, the element si occurs before the complement. In the second type, the element, the negative subject prefix *-li*[24], occurs before the complement. (38a) is an example of the first type and (38b) is an example of the second type.

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[24] This morpheme *-li* likely corresponds to *-*li*-* 'be' in proto-Sabaki (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 649).

(38) a. *mie   si   mwanafuzi*

  1SG   NEG   student

  b. *mie   si-li   mwanafuzi*

  1SG   1SG.SM.NEG-be   student

  'I am not a student.'

Negative copula *si* can be used in all copular sentences except for *hai*-type sentences. In contrast, the negative subject prefix *-li* can only be used in negative predicational sentences. Thus, this element cannot be used in identificational sentences like (39). In the Kikae dialect, the negative subject prefix *-li* functions as the suppletive allomorph of the subject prefix *-wa* in negative sentences.

(39) a. *u-ø-yo-m-ona   jana   si   yuno*

  2SG.SM-PRF-G1.REL-3SG/G1.OM-see   yesterday   NEG   this.G1

  b. **u-ø-yo-m-ona   jana   ha-li   yuno*

  2SG.SM-PRF-G1.REL-3SG/G1.OM-see   yesterday   3SG/G1.SM.NEG-be   this.G1

  'The one whom you met yesterday is not this one.'

Section summary

In this section, I have given an overview of the distribution of the *wa*-copula by the type of copular sentence as has been proposed for English and Japanese. The distribution of the *wa*-copula sentences is summarized as shown below.

property of CP	juxtaposed	wa-copula inserted
non-predicational	☑	☐
class	☑	☐
predicational	☑	☑
adjective	☑	☑
hai-type adjective	☐	☑

The locative use of the wa-copula

The *wa*-copula is also used in locative sentences, as shown in (40) and (41).

(40) X: *Fatuma   ka-wa*[25]

  Fatuma.PN   3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF

  'Is Fatuma here?'

---

[25] Polar questions with the *wa*-copula do not require a locative expression when used to ask whether the subject is present and there is salient location in the context.

> Y: *ka-wa=vo*
>
>   3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF=here
>
>   'She is here.'

(41)   *Ali*   *ka-wa*   *nyumbani*

        Ali.PN   3SG.SM-be.PRF   house.LOC

        'Ali is at home.'

Its function of conveying a location comes from the meaning of *-wa*, not from the function of the *wa*-copula, as *-wa* marked with TAM prefixes also represents a location as shown in (42) and example (43).

(42)   *kila*   *wakati wa*   *sikukuu*   *Makoto*   *ka-na-wa*   *ɱjini*

        every   time   of.G3   holiday   Makoto.PN   3SG/G1.SM-IPFV-be   town.LOC

        'Makoto is always in town in the holiday season (after Ramadan).'

(43)   *ku-me-wa*   *kaskazi*

        2SG.SM-INCH-be   north

        'Are you already on the north side?'

The locative use of the *wa*-copula shares two features with its relational use. First, the *wa*-copula, which represents a location, does not imply the existence of an event prior to the reference time, just like the *wa*-copula in predicational sentences.

(44)   a.   *ɱrima*   *Kilimanjaro*   *u-wa*   *Tanzania*

              mountain   Kilimanjaro   G3.SM-be.PRF   Tanzania

        b.   **ɱrima*   *Kilimanjaro*   *u-me-wa*   *Tanzania*

              mountain   Kilimanjaro   G3.SM-INCH-be   Tanzania

              'Mount Kilimanjaro is in Tanzania.'

There is no prior event in (44) as Mt. Kilimanjaro has always existed in Tanzania, rather than for example having been moved there. The reason why (44b), in contrast to (44a), is unacceptable is that there the TAM prefix *-me-* needs a prior event to license it.

Second, the negative subject prefix -li also functions as the suppletive allomorph of the subject prefix *-wa* in negative locative sentences.

(45)   *Ame*   *ha-li*   *nyumbani*

        Ame.PN   3SG/G1.SM.NEG-be   house.LOC

        'Ame is not at home'

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the *wa*-copula in predicational sentences and existential sentences is one lexical element with two distinct functions.

However, the locative use of the *wa*-copula differs from its relational use in that the *wa*-copula is mandatory in locative sentences.

(46) **Ali*   *nyumbani*

Ali.PN   house.LOC

'Ali is at home.' (see also 42)

The grammaticalisation of the wa-copula

In the section 3, I showed that the relational use of the *wa*-copula is mostly restricted to predicational sentences. This is compatible with an assumption that the relational use has developed as a secondary use of the locative use. In this section, I discuss possible grammaticalisation paths of the *wa*-copula, considering its functions and properties. There are two possible sources for the *wa*-copula. First, it is conceivable that perfect form of *-wa* 'become' has lost its inflectional value and acquired the function of a simple copula. Second, the *wa*-copula could have originally been used as a locative, its relational function having developed after that.

Grammaticalisation from perfect

The form of the *wa*-copula is analyzed as a perfect form as shown in 2.1 and one of the meaning components of *-wa* is 'become' as shown in 2.3. Taking these facts into account, a straightforward assumption is that both the inflectional value and the meaning of 'become' have been lost from the perfect form of *-wa*. However, there is a problem with this assumption.

There is a verb *-ijua* 'know', which does not imply a prior event in its perfect form as shown in (47). Thus, there is the possibility that the *wa*-copula does not have a perfect marking function.

(47) *samaki ka-vi-jua*   *k-ogolea*   *wala*   *ha-na-fundishwa*

fish   3SG/G1.SM-G8.OM.know.PRF   INF-swim   without 3SG/G1.SM.NEG-IPFV-teach.PASS

'Fish knows how to swim without being taught.'

However, it is difficult to explain the reason why the *wa*-copula is restricted to predicational sentences. It seems possible that the restriction of the *wa*-copula is due to the property of *-wa* meaning 'become' because only predicational NPs can follow 'become' in English (Higgins 1979: 241-242, Declerck 1988: 90). However, this possibility has to be discarded as non-predicational NPs such as demonstratives can follow *-wa* as in (48).

(48) *ilya*   *i-me-wa*   *ino*

that.G9   G9.SM-INCH-be   this.G9

'That has become this. (The batter has turned into this cake.)'

Grammaticalisation from a locative verb

The *wa*-copula is also used in locative sentences, as shown in section 4. I argue that the restriction of the wa-copula to predicational sentences has some relevance to the function of the *wa*-copula as a locative verb. Grammaticalisation from posture, locative or existential verbs to copulas is often observed in other languages (Faverey et al. 1976, Devitt 1990, Hengeveld 1992, Noonan & Grunow-Hårsta 2002, Kudo 2014). Furthermore, in some languages, copulas, which have derived from locatives or existentials, are used to denote the properties of the subjects in some languages (Verhaar 1995[26], Noonan & Grunow-Hårsa 2002[27], Goddard & Harkins 2002[28], Reid 2002[29]). Interestingly, while we have to be careful to conclude that such a change is natural from typological view, such semantic shifts or expansions are observed in languages unrelated to each other. The restriction of the *wa*-copula is possibly a result of the grammaticalisation from a locative predicate.

In addition to this, the following two facts support the assumption that this grammaticalisation process has occurred. First, the grammaticalisation of a copula from a locative/existential predicate has also been observed in other varieties of Swahili.

(49) *ng'ombe*   *yu-ko*   *hai*
      cow   3SG/G1.SM-EXIST   alive
      'The cow is alive.'

(50) *ng'ombe*   *yu-ko*   *mzima*
      cow   3SG/G1.SM-EXIST   fine.G1
      'The cow is fine.'

(51) *mimi*   *ni-ko*   *bado*   *mwanafunzi*
      1SG   1SG.SM-EXIST   still   student
      'I'm still a student.'

(52) *chakula*   *iko*   *kitu*   *mukubwa*
      food   COP   thing   big
      'Food is an important matter.' (Lecoste 1961: 220)

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[26] In Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea, Creole language), *stap* functions as copulative: characterizing modifiers only, and as locative or existential (Verhaar 1995: 81).

[27] In Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea, Creole language), *stap* functions as copulative: characterizing modifiers only, and as locative or existential (Verhaar 1995: 81).

[28] In Pitjantjatjara / Yankunytjatjara (Australia, Pama-Nyungan), *nyinani* 'sit' and *ngaṟanyi* 'stand' have copulative functions, co-occurring with a predicative or attributive complement (Goddard & Harkins 2002: 229-231).

[29] In Ngan'gityemerri (Australia, Daly), some verbs which mean 'sit', 'sleep', 'stand', 'perch', 'go' or 'travel' are used to encode the existence/location of, or ascribe attributes to their subjects (Reid 2002: 246).

(49) - (51) are examples from the Kiunguja dialect[30]. In this dialect, the subject prefix -*ko* functions as a locative/existential[31] predicate. Note that, although examples like (49) in which the locative/existential is followed by *hai*-type loanword adjectives have been described (Marten 2013: 62) [32], examples in which the locatives/existentials are followed by an adjective with a prefix and a stem as in (50) or a noun as in (51) have not been reported in the Kiunguja dialect. Other adjectives like -*tupu* 'empty', -*refu* 'long' 'tall' and -*kali* 'sharp' can also follow the locative/existential. Even though in the Kiunguja dialect, no examples other than (51) are accounted for in which nouns follow the locative/existential, such examples are described in some pidginized varieties of Swahili as in (52) from Shaba Swahili[33]. Heine & Kuteva (2002: 99) also reports a similar example from Kenya Pidgin Swahili. Thus, it appears that grammaticalisation from a locative verb to a copula can also naturally be assumed even in the Kikae dialect.

Second, most of the predicational sentences can be realized in two ways: in the first type, subject and complement are juxtaposed, in the other type, the wa-copula, which also functions as the locative predicate, is used, as stated in section 3 and 4. The same goes for the negative sentences. These facts support the assumption that the relational use of the wa-copula has developed secondarily from the locative use.

Based on these facts, I conclude that the probability of the grammaticalisation from a locative verb is higher than that of the grammaticalisation from the perfect of 'become'.

On the process of the grammaticalisation

There are two possible triggers of the grammaticalisation of the *wa*-copula, which have caused re-analysis of a locative verb to a copula.

The first trigger are relatively new words like loanwords, which are semantically 'adjectives' but syntactically 'adverbs'. I assume that this trigger causes a change by analogy. Hengeveld (1992: 238-249) proposes a grammaticalisation model from a locative predicate to a copula from a typological perspective. He shows that locative predicates are used as what he calls "ascriptive"

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[30] The Kiunguja dialect is a regional variety originally from Zanzibar town. This variety is a base of 'Standard Swahili' (Whiteley 1969: 80) and thought to be the prestigious variation at least in Zanzibar. The examples in this paper are elicited from a speaker in Zanzibar Stone Town.

[31] While Ashton (1947: 18) describes the [subject prefix -*ko*] as a predicate representing place, Marten (2013) points out that this element also functions as an existential.

[32] Strictly, the adjectives Marten presents: *huru* 'free' and *tayari* 'ready', except for the quantifier -*ingi* 'many', are not exactly the same as those presented here. Ashton (1947: 93) describes that in the Kiunguja dialect, the subject prefixes function as a copula to express a state or condition, and *hai*, *macho* and *wazi* are given as examples for the copulative subject prefixes. Note that, *hai*, *macho* and *wazi* cannot co-occur with the other copula *ni* in the Kiunguja dialect as far as I have observed.

[33] Shaba Swahili is a pidginized variety of Swahili spoken in the Katanga province of DR Congo.

predicates, co-occurring with an adverbialized constituent in some languages[34] and argues that such expressions can lead to grammaticalisation. I argue that a similar change has conceivably occurred in the Kikae dialect. Some words like *hai*, which obligatorily need the *wa*-copula, are functionally classified as adverbs since they can only modify verbs not nouns as shown in (53) and (54) while they are prescriptively classified as adjectives[35].

(53)	a.	**ke-me-guia*	*nyoka*	*hai*	
		3SG/G1.SM-INCH-catch	snake	alive	
	b.	*ke-me-guia*	*nyoka*	*a-ø-e-wa*	*hai*
		3SG/G1.SM-INCH-catch	snake	3SG/G1.SM-PRF-G1.REL-be	alive
		'He caught a living snake.'			

(54)	*nyoka*	*ka-zikwa*	*hai*
	snake	3SG/G1.SM-bury.PASS.PRF	alive
	'The snake has been buried alive.'		

Furthermore, *hai-type* words are relatively new. *Hai* and *wazi* are loanwords from Arabic and *macho* is a zero-derivational word from the noun 'eyes'. Therefore, the following process seems plausible. First, the *wa*-copula, originally a locative predicate is used to compose predicates with *hai*-type words, and is re-analyzed as a copula in such predicates. Next, the *wa*-copula starts to appear with canonical adjectives and predicational NPs, which are semantically similar to *hai*-type words, but can form predicates without *wa*. In fact, (55) was rephrased as (56) by one speaker.

(55)	*ng'ombe*	*ka-wa*	*hai*
	cow	3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF	alive
	'The cow is alive.'		

(56)	*ng'ombe*	*ka-wa*	*ṃzima*
	cow	3SG/G1.SM-be.PRF	healthy.G1
	'The cow is fine.'		

Mzima in (56) is more adjectival than *hai*-type words because it modifies a noun in (57).

(57)	*ka-vata*	*ubale*	*ṃzima*	*wa*	*samaki*
	3SG/G1.SM-get.PRF	side	whole.G3	of.G3	fish
	'He has taken a whole piece of fish' (Chum 1994: 76)				

---

[34] Hengeveld (1992) shows examples from Tamil, Abkhaz, Basque and Modern Standard Arabic.

[35] As for *hai* and *wazi*, see Johnson (1939: 123, 528) and TUKI (2001: 95, 364). The word class of *macho* is vague. In Johnson (1939: 155), *macho* is tagged as noun, adjective, and adverb.

The same goes for *cheupe* in (20), m̩*nene* in (27) and *kikali* in (36). The proposed grammaticalisation path is illustrated in (58).

(58)   [wa -copula + locative] >> [wa-copula＋hai-type 'adjective'] >> [wa-copula＋adjective /predicational NP]

The grammaticalisation path assumed here is compatible with the semantic limitations of the relational use of the *wa*-copula and the fact that the *wa*-copula is optional in predicational sentences. Note that, while Hengeveld argues that the motivation for the use of the locative predicate is to represent TAM information, I propose that the motivation is simply to make predicates with new words. Actually, the *wa*-copula co-occurs with temporarily borrowed words as in (59).

(59)   *nguo*   *i-wa*   *'clean'*

       clothes   G9.SM-be.PRF   clean

       'The clothes are clean.'

Another possible trigger is co-occurrence with quantifiers. In the Kikae dialect, the *wa*-copula is used to form predicates representing the quantity of the subject. The morphological characteristics of quantifiers like *mengi* in (60) are the same as those of adjectives, which can be segmented into a prefix and a stem.

(60)   *maji*   *ya-wa*   *mengi*

       water   G6.SM-be.PRF   many.G6

       'There is a lot of water.'

However, expressions like that in (60) could be cases of quantifier floating not relevant in connection with grammaticalisation. Although the canonical position of quantifiers is directly following the noun, just like adjectives, quantifiers can not only occur after the subject, but also after the predicate as in (61).

(61)   a.   *wanafuzi*   *wengi*   *wa-ja*

          students   many.G2   3PL/G2.SM-come.PRF

      b.   *wanafuzi*   *wa-ja*   *wengi*

          students   3PL/G2.SM-come.PRF   many.G2

          'Many students have come.'

If the use of the *wa*-copula in clauses expressing quantity is due to quantifier floating, it is unlikely that grammaticalisation occurred in these constructions, as with adjectives there is no phenomenon parallel to quantifier floating.

(62) a.   *wanafuzi*   *wa-cha-kuja*   *wengi*
             students   3PL/G2-IRR-come   many.G2
             'Many of the students will come.'

      b.   **wanafuzi*   *wa-cha-kuja*   *wakubwa*
             students   3PL/G2-IRR-come   big.G2

      c.   *wanafuzi*   *wakubwa*   *wa-cha-kuja*
             students   big.G2   3PL/G2-IRR-come
             'Big students will come.'

Conclusion

While there are ample descriptions and discussions of copular clauses across languages, the use of the *wa*-copula in some types of copular clauses in the Kikae dialect of Swahili has not been described in detail in previous studies. In this paper, I have proposed a detailed analysis of the wa-copula as summarized below.

In sections 2, 3 and 4, I have characterized the properties of the *wa*-copula in the Kikae dialect of Swahili. I have pointed out three observations: 1. there is a gap between aspect morphology and aspectual meaning of the *wa*-copula, 2. the relational use of the *wa*-copula is limited to predicational sentences while there are some exceptions, 3. the locative use of the *wa*-copula has similarities with the relational use in their aspectual and the negated forms.

In section 5, I discussed possible grammaticalisation paths of the *wa*-copula. I concluded that it is highly probable that the relational use of the *wa*-copula has developed from the locative use. This assumption is well compatible with the synchronic properties. While the grammaticalisation from locative verbs to copulas is known as a probable change in typological study, the details have not been discussed well. In this paper, I proposed that the semantic restriction of the *wa*-copula are possibly relevant to the grammaticalisation.

Abbreviations

1	first person	IRR	Irrealis
2	second person	LOC	Locative
3	third person	NEG	Negative
C	consonant	NMLZ	Nominalizer
COP	copula	OM	object marker
EXIST	existential	PASS	passive
FV	final vowel	PL	plural
G	gender (e.g. G1=gender 1)	PRF	perfect
INCH	inchoative	REL	relative clause marker
INF	infinitive	SG	singular
IPFV	imperfective	SM	subject marker

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