HAYA GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

PHONOLOGY, GRAMMAR, DISCOURSE

EDITED BY   ERNEST RUGWA BYARUSHENGO

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PREFACE

The papers in this volume, save two, were all presented
as part of a year-long field methods course on Haya directed
by Prof. Larry M. Hyman at the University of Southern Cali-
fornia. The two exceptions are the paper on conditionals
(written for a seminar on Historical Bantu Syntax for Prof.
Hyman) and the paper on greetings (written as a supplement
to the preceding chapters. The table of contents of this
volume begins with phonological alternations and ends with
greetings and a word list. In between there is hardly a
topic that has not been touched upon, at least in part, be
it phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, or discourse.
Our interest has been to assemble these seminar papers
which together give an overview of what it means to be a
speaker of Haya.

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> E.R.B.
> A.D.
> L.M.H.

ABBREVIATIONS

BEN	=	benefactive	PASS	=	passive
CAUS	=	causative	PP	=	prepositional phrase
COND	=	conditional	PP	=	preprefix
COP	=	copula	PR	=	present progressive
CQ	=	contingent query	PRO	=	pronoun
CSC	=	consecutive	Q	=	question
DAT	=	dative	RECIP	=	reciprocal
DO	=	direct object	REFL	=	reflexive
F_1	=	near future	REL	=	relative (marker)
F_2	=	distant future	SBJN	=	subjunctive
IMAG	=	imaginary	SM	=	subject marker
INSTR	=	instrumental	UNR	=	unreal(ity)
MOD	=	modality	V	=	verb
OM	=	object marker	VC	=	verbal complex
OO	=	oblique object			
P_1	=	today past	H	=	high tone
P_2	=	yesterday past	L	=	low tone
P_3	=	general/distant past	F	=	falling tone

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PRELIMINARIES

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1. GENERAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Haya is a Bantu language spoken in northwestern Tanzania to the west of Lake Victoria. The area in which it is spoken is what used to be the District of Bukoba[1] in West Lake Region. It extends approximately from 1°00' to 2°30' S and from 30°30' to about 31°50 E. The population of Haya country is estimated at about half a million people. The language is called *Ekiháya* or *Oluháya*.

Guthrie (1971) classified Haya as E.22, his E.20 group (including Haya) being the Haya-Jita group. The problem with this classification is that Zone E leaves out languages that are very closely related to Haya. Zone J of Meeussen is more appropriate since it groups some languages of Guthrie's D and E zones, thus getting a more unified classification.

The languages most closely related to Haya are Runyankore, Rukiga, Kinyarwanda, Kishubi, Kizinja, Kirundi, Kiha, Luganda, Kinyoro, and the Luhya languages/dialects.

Internally, the dialects of Haya are very highly mutually intelligible, with their boundaries normally running along the lines of former chiefdoms (see map next page). The dialect we are dealing with here is that of *Kihánja*, more specifically, as spoken in and around the villages of Katoke and Kimbúgu. All papers except two in this volume are based on the speech of the present author. The paper on greetings (Dauer 1977) is based on fieldwork by that author in Kihánja in the villages around Lake Ikimba, while the paper on left- and right-dislocation (Tenenbaum 1977) is based on a taped telephone conversation between this author and two speakers from different dialects.

2. PHONOLOGY

The phonology of Haya is documented in Byarushengo (1975) and an aspect of it in Byarushengo (1977). Thus, here we will only be concerned with those aspects which facilitate the reading and interpretation of the papers that follow.

THE FORMER DISTRICT OF BUKOBA

31°00' 31°30' E

MISSENYE

KIZIBA

BUGABO

KYAMUTWARA

Bukoba Town

BUKARA

LAKE VICTORIA

1°30' S

35km

0

KIANJA

Lake Ikimba

Katoke-Kimbugu

IHANGIRO

KARAGWE

DISTRICT

BIHARAMULO

2°00' S

RWANDA - BURUNDI

N

LAKE SHORE
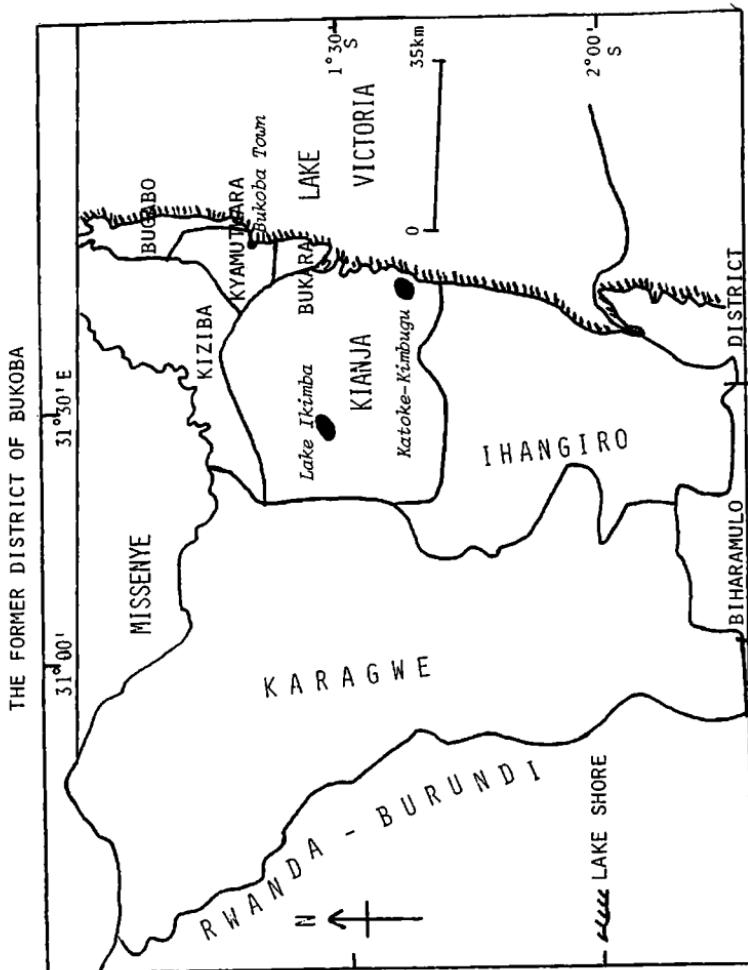
2.1. *Consonants.*

(1) Inventory of consonant "phonemes".

noncontinuants	p	b		t	d	c	j	k	g
nasals		m			n		ñ		
fricatives			f.	s	z	sh		h	
liquid/glides					l		y		w

The table in (1) is self-explanatory, although the following comments are necessary. In this dialect /h/ is almost always silent. However, in the Ihangiro dialect it is always pronounced, such that this is one of the distinguishing characteristics between this dialect and others. /c/ and /j/ are alveopalatal affricates, i.e. [tš] and [dž], respectively. The first is normally spelt *ch* in Haya orthography, but since *c* alone is not used for any other sound we have adopted it here instead of *ch*. Finally, *sh* is our orthographic representation of the alveopalatal fricative [š].

  There are several consonant alternations in the language. First, /h/ and /l/ alternate, respectively, with /p/ and /d/ after a nasal, as seen in (2) below (cf. Byarushengo 1977).

(2) a. /n-lim-á/ → [ndíma]   'I cultivate'

  b. /n-hik-á/ → [mpíka]   'I arrive'

  Secondly, alveolar, alveopalatal, and palatal consonants (except nasals and /y/) become [s] (from voiceless) and [z] (from voiced consonants) if followed by any of the following morphemes: (i) the agentive marker -i, (ii) the causative marker -i-, and the P₂ (yesterday past) tense marker -il-. Examples involving the agentive suffix are seen in (3).

(3) o-ku-kôl-a 'to work'   o-mu-kôz-i 'a worker'
   o-ku-gend-a 'to go'   o-mu-genz-i 'a goer'
   o-kw-ílt-a 'to kill'   o-mw-íls-i 'a killer'

For alternations involving the causative/instrumental marker, see Byarushengo (1975) and Trithart (1977a).

  When nasals are immediately followed by a consonant they share the place of articulation of that consonant, i.e. there is homorganic nasal assimilation (cf. Byarushengo 1975, 1977), as illustrated in (4).

(4) /n-bón-á/   → [mbóna]   'I see'

   /n-tom-á/   → [ntóma]   'I guess'

   /n-cumb-a/ → [ñcúmba]   'I cook'

   /n-kúl-á/   → [ŋkúla]   'I grow'

In addition, the nasal becomes syllabic if directly following a word boundary.

  2.2. *Vowels.* Haya has ten "phonemic" vowels, five short and five long, as seen in (5).

(5)   i ı   i   u   uu

        ee   ə   o   oo

                    a

                    aa

These vowels are exemplified in (6).

(6)   ı   :   okutiba   'to struggle'
       ıı   :   okutiıba   'to dig into the ground'
       ə   :   okutêga   'to set up a trap'
       ee   :   okuteega   'to curse'
       a   :   okushâla   'to cut'
       aa   :   okushaala   'to hiss'
       o   :   okutola   'to be lousy'
       oo   :   okutóola   'to receive'
       u   :   okujula   'to look sad'
       uu   :   okujúula   'to undress'

There are three morpheme-internal diphthongs in the language:

(7)   ei   okubéiya   'to tell lies'
       oi   okutóija   'to take to court'
       ai   omushâija   'a man'

There is audible lengthening (gemination) of consonants following a short
vowel, which helps identify short vs. long vowels.

    In addition, there are two processes associated with vowels--glide form-
ation and vowel coalescence. The first is captured by the rule in (8).

(8) $\begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \end{bmatrix}$ +   V $\rightarrow$ $\begin{bmatrix} y \\ w \end{bmatrix}$ +   V:

When a high vowel is followed by a non-high vowel it becomes a glide and the
second vowel undergoes compensatory lengthening, as seen in (9).

(9)   i $\rightarrow$ y   /ómutí a-gu-tém-á/ $\rightarrow$ [omuty' áágutéma]   'the tree, he
            tree   he-it-cuts   cuts it'

       u $\rightarrow$ w   /omuntu a-ij-á/ $\rightarrow$ [omuntw' ááfja]   'the person
            person he-comes   comes'

Vowel elision is indicated by an apostrophe ('). The lengthening of the
following vowel is not indicated in the orthography, since it is predictable
from the presence of the apostrophe. It *is* transcribed when the compensa-
tory lengthening is word-internal, e.g. /ó-mu-ána/ 'child', which is written
omwáana.

    When a non-high vowel is followed by another vowel it is elided and the
remaining vowel lengthens, as in the rule in (10).

(10) $\{ e, o, a \}$ + V_i $\rightarrow$ V_i:

Examples are seen in (11).

(11) a + o → oo /ó-mu-án<u>a</u> ó-gu/ → [omwáán' óogu] 'this child'

e + a → aa /a-lí-<u>é</u> <u>á</u>-ga-o/ → [aly' áago] 'he should eat those'

o + e → ee /émpambo é-zi-o/ → [empamb' éezo] 'those fingernails'

There are exceptions to the two processes just discussed. First, although both the negative marker ti- and the present continuous marker ni- end in a high vowel, this vowel does not undergo glide formation; instead, it undergoes vowel elision:

(12) /ti-a-gend-á/ → [tagénda] 'he doesn't go'

/ni-a-gend-á/ → [naagénda] 'he is going'

Secondly, although the class 4/9 subject marker e- and the second person singular subject marker o- are not high vowels, they undergo glide formation instead of vowel elision:

(13) /e-á-gend-a/ → [yáágenda] 'it (class 9) went'/'they (class 4)
      it-P$_1$-go   went'

/o-á-gend-a/ → [wáágenda] 'you went'
      you-P$_1$-go

These markers derive historically from Proto-Bantu *I and *u, respectively, which explains their aberrant behavior.

The various vowel-vowel alterations which occur in the language are summarized in the table in (14).

(14) √V̂$_1$ + V$_2$ ─────────────────────────→

	i	e	a	o	u
i	*ii*	*yee*	*yaa*	*yoo*	
e	*ii**	*ee*	*aa*	*oo*	
a	*ii**	*ee*	*aa*		
o		*ee*	*aa*	*oo*	
u		*wee*	*waa*	*waa*	

(blanks indicate vowel sequences not found in the language)

*this sequence and process are detected in the Ihangiro dialect only, e.g. Ihangiro ayet' ííwe vs. other dialects' ayeté íwe 'he should call you'.

2.3. *Tone and accent*. There are two underlying tones in Haya: high (H) and low (L).[2] In addition there is a phrase-penultimate accent which causes a H-L sequence to become F-L (falling tone followed by low tone) and a L-H sequence to become H-H when occurring immediately before the % phrase boundary (cf. Byarushengo, Hyman and Tenenbaum 1976). Underlying H is converted to L before pause. The surface tones are illustrated in (15) and should be compared with their underlying tonal forms given to the right.

(15)	L :	okugoba	'to arrive'	/ó-ku-gob-a/
		okugoola	'to embarass'	/ó-ku-gool-a/
	H :	agóba	'he arrives'	/a-gob-á/
		atóóla	'he receives'	/a-tóól-á/
	F :	okubôna	'to see'	/ó-ku-bón-a/
		okutóola	'to receive'	/ó-ku-tóól-a/

A homorganic nasal (followed by a consonant but forming one syllable with the preceding vowel) carries the tone of the end point of the tone of the preceding vowel. Thus, in muhâŋgo 'he is big/fat', the nasal is low, since the preceding vowel has falling tone. However, in mulúŋgi 'he is fine/good', the nasal carries high tone because that is the end point of the tone of the preceding vowel. When such a nasal is not preceded by a vowel, if it is not marked that means it has low tone, e.g. nte 'it's a cow'; cf. ḿbwa 'it's a dog'. (For more on Haya tone, see Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976.)

2.4. *Surface syllable structure.* A surface syllable is understood to be a segment or sequence of segments capable of carrying a tone of its own. A syllable may have one of the following shapes: (i) a vowel [V]; (ii) a nasal [N]; (iii) a vowel followed by a nasal [VN], where the nasal is followed by a consonant; (iv) a consonant and a vowel [CV]; (v) a consonant followed by a glide and a vowel [CGV]. These are all illustrated in (16).

(16)	V	émo	'one'
	N	ḿbwa	'it's a dog'
	VN	émbwa	'a dog'
	CV	émo	'one'
	CGV	émbwa	'a dog'
	CVN	kámpe	'give it [cl. 12] to me'
	CGVN	émbwánto	'the dog is young'

The structure of the syllable can, therefore, be summarized as follows:

$$(17) \qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} (C)\ (G)\ V\ (N) \\ N \end{array} \right\}$$

3. MORPHOLOGY AND WORD STRUCTURE

The surface word in Haya always ends in a vowel. All noun stems have a vowel in final position in their underlying structure. Verb radicals, on the other hand, mostly end in consonants. Most verb extensions also end in consonants. However, there is always a final vowel that makes it possible for verbs too to end in a vowel. Thus there are no closed syllables in word-final position in Haya.

3.1. *Nouns.* As in all Bantu languages, nouns belong to paired *noun class genders*, normally the first being singular and the second plural. Each member of the gender is called a *class*, and each class has its own noun class prefix (a few are homophonous). A noun always occurs with its class prefix and may or may not occur with its preprefix vowel. Normally the absence of

the preprefix gives the noun a predicative meaning. For example, é-m-bwa means 'a dog', while Ø-m̂-bwa means 'it's a dog'. The vowel of the preprefix depends on the vowel of the prefix. Only the non-mid vowels /i, u, a/ occur in prefixes. When the prefix is /i/, the preprefix is [e]; when the prefix is /u/, the preprefix is [o]; and when the prefix is /a/, the preprefix is [a], as illustrated in (18) below (cf. Chagas 1977).

(18) e-mi-kîla   'tails'
      o-mu-kîla   'a tail'
      a-ma-kûla   'bride price'

     3.1.1. *Noun tones.* The possible surface tone sequences in nouns are given below (from Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976:185). These are given for bi-, tri-, and quadrisyllabic nouns.

(19) L-L   ente   'cow'   9/10
      H-L   émbwa   'dog'   9/10

      L-L-L   enfulu   'fish'   9/10
                     omuzi   'root'   3/4

      L-H-L   empúnu   'pig'   9/10
                     omúti   'tree'   3/4

      L-F-L   enjôka   'snake'   9/10
                     omwáana   'child'   1/2

      L-L-L-L :   okugulu   'leg'   15/6
      L-L-H-L :   obugólo   'snuff'   (12)/14
      L-L-F-L :   omukôno   'arm/hand' 3/4
      L-H-L-L :   emótoka   'car'   9/10

These patterns may be illustrated further with numerous other examples. The last pattern, L-H-L-L, is however composed largely of borrowings (cf. eshágama 'blood', from Luganda).

     In all of the examples given so far (except émbwa 'dog') the preprefix has surfaced with L tone. However, when these words are not in immediate post-pause position, the preprefix surfaces with a non-low tone, as in (20).

(20) yamp' óbugólo   'he gave me snuff'
      yamp' ênte   'he gave me a cow/cows'

The fact that it surfaces H in the first and F in the second example suggests that the preprefix has underlying H tone and that it is lowered whenever it occurs utterance-initially. The H tone in émbwa is explained by positing underlying /é-m-bwá/. The preprefix in this word is able to surface H because of the final H tone (cf. Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976).

     3.1.2. *Primary and secondary prefixes.* In addition to having a noun class prefix there are agreement prefixes which are assigned to words that are "subordinated" to the nouns, e.g. verbs, relative clauses, numerals, adjectives, associatives, etc. The sentences in (21) are an illustration of this phenomenon.

(21) a. abakázy' ábábily' ábalúŋgy' ába katǒ bá-á-gend-a   'Kato's two beauti-
     women   two   beautiful of Kato they-P$_1$-go   ful women went'

    b. ent' éíbily' éziIúŋgy' éza katǒ z-áá-gend-a[3]   'Kato's two good
     cows two   good   of Kato they-P$_1$-go   cows went'

We see in (21a) that in all cases the prefix is ba-, which is the shape of
the noun prefix for this class. However, in (21b), there are three different
prefixes: n- for the noun, i- for the numeral 'two' (for some speakers it
alternates with zi-), and zi- for the rest. The table in (22) shows the dif-
ferent realizations of prefixes according to grammatical category.

(22)

CLASS	PREFIX		PRONOUN		RELATIVE[4]		NUMERALS		ASSOCIA-
	noun	adj.	subj.	obj.	subj.	obj.	one	2-5	TIVE
1	mu-	mu-	a-	-mu-	áá-	ówó	o-	——	wa
2	ba-	ba-	ba-	-ba-	ába-	ábó	——	bá-	ba
3	mu-	gu-	gu-	-gu-	ógu-	ógwó	gu-	——	gwa
4	mi-	mi-	e-	-gi-	éé-	éyó	——	e-	ya
5	i-/Ii-[5]	Ii-	Ii-	-Ii-	éIi-	éIyó	Ii-	——	Iya
6	ma-	ga-	ga-	-ga-	éga-	ógwó	——	gá-	ga
7	ki-	ki-	ki-	-ki-	éki-	ékyó	ki-	——	kya
8	bi-	bi-	bi-	-bi-	ébi-	ébyó	——	bí-	bya
9	n-	n-	e-	-gi-	éé-	éyó'	e-	——	ya
10	n-	zi-	zi-	-zi-	ézi-	ézó	——	i-/zi-	za
11	Iu-	Iu-	Iu-	-Iu-	óIu-	óIwó	Iu-	——	Iwa
12	ka-	ka-	ka-	-ka-	áka-	ákó	ka-	——	ka
13	tu-	tu-	tu-	-tu-	ótu-	ótwó	——	tú-	twa
14	bu-	bu-	bu-	-bu-	óbu-	óbwó	——	bú-	bwa
15	ku-	ku-	ku-	-ku-	óku-	ókwó	ku-	——	kwa

    The following generalizations can be made. Apart from the noun and ad-
jective prefixes, and class 1, 4, and 9 object pronouns, all others are formed
from the subject marker--by adding an appropriate vowel before or after or
both. It should be pointed out that kinship terms generally do not have pre-
fixes or preprefixes. For example, táata 'my father', máawe 'my mother', but:
muñááñazi/bañááñazi 'my sister(s)'. Furthermore, Haya does not have any noun
suffixes--not even in locatives (see Trithart 1977b).

    There are three locative classes: 16, 17, and 18. Locative nouns are
formed by prefixing the locative prefix onto the noun. This leads to double
prefixation since the original prefix of the noun is retained:

(23)   é-ń-ju   'a/the house'
       ahá-ń-ju   'at/on the house'
       omú-ń-ju 'inside the house'

Class 17 (prefix ku-) does not occur with nouns. But there are general forms like the following where it surfaces:

(22) 16   hâ-nu   'here' (specific)
      17   kû-nu   'here/this way' (non-specific)
      18   mû-nu   'inside here'

3.1.3. *General noun-gender meanings.*[6] In general noun classes are not exclusively comprised of one natural class or grouping of nouns. The one exception, of course, as in all Bantu, is gender 1/2, which is exclusively made up of humans. The other possible exception is gender 9/10, which is predominantly made up of animals and loan words. What normally is the case is that a given class of nouns belong to a given gender, but similar nouns may belong to another gender as well. The general tendencies are noted in the table in (23).

(23) | GENDER | CATEGORY | EXAMPLES | |
      |--------|----------|----------|--|
      | 1/2 | *human* | omuntu/abantu | 'person/s' |
      | | | omukâzi/abakâzi | 'woman/women' |
      | 3/4 | *body parts* | omukôno/emikôno | 'arm/s' |
      | | *trees* | omúti/emíti | 'tree/s' |
      | | *animals* | omúña/emíña | 'lizard/s' |
      | | *artifacts* | omukeeka/emikeeka | 'mat/s' |
      | | *nature* | omushêñe/emishêñe | 'sand/s' |
      | 5/6 | *fruits* | eicúŋkwa/amacúŋkwa | 'orange/s' |
      | | *others* | eicûmu/amacûmu | 'spear/s' |
      | | | eilíla/amalíla | 'tear/s' |
      | | | eibáale/amabáale | 'stone/s' |
      | | | eitámbilo/amatámbilo | 'hospital/s' |
      | | *location* | eicumbilo/amacumbilo | 'kitchen/s' |
      | | *liquids* | eilízi/amáizi | 'water' |
      | 7/8 | *things* | ekintu/ebintu | 'thing/s' |
      | | *others* | ekikombe/ebikombe | 'cup/s' |
      | | | ekibila/ebibila | 'forest/s' |
      | | | ekigunju/ebigunju | 'animal/s' |
      | | | ekikápu/ebikápu | 'basket/s' |
      | | *augmentative* | ekíti/ebíti | 'big piece/s of wood' |
      | 9/10 | *animals* | entâle/entâle | 'lion/s' |
      | | *others* | eŋkókola/eŋkókola | 'elbow/s' |
      | | | enjûla/enjûla | 'rain/s' |
      | | *borrowings* | emótoka/emótoka | 'car/s' |
      | 11/10 | *attenuative* | olufûnjo/enfûnjo | 'reed/s' |
      | | *others* | olulîmi/endîmi | 'tongue/s' |
      | | | olubûnda/embûnda | 'belly/bellies' |
      | 12/13~14 | *diminutive* | akantu/otuntu ~ obuntu | 'small thing/s' |
      | 14 | *mass* | obuhúŋga | 'flour' |
      | | *abstract* | obulúŋgi | 'goodness/beauty' |
      | | | obunâku | 'poverty' |
      | 15/6 | *body parts* | okugulu/amagulu | 'leg/s' |
      | | *infinitives* | okulima | 'to cultivate' |

Gender 7/8 is augmentative, 11/10 attenuative, and both derogatory if used with a noun which does not inherently belong to them. Gender 12/13~14 is diminutive and may also be derogatory. However, when used with nouns that do not belong here inherently, they are used to mean tenderness, beauty, grace, etc. Nouns in class 12 may have their plurals either in class 13 or class 14. Classes 6 (when it means mass objects) and 14 (as abstract nouns) are single class genders, although 'water' in (23) has developed a single gender in class 5 by "back formation".

3.1.4. *Noun-creating processes.* In addition to words that are inherently nouns, there are three ways by which nouns may be formed from non-nouns or other nouns: (i) from verbs (agentives); (ii) from verbs (locationals); and (iii) from adjectives. A fourth process involves the names of languages and ethnic groups.

3.1.4.1. *Agent formation.* An agent noun may be formed by adding the agentive marker   to the verb radical and by adding the appropriate noun prefix, as indicated in the examples in (24).

(24) okulíma   'to cultivate'   omulími   'a cultivator'
                                   endími   'a wild hog/pig'
     okugula   'to buy'   omuguzí[7] 'a buyer'
     okubûga   'to drive'   omubûgí   'a driver'

3.1.4.2. *Locationals.* Nouns may be formed from verbs to refer to a place/location where the action of the verb takes place. This is done by adding the applicative morpheme -il/el- and the vowel -o. The applicative morpheme in this case is locative and means 'a place where...'.

(25) okutâmba   'to heel/cure'   eitámbilo   'a hospital'
     okulíma   'to cultivate'   endimílo[8]   'a cultivation'
     okucumba   'to cook'   eicumbílo   'a kitchen'
     okushoma   'to read'   eishomelo[9] 'a school'

3.1.4.3. *Nouns from adjectives.* In Haya nouns may be formed from adjectives. These nouns have the *-ness*, *-hood* meaning of English. This is done by prefixing the adjectives with class 14 bu-:

(26) -hâŋgo   'big'   obuhâŋgo   'bigness'
     -lúŋgi   'good/beautiful' obulúŋgí   'beauty'
     -to   'young'   obúto   'childhood'

3.1.4.4. *From languages.* In Haya languages variably belong to class 7 (e.g. ekíhâya) or 11 (e.g. oluhâya). Languages are also one class genders. Nationality references are formed by prefixing a language root with gender 1/2 prefixes:

(27) oluhâya/ekíhâya   'Haya'
     oluŋgeleza/ekiŋgeleza   'English'   →
     olulééno/ekilééno   'Portuguese'

     omuhâya/abahâya   'a Haya person/Haya people'
     omuŋgeleza/abaŋgeleza   'an Englishman/Englishmen'
     omulééno/abalééno   'a Portuguese/Portuguese'

3.2. *Verbs.* Each surface verb is composed of at least the verb radical and the final vowel. Generally, there is a subject pronoun marker and extensions, pronoun marker(s), tense marker(s), etc.

3.2.1. *Structure of the radical.* The radical in Haya is generally -CVC- as in /-l1m-/ 'cultivate'. Other variations are found, however:

(28) -CVC-   : -l1m- 'cultivate' -bón- 'see'
      -CV-   : -há-   'give'   -l1́-   'eat'
      --VC-   : -1́t-   'kill'   -óg-   'become clean/wash'
      -CVCVC- : -kulul- 'pull/drag' -nág1l- 'sleep'
      -CVCVCVC- : -kéélelel- 'delay/be late'

3.2.2. *The final vowel.* The final vowel is normally -a, but -e in subjunctives. Its tone depends on the tense/mood of the verb. For example, it is always L in infinitives and always H in imperatives (see Lehman 1977).

3.2.3. *The subject and object pronouns.* The subject pronoun occurs in front of the verb radical, while the object pronoun occurs between the subject pronoun (or tense marker, if there is one) and the verb radical. The shapes of these pronouns for the different noun classes are listed in the table in (22) above. Up to three pronouns have been attested in the object pronoun (infix) position (see Duranti and Byarushengo 1977), representing the various case relationships to the verb.

3.2.4. *The pre-subject morphemes.* There are morphemes that occur before the subject pronoun. These are: (i) the relative marker (see the table in (22) above); (ii) the negative marker (t1-/ta-); and (iii) the present progressive marker (n1-). The order of these elements is different in main clauses as opposed to non-main (e.g. relative) clauses.

3.2.5. *Tense markers.* Generally tense markers occur immediately after the subject pronoun (except the P2 marker which occurs as an extension after the radical). Haya has a three-way differentiation in past tenses and a two-way differentiation in future tenses, as seen in (29).

(29)

TENSE	MARKER	EXAMPLE	
F_2	-l1-	tu-l1-kôm-a	'we will tie up'
F_1	-la-	tu-la-kôm-a	'we will tie up'
PRES PROG	n1-	n1-tu-kôm-a	'we are tying up'
PRES HAB	∅	tu-kôm-a	'we tie up'
P_1	-á-	tw-á-kôm-a	'we tied up'
P_2	-l1-e	tu-kom-1́1-e	'we tied up'
P_3	-ka-	tú-ka-kôm-a	'we tied up'
PAST HAB	-a...ag-	tw-a-kóm-ag-a	'we used to tie up'
PERFECT	-á...11-	tw-á-kóm-11-e	'we have already tied up'

F_2 is the distant future, while F_1 is the near future. P_1 is the recent past (e.g. this morning); P_2 slightly distant past (yesterday); P_3 the most distant past. P_3 is realized differently in non-main clauses, where it surfaces as a L tone -a- prefix and a L tone -ʃi- extension, e.g. abaakómʃie 'those who tied up'. It should be realized that there is a tonal difference between the perfect and the relative P_3--the former has a H tone -á- while the latter has a low tone -a-.

3.2.6. *Extensions*. Extensions are understood to be any morphemes that occur between the radical and the final vowel. Because of space limitations we shall merely present a list of these morphemes with examples:

(30) EXTENSION   MEANING   EXAMPLE

-u-/-bu-	*passive*	kí-ka-kôm-w-a 'it was tied up'
-iʃi-/-eʃi-	*benefactive*	bá-ka-kʃi-mu-kóm-eʃi-a 'they tied it up for him'
-aŋgan-	*reciprocal*	bá-ka-kóm-aŋgan-a 'they tied each other up'
-iʃi-/-eʃi-	*locative*	bá-ka-kʃi-kóm-eʃi-a katoke 'they tied it up in Katoke'
-ek-	*stative*	kʃi-kom-ék-a 'it is tieable'
-oʃoʃi-/-uʃuʃi-	*reversive*	bá-ka-kʃi-kóm-oʃoʃi-a 'they untied it'
-is-/-es-/-i-	*causative-instrumental*	bá-ka-kʃi-kóm-es-a káto 'the tied Kato up with it/they made Kato tie it up'

The vowels of the applicative (benefactive and locative) and causative/instrumental extensions alternate between [i] and [e]. By a process of vowel harmony, this vowel is [e] when the vowel of the radical is /e/ or /o/, and [i] if the vowel of the radical is /i/, /u/, or /a/. The passive morpheme is -u- after consonants and -bu- after vowels.

4. WORD ORDER

The areas we will examine briefly in this section are the order of elements in the noun phrase and in the sentence.

4.1. *The noun phrase*.[10] Although more work needs to be done in this area, we can say that generally, the order is noun first with the modifiers following. For example, in relative clauses (see Duranti 1977) the head noun occurs initially:

(31)   omuntw' á-y-a-gend-a   'the person who went'
        person REL-he-P-go

It is not quite common to have more than one adjective. The order is N - Adj. However, the order Adj - N may occur with a slight meaning difference:

(32) a.   enju ndúngi   'a good house'
     b.   ndúngy' énju[11]   'it's good, the house'

The problem with noun phrases stems from the fact that a construction like (32a) could mean with certain nouns 'the X is good'. In some cases this pro-

blem is solved tonally, but unfortunately this is not always true:

(33) a.   enju ndúŋgi 'a good house' vs. enjú ndúŋgi 'the house is good'

BUT: b.   okugulu kulúŋgi   'a good leg/the leg is good'
          *okugulú kulúŋgi

     With more than one modifier the order tends to be the following:

(34)   noun + possessive + numeral + demonstrative + adjective

       enjú zaŋge ibily' êz' ézilúŋgi   'these two good houses of mine'
       house my   two these good

But as can be seen from the demonstrative and the adjective, it seems as if
we have relative clauses. Thus more research is needed in this area to de-
termine the word order properties of the noun phrase.

       4.2. *The sentence.* Haya is basically an SVO language, with the preferred
order being benefactive first, followed by the accusative object, as illustra-
ted in (35).

(35)   kató y-a-cumb-il-a kakúlw' éŋkôko   'Kato cooked chicken for Kakulu'
       Kato he-P_1-cook-APP Kakulu chicken

However, the order of these elements may be changed to fit the pattern required
by the discourse situation. Each order is thus used for a different purpose,
for example:

(36) a.   y-a-gi-cumb-il-a kakúlw' éŋkôko kóto   'he cooked it for Kakulu,
          he-P_1-it-cook-APP Kakulu chicken Kato   the chicken, Kato'

     b.   kató kakúlw' éŋkóko y-á-gi-mú-cumb-il-a[12]   'Kato, Kakulu, the chicken,
          Kato Kakulu chicken he-P_1-it-him-cook-APP   he cooked it for him'

Each sentence has a different emphasis than the other. Thus, although we may
have different orders of these words in the sentence, we do not really have
free word order (cf. Byarushengo and Tenenbaum 1976, Tenenbaum 1977a,b).

                                    NOTES

       [1]Presently, this area comprises the districts of Bukoba, Karagwe, and
Ihangiro.

       [2]High tone is marked by an acute accent ($\acute{V}$), while low tone is not marked
(V). Falling tone is marked by a circumflex ($\hat{V}$). On long vowels, high tone
is marked with a double acute accent ($\acute{V}\acute{V}$), while falling tone is marked with
an acute accent on the first vowel only ($\acute{V}V$). Even on a long vowel low tone
is not marked (VV).

       [3]The form záágenda is from /zi-á-gend-a/, where /zi/ is the subject
marker for class 10 and /á/ is the P_1 marker. One might be tempted to con-
clude that /zi/ is another morpheme that does not allow glide formation,
but instead allows vowel coalescence. Haya, however, has a surface constraint

disallowing [sy] and [zy] sequences. Thus, the vowel of /zi/ does become a glide, but then gets deleted in accordance with this constraint.

[4]The tones on the relative markers are given as they would sound if not in utterance-initial position.

[5]If a class 5 noun starts in a consonant the prefix is í- as in e-í-báále 'a stone'. But when it starts in a vowel the prefix is íl-, as in e-íí-íno 'a tooth'.

[6]Much of the material in this section was investigated and reported in an unpublished manuscript "Nouns and noun classes in Haya" by Charles Randriama- simanana (University of Southern California).

[7]The consonant alternation seen here is due to spirantization, as dis- cussed above (section 2.1).

[8]This consonant alternation is due to the alternation of [l] and [d] dis- cussed in Byarushengo (1977).

[9]For the -íl-/-el- alternation, see section 3.2.6 below.

[10]This section is based on the findings in an unpublished manuscript "The structure of noun phrases in Haya" by Victoria F. Chen (University of Southern California).

[11]This example actually is best analyzed as a full sentence 'it is good' followed by a right-dislocated noun 'the house'. Phonologically it must be represented with the % phrase boundary intervening between the two words in order to get the tones to come out correctly on the surface.

[12]Notice that when an object NP is moved to the left of the verb, its object pronoun must co-occur in the infix position.

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2

ON THE PHONOLOGICAL STATUS OF p/h AND d/l[1]

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of the concerns of phonology has always been how best to represent the sound of language at the underlying level. This leads to setting up underlying segments from which surface forms are derived by phonological rules. It follows, therefore, that in addition to determining underlying representations, phonology is also concerned with the formulation of appropriate phonological rules. A phonological theory then will in part be judged on the merits of the underlying forms and phonological rules which follow from it.

In this paper we will be interested in three phonological processes in Haya: (i) p/h and d/l consonant alternations (CA); (ii) homorganic nasal assimilation (HNA); and (iii) the deletion of the vowel of prefixes of the shape mu- (u-D). In the course of treating these processes we shall deal directly with the two issues stated above; viz. what underlying representations and what rule formulations will yield the most adequate and insightful analysis of the Haya data.

In the case of CA we are faced with three possible analyses: (i) the *historical* solution, according to which /p/ and /d/ are underlying and all occurrences of [h] and [l] are derived from the former by rule; (ii) the *inverted* solution, whereby /h/ and /l/ are underlying and all occurrences of [p] and [d] are derived by a rule which is the inverse of the historical rule; and (iii) the *concrete* solution in which all four consonants are posited on the underlying level. Any solution dealing with CA will have consequences in other parts of the phonology. Thus, we shall have to address ourselves to the HNA process as well as the u-D rule, which leaves behind a nasal consonant which exceptionally does not undergo homorganic nasal assimilation and which, unlike other nasals, does not trigger the consonant alternations mentioned above. In the discussion which ensues, we shall be concerned with establishing a solution which treats all three processes in an explanatory way.

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In this section we will present background information about the morphology of Haya and then discuss the consonant alternation process. CA depends on whether or not there is a nasal preceding the given consonant. There are two nasal morphemes which provide the relevant context for CA. The first is the first person singular pronoun (occurring as either subject or object) and the second the gender 9/10 noun prefix.

2.1. *First person pronoun.* In Haya most tense markers occur between the subject marker (SM) and the verb radical, as seen in (1).

(1) ŋ-ka-túm-a káto   'I sent Kato'
     I-P_3-send Kato

The present habitual tense, however, is marked by a zero morpheme (∅), the only tense to be marked in this way in the language. As a result, the present habitual tense allows the SM to begin direct contact with the first consonant of the verb radical, as seen in (2).

(2) /N-∅-túm-á kató/ → [n̥tuma káto]   'I send Kato'
     I-HAB-send Kato

It is this fact, the nasal coming in direct contact with the initial consonant of the verb radical, which allows CA and HNA processes to occur. More examples follow in (3).

(3) a.   /N-∅-mal-á/ → [m̥mála]⁴   'I finish'
         I-HAB-finish

    b.   /N-∅-bón-á/ → [m̥bóna]   'I see'
         I-HAB-see

    c.   /N-∅-tém-á/ → [n̥téma]   'I cut'
         I-HAB-cut

    d.   /N-∅-kúl-á/ → [ŋkúla]   'I grow up'
         I-HAB-grow up

    e.   /N-∅-gob-á/ → [ŋgóba]   'I arrive'
         I-HAB-arrive

From the examples in (3) above we notice that although there is homorganic nasal assimilation of the first person singular SM, no noticeable change is observed on the initial consonant of the verb radical. The examples in (4), however, show that the initial consonant of a verb radical *is* affected when it involves either [h] or [l] in infinitive forms.

(4)   INFINITIVE   HABITUAL

    okuhêmba⁵ 'to light fire'   m̥pémba⁶ 'I light fire'

    okúhya   'to burn'   m̥pya   'I burn'

    okulima   'to cultivate'   ndíma   'I cultivate'

    okulaga   'to bid farewell' ndága   'I bid farewell'

We see in (4) that when [h] and [ǀ] are preceded by a nasal they "become" stops, i.e. [p] and [d], respectively.

2.2. *Noun morphology.* The same processes are found when nouns involve a nasal prefix (in classes 9 and 10). Haya, like other Bantu languages, has a system of noun class prefixes and concord markers (see Byarushengo 1977). We present in (5) below those class prefixes which will be of relevance in this study.

(8)	CLASS	PREFIX	GENERAL CLASS MEANING	EXAMPLE (with preprefix)	
	1	mu-	persons (sg.)	/ó-mu-kázi/	'woman'
	3	mu-	varied, e.g. trees (sg.)	/ó-mú-tí/	'tree'
	7	ki-	things/augmentative (sg.)	/é-ki-ntu/	'thing'
	9	N-	animals/borrowings (sg.)	/é-n-te/	'cow'
	10	N-	animals/borrowings (pl.)	/é-n-te/	'cows'
	11	lu-	thin/long/attenuative (sg.)	/ó-lu-funjo/	'reed'
	12	ka-	diminutive (sg.)	/á-ka-húka/	'small insect'

Each noun in Haya has an inherent gender, i.e. a singular/plural pair, e.g. omukázi 'woman' (class 1)/abakázi 'women' (class 2). However, a noun may be removed from its inherent class to another class to achieve a slightly different meaning (often attitudinal, depicting the feelings of the speaker towards the referent). For example, gender 7/8 is used in an augmentative and usually derogatory sense. Gender 11/10 is used to add a notion of tall/slenderness or attenuation, and is also often derogatory. Gender 12/13 (and sometimes 12/14) is a diminutive gender which can be derogatory but normally is used when the speaker wants to express tenderness and/or gracefulness.

2.2.1. *Noun-to-noun morphology.* When a noun is "transferred" from its inherent gender (in either its singular or plural class) into a derived gender, its original noun prefix is replaced by the prefix of the new class, as seen in the examples in (9).

(9)	ORIGINAL NOUN		CLASS 7	CLASS 11	CLASS 10 [9]	CLASS 12
	1	omukázi	'woman'	ekikázi	olukázi	eŋkázi	akakázi
	3	omútí	'tree'	ekítí	olútí	éntí	akátí
	5	eicúmu	'spear'	ekicúmu	olucúmu	encúmu	akacúmu
	11	olúkwi	'firewood'	ekíkwi	olúkwi	éŋkwi	akákwi
				'a big X'	'a slender X'	'slender X'	'a small X'

The examples in (9) involve noun whose initial consonant does not alternate. We now consider cases involving alternating consonants, first for the p/h alternation in (10), then for the d/ǀ alternation in (11).

(10)   CLASS 9/10   CLASS 7   CLASS 12

    empíndwi   'needle(s)'   ekihíndwi   akahíndwi

    empelege   'bean(s)'   ekihelege   akahelege

    empooya   'song(s)'   ekihooya   akahooya

    empundwi   'wedding   ekihundwi   akahundwi
              song(s)'   'a big X'   'a small X'

(11)   CLASS 9/10   CLASS 7   CLASS 12

    endímu   'lemon(s)'   ekilímu   akalímu

    endẹe   'drinking glass(es)'   ekilẹe   akalẹe

    endagaano   'promise(s)'   ekilagaano   akalagaano

    endogôbe   'donkey(s)'   ekilogôbe   akalogôbe

    endúúlu   'alarm noise(s)' ekilúúlu   akalúúlu
            [human]   'a big X'   'a small X'

Cases are found also where h- and l- initial consonant nouns are moved into class 9 or 10 and therefore show consonant alternations:

(12)   ORIGINAL NOUN   CLASS 10

  3   omulilo   'fire'   endilo

  11   oluhásaso   'peeler'   empásaso

2.2.2. *Verb-to-noun morphology*. In Haya an agent noun may be formed from a verb by adding the agentive suffix -i to the verb radical and by prefixing the radical with the gender 1/2 prefixes. This process is equivalent to the use of the suffix -*er* in English, e.g. *work* (verb), *worker* (agent noun). The Haya noun thus formed can be transferred to other noun classes in the same way we have seen above, as illustrated now in (13).

(13)   INFINITIVE   CLASS 1   CLASS 9[9]   CLASS 12

    okujuna   'to help'   omujuni   enjuní   akajuní   'helper(s)'

    okugoba   'to steer'   omugobi   engobi   akagobi   'steerer(s)'

    okubâka   'to catch'   omubâki   embâki   akabâki   'catcher(s)'

When verbs that have initial [h] or [l] in the infinitive undergo the morphological processes illustrated above in (13), the same consonant alternations may be observed:

(14)   INFINITIVE   CLASS 1   CLASS 9[9]

    okuhandiika 'to write'   omuhandiiki   empandiiki   'writer'

    okuhakana   'to argue'   omuhakani   empakani   'arguer'

    okulima   'to cultivate'   omulimi   endimi   'cultivator'

    okulôba   'to fish with   omulôbi   endôbi   'fisher'
              a line'

3. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO *CA*

Now that we have seen the extent of all consonant alternations, we turn to the task of determining the underlying forms and phonological rules needed to account for CA. We shall consider three possible solutions: the historical solution (3.1), the inverted solution (3.2), and the concrete solution (3.3).

3.1. *The historical solution.* Historically, the [h] and [ɪ] consonants found in native Haya words are derived from Proto-Bantu (PB) *p and *d, respectively,[10] as indicated in (15) and (16).

(15)   PROTO-BANTU[11]   HAYA[12]

      *-pí-   (1502:136)   -hí-   'become burnt'

      *-pémb- (1472:135)   -hémb-   'light fire'

      *-pá-   (1404:134)   -há-   'give'

      *-pót- (1583:136)   -hót-   'twist'

      *-púté (1609:137)   -húte   'a boil'

(16)   PROTO-BANTU[11]   HAYA[12]

      *-dim- (568:124)   -ɪim-   'cultivate'

      *-dem- (528:124)   -ɪem-   'become tired'

      *-dag- (463:123)   -ɪag-   'say farewell'

      *-dób- (638:125)   -ɪób-   'fish with a line'

      *-duk- (693:126)   -ɪuk-   'plait'

The two correspondences between PB and Haya illustrated in (15) and (16) can be stated by the historical rule in (17):

(17)   PB ⋅⋅*p   ＞   Haya h   / ~ [N] ____
      PB *d   ＞   Haya ɪ

    *i.e. Proto-Bantu *p and *d became Haya [h] and [ɪ], respectively, whenever they were not preceded by a nasal*

Because of the constraint in the environment, rule (17) did not affect all instances of *p and *d. First, morpheme-internal cases where these stops were preceded by a nasal did not become continuants:

(18)   PROTO-BANTU   HAYA

                             ekiñâmpo[13]   'a fart'

                             oluhúmpu   'a mould'

      *-bind- (pe 25:119)   -bind-   'wear a loin cloth'

      *-donda (656:125)   -ɪonda   'a sore'

The last example in (18) is interesting in that the historical form had two *d's in it. The first, not preceded by a nasal, became [ɪ] while the second,

preceded by a nasal, remained [d]. Thus, any modern day reflex of stem-final *d preceded by a nasal will not alternate with [ɩ].

Conversely, no stem-final [ɩ] in modern day Haya will alternate with [d] if it is directly preceded by a vowel:

(19)   o-ku-kôɩ-a   'to (do) work'   o-ku-kaɩ-a   'to dry (of food)' (tr.)

       o-ku-baɩ-a   'to count'   o-ku-nuɩ-a   'to taste good'

Cases of stem-final [h] preceded by a vowel could not be found. However, there are instances of sequences of two syllabic vowels (as in endęe 'drinking glass'). Given that [h] is normally silent in Haya, it is probable that these VV sequences are actually simplifications of VhV sequences. It thus appears that [h] has been completely lost in cases where it does not alternate with [p].

Thus, even when not alternating, p/h and d/ɩ are generally in complementary distribution: [p] and [d] after a nasal, [h]~Ø and [ɩ] elsewhere.

Because synchronic phonological alternations are normally manifestations of historical processes, a synchronic rule is frequently identical to a historical sound change. However, there are cases where the synchronic rule may be different from the historical rule because there has been a *restructuring* of the phonological system subsequent to the historical change. To assume that the historical rule is the correct synchronic rule in Haya means that Haya has /p/ and /d/, and that all instances of [h] and [ɩ] are derived from the synchronic correlate of (17), given in (20).

(20) $\begin{array}{l} p \rightarrow h \\ d \rightarrow ɩ \end{array}$ / ~ [N] ___

i.e. /p/ and /d/ become [h] and [ɩ], respectively, whenever they are not preceded by a nasal

In Byarushengo (1975) it was suggested that Haya has /p/ and /d/, underlyingly, and that [h] and [ɩ] are derived. There were two reasons for this. The first was the desire to have symmetry in the underlying representation of stop consonants: matching every voiced stop with its voiceless counterpart, and vice-versa. However, pattern congruity alone is a weak argument for a phonological analysis, since a new surface pattern may have more reality for speakers than an older, more symmetric, underlying pattern. The second reason was that in the earlier study it was felt important to match the consonant system of Haya with that of Proto-Bantu. This is understandable in a language family where research has had such a strong historical/comparative bias. However, this again is not a good criterion, since speakers (e.g. children acquiring the language) may not have access to historical forms. Because phonologies are constantly restructured through time, historical evidence can only be suggestive to the analyst. The synchronic phonology must stand up on its own merits.

A closer examination of these alternations in Haya demonstrates the untenability of the historical solution. Two inadequacies of this solution are now discussed, the first from derivational morphology, the second from borrowings.

3.1.1. *Derivational morphology.* The historical solution claims the

following: (i) /p/ and /d/ are underlying; (ii) [h] and [l] are derived; (iii) there is a phonological rule (20); and (iv) the only time we get [p] and [d] is after a nasal. We will begin by showing that (iv) is not entirely true--and that this forces us away from the historical solution.

We have seen in section 2.2.1 that when class 9 nouns whose stems start in [p] and [d] are transferred to other classes, these consonants become [h] and [l], respectively (see examples (10) and (11)). These changes are due to the fact that these consonants are no longer preceded by a nasal. This solution predicts that for any /Np-/ or /Nd-/ sequence, [h] and [l] will be realized whenever the nasal is replaced by a CV- prefix in a derivational process. But this is not the case. There are instances where class 9 nouns are moved to other classes and still retain their respective stops, as seen in (21).

(21)   CLASS 9/10   CLASS 7   CLASS 12

empîsl   'leopard(s)'   ekîpîsl   akapîsl   *ekihîsl/*akahîsl

énda   'louse(s)'   ekída   akáda   *ekíla/*akála

The fact that some cases of these consonants do not alternate shows that the historical solution will generate unacceptable forms. It is possible to try and salvage the historical solution, as we shall now demonstrate.

3.1.1.1. *Boundaries*. One might argue that there are boundaries of different strengths between those cases that alternate and those that do not. We would thus recognize different underlying forms as in (22).

(22) a. , /é+N+pooya/   →   [akahooya]   'song'

/é+N+dimú/   →   [akalímu]   'lemon'

   b. /é+N@písl/   →   [akäpîsl]   'leopard'

/é+N@dá/   →   [akáda]   'louse'

The normal morpheme boundary + allows CA to apply in (22a), but the *ad hoc* boundary @ *blocks* CA in (22b). This kind of analysis would be difficult to justify. How does one account for the fact that a different boundary is involved in (22a) vs. (22b) when exactly the same set of prefix morphemes are involved? Since the @ boundary has been posited for the sole purpose of accounting for exceptional forms which fail to undergo CA, it is equivalent to marking the stem morphemes in question with an exception feature.

3.1.1.2. *Exception features*. This, then, is our second attempt to salvage the historical solution. In this case we mark those stems in (22b) as [-rule 20]. This would mean that these words are exceptions to CA. This solution is found lacking because it treats as exceptional forms which are basically nonexceptional. The derivations illustrated in (21) and (22b) are in fact more productive than those involving CA in (22a). If a Haya speaker wishes to create a new derived noun whose consonant is [p] or [d] in its basic 9/10 form, CA will not take place. This includes words borrowed from other Bantu languages belonging to class 9, which do not show alternation; as seen in (23).

(23)   CLASS 9   CLASS 7   CLASS 12

    Swahili   ndege   kindege   kandege   'bird/airplane'

    Haya   endege   ekidege   akadege   'airplane'

N.B. (i) Swahili does not have preprefixes; (ii) in augmentative and diminutive classes, Swahili retains the nasal while Haya does not; (iii) class 9 is the unmarked class, while class 7 could refer to a Jumbo Jet and class 12 to a Cessna.

Under these circumstances, it would not be appropriate to treat the productive alternative as exceptional.

    3.1.1.3. *Double prefixation.* So far we have assumed that when a noun is moved from one class to another the grammar generates one prefix. Thus the underlying representation for 'lemon' is /é-ɴ-dɪmú/ in class 9 and /á-ka-[ɪ]ɪmú/ in class 12. However, one other way of saving the historical solution would be to claim that the grammar generates two prefixes in some cases. Thus, one would claim then that for akalímu the underlying representation is /á-ka-dɪmú/, while for akáda it is /á-ka-ɴ-dá/, with two prefixes. In this analysis it is the presence vs. absence of the /ɴ/ prefix which determines whether CA will take place. However, it would be difficult to justify positing such a phenomenon and equally difficult to explain why there should be double prefixation in some cases and not in others.

    We could also assume that in both cases (i.e. for both akalímu and akáda) we have double prefixation and that in the case of akalímu the nasal is deleted before the CA rule, but after the CA rule for akáda. Again there are two objections to this. First, how can we predict which forms allow CA before and which ones require it after class 9 prefix deletion? Second, the deletion of the nasal prefix would have to be a morphological rule and as such should theoretically apply *before* phonological rules.

    Double prefixation would not even be a better rule than that of regarding stems that do not undergo CA as being exceptions. Since we have already shown the inadequacy of using exception features, we should not adopt this solution either.

    3.1.1.4. *Derivational morphology after P-rules.* Another alternative is to claim, without assuming double prefixation, that the non-nasal prefix is added *after* CA has applied. This would also assume that in cases like akáda, the appropriate rule of derivational morphology applies after the CA rule. The same problems arise: (i) how do we motivate such a solution for some cases but not for others; and (ii) it would be equivalent to using exception features.

    Thus it seems that all ways of salvaging the historical solution run into problems rather than providing an explanatory account. Before we turn to other, nonhistorical solutions, we examine another source of problems for the historical solution.

    3.1.2. *Borrowings.* An examination of items borrowed into Haya shows that when words containing [p] and [d] are borrowed into the language, these consonants do not become [h] and [ɪ] -- even in environments where they are not preceded by a nasal:

(24)   ORIGINAL NOUN   HAYA BORROWING[14]

Swahili	*pilipili*	˃	epilipîli	'pepper'	*ehilihîli
English	*pin*	˃	epîni	'pin'	*ehîni
Swahili	*duuka*	˃	edúúka	'shop/store'	*elúúka
English	*radio*	˃	elédĮo	'radio'	*elélĮo

In Byarushengo (1976) several loan phonology strategies were examined in Haya. There are cases where loan words constitute a class of their own and therefore need to be marked with an exception feature [+foreign] to distinguish them from native words. But it is also true that there are cases where loan words are assimilated fully into the phonology of the borrowing language. In order to maintain the historical solution it would be necessary to demonstrate that the borrowings illustrated in (24) are marked as *exceptions* to rule (20), marking them either as [+foreign] or as [-CA rule]. This analysis would necessarily make the claim that borrowings form a class with nouns such as those in (21), where CA fails to obtain. This consequence may be motivated, however, in that in both cases there is an attempt to maintain the phonetic shape of the consonant in its "original" or basic form: in the source language (in the case of borrowings), in the source noun class (in the case of derivational morphology). Note that in the word for 'radio' in (24), it is only the second consonant which is marked [-CA rule], since in the historical solution the first consonant undergoes the change from /d/ to [l]. This presupposes, then, that the exception feature is a property of an individual *segment* rather than of the lexical item as a whole.

Note that the situation is somewhat complicated by the presence of minimal pairs involving these consonants, e.g. [d] vs. [l] in (25).

(25)   ORIGINAL NOUN   CLASS 12   CLASS 9

3	omúla	'jigger'	akála	énda
7	ekíla	'yam'	akála	énda
9	énda	'louse'	akáda	énda

It should be pointed out that 'jigger' and 'yam' are hardly ever found in class 9. However, when the transfer takes place, we find neutralization (homophony) of all these words in this class. Failure of the /d/ of 'louse' to become [l] in class 12 may represent an attempt on the part of speakers to avoid homophony. The significance of this will be discussed later. For the time being it should be noted that in many cases the application of CA would not result in homophony, since there is no homophonous form to be avoided.

A second example of a minimal pair is particularly interesting. Guthrie (1971:135, item 1427) cites a Proto-Bantu form *-pákud- for which he gives the following three glosses: (i) 'take out from container'; (ii) 'take out (food from pot)'; (iii) 'take out (honey from hive)'. In Swahili the word *pakua* has all three meanings. However, in Haya, the verb okupákula only means 'to serve food' (Guthrie's meaning (ii)). For 'take out (honey from hive)' (Guthrie's meaning (iii)), the verb is okuhákula. Thus a minimal pair has derived from an identical historical form. If the CA rule in (22) had operated on this historical form, then both meanings would have the form okuhákula.

It is probable, however, that the meaning 'to serve food' was lost from the native Haya okuhákula form only to resurface as okupákula via borrowing from Swahili. When these forms are nominalized and transferred into certain of noun classes, the same p/h difference is observed:

(26)   INFINITIVE   CLASS 1   CLASS 9

        okupákula   'to serve food'   omupákuzi[15]   empákuzi[15]

        okuhákula   'to take honey   omuhákuzi   empákuzi
                     out of a hive'

In (26) the nominalizations remain distinct in class 1, but merge with [p] in class 9. The generalization we can make from the examples in (25) and (26) is that whenever we start with basic [p] or [d], these stops do not necessarily become [h] and [l] in non-nasal environments. However, whenever we start with basic [h] or [l] these *always* change to [p] and [d] after a nasal. Thus, we might consider approaching these alternations from the opposite end--with a solution representing an *inversion* of the historical facts.

    3.2. *The inverted solution.* In the previous section we saw that the only way the historical solution could work was by complicating the mechanisms employed to capture the facts of CA (i.e. by using exception features, by ordering the rules of derivational morphology after the phonology, by recognizing double prefixes, and by using *ad hoc* boundaries). In this section we consider the possibility of an inverted solution.

    The inverted solution assumes that (i) /h/ and /l/ are underlying; (ii) there is a phonological rule which is an inversion of (20) (see (27) below); and (iii) this rule derives *all* occurrences of [p] and [d] from underlying /h/ and /l/, respectively.

(27)   h   →   p
        l   →   d   / N ____

        i.e. /h/ and /l/ become [p] and [d], respectively, after a nasal

    This solution still has the same problems as the historical solution. First, it claims that [énda] 'louse' and [empîsl] 'leopard' are underlyingly /é-N-lá/ and /é-N-hísi/, despite the fact that for these words /h/ and /l/ are posited without ever surfacing as [h] and [l] anywhere in the paradigm. The same problem would presumably arise in cases of stem-final [mp] and [nd], which would have to be represented as /Nh/ and /Nl/ despite the fact that these consonants are always realized [p] and [d] on the surface. Finally, borrowings such as epllipîll 'pepper' and elédlo 'radio' would have to be entered into the lexicon as /é-hllhhíll/ and /é-léllo/ and be exceptionally marked [+consonant alternation], with [p] and [d] being derived in inappropriate environments. As we shall see in section 3.3, we prefer to put idiosyncratic information in the underlying forms rather than developing such *ad hoc* constraints on rules as rule addition features.

    The inverted solution thus still has many of the same shortcomings as the historical solution. The biggest problem in both cases involves non-alternating forms: native forms like akáda 'a small louse' and borrowings such as epllipîll

'pepper'. The problem for both solutions results from the setting up of only one consonant in each pair and deriving the other one by rule, thereby assuming that all occurrences of the second consonant are subphonemic. Since both alternatives have been shown to be wanting, we now attempt to include all four consonants in the underlying representation in a *concrete* solution.

3.3. *The concrete solution.* In the concrete solution we claim the following: (i) in cases where a consonant does not alternate, the surface consonant is assumed to be underlying. Thus, in words like empîsl/akapîsi and énda/ akáda we have /p/ and /d/ in the underlying representation. The same is true of morpheme-internal [mp] and [nd] sequences, e.g. ekiñâmpo 'a fart' and ekilonda 'a sore'. This conclusion would also apply to morpheme-internal [h] and [l], in which case we would set up /h/ and /l/ in the underlying representation.

(ii) In cases where there are alternations one of the alternants is set up as underlying and the other is derived by rule. Thus, for forms like empooya/ akahooya 'song' and endîmu/akalîmu 'lemon', if we say that /p/ and /d/ are underlying, we would need a rule like (20) to derive surface [h] and [l]. This alternative still has the problem of how to restrict the rule from applying to such forms as akapîsl and akáda and all the loan words that have been seen above. A more adequate solution assumes that /h/ and /l/ are underlying and that [p] and [d] are derived by a rule like that in (27). This alternative is similar to the inverted solution except that we do not assume that all cases of [p] and [d] are derived by rule from /h/ and /l/. Thus, we adopt the CA rule in (27), but without the same assumptions about the consonants of the underlying system. Underlying /p/ and /d/ are set up for consonants which are always realized [p] and [d]; underlying /h/ and /l/ are set up for consonants which are either always realized [h] and [l], or which alternate between [h]~ [p] and [l]~[d].

Thus we prefer this analysis to the historical and inverted solutions, because the latter involve formal complications which are avoided in this third solution. Instead of using exception features, exception boundaries, or exceptional rule application, we are able to give a straightforward account of p/h and d/l alternation by making the underlying representations conform more closely to the surface. In this sense, then, the adopted solution can be said to be "concrete".

4. HOMORGANIC NASAL ASSIMILATION (*HNA*)

We have already seen above in examples (3) and (4) that the nasal of the first person singular subject marker and the gender 9/10 noun prefix is homorganic to the consonant that follows it. Thus we need the homorganic nasal assimilation rule in (28).

(28) N $\longrightarrow$ [α place] / ___ [α place]
                                      C

    i.e. nasals have the same place of articulation as
    the following consonant

There are two factors complicating this analysis. One of them will be discussed in the next section; the other is discussed here. This rule accounts for the nasal before a consonant but cannot do so when the same nasal morpheme

is followed by a vowel. If there were no cases where the nasal was followed by a vowel the solution above would have been adequate. One could have taken any one of the three nasals (bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, or palatal /ñ/) as underlying.[16] All three occur intervocalically, e.g. okukôma 'to tie up', okugona 'to snore', and okukaña 'increase'. The labiodental, the velar, and the uvular nasals only occur phonetically before consonants of the same place of articulation, and so we can eliminate them from the underlying system. There is, however, one environment in which one of the nasals we are dealing with occurs before a vowel. This occurs whenever it is followed by the vocalic P_1 (recent past) marker.[17] In this case it is realized as [n]:

(29)   / N + á + gend + a /   →   [náágenda][18]   'I went'
       I P_1 go   FV

The surface form in (29) justifies our setting up /n/ as underlying, from which homorganic nasals are derived by rule (30).

(30)   n →   [α place] / ___ [α place]
                                    C

> *i.e. /n/ shares the place of articulation with the following consonant (i.e. is homorganic with it)*

Thus, whenever we have alternations between nasals we assume that the underlying nasal is /n/, and where we do not have alternations we take the surface nasal as being underlying. This will not affect intervocal [n]'s, since they will not meet the structural description of the HNA rule (since they are not followed by a consonant).

Since we have changed the underlying representation of these nasals from /N/ to /n/, we need to change our CA from (27) to (31).

(31)   h →   p / n ___
       l →   d

> *i.e. /h/ and /l/ become [p] and [d], respectively, after /n/*

5. NASAL SYLLABIFICATION (u-deletion)

There are two types of nasal syllabification in Haya. The first is when a nasal prefix (the same two discussed above) occurs initially. In this case the nasal becomes syllabic and may carry high or low tone. However, if the nasal is preceded by a vowel, the two form a single syllable, with the nasal carrying the same tone as the end point of the tone of the preceding vowel.

(32)   ḿ.bwa   'it's a dog'   ém.bwa   'a dog'

       ń.kwi   'it's firewood'   éŋ.kwi   'firewood'

       ń.da   'it's a louse'   én.da   'a louse'

       ṇ.te   'it's a cow'   en.te   'a cow'

In the first column the nasal is a syllable on its own; in the second column, we observe an initial VN syllable.[19] This nasal syllabification process is captured by the rule in (33).

(33)   n   →   [+syllabic] / ## ____ C

i.e. /n/ (the noun prefix and first person singular marker)
becomes syllabic word-initially before a consonant

The second case of nasal syllabification involves prefixes of the form
mu-, i.e. classes 1 and 3 noun prefixes, class 1 object marker, and the se-
cond person plural subject marker. This is exemplified below with examples
involving class 1 and 3 noun prefixes:

(34)   omukâzi   →   oṃkâzi   'a woman'

       omúti   →   oṃṭí   'a tree'

       omulwáile   →   oṃlwáile   'a sick person'

       omuhanda   →   oṃhanda   'a path/way'

       omulôndo   →   oṃlondo   'kind of chewable root'

This process would still take place if the preprefix were absent, as in
ṃkâzi 'it's a woman' and ṃlwáile 'it's a sick man/he is sick'. We can formu-
late the rule in (35) to account for the deletion of [u].

(35)   u   →   ∅ / m ____ + C   [optional]

i.e. the vowel of the mu- affix may be optionally
deleted before a consonant

The second example in (34) shows that the resultant nasal can carry a high
tone. This is critical evidence that the nasal is syllabic, since a low-
high (rising) sequence is not permitted on single syllables in Haya. How-
ever the rule in (35) does not account for the syllabicity of this nasal.

The formulation of u-D in (35) shows another objection to the formula-
tion of HNA in (28). If we had maintained rules (27) and (28) and keep (35)
as is, we would be faced with the danger of (35) feeding both of the other
rules--i.e. the resulting nasal would have both undergone HNA and conditioned
CA. But as the examples in (34) show, neither of the two rules are applica-
ble when the nasal consonant results from u-D. We thus would require in this
analysis either rule ordering or a global constraint to the effect that CA
and HNA would only apply if the N is not created by rule (35). However, it
is possible to state this rule in such a way as to avoid these complications,
as seen in (36).[20]

(36)   mu   →   m   / ____ + C   [optional]
              [+syll]

i.e. an affix of the form mu- becomes a syllabic (bilabial)
nasal when followed by a consonant

The final rules (30), (31), and (36) have now been formulated without
any need of adding constraints to any of them. Even the fact that the nasal
resulting from (36) can carry high tone is a natural consequence; this high
tone derives from the following syllable, since there is a surface constraint
in Haya that a high tone may not be realized phonetically on the final syllable

(cf. Byarushengo, Hyman and Tenenbaum 1976). Instead, it is realized on the penultimate syllable--whatever that syllable may be (even if it is VN or N). Two derivations are given now in (37).

(37)

/é+n+dá/	/ó+mu+t ʃ/	UNDERLYING FORMS
e+n+dá	o+mu+t ʃ	preprefix tone lowering
en.dá	o.mu.t ʃ	syllabification
én.dá	o.mú.t ʃ	penultimate high tone anticipation
[én.da]	[o.mú.t I]	final high tone lowering
	[o.ɸ.tï]	u-deletion (rule (36)) [optional]

Starting with the underlying forms /é-n-dá/ 'louse' and /ó-mu-tʃ/ 'tree', we see that at no stage is it the case that the two kinds of nasals have the same syllabic properties. Thus, we can say that only a nonsyllabic nasal is subject to HNA and only a basic nonsyllabic N can condition CA.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

    In the foregoing we have considered three solution to CA in Haya: (i) the historical solution; (ii) the inverted solution; and (iii) the concrete solution. We have attempted to demonstrate that the concrete analysis provides the most insightful account of the Haya data. It is significant to note that it is exactly this solution which would be predicted by the theory of Natural Generative Phonology (Vennemann 1974, Hooper 1976). The Haya solution has avoided the kind of abstract underlying representations which the standard model of Generative Phonology would predict, as well as the formal mechanisms at its disposal (there has been no need for extrinsic rule ordering, for instance). We have arrived at an analysis which naturally follows from two explicit principles stated as follows by Hooper (1976):

(38) *The underlying forms of non-alternating morphemes are identical to their phonetic representations* (p. 116).

(39) *For alternating forms (a morpheme with one or more allomorphs), one of the allomorphs is listed in the lexicon in its phonetic representation, and the others are derived from it* (p. 117).

Natural Generative Phonology also states explicitly that rules are not extrinsically ordered.

    In demonstrating the correctness of this concrete analysis it is clear, then, that there has been a restructuring away from the historical analysis in Haya. One might at this point ask how and/or why one got from the historical state of affairs to the current (restructured) situation. As already discussed in some detail, it was the presence of borrowings with [p] and [d] as well as the noun-to-noun derivational process which upset the older system. With unnativized borrowings coming into the language, it became more and more difficult to maintain the position that only /p/ and /d/ were underlying and that the p/h and d/l alternations could be predicted subphonemically. The derivation of such forms as akapîsi 'small leopard'

and akáda 'small louse' contributed also to the dissolution of the historical
solution. The motivation here was to keep the same phonetic consonant of the
noun in its basic or inherent class. This was felt to be particularly impor-
tant especially when deriving *new* diminutives and augmentatives. In such
cases the speaker could make the identification of the neologism more trans-
parent by not allowing CA to take place. This same state of affairs holds
for present day Haya. If a new word is derived by transferring a noun from
class 9 to, say, class 12, phonetic [p] and [d] will always be obtained.
This is not the same as saying that forms with intervocalic [h] and [ɩ] are
lexicalized, while forms with intervocalic [p] and [d] are not. While mark-
ing borrowings as [+foreign] implies that these items are not completely
lexicalized (i.e. they are not among the main body of the unmarked lexicon),
there is no doubt but that akáda is just as lexicalized as any form with
[ɩ]. The situation we have here is that of two ideal targets: a fully
lexicalized form with a "regular" phonology (i.e. with intervocalic [h] and
[ɩ]) and a fully nonlexicalized form with an "irregular" phonology (i.e. with
intervocalic [p] and [d]). Because these two ideals is a continuum consist-
ing, for example, of words which have been lexicalized (i.e. one reaches to
one's lexicon for them, rather than creating them on the spot, so to speak),
but whose phonology has not yet caught up. It will be interesting to see if
akáda (pronounced this way in so many Bantu languages) ever becomes akáɩa.

In conclusion, we ask where the language might go from here. We note
that already some Haya speakers are beginning to pronounce ɴhuɩíɩa instead
of mpuɩíɩa 'I hear' (the symbol [ɴ] is used to represent a uvular nasal).
This is apparently based on analogy with such forms as ahuɩíɩa 'he/she hears',
where we observe [h] because the consonant is not preceded by a nasal. Does
this mean that eventually all instances of [mp] will be replaced by [ɴh]?
If so, we would expect, first, that the change would hit where there are al-
ternations between [p] and [h] somewhere in the paradigm (e.g. morpheme-
internal instances of [mp] may resist this change because they do not alter-
nate with [h]). Such a change, if accepted as probable, would be another
argument in favor of the concrete analysis, since it is only the *alternating*
instances of [p] which are represented as /h/. This change in progress
could very elegantly be stated as one of *rule loss*. The rule in question
is the first half of (27). By first restructing their underlying forms and
the CA rule, Haya speakers seem to have set the scene for the ultimate loss
of consonant alternation for the purpose of regularizing the surface conson-
ants of noun and verb paradigms. Such an event would be very difficult to
capture in a formal way in any but the concrete analysis we have adopted in
this study.

NOTES

[1] I would like to thank Larry Hyman for reading an earlier draft of this
paper and making several valuable suggestions for revision.

[2] P_3 is the distant past marker (earlier than yesterday); cf. Byarushengo
(1977).

[3] There is a final vowel (FV) required on all verb forms in Haya (as in
Bantu in general). In Haya it may surface as either [a] or [e] and carry
either high or low tone, depending on the tense/aspect. It is not glossed
separately in the examples that follow.

[4]All tone marks are surface tones except when examples are given between phonemic slashes (/ ... /), in which case they are underlying. The acute accent (´) marks high tone, while the circumflex (ˆ) marks falling tone. In cases of long vowels (written VV), high tone is marked with acute accents on both vowels (V́V́), while falling tone is marked with an acute accent on the first vowel and no accent on the second (V́V). L tone is not marked.

[5]In the dialect under examination here, [h] is normally silent (though not always).

[6]There is a rather rare alternate form [ʍhémba] 'I light fire'. The significance of this possibility is discussed in section 6 below.

[7]Classes 1 and 3 have homophonous class markers (mu-) as do classes 9 and 10--the homorganic nasal N-. The differences between the two classes in each pair is noticed in their corresponding agreement/concord markers, e.g. subject markers a- (class 1), gu- (class 3), e- (class 9), zi- (class 10).

[8]Class 10 is the plural class for both classes 9 and 11; thus we have genders 9/10 and 11/10.

[9]When deverbal agent nouns are transferred into gender 9/10, they mean 'someone who is very good at doing X'.

[10]There are other realizations of historical *p and *d. Since these do not play any part in the processes discussed in this paper, we will not concern ourselves with them here.

[11]The Proto-Bantu forms in this paper are taken from Guthrie (1971). The number before the semicolon is Guthrie's Common Bantu reference number, and the one after the semicolon is the page number on which the item is found.

[12]In (15) and (16) the tones marked are the underlying Haya tones (cf. note 4 above).

[13]Unfortunately, I was unable to find any PB forms with the sequence *Np internally. The presence of these two forms in Haya, however, suggests that if PB had had such a sequence morpheme-internally (stem-finally in verbs), it would have been retained in Haya as such.

[14]Words borrowed into Haya belong to gender 9/10, but do not carry the nasal prefix. Gender 9/10 borrowed nouns carry the nasal prefix only if the donor language had such a prefix. This accounts for the differences in these two forms: Swahili *ndege* / Haya endege vs. Swahili *pilipili* / Haya epilipili. The only exceptions to assigning borrowings to 9/10 are human nouns which are borrowed directly into 1/2 and carry the appropriate prefix, e.g. omudeleva / abadeleva 'driver(s)'.

[15]When the agentive marker is suffixed to radicals that end in [l], the consonant becomes [z]. For a fuller treatment, see Byarushengo (1975).

[16]Alternatively, one could have had an archiphoneme /N/ unspecified for place of articulation (but see later discussion).

[17]The realization of N- before so-called "vowel-initial" roots is as a palatal, e.g. eñama 'meat'. However, this may be due either to a y-insertion process, or conceivably, to the possibility that such roots actually begin with an underlying /y/. This problem receives in depth treatment in a paper in preparation.

[18]The fact that we have a long vowel in this word is potentially mis-leading. It could suggest that the first person singular marker must have a vowel following the nasal in its underlying form and that the vowel of the tense marker lengthens after the vowel of the first person marker is deleted (see Byarushengo 1975). However, Haya has a surface constraint that blocks the lengthening of vowels initially or finally. In this case it surfaces long because it is not in initial position any more. Notice that the second example in (11) is not a case of a long vowel occurring finally, but rather of two fully syllabic vowels in sequence (probably with a lost intervocalic [h]).

[19]This may seem to be un-Bantu, but as evidence for the syllable break [én.da], note: (i) the tone of the nasal is always the same as the end point of the preceding vowel, indicating that the two at least form a close junc-ture; and (ii) the V is, unlike other Bantu languages, *not* lengthened as a result of being followed by a NC cluster. As pointed out to me by Larry Hyman (personal communication), the following common Bantu rule

$$V \longrightarrow V: \quad / \underline{\quad\quad} \quad N\,C$$

is motivated by syllabification considerations. By lengthening a vowel which precedes a NC cluster, it makes it "easier" to syllabify the nasal onto the *following* syllable (the normal Bantu case). Such lengthening does not occur in Haya, we would claim, because the nasal is not syllabified onto the *fol-lowing*, but rather onto the *preceding* syllable, as indicated.

[20]Notice in the following derivations that if the earlier rules had applied in the wrong order, we would potentially have merged (falsely) the -mu- 'him/her' and -N- 'me' object marker forms:

/a-ka-kí-n-há-a/ → [akakímpa]   'he gave it to me'

/a-ka-kí-mu-há-a/ → [akakímúha] —— [akakímha]   'he gave it to him'
                                           *[akakímpa]

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3

THE PREPREFIX

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Most Bantuists seem to agree that the preprefix (henceforth PP), which has also been called variously a "double prefix" (Guthrie 1974), a "noun augment" (de Blois 1970), and an "initial vowel" (Mould 1974), is a morphological segment retained from an earlier Proto-Bantu CV form. Among the Bantu languages of the Lake Victoria area, where the use of the PP appears most consistently, the C has been dropped from the majority of these languages; Gisu (E.31) is one of the notable exceptions.

In Haya, the PP appears as a single vowel preceding a CV prefix in each of the noun classes 1-18 except classes 1a/2a, which never take a PP, and classes 9/10, where the existence of a homorganic nasal has taken the place of the CV prefix. In all classes other than the exceptions mentioned, strict vowel harmony is observed between the PP and the V of the prefix:

CLASS	PP+PREFIX	CLASS	PP+PREFIX
1	o-mu-	10	e-N-
2	a-ba-	11	o-lu-
3	o-mu-	12	a-ka-
4	e-mi-	13	o-tu-
5	e-li- (~ e-i-)	14	o-bu-
6	a-ma-	15	o-ku-
7	e-ki-	16	a-ha-
8	e-bi-	17	o-ku-
9	e-N-	18	o-mu-

Except for 9/10, when the vowel of the prefix is /i/, that of the preprefix is [e]; when the prefix vowel is /u/, the preprefix vowel is [o]; and when the prefix vowel is /a/, the preprefix vowel is [a]. It is, of course, possible to posit the existence of /e- i/ vowel harmony for classes 9/10 at some earlier stage of the language with /e-Ni-/ representing the "augmented prefix" of Proto-Bantu.

Previous research on the PP has indicated that its use or non-use in a particular construction is determined by essentially syntactic considerations. Mould (1974) in his work on Luganda did make reference to the use of the PP as providing a "special kind of focus" in certain constructions, but did not clearly define the kind(s) of focus. De Blois also has a very short section in his study in which he discusses certain of the languages in which a "definable semantic function" has been noted. However, since Haya is not one of the languages to which de Blois attributes semantic functioning of the PP, and since all of the examples used in the aforementioned section of the Mould article would be ungrammatical in Haya, an attempt must be made here to determine whether or not the sort of focus/emphasis referred to by Mould and de Blois may be attested in Haya.

Byarushengo and Tenenbaum (1976) and Tenenbaum (1977a,b) have documented the fact that under certain conditions Haya tends to separate old and new information in discourse. It is interesting to note in that connection the following statement by Mould (1976) in reference to Logooli (E.41):

> "My informant consistently claimed that with the IV objects are interpreted as being new information to the hearer and the absence of the IV as old, known information."

De Blois reminds us that in her article on Tonga, Carter (1964) arrives at somewhat similar considerations:

> "There are however indications that make her suppose that the augment is only used after pauses or hesitations and in what she calls now-coding speech (newly created utterances."

The data which has been collected on the use of the PP in Haya tends to bear out such theories: it is used to disambiguate, to clarify, or to present new information--at least in certain circumstances. Lack of, or non-use of the PP may suggest mutually understood or old/given information on the part of both speaker and hearer. It is not inconceivable to posit that this might provide insight into why classes la/2a, which consist almost exclusively of kinship terms, never carry PP's in any of the known Bantu languages.

With nouns in isolation, the preprefixed noun receives both definite and indefinite readings, e.g. omwáána 'the/a child', omútí 'the/a tree', ebitooke 'the/Ø bananas'. When nouns appear in subject position, the PP is required:

(1) a. omwáána y-á-ij-a   'the/a child came'
        child he-P_1-come

    b. *mwááana yáija   (but cf. mwáana, yáija 'it's the child, he came')

When modified by an adjective, both noun and adjective require a PP in most cases:

(2) a. omwáán' ómuto y-á-ij-a   'the/a small child came'
        child   small he-P_1-come

    b. *mwááana muto yáija
       *mwáán' ómuto yáija
       *omwááana muto yáija

(3) a. omusháíj' ómul' ómuto y-á-ij-a   'the/a tall young man came'
        man   tall young he-P_1-come

b. *mushá ʃja muʃa mutó yáʃja
    *mushá ʃja muʃ' ómutó yáʃja
    *mushá ʃj' ómuʃ' ómutó yáʃja
    *omushá ʃj' ómuʃo mutó yáʃja
    *omushá ʃja muʃ' ómutó yáʃja

As is the case with a number of other languages in the Lake area, Haya nouns lose the PP when immediately preceded by 'each/every':

(4) a. buʃ ʃ ŋkonʃ   'each/every stick'

    b. buʃ mwiisʃki   'each/every girl'

Addition of a second modifier *after* the governing noun does not change the situation, except that we note that the added modifier retains its own PP:

(5) a. buʃ ʃ ŋkony' éndúŋgʃ   'each/every good stick'

    b. buʃ mwiisʃk' ómuʃúŋgʃ   'each/every pretty girl'

Modification by a possessive adjective, as in (6) - (10) below, presents data in support of the hypothesis advanced at the outset of this paper. Note that in each of the NP's that follow here, the lack of a PP has established an apparently unambiguous interpersonal relationship with the speaker (much as with the use of classes 1a/2a, perhaps?), whereas use of the PP sets up an alternative and thus automatically an ambiguous givenness/newness relationship.

(6) a. mwááná waŋge   'it's my child'

    b. omwááná waŋge   'my child'/'the child is mine'

(7) a. mukázi waŋge   'my wife'

    b. omukázi waŋge [AMBIGUOUS] 'my woman'

(8) a. mushá ʃja waŋge   'my husband'

    b. omushá ʃja waŋge [AMBIGUOUS] 'my man' (i.e. 'worker', never used by
                                                women)

(9) a. bahalá baŋge   'my daughters'

    b. ?abahalá baŋge   ?? 'the daughters are mine'

(10) a. baisikʃ baŋge   'my girls' (i.e. 'daughters')

     b. abaisikʃ baŋge   'my girls' (i.e. 'workers, girlfriends')

The phrases in (9) are particularly interesting, since while abahalá baŋge is not considered ungrammatical, no context was found in which it might conceivably be used, apparently because of the unavoidable kinship implied by abahála 'daughter', in contrast to (10), where (a)baisikʃ may mean 'daughters' or 'girls' in some other sense, depending on the presence vs. absence of the PP. Within class 1a, where nouns have no inherent PP, apparently semantic constraints function to assure that a PP may not be applied to the majority of these nouns:

(11) tááta waŋge   'my father'

(12) tááta 'Father' (as title of address; cf. Dauer 1977)

(13) ishèbo 'the father...' (understood: of a particular family)

(14) ishěmuntu 'a father...' (understood: as a generalization)

In cases (13) and (14), tááta may not be used at all, since in either case it would functionally be required to take a PP, which would limit/destroy the semantic function of its being a kinship term.

In those NP's which are constructed by the use of an associative marker, a number of different forms are found:

(15) a. eibabá ly'éñoni 'the wing is of the bird'
     b. eibaba ly'éñoni 'the wing of the bird'

(16) a. abaana b'ómusháíja 'the man's children'
     b. abáána b'ómusháíja 'the children are of/for the man'

In each of the two examples above, the only distinction between a true associative construction and a predicative construction is tonal, since in each of these cases the surface morphology is identical, the PP having been retained and contracted with the final vowel of the associative marker which precedes the possessor noun. (17) below presents a different situation.

(17) a. eky' ókúlya 'something which is to eat'
     b. ekya kúlya 'something of eating' (a noun of class 7)

The preprefix /ó-/ in (17a) is evidently a relative clause marker; in (17b) the PP is absent altogether. According to de Blois there are a number of languages in which compound nouns inferring possession drop the PP from the enclosed noun. (18) below raises an interesting question, since it functions in an exactly opposite manner, retaining the PP on the second noun (plus an associative marker), while dropping it from the head noun.

(18) mukamá w'énju 'the owner of the house'

Is it possible that there are cases in which ownership or possession of certain things constitutes an inherent relationship, rather like that of a state of kinship? Certain other compound terms would seem to suggest that such is in fact the case:

(19) kilya-njôka 'snake-eater'

(20) kishwéézi-kyange [a relationship between men married to sisters]

(21) kashumba-ntâle 'lion-herder'

Each of these three functions in a very special way: (19) and (21) are rarely used terms to denote special qualities in the person to whom they are applied; (20) is a kinship term, which like all others belonging to classes 1a/2a, does

not take a PP. All three items are used rather like proper names. Taylor (1972) notes a similar phenomenon in Nkore-Kiga.

In constructs with a predicate noun, it becomes apparent that Haya does not permit use of the PP, regardless of whether or not the copula is present:

(22) a. muntu   'it's a person'

b. mútí   'it's a tree'

(23) a. omwáána muntu   'the child is a person'

b. *omwáána ní muntu

(24) omwáán' áíí muntu   'the child who is a person'

(25) a. tuíí bajûŋgu   'we are Europeans/whites'

b. tuíí bajûŋgw'ábaízíle   'we are the Europeans who came'

(26) ∴ abándí bakâzí   'the others are women'

(but: abakázy' ábándí   'the/Ø other women')

This example is particularly interesting, since it would seem to imply that the PP and the copula cannot co-exist in the same NP, even when the copula is only "implied" (as opposed to being segmentally present) in the utterance.

Predicate adjectives seem to function in much the same way as predicate nouns in terms of the PP:

(27) a. omwáána muhâŋgo   'the child is big'

b. *omwáana ní muhâŋgo

(28) omwáán' áíí muhâŋgo   'the child who is big'

(29) omwáána níwé muhâŋgo   'the child is the one who is big'

Within the locative classes (16, 17, 18) we find that certain of the conditions for presence vs. absence of the PP as seen above do not seem to function here in the same ways:

(30) a. aíy' ómúnju   'he's in the house'

b. *aíí múnju

(31) a. n'ómúnju   'it's in the house'

b. *ní múnju

These two examples show clearly that the rule hypothesized in (22) - (26) above, regarding the absence of the PP after the copula is not functioning in the case of these locatives. The fact that each of the (b) sentences is ungrammatical points up the fact that retention of the PP is obligatory. It must be noted, of course, that in neither case is it the PP of the original noun énju (class 9/10) which has been retained, but rather that of the locative class into which

the noun has moved. The same conditions seem to hold true when locatives are used in isolation (i.e. without a noun attached):

(32) a. aIy'åhə   'he's here'

     b. aIɣ'ôkwo   'he's over there'

     c. n'ôkwo   'it's over there'

Although use of the PP after a negativized verb will be dealt with in more detail later, it seems important to note at this point the fact that locatives following negativized verbs do not follow the generally accepted pattern. In the majority of Bantu languages, including Haya in most cases, the PP is dropped after a negative; while in fact that is the case in (33) and (34) below,

(33)   táII mûnju   'he's not in the house'

(34) a. táIf mu   'he's not in (there)'

     b. aIf mu   'he's in (there)'

     c. *ní mu

in none of the other examples does the PP drop. From the affirmative form of (34b) it may be deduced that this particular construction is unusual or irregular, since it is the only one which drops the PP of the locative affix following /-If/ in the affirmative; the affirmative form of (33) (see (30) above) retains the PP. As was noted above, all the remaining negative-locative constructions retain the PP:

(35)   táIy' åha   'he's not here'

(36)   táIy' ôkwo   'he's not over there'

Given the fact that locative constructions in Haya seem generally to be less flexible than PP's in the other classes, shown by their often being retained even following a negative and/or a copula, (37) offers rather strong support for the initial hypothesis presented in this paper:

(37) a. ní mwo   '(yes), that's it' [i.e. the place we're looking for]

     b. *ní kwo

In both of these examples the PP has been deleted, even though in (32), in a similar construction it was retained, and in (34), a similar deletion was ungrammatical. Evidently, then, the difference does not lie in syntactic distinctions, and consideration must be given to the possibility that semantic distinctions are at work here: in (32) and (34) 'place' or 'location' is specifically referred to in each case; also, it should be noted that neither (32) nor (34) is necessarily an answer to a question, but may be simply a statement of fact. In (36), no specific reference to 'place' is made, but the construction is quite evidently an answer to a question about 'place'. Using the hypothesis that deletion of the PP indicates old information on the part of both speaker and hearer, the explanation for the absence of the PP in ní mwo and *ní kwo is obvious.

In simple sentence constructions, affirmative SVO order, the PP is retained on both the direct object and its modifiers:

(38) a.   n-a-bon' ómutâmbi   'I saw a/the doctor'
      I-P_1-see doctor

    b.   *nabona mutâmbi

(39) a.   ᴨn-a-bon' ómutámby'ómulúŋgi   'I saw a/the good doctor'
      I-P_1-see doctor   good

    b.   *nabona mutámbi mulúŋgi
       *nabon' ómutámbi mulúŋgi
       *nabona mutámby'ómulúŋgi

In sentences with either left- or right-dislocations, the PP is required in both affirmative and negative constructions:

(40) a.   omutámbi n-á-mu-bôn-a   'the/a doctor, I saw him/one'
      doctor I-P_1-him-see

    b.   *mutámbi. namubôna

(41) a.   omutámby'ómuluŋgí n-á-mu-bôn-a   'the/a good doctor, I saw him/one'
      doctor   good   I-P_1-him-see

    b.   *mutámbi muluŋgí námubôna
       *mutámby'ómuluŋgí námubôna
       *omutámbi muluŋgí namubôna

(42) a.   omutámby'ómuluŋgí ti-n-á-mu-bôn-a   'the/a good doctor, I didn't
      doctor   good NEG-I-P_1-him-see   see him/one'

It is particularly notable that in (43) below the PP is retained even after a negativized verb, apparently being protected by the clause boundary which precedes it.

(43)   ti-n-á-mu-bôn' ómutâmbi   'I didn't see him/one, the/a doctor'
     NEG-I-P_1-him-see doctor

In negativized SVO constructions, the PP is deleted following the negative in most cases. Direct object and modifier:

(44)   ti-n-á-bon-a mutámbi mulúŋgi   'I didn't see a/the good doctor'
     NEG-I-P_1-see doctor good

Benefactive and accusative objects:

(45)   ti-n-á-cumb-ii-a báána bitooke   'I didn't cook bananas for
     NEG-I-P_1-cook-APP children bananas   the children'

In a passive construction:

(46)   ebitooke ti-by-áá-cumb-w-a mwáana   'the bananas weren't cooked
     bananas NEG-they-P_1-cook-PASS child   by the child'

As long as we are dealing with simple sentences, the negativized verb does in fact delete all those PP's which fall to the right of it; in complex sentences, with clauses of various types in operation, such deletion is not always the case. A good example of the scope of the negative verb may be seen in (47) and (48).

(47) tʃ mwáán' ómuhângo   'it is not the child who is big'
      NEG child   big

(48) n'ómwáán' á-tá-ll muhângo   'it is the child who is not big'
      COP child he-NEG-be big

In (47) it is the main clause which is negated and thus it is only omwáana which loses the PP, which is retained in the dependent clause. In (48) the reverse is true: the dependent clause is negated and loses the PP, while the main clause retains the PP (even though it follows the copula nl!).

The widest or broadest scope of negation seems to occur in essentially two types of structures. The first of these types, illustrated in examples (49) - (51) below, occurs when the direct object of the main clause is also the subject of the dependent clause; the negativized verb is then able to exert influence on the entire sentence and delete all PP's.

(49) tʃ-ŋ-kumany-a mwaana y-a-ku-ha-il-e kitabo   'I don't know a/the child
      NEG-I-know   child he-P-you-give-P book   who gave you a book'

(50) tʃ-ŋ-kumany-a mwaana y-a-ku-ha-il-e kitabo   'I don't know any child
      NEG-I-know   child he-P-you-give-P book   who gave you a book'

(51) tʃ-ŋ-kumany-a mushaija wééna ween' á-y-a-kom-ag-a bitooke
      NEG-I-know   man   any   REL-he-P-tie-HAB bananas
      'I don't know any man who used ito tie up bananas'

Not all sentences are bound by these constraints apparently, and (52) shows one such exception:

(52) tʃ-ŋ-kumany-a mushaij' á-y-a-kom-il' ébitooke   'I don't know a man
      NEG-I-know   man   REL-he-P-tie-P bananas   who tied up any bananas'

The second type of structure in which the negative verb is able to delete PP's throughout the entire sentence occurs when the entire dependent clause functions as the direct object of the verb of the main clause:

(53) tʃ-ŋ-kuleng-a ŋka y-a-boin-e mwáana   'I don't think that he saw a child'
      NEG-I-think   that he-P-see/P child   [understood: he saw something else]

However, when a specific child is referred to, the PP is retained:

(54) tʃ-ŋ-kuleng-a ŋka y-a-mu-bóin' ómwáana   'I don't think he saw him,
      NEG-I-think   that he-P-him-see/P child   the child'

The example which follows in (55) illustrates the break in scope which occurs in sentences in which the direct object of the main clause also functions as the object of the dependent clause.

(55)   tí-ŋ-kumany-a ní bitooké ky' éby' ómusháíja y-a-kóm-il-e
       NEG-I-know   COP bananas which REL   man   he-P-tie up-P
       'I don't know which bananas a/the man tied up'

    .When the direct object of the main clause serves as a dative or benefac-
tive object of the dependent clause, the SVO relationships within the dependent
clause are not influenced at all:

(56)   tí-ŋ-kumany-a mwaana wó w-a-ha-il' ékitabo   'I don't know a boy to
       NEG-I-know   child REL you-P-give-P book   whom you gave a book'

If, however, the direct object is definite, an OM is required and the direct
object noun retains the PP after the negativized verb:

(57)   tí-ŋ-ku-mú-many' ómwáán' ówó w-a-ha-il' ékitabo   'I don't know the boy
       NEG-I-ASP-him-know child REL you-P-give-P book   to whom you gave the book'

    The pattern which emerges from this data is that while use and form of the
PP may be syntactically controlled, it is in many cases semantically triggered
to re-define and clarify a particular item of information between speaker and
hearer. This may be seen even more clearly in contrasting examples such as:

(58) a.   tí-n-ñina kitabo ky' ó-ií-kwend-a   'I don't have the book which
        NEG-I-have book REL you-PRES-want   you want'

     b.   tí-n-ñin' ékitab' éky' ó-ii-kwend-a   *(idem)*
        NEG-I-have book   REL you-PRES-want

(59) a.   tí-ŋ-ku-many-a bitooke by' ómukázi y-a-kóm-a   'I don't know which
        NEG-I-ASP-know bananas REL woman she-P-tie up   bananas the woman tied

     b.   tí-ŋ-ku-many' ébitook' éby' ómukázi y-a-kóm-a   up'
        NEG-I-ASP-know bananas REL   woman she-P-tie up   *(idem)*

In the (a) sentences the speaker is sure that his hearer and he are talking
about the same book/bananas. In the (b).sentences the speaker feels the need
to specify that he does not have/know of the book/bananas in question, al-
though he does have/know of others.

    Mention must be made, before drawing this study to a close, of two con-
straints placed on the negative scope by the adverbials 'how' and 'when'.
'How' functions as a boundary marker in apparently much the same way as sen-
tence (53):

(60)   tí-ŋ-ku-many-a kw' ómushaija y-a-kom-il' ébitooke   'I don't know how
       NEG-I-ASP-know how   man   he-P-tie up-P bananas   the man tied up the
                                                       bananas'

'When'is more intriguing, since it exercises apparent control over the scope
of the negative verb from a position at the very end of the sentence (perhaps
because the two nouns in (61) are left-dislocated in the dependent clause):

(61)   tí-ŋ-ku-many' ómushaij' ébitook' a-bí-kom-a máki   'I don't know when
       NEG-I-ASP-know man   bananas he-them-tie up when   the man ties up the
                                                           bananas'

It is evident that the area of study involving the PP is one which needs much further investigation, particularly in terms of the use of the PP in the context of normal discourse. It is hoped, however, that the notations above will offer some basis for further study, and perhaps stimulate new hypotheses.

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4

ON THE NOTION OF "DIRECT OBJECT"

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we will try to define the category of "direct object" in Haya and show how an NP can change its grammatical status according to the way in which its semantic role is expressed. In so doing, we will assume that such grammatical relations as "subject" and "direct object" are useful notions in describing and comparing natural languages in Universal Grammar. The same assumption can be found, differently expressed, in recent works such as Keenan and Comrie (1972), Perlmutter and Postal (1974), Johnson (1974a,b,; 1976), Fillmore (1976), and Keenan (1975, 1976), among others. Some of the claims that these linguists have made will be confronted with the Haya data.

Very recently, Gary and Keenan (1976) have questioned the claim made by Perlmutter and Postal (1974) that *only one NP at a time can bear a certain grammatical relation to the verb*. They have tried to show that in Kinyarwanda, a Bantu language closely related to Haya, a verb can have, under certain circumstances, two direct objects. They also proposed a weaker version of an important principle presented by Perlmutter and Postal, namely the Relational Annihilation Law. In this paper we will show that *Haya can have even three DO's in the same sentence*, and we will discuss the implications of this fact for Universal Grammar. Before the conclusion, we briefly present a case of partial demotion (of a direct object) due to the nature of the referents more than to the syntactic or semantic relations of the NP's involved.

The paper is organized in the following way: in section 2 we characterize the category of direct object in Haya by selecting a number of rules that apply to what we term "basic" direct objects. In section 3 we show that the same set of rules does not usually apply to prepositional phrases and to other kinds of prepositionless obliques. In section 4, the system of verb-marking is described and it is shown that those NP's that have their semantic role marked on the verb behave like "basic" direct objects. In section 5 we discuss the consequences of defining the verb marking rules as instances of advancement-to-direct object rules. We show that Haya violates both the Uniqueness Assumption and the Relational Annihilation Law. We also show that there is not enough evidence in favor of the Weak Relational Annihilation Law proposed by Gary and Keenan (1976) and discuss the possible consequences for a theory based on grammatical relations.*

2. PROPERTIES OF DIRECT OBJECTS

In the following discussion we will assume that each verb, in its "basic" or "lexical" form (i.e. without semantic markers to indicate semantic relations and without syntactic markers to indicate the application of certain rules such as passivization) takes a certain number (from one to three) of NP arguments. We call these NP's "basic arguments" and distinguish them in terms of the grammatical relation that they bear to the verb. We will then speak of "basic subject", "basic direct object", etc. Such NP's are characterized as having their semantic role implied in the meaning of the verb itself and conveyed by means of such coding properties as agreement (i.e. subject-verb agreement) and word order (the unmarked word order is SVO). When a verb has three basic NP arguments, the (semantic) dative precedes the (semantic) patient (or accusative). Whether these two NP's can be formally distinguished is discussed below.

In accordance with the approach adopted by Keenan (1976) in defining the notion of "subject of" in any given language, we will characterize the category of direct object (DO) in Haya by means of (a subset of) the properties of basic DO's in simple, basic sentences.[1]

2.1. Coding properties. Even if Haya could be said to have a fairly "free" word order (cf. Byarushengo and Tenenbaum 1976), the unmarked word order is clearly Su-V-DO-OO (where OO = oblique NP, that is prepositional phrases as well as other kinds of NP's discussed in 3.2 and 3.3 below). It should be noted that the verb obligatorily agrees with the surface Su, and the DO is prepositionless, as seen in (1) and (2).

(1)   abantu bá-ka-bón' ómukâzi   'the people saw a/the woman'
       people they-P_3-see woman

(2)   omukázy' a-ka-léét' ébitooke n'émótoka   'the woman brought the
       woman she-P_3-bring bananas with car   bananas by car'

The prepositional phrase (PP) n'émótoka in (2) cannot take over the DO position. Thus (3) is unacceptable:

(3)   *omukázy' a-ka-léét-a n'émótok' ébitooke   'the woman brought by
       woman she-P_3-bring with car   bananas   car the bananas'

2.2. *Reflexivization.* A DO can be reflexivized under subject control (in Haya only Su can control reflexivization). The reflexive morpheme REFL is realized [-ee-] or [-ye-], depending on the preceding environment.

(4) kat' á-k-éé-bona   'Kato saw himself'
     Kato he-P_3-REFL-see

2.3. *Subjectivization.* A DO (if definite or generic[2]) can be promoted to Su via passivization, as shown in the following examples:

(5) omukázy' a-ka-cumb' ébitooke   'the woman cooked the bananas' ⟶
     woman she-P_3-cook   bananas

(6) ebitooke$_i$ bí$_i$-ka-cumb-w' ómukâzi   'the bananas were cooked by
     bananas they-P_3-cook-PASS woman   the woman'

(7) kat' á-ka-shál' ényama   'Kato cut the meat' ⟶
     Kato he-P_3-cut   meat

(8) enyam'$_i$ e$_i$-ka-shál-w-a káto   'the meat was cut by Kato'
     meat   it -P_3-cut-PASS Kato

As can be seen in the above examples, it is the "new" Su that triggers Su-verb agreement in the passive sentences. The verb is marked by the suffix -w- (pronounced -bw- after a vowel), which is inserted immediately before the final vowel. The basic Su is moved immediately after the verb, without being marked by any preposition (cf. 3.3 below).

2.4. *Pronoun-incorporation (or "cliticization").* A DO can trigger pronoun-incorporation. The clitic pronoun agrees in noun class with the co-referential NP, as shown in the following examples:

(9) ŋ-ka-gul' égíta$_i$ 'I bought the guitar' ⟶
     I-P_3-buy guitar

(10) ŋ-ka-gí$_i$-gula   'I bought it'
     I-P_3-it-buy

(11) ŋ-ka-bón' ómwíika$_j$ 'I saw smoke' ⟶
     I-P_3-see   smoke

(12) ŋ-ka-gu$_j$-bôn-a   'I saw it'
     I-P_3-it -see

We consider such clitics as gí in (10) and gu in (12) as *true pronouns* and not agreement makrers,[3] not only because of their "optionality" (as opposed to the obligatory subject-verb agreement illustrated in 2.1), but also, and crucially, because (under appropriate circumstances) the tone configuration of the sentence marks a clause boundary after the verb even when the coreferential DO appears in the sentence in its "usual" position immediately after the verb. The verb -bón- 'see' for instance, which has an underlying high tone (cf. (11)) shows a falling tone not only when penultimate to a pause

(cf. (12)), but also in (13), which expresses the DO with both a clitic pronoun and a full NP:

(13) ŋ-ka-gu$_j$-bôn' ómwÍÍka$_j$ 'I saw it, the smoke'
      I-P$_3$-it'-see   smoke

As shown by Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum (1976), the DO in sentences such as (13) must be considered a *right-dislocation*, separated from the rest of the sentence by a pharse boundary which causes the high tone of /-bón-/ to become a falling tone (see also Tenenbaum 1977). Furthermore, notice, as shown in Duranti (1977) that the clitic pronoun cannot appear in the sentence if the corresponding NP is relativized. Thus, (14) is ungrammatical.

(14) *omwÍÍk' ógwó n-a-gu-bóÍn-e   'the smoke that I saw it'
      smoke$_j$ that I-P-it$_j$-see/P$_2$

If gu were to be considered as an optional agreement marker, we do not see any conceivable reason for not allowing sentences like (14), which appear in other Bantu languages such as SeSotho (Morolong and Hyman 1977). Finally, as seen in (15),

(15) *egÍt'$_i$ é$_i$-ka-gÍ$_j$-guÍ-w-a Ínye   'the guitar was bought by me'
      guitar it-P$_3$-it'-buy-PASS me

when egÍta has been promoted to Su, the correferential clitic pronoun -gÍ- cannot co-occur.

    2.5. Left-dislocation. With concomitant pronoun-incorporation, a DO can be left-dislocated and assume the position immediately before the verb (in fact, it can assume other positions as well, as shown by Byarushengo and Tenenbaum 1976, but we will be concerned only with this option). A very rough formulation of the rule would be as follows:

$$(Su) - V - DO_i \quad \longrightarrow \quad (Su) - DO_i - V_{[+PRO_i]}$$

Two examples are given in (16) and (17).

(16) a. omwáán' a-ka-lééт' émbwa   'the child brought the dog'   →
         child he-P$_3$-bring dog

     b. omwáán'$_i$ émbw'$_j$ á$_i$-ka-gÍ$_j$-lóeta   'the child, the dog, he
         child   dog he -P$_3$-it'-bring   brought it'

(17) a. ŋ-ka-guÍ' ómwêndo   'I bought cloth'   →
         I-P$_3$-buy   cloth

     b. omwéndo$_i$ ŋ-ka-gÚ$_i$-guÍ-a   'the cloth, I bought it'
         cloth I-P$_3$-it'-buy

    2.6. Impersonal "ba-" construction. There is another construction which is used to front a DO and to eliminate the Su. As shown in (18) and (19), the verb takes a clitic pronoun coreferential with the fronted DO, and an "impersonal" plural human subject (meaning 'they', class 2).

(18) ekitabo$_i$ bá-ka-kí$_i$-gul-a   'the book, they bought it'
      book   they-P$_3$-it-buy

(19) ebitooke$_j$ bá-ka-bí$_j$-cumb-a   'the bananas, they$_i$ cooked them$_j$'
      bananas   they-P$_3$-them-cook

These constructions can be appropriately translated in English as agentless
passives: "the book was bought" (18) and "the bananas were cooked" (19).
In fact, as noted by Givón (1976:180), there is another Bantu language, Ki-
mbundu (Angola) that uses this kind of construction for the regular passive,
even allowing a prepositional agentive phrase:

(20) nzua a-mu-mon-o kwa meme   'John was seen by me' (lit. John, they
      Joan they-him-saw by me   saw him by me) [Kimbundu]

A basic difference between Kimbundu and Haya is that in the latter language
the agent cannot be expressed in this construction.

     2.7. Relative clause formation. Very informally, the relativization
of DO's can be summarized as follows: a relative pronoun (of the underlying
form V(C)V-o), agreeing with the head noun, introduces the relative clause
and the DO is deleted (see Duranti 1977 for alternative secondary patterns).
Examples are seen in (21) - (22).

(21) ebitook' [éby' ómukázi y-a-cúmb-a]   'the bananas which the woman
      bananas   REL woman she-P$_1$-cook   has cooked'

(22) enyam' [éyó kató y-a-shál-a]   'the meat that Kato has cut'
      meat   REL Kato he-P$_1$-cut

(23) omukázy' [ów' ómwáána y-a-bón-a]   'the woman whom the child has
      woman   REL child   he-P$_1$-see   seen'

     2.8. Pseudo-cleft formation. Pseudo-cleft formation involves a rela-
tive pronoun in sentence-initial position and the copula before the pseudo-
clefted NP, which appears in sentence-final position. The copula (COP) is
expressed either by the absence of the preprefix, as in (24) and (25), or
by the morpheme ni, with proper names as in (26).

(24) eby' ómukázi y-á-cumb-á Ø - bitooke   'what the woman has cooked is
      REL woman she-P$_1$-cook COP bananas   bananas'

(25) eyó kató y-a-shal-á Ø - nyama   'what Kato has cut is meat'
      REL Kato he-P$_1$-cut COP meat

(26) owó n-a-bon-á ní káto   '(the one) who I have seen is Kato'
      REL I-P$_1$-see COP Kato

3. PREPOSITIONAL AND PREPOSITIONLESS OBLIQUES

     In this section we will show that the category of DO in Haya as defined
in section 2 constitutes a proper set, that is, the properties that we have
so far described as typical of DO's allow us to distinguish between DO's and

both prepositional phrases (PP's) and other kinds of "obliques". In 3.1 we will show that PP's do not exhibit any of the properties of the DO's illustrated above. In 3.2 we will discuss one kind of prepositionless oblique, i.e. the body part NP in an "affected possessor" construction, and we will discuss whether to consider relative clause formation and pseudo-cleft formation as tests for objecthood. In 3.3 we will briefly examine the agent NP in passive sentences.

3.1. Properties of PP's (or "what PP's cannot do"). 3.1.1. Coding properties. As already mentioned in 2.1, PP's cannot be placed immediately after the verb if there is an NP in the sentence bearing the relation of DO to the verb.

3.1.2. Reflexivization. PP's cannot be reflexivized. In fact, Haya does not even have an "independent" (i.e. non-clitic) reflexive pronoun.

3.1.3. Subjectivization. PP's cannot be subjectivized, and prepositions cannot be "stranded". The parentheses in the following examples indicate that even taking some of the constituents away, the sentence remains ungrammatical:

(27) kat' á-ka-shál' ényama n'ómúhyo   'Kato cut the meat with a knife'
      Kato he-P_3-cut   meat with knife

(28) *omuhyó$_i$ gú$_i$-ka-shál-w-á (ényama) (kató) (na)
      knife it -P_3-cut-PASS meat   Kato with
      'the knife was cut (the meat) (with) (by Kato)'

(29) kat' á-ka-ly' éŋkók' ómú-ńɟu   'Kato ate a chicken in the house'
      Kato he-P_3-eat chicken in-house

(30) *omu-nɟú$_i$ $\{ \begin{smallmatrix} mú_i \\ ha_i \end{smallmatrix} \}$ -ka-lí-bw-a (kató) (éŋkóko)   'in the house (there) was
      in-house there-P_3-eat-PASS Kato   chicken   eaten (by Kato) (a chicken)'

Notice that any change of word order would not help in making the above sentences acceptable.

In (30) we have tried to subjectivize the whole locative omú-nɟu 'inside the house' (we tried both agreement markers mu (cl. 18) and ha (cl. 16)). Verb-agreement with locative phrases is not unusual in Haya, as often in Bantu, but in order for sentences like (34) to apply, a particular marker must be attached to the verb, as we will illustrate in section 4.2 below.

Example (31) shows that no better results are obtained by trying to extract the NP out of the prepositional phrase:

(31) *enjw'$_i$ é$_i$-ka-lí-bw-a (kató) (éŋkóko) (omu/omwo)
      house it -P_3-eat-PASS Kato   chicken in/there
      'the house was eaten (by Kato) (chicken) (in/there)'

In (31) we have tried, unsuccessfully, to apply a pronoun-retaining strategy by leaving in the sentence the preposition mu- plus a pronominal marker -o (omwo), which, in other circumstances conveys the meaning of 'there, inside it'.

3.1.4. Pronominalization. A PP cannot be pronominalized by pronoun-in-corporation. Preposition plus PRO is the only way in which prepositional phrases can be pronominalized in Haya, as illustrated in (32) and (33).

(32) *kat' á-ka-gu$_i$-shál' ényama$_j$ 'Kato cut [with] it$_i$ the meat$_j$'
      Kato he-P$_3$-it-cut   meat   (gu$_i$ = knife)

(33) kat' á-ka-shál' ényama ná-gwo   'Kato cut the meat with it'
      Kato he-P$_3$-cut   meat with-it   (cf. (27))

3.1.5. Left-dislocation and impersonal "ba-" construction. Since these two constructions involve pronoun-incorporation, which is not allowed for PP's, they are not available for PP's.

3.1.6. Relative-clause formation. PP's are relativized by either apply-ing the verb-coding strategy (but in this case, as we will argue in section 4, they cannot be considered as obliques) or by means of a pronoun-retaining strategy. However, they cannot, generally, be relativized in the same way as DO's (one possible exception would be relativization out of a complex prepo-sitional phrase, but this kind of relative clauses are only marginally accep-table; cf. Duranti 1977). Example (34) illustrates the pronoun-retaining strategy:

(34) omuhy'$_i$ [ógwó$_i$ kató y-a-shal' ényama ná-gwo$_i$]
      knife   REL   Kato he-P$_1$-cut   meat with-it
      'the knife that Kato has cut with'

Recall, in contrast, that, as shown in 2.7, no copy pronoun can be left be-hind by a relativized DO (cf. ex. (14)).

3.1.7. Pseudo-cleft formation. The same considerations made for rela-tive clause formation hold for pseudo-cleft formation. Example (35) illus-trates the pronoun-retaining strategy in pseudo-clefting a (prepositional) instrumental NP:

(35) ogwó$_i$ kató y-a-shal' ényama na-gwó$_i$ Ø-múhyo   'what Kato has cut the
      REL   Kato he-P$_1$-cut   meat with-it COP-knife   meat with is a knife'

3.2. "Affected possessor" constructions. Haya possessive constructions involving body parts allow, or sometimes require, the possessor NP to be re-alized as a DO (cf. Hyman 1977). In Haya sentences corresponding more or less to the English *I broke the arm of the man*, the possessor, namely *man*, is, in effect, more DO-like than the body part, i.e. *arm*. Thus, we have sentences like the following:

(36) n-a-hend' ómusháíj' ómukôno   'I broke the arm of the man' (lit.
      I-P$_1$-break   man   arm   I broke the man the arm)

In sentences like (36) the possessor (also an "experiencer") can be subjec-tivized, as in (37), pronominalized with a clitic, as in (38), and undergo all the other grammatical processes applicable to DO's.

(37) omushá‹ja y-a-hend-w-a ïny’ ómukôno   'the man was broken the arm
      man   he-P$_1$-break-PASS me arm   by me'

(38) n-a-mu-hend’ ómukôno   'I broke him the arm'
      I-P$_1$-him-break arm

The body part, on the other hand, cannot be subjectivized and cannot be pro-
nominalized in the same way as the possessor NP:

(39) *omukóno$_i$ gw$_i$-a-hend-w-a (ïnyé) ómushá‹ja^4 'the arm was broken (by me)
       arm   it-P$_1$-break-PASS me   man   (to) the man'

(40) *n-a-gu-hend’ ómushá‹ja   'I broke it (to) the man'
       I-P$_1$-it-break   man

Given our properties-based definition of DO's, we conclude that in such con-
structions as sentence (36) the possessor NP is syntactically a DO, whereas
the possessed NP (i.e. the body part), which should be the "basic" DO of
the verb, is not a DO.[5]

  We must notice, however, that an NP like omukôno 'arm' in (36) still
shares some of the properties of DO's. Such properties are relative clause
formation and pseudo-cleft formation, as shown in the following examples:

(41) omukón’ [ógwó n-a-hend’ ómushá‹ja]   'the arm that I broke the man!
      arm   REL I-P$_1$-break   man

(42) ogwó n-a-hend’ ómushá‹ja Ø-mukôno   'what I broke the man is (his)
      REL I-P$_1$-break   man COP-arm   arm'

We can interpret these facts in at least two ways: one solution would be
to accept the idea that at some earlier stage of the derivation the body part
was in fact the DO of the verb and that it got demoted from its role because
of the promotion of the possessor NP to the role of DO. In this case, we
might say that the body part NP lost all the DO properties except the acces-
sibility to relative clause formation and pseudo-cleft formation. Another
solution would be to say that in fact relative clause and pseudo-cleft form-
ation, as described in 2.7, are not limited to DO's. There are, in other
words, non-DO prepositionless NP's that can undergo that particular kind of
relativization rule. The noun omukôno in (36) would be one of those. In
this case relative clause formation (and pseudo-cleft formation) would turn
out to be not very good tests for objecthood in Haya. As a working hypo-
thesis we retain these as tests for objecthood, keeping in mind their
"weakness". Such a decision will find some support in later discussion,
where we will see how (partially or totally) demoted DO's can "lose" their
ability to be relativized or pseudo-clefted.

  3.3. The agent NP in passive sentences. As shown in 2.3, after pas-
sivization has applied, the "demoted" Su (semantic agent) is a preposition-
less NP immediately following the verb. Thus, in terms of "surface" struc-
ture it looks like a DO. However, it is not available for any of the rules
that we have described as characteristic of DO's. Not even the relative
clause formation or the pseudo-cleft formation, which have been character-

ized as "weak" tests for objecthood in 3.2. Both (43) and (44) are com-
pletely unacceptable:

(43) *omukázy' [ów' ébitooke by-a-cumb-îî-w-e]
     woman   REL bananas they-P$_1$-cook-P-PASS
     'the woman that the bananas were cooked (by)'

(44) *ow' ébitooke by-a-cumb-íí-w-e Ø-mukâzi
     REL bananas they-P$_1$-cook-P-PASS COP-woman
     '(the one) who the bananas were cooked (by) is the woman'

This gives further support to the claim that the DO's are a particular subset
of the prepositionless NP's that follow the verb, and it shows that the pro-
perties that we outlined in section 2 are significant with respect to object-
hood.

4. VERB MARKING

     In this section we will show that some semantic roles of NP arguments
can be marked on the verb by means of verb suffixes (or *extensions*) and that
the NP's that are verb-marked share the properties of "basic DO's".

     We will consider the following semantic relations: 1) instrumental;
2) locative: (i) 'in', (ii) 'at, on'; 3) dative (e.g. experiencer, goal, etc.).

     4.1. The instrumental. The instrumental role of an NP argument is
marked in the verb by the suffix -i- or -is/es- (cf. Trithart 1977). An
example is given in (45):

(45) kató y-a-shaz' $\begin{Bmatrix} ómuhy' \ ényama \\ ényam' ómúhyo \end{Bmatrix}$ 'Kato cut the meat with the
     Kato he-P$_1$-cut/INSTR knife meat/meat knife   knife'

The stem of the verb 'cut' is -shál- (cf. ex. (7)). When the instrumental
suffix (INSTR) -i- is added, the /l/ becomes [z] by spirantization (cf.
Trithart 1977). The instrumental NP omúhyo 'knife' in (45) shares all of
the properties of basic DO's. For instance, not only can it appear immedi-
ately after the verb (however, as shown in (45), there is no "preferred"
order), but it can also be subjectivized, as in (46), left-dislocated, as
in (47), and relativized as a basic DO, as in (48).

(46) omuhyó$_i$ gw$_i$-a-shaz-i-bw-a kat' ényama   'the knife was used to cut
     knife it-P$_1$-cut-INSTR-PASS Kato meat   the meat by Kato'

(47) kat' ómuhyó y-a-gu-shaz' ényama   'Kato, the knife, he used it/cut
     Kato knife$_i$he-P$_1$-it$_i$-cut/INSTR meat   with it the meat'

(48) omuhy' [ógwó kató y-a-shaz' ényama]   'the knife that Kato cut the
     knife   REL Kato he-P$_1$-cut/INSTR meat   meat (with)'

The fact that omúhyo may be left-dislocated, as in (47), means that it can
also trigger pronoun-incorporation. If we try reflexivization, as in (49),

(49) kató y-a-ye-shaz' ényama   'Kato caused himself to cut the
     Kato he-P$_1$-REFL-cut/INSTR meat   meat'

we must have an instrumental NP coreferential with the Su, which is an agent.
In this case the instrumental marker acquires the meaning of a higher verb
CAUSE.

4.2. *Locatives.* "Simple" locative relations, corresponding more or
less to the English *in + NP* and *at/on + NP* can be marked on the verb by the
suffixes -mú and -ho, respectively (sometimes these markers are also accom-
panied by the applicative morpheme -II/el-, also used for expressive benefac-
tive and dative relations, as illustrated in 4.3).

4.2.1. -mu *locatives.* Examples (50) shows that when the verb is marked
by -mu (and, in this particular case, by the applicative morpheme), the NP
that expresses the location of the event referred to (or the location of a
mentioned object) can be subjectivized:

(50) enjw'ᵢ éᵢ- ka-lI-II-w-a mú kat' éŋkôko
      houseᵢ itᵢ-P₃-eat-APP-PASS LOC Kato chicken
      'the house was eaten-in the chicken by Kato'

Locatives marked on the verb can also undergo pronoun-incorporation, as in (51):

(51) kat' á-ka-gIᵢ-lI-II-a mw' éŋkôko   'Kato ate the chicken in it (the
      Kato he-P₃-it-eat-APP LOC chicken   house)'

They also can undergo all the other syntactic processes characterizing DO's,
e.g. reflexivization, left-dislocation, relativization, and pseudo-cleft:

(52) kat' á-k-éé-bon-a mw' óbukâma   'Kato saw chiefhood in himself'
      Kato he-P₃-REFL-see LOC chiefhood

(53) kat' énjw'ᵢ á-ka-gIᵢ-lI-II-a mw' éŋkôko   'Kato, the house, he ate
      Kato house he-P₃-it-eat-APP-LOC chicken   the chicken in it'

(54) enjw' [éyó kat ó y-a-lI-II-a mw' éŋkôko]   'the house in which Kato
      house REL Kato he-P₁-eat-APP LOC chicken   ate the chicken'

(55) eyó kat ó y-a-lI-iI-a mw' éŋkókó Ø-ńju
      REL Kato he-P₁-eat-APP LOC chicken COP house
      'what Kato ate the chicken in is the house'

4.2.2. -ho *locatives.* The -ho locatives, except for the different
meanings they convey, behave in the same way as the -mu locatives we have
just illustrated in 4.2.1. The following examples thus illustrate subjec-
tivization, pronoun-incorporation, and reflexivization:

(56) emeez'ᵢ éᵢ-ka-lI-II-w-a h' ómwáan' ébîtooke   'the table was eaten ba-
      table it-P₃-eat-APP-PASS LOC child bananas   nanas on by the child'

(57) omwáán' a-ka-gIᵢ-lI-II-a h' ébîtooke   'the child ate the bananas on
      child he-P₃-it-eat-APP LOC bananas   it (=gI, table)'

(58) omushálj' a-k-éé-shaŋg-a h' ámahéla   'the man found money on
      man   he-P₃-REFL-find LOC money   himself'

4.2.3. Subjectivization of the whole locative phrase. With the locative marker on the verb, and the verb agreeing with the locative phrase (the agreement marker is ha- for both -mu and -ho locatives), it is possible to subjectivize a whole locative phrase, as shown in the following examples:

(59) omu-njú há-ka-lí-lí-w-a mú kat' éŋkôko   (cf. (30))
     in-house there-P₃-eat-APP-PASS LOC Kato chicken
     'in the house (there) was eaten the chicken by Kato'

(60) aha-meezá há-ka-lí-lí-w-a hó kat' éŋkôko
     on-table there-P₃-eat-APP-PASS LOC Kato chicken
     'on the table (there) was eaten the chicken by Kato'

Although transformationally speaking, the locative NP's marked on the verb behave in the same way as instrumental NP's, there is an interesting difference. Whereas the NP expressing the instrument does not take the preposition if the verb has been marked for the instrumental relation, as seen in (45) (repeated with a different past tense in (61)), the NP expressing the location cannot occur without a preposition unless a clitic coreferential pronoun appears in the verbal complex. Thus (62) is good, but (63) is not.

(61) kat' á-ka-sház' ⎧ ényam' ómúhyo ⎫   'Kato cut the meat with the
                     ⎩ ómuhy' ényama ⎭   knife'
     Kato he-P₃-cut/INSTR meat knife/knife meat

(62) kat' á-ka-giᵢ-lí-lí-a mw' éŋkôk' énjuᵢ   'Kato ate the chicken in it,
     Kato he-P₃-it-eat-APP LOC chicken house   the house'

(63) *kat' á-ka-lí-lí-a mw' éŋkók' énju   'Kato ate the chicken in the
     Kato he-P₃-eat-APP LOC chicken house   house'

Notice, however, that eŋkôko in (62) shows a falling tone on the second syllable. This indicates a phrase boundary between eŋkôko and énju (cf. Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976). As mentioned in 2.4, an NP such as énju in (62) must be interpreted as a "right-dislocated" constituent. In this sense it does not have the same syntactic status as omúhyo 'knife' in (61) (on the special status of locative NP's in a Bantu language closely related to Haya, see Dalgish 1976).

4.3. Dative NP's. A verb can also be marked for an NP argument that has, roughly, the range of meaning of Fillmore's (early) dative. The suffix used is the so-called "applicative" or "applied" morpheme -il/el- (the choice between the two vowels being determined by vowel harmony rules). As shown in the following examples, the dative NP in the unmarked word order immediately follows the verb:

(64) omukázy' a-ka-cumb-ll' ábáán' ébitooke   'the woman cooked the child-
     woman she-P₃-cook-APP children bananas   ren the bananas'

(65) ŋ-ka-léét-el' ómushálj' égíta   'I brought the man the guitar'
     I-P₃-bring-APP man   guitar

(66) kat' á-ka-gul-il' óbugány' énfi   'Kato bought for the party a fish'
      Kato he-P₃-buy-APP party   fish

In all three sentences the dative NP exhibits all the properties of basic DO's.
Examples (67) and (68) show subjectivization of abáana in (64) and omusháija
in (65), respectively.

(67) abáána bá-ka-cumb-il-w' ómukázy' ébitooke   'the children were cooked
      children they-P₃-cook-APP-PASS woman bananas   bananas by the woman'

(68) omusháij' a-ka-léét-el-w-a iny' égíta   'the man was brought the
        man   he-P₃-bring-APP-PASS me guitar   guitar by me'

Example (69) shows that reflexivization can apply when the dative NP is co-
referential with the subject:

(69) omukázy' a-k-éé-cumb-il' ébitooke   'the woman cooked (for) herself
        woman she-P₃-REFL-cook-APP bananas   the bananas'

Also other tests can be successfully applied, such as relative clause forma-
tion, pseudo-cleft formation, and pronoun-incorporation. Example (70) illus-
trates this last property:

(70) omukázy' a-ka-bá₁-cumb-il' ébitookeⱼ   'the woman cooked (for) them
        woman she-P₃-them-cook-APP bananas   [children] bananas'

A significant characteristic of Haya datives is that they can be ex-
pressed only in the just mentioned way. Whereas instrumentals and locatives
have an alternative prepositional coding (cf. section 3 for examples), there
is no dative preposition in Haya corresponding to English *to* or *for*. The
same phenomenon has been noticed in another Bantu language (Kinyarwanda) by
Gary and Keenan (1976) and Kimenyi (1976). As they point out, this restric-
tion in the coding of this semantic relation creates some problems for a
theory that would like to account for the above mentioned marking-rules in
terms of *advancements*. We will discuss some of these problems in the next
section.

5. HAYA AND THE THEORY OF RELATIONAL GRAMMAR

In this section we would like to discuss the Haya data with respect to
some of the claims made by "relational grammarians"[7] in terms of Universal
Grammar. In particular we will provide further evidence for what Gary and
Keenan (1976) have called the *Non-uniqueness Assumption*, according to which
a language can have more than one NP bearing the same grammatical relation
to the same verb. Furthermore, we will show that if we consider the verb-
marking suffixes illustrated in section 4 as a result of advancement-to-DO
rules (or "object-creating rules"), the Relational Annihilation Law (see
below) is repeatedly violated. Finally, we will discuss whether the Haya
data may support the weaker version of the Relational Annihilation Law pro-
posed by Gary and Keenan (1976).

5.1. Advancement rules in Relational Grammar. In the theory of Rela-
tional Grammar, advancement rules are the only kind of rules that affect

the status of an NP with respect to its grammatical relation to the verb
(or predicate). That is, given the primitive ("pure") grammatical relations
"subject of", "direct object of", and "indirect object of" (called "terms" by
Perlmutter and Postal) and the "impure" grammatical relations benefactive,
instrumental, locative, etc. (called "non-terms"), and given the Relational
Hierarchy Su ε DO $<$ IO $<$ non-terms, a rule that affects the relation of an NP,
NP_i to its verb can only move NP_i up in the hierarchy. This is explicitly
stated in the following (proposed universal) principles:

(71) *The Usurpation Principle* (Johnson 1974b): All usurpation rules
      [i.e. rules that make an NP take over the grammatical relation
      borne by another NP] move elements up in the A[ccessibility]
      H[ierarchy]^8 or else raise elements into a superordinate clause.

(72) *The Reranking Law* (Perlmutter and Postal 1974): A rule that
      alters the status of an NP with respect to termhood [i.e. the
      property of being a "term"] must increase the rank of that NP.

A rule like passivization, for instance, would be simply stated as DO $\longrightarrow$ Su.
The demotion of the "original" (or "basic") Su would not need to be stated
in the rule because of the following principle:

(73) *The Relational Annihilation Law* (Perlmutter and Postal 1974):
      When an NP, NP_i, assumes the grammatical relation borne by another
      NP, NP_j ($i \neq j$), then NP_j ceases to bear any grammatical relation
      whatsoever [with the verb]. Such NP_j's are called *chômeurs*.

The grammar of the particular language would specify the way in which a
rule is concretely realized in terms of word order, agreement, case marking.
In Haya, for instance, we would have to state that the "original" Su is
moved immediately after the verb and marked by zero (see 2.3 above).

     The above mentioned principles state that *demotions are implied by
advancements*. In fact, since Perlmutter and Postal (1974) assume that one
and only one NP can bear, at any given stage of derivation, a particular
grammatical relation to the verb (e.g. there can be only one Su or only one
DO), an advancement rule (e.g. Instrument $\longrightarrow$ DO) should never be allowed
to create another instance of an already present grammatical relation with-
out causing the NP already bearing that relation to be demoted from its status.

     Similar kinds of verb-marking morphemes to the ones illustrated in sec-
tion 4 have been described in other (Bantu and non-Bantu) languages as *side-
effects* of advancement rules. Chung (1976), for instance, show that in Ba-
hasa Indonesian when an indirect object (IO) or a benefactive NP, instead of
being marked by prepositions, is marked on the verb (in a way very similar
to the one illustrated for Haya), it exhibits all the properties of basic
DO's. On the other hand, the basic DO loses its DO properties. Chung argues
that these facts can be explained by postulating a sort of Dative Movement
Rule (benefactive and IO advancement-to-DO) that respects the Relational
Annihilation Law. When the IO or benefactive NP is advanced to DO, the ba-
sic DO is demoted (or "goes *en chômage*").

     Following this kind of approach, we might argue that the instrumental,
the locative, and the dative NP's are marked on the verb as a result of ad-

vancement-to-DO rules. This would explain why they share the DO-properties
(see above in section 4). However, Haya presents some problems with respect
to this kind of analysis. First of all, whereas we might argue that sentences
such as (45) are derived from sentences such as (27) via an instrumental →
DO rule,[9]

(27) kat' á-ka-shál' ányama n'ómúhyo   'Kato cut the meat   →
     Kato he-P3-cut   meat with knife   with a/the knife'

(45) kat' á-ka-sházʼ ⎧ ányam' ómúhyo ⎫   'Kato cut the meat with
                     ⎩ ómuhy' ányama ⎭   a/the knife'
     Kato he-P₃-cut/INSTR meat knife/knife meat

the same analysis could not be adopted for sentences with a dative-marked
verb like (64):

(64) omukázy' a-ka-cumb-il' ómwáán' ébitooke   'the woman cooked the
     woman she-P₃-cook-APP child   bananas   bananas for the child'

As already mentioned, for such sentences there is no corresponding preposi-
tional phrase, and therefore, there is no "source" for an advancement-to-DO
rule. Discussing the same phenomenon in Kinyarwanda, Gary and Keenan (1976)
propose to consider all the cases of dative NP's as "primitive" DO's. That
is, DO's that are not "derived" by advancement rules. The applicative suf-
fix -il/el- (Kinyarwanda -ir-) would be triggered by the semantic role of
the NP in the sentence. In so doing, however, Gary and Keenan must reject
the *Uniqueness Assumption* (only one instance of any grammatical relation).
They propose in fact the *Non-uniqueness Assumption*, which allows a language
to have more than one NP in the same grammatical relation to the verb. Ki-
nyarwanda would be a language that can have two DO's. In the following sec-
tion we will discuss whether the Haya verbs that can take three basic NP
arguments can be said to have two basic DO's.

    5.2. Verbs with three basic arguments. As already mentioned in sec-
tion 2, there are few verbs in Haya that take three basic NP arguments. We
will consider the verbs -silg- 'smear', -ólek- 'show', and -há- 'give'.
Examples (74) - (76) show sentences with three full NP's:

(74) kat' á-ka-silg' ómwáán' ámajúta   'Kato smeared oil on the child/
     Kato he-P₃-smear child   oil   Kato smeared the child with oil'

(75) kat' á-k-óólek' ómwáán' épîca   'Kato showed the child a picture'
     Kato he-P₃-show child   picture

(76) kat' á-ka-h' ómwáán' ékitabo   'Kato gave the child a book'
     Kato he-P₃-give child book

In the above examples both the NP's following the verb share all the proper-
ties of basic DO's, as we shall now demonstrate.

    5.2.1. Coding properties. As seen in (74) - (76) both NP's are prepo-
sitionless. The semantic dative (i.e. omwáana 'child' in all three examples)

must immediately follow the verb in the unmarked word order. As shown in 4.3 the same order is found with verb-marked dative NP's. For both kinds of dative NP's, the order becomes fundamental when the other NP after the verb is elgible to the dative role (e.g. if it has a human referent). This is shown in the following sentences:

(77) ŋ-k-óólek' ómwáán' ómukâzi   'I showed the woman to the child' (not
      I-P₃-show   child   woman   *I showed the child to the woman)

(78) ŋ-k-óólek' ómukázy' ómwáana   'I showed the child to the woman' (not
      I-P₃-show   woman   child   *I showed the woman to the child'

(79) ŋ-ka-hííg-il' ómuhíígy' émbwa   'I found a dog for the hunter' (not
      I-P₃-find-APP hunter   dog   *I found a hunter for the dog)

(80) ŋ-ka-hííg-il' émbw' ómuhíígi   'I found a hunter for the dog' (not
      I-P₃-find-APP dog   hunter   *I found a dog for the hunter)

5.2.2. Subjectivization. Both NP's can be subjectivization via passivization. However, there is a constraint on the application of this rule, that is, whereas the dative NP can be subjectivized starting from the sentences given in 5.2, as seen below, the non-dative NP (let us call it "accusative") cannot be subjectivized if there is a full agent NP in the sentence, as shown in (84)-(86).

(81) omwáán' a-ka-siig-w-a kat' ámajûta   'the child was smeared oil
      child   he-P₃-smear-PASS Kato oil   by Kato'

(82) omwáán' a-k-óólek-w-a kat' épîca   'the child was shown the pic-
      child   he-P₃-show-PASS Kato picture ture by Kato'

(83) omwáán' a-ka-háá-bw-a kat' ékitabo   'the child was given a book
      child   he-P₃-give-PASS Kato book   by Kato'

(84) *amajúta gá-ka-siig-w-a kat' ómwáana 'the oil was smeared (on)
       oil   it-P₃-smear-PASS Kato child   the child by Kato'

(85) *epíc' é-k-óólek-w-a kat' ómwáana   'the picture was shown (to)
       picture it-P₃-show-PASS Kato child   the child by Kato'

(86) *ekitabo kí-ka-háá-bw-a kat' ómwáana 'the book was given (to) the
       book   it-P₃-give-PASS Kato child   child by Kato'

The same constraint holds with dative NP's marked by the applicative morpheme, as seen in (87):

(87) *ebitooke bí-ka-cumb-il-w-a kat' ómwáana   'the bananas were cooked
       bananas they-P₃-cook-APP-PASS Kato child   for the child by Kato'

We suggest that the unacceptability of these sentences is due not to the "demoted" status of the accusative NP (which is accessible to all the other rules given in section 2; cf. below), but rather to a conflict between the agent NP and the dative NP in occupying the immediately-after-the-verb po-

sition. In fact, we have seen before that the only coding property of the agent NP in a passive sentence is its immediate postverbal position. We have also seen that dative NP's tend to occupy that same position. Our "conflict" hypothesis is supported by the acceptability of agentless passive sentences like the following:

(88) amajúta gá-ka-siig-w' ómwáana[10]   'oil was smeared (on) the child'
      oil   it-P$_3$-smear-PASS child

(89) epíc' e-k-óólek-w' ómwáana   'the picture was shown (to) the
      picture it-P$_3$-show-PASS child   child'

(90) ekItabo kí-ka-háá-bw' ómwáana   'the book was given (to) the
      book   it-P$_3$-give-PASS child   child'

These sentences show that the accusative NP is subjectivizable when the dative cooccurs in the sentence. Finally, sentences like (91) show that when the dative NP is a clitic and leaves the postverbal position free, the accusative NP can be subjectivized even in a sentence with the agent expressed:

(91) bá-ka-mw-óólek-w-a káto   'they were shown him by Kato'
      they-P$_3$-him-show-PASS Kato

(91) is in fact ambiguous between the two readings 'they (DAT) were shown him (ACC) by Kato' and 'they (ACC) were shown to him (DAT) by Kato'.

5.2.3. Reflexivization. Both non-subject NP's can be reflexivized, as shown by the ambiguity of (92):

(92) ŋ-k-éé-h' ómwáana   'I gave a/the child to myself'
      I-P$_3$-REFL-give child   'I gave myself to a/the child'

5.2.4. Pronoun-incorporation. Both NP's can trigger pronoun-incorporation with multiple pronouns capable of cooccurring:

(93) kat' á-ka-ga-mú-siig-a   'Kato smeared him with it/smeared it
      Kato he-P$_3$-it-him-smear   on him'

(94) kat' á-ka-gi-mw-óólek-a   'Kato showed it to him'
      Kato he-P$_3$-it-him-show

(95) kat' á-ka-kí-mú-h-a   'Kato gave it to him'
      Kato he-P$_3$-it-him-give

5.2.5. Other tests. Also left-dislocation, impersonal "ba-", relative clause formation, and pseudo-cleft formation apply to both NP's.

5.2.6. Discussion. We have shown that the verbs that take three basic NP arguments have two NP's behaving like DO's. This might be construed as further support for Gary and Keenan's proposal, which would give equal basic status to two underlying objects. However, one might claim that *other* rules or contexts exist which distinguish, say, datives and accusatives. This hypothesis might be preferred for the sake of saving the Uniqueness Assump-

tion, which makes a much stronger claim than the Non-uniqueness Assumption proposed by Gary and Keenan.

In the following sections we will provide additional data supporting a multiple DO analysis in Haya. We will show that Haya can have up to three NP's bearing the grammatical relation DO to the same verb. Our data will violate both the Relational Annihilation Law and its "weak" version proposed by Gary and Keenan (1976).

5.3. Violation of the Relational Annihilation Law. One of the main arguments presented by Chung (1976) in favor of a "relational" analysis of Dative Movement (i.e. benefactive and IO → DO) in Bahasa Indonesian was the loss of properties that the "basic" (or "deep") DO undergoes whenever the IO or benefactive NP is marked on the verb. Chung shows how difficult it is to account for these facts within the framework of Transformational Grammar using structural descriptions. Relational Grammar, on the other hand, offers a very satisfactory account of this phenomenon by means of the Relational Annihilation Law (cf. (73) above). When the IO of benefactive NP is "advanced" to DO (the marking on the verb cooccurs with the change of grammatical relations, i.e. as a side-effect of the rule), the original DO is demoted to an oblique status. Thus, it loses all its DO properties.

We will show in this section that the same argument cannot be adopted for Haya, because in our case the basic DO keeps all its properties when its verb gets marked for any of the semantic roles illustrated in section 4.

5.3.1. A "basic" DO and an instrumental NP. When the instrumental relation is marked on a verb that already has a DO, such as -téél- 'hit' in (96), the basic DO can still be subjectivized as in (97), it can trigger pronoun-incorporation as in (98), and (99), and satisfy all the other tests for direct objecthood.

(96) kat' á-ka-tééz' ómwáán' ékíti   'Kato hit the child with a piece
      Kato he-P$_3$-hit/INSTR child wood   of wood'

(97) omwáán' a-ka-tééz-i-bw-a kat' ékíti   'the child was hit by Kato
      child he-P$_3$-hit-INSTR-PASS Kato wood   with a piece of wood'

(98) kat' á-ka-mu-tééz' ékíti   'Kato hit him with a piece of wood'
      Kato he-P$_3$-him-hit/INSTR wood

(99) kat' á-ka-kí-mu-téez-a   'Kato hit him with it'
      Kato he-P$_3$-it-him-hit/INSTR

5.3.2. A "basic" DO and a locative NP. The following examples show that the basic DO keeps all the DO properties when the locative relation is marked on the verb.

(100) abáána bá-ka-bón-el-w-a mú kát' ómu-kyaalo   [SUBJECTIVIZATION]
      children they-P$_3$-see-APP-PASS LOC Kato in-village
      'the children were seen in the village by Kato'

(101) kat' á-ka-kí-ba-bón-el-á mu   'Kato saw them in it'
      Kato he-P$_3$-it-them-see-APP LOC   [PRONOUN-INCORPORATION]

(102) abáán' [ábó kató y-a-ki-bon-el-é mu]   'the children that Kato saw
       children REL Kato he-P$_1$-it-saw-APP LOC   in it' [REL CLAUSE]

5.3.3. A "basic" DO and a dative NP. We have already discussed in 5.2.2
under which conditions the accusative NP can be subjectivized. Examples (103)
and (104) show pronoun-incorporation of the accusative NP and of both the
accusative and dative NP respectively:

(103) ŋ-ka-bí-cumb-il' ómwáana   'I cooked them [bananas] for the child'
       I-P$_3$-them-cook-APP child

(104) ŋ-ka-bí-mú-cumb-il-a   'I cooked them for him'
       I-P$_3$-them-him-cook-APP

Example (105) shows that the reflexive pronoun can refer to either one of the
two NP's and therefore, both NP's can be reflexivized:

(105) a-ka-b-e-ít-il-a   'he killed them for himself'
       he-P$_3$-them-REFL-kill-APP   'he killed himself for them'

The other tests for objecthood also apply.

       The data illustrated above provides further support to the claim that
Haya can have two DO's. It is difficult to see how one could still argue
that sentences like (96) or (100) have a DO and an IO instead of simply ac-
cepting the idea of two NP's having the same syntactic status, i.e. two DO's.

5.4. The Weak Relational Annihilation Law. Similar data to the ones
illustrated above were found in Kinyarwanda by Gary and Keenan (1976) and
Kimenyi (1976). In order to save the general assumption made by Relational
Grammar on the relation between advancements and demotions, Gary and Keenan
propose a weaker version of the Relational Annihilation Law, which is also
consistent with their Non-Uniqueness Assumption.[11]

(106) *The Weak Relational Annihilation Law* (Gary and Keenan 1976): If
       in a given language, L, application of a promotion to X rule ex-
       ceeds the valence of X in L then one of the X's is demoted to non-
       term status.

By "valence" of a grammatical relation X to a given verb they mean "the max-
imum number of full NP's that can simultaneously bear the relation X to a
given verb in a *relationally primitive* sentence. A sentence is *relationally
primitive* just in case no term changing rules are involved in its deriva-
tion (Gary and Keenan 1976:116).

       The Weak Relational Annihilation Law allows a language to have more
than one NP bearing the same grammatical relation to the verb, and at the
same time, saves the basic assumption made by Perlmutter and Postal (1974)
that the demotion of an NP from its grammatical relation X to the verb can
be accounted for by a general principle instead of case by case. In what
follows we will show that Haya can have sentences with *three* DO's and there-
fore, in order to provide evidence for the Weak Relational Annihilation Law,
we should be able to demonstrate that Haya can have three DO's in a *relat-
ionally primitive* sentence.

    5.5. Three DO's. In sentences like (107) and (108) three NP's can be shown to have DO status.

(107) kat' á-ka-siig-is' ómwáán' ámajút' ékitambâla
        Kato he-P$_3$-smear-INSTR child oil handkerchief
        'Kato smeared the oil on the child with the handkerchief'

(108) kat' á-ka-cumb-il-il-a mw' ómwáan' ébitook' ómu-nyúŋgu
        Kato he-P3-cook-APP-APP LOC child bananas   in-pot
        'Kato cooked the bananas in the pot for the child'

In (107) omwáana (DAT), amajûta (ACC), and ekitambâla (INSTR) all share the properties of basic DO's and can therefore undergo both pronoun-incorporation and subjectivization as seen in the following examples:

(109) kat' á-ka-ki-ga-mú-siig-is-a   'Kato smeared it on him with it'
        Kato he-P$_3$-it-it-him-smear-INSTR   (ki = handkerchief; ga = oil)

(110) a. omwáán' a-ka-siig-is-i-bw-a kat' ámajút' ékitambâla
          child he-P$_3$-smear-INSTR-PASS Kato oil handkerchief
          'the child was smeared oil with the handkerchief by Kato'

      b. amajúta gá-ka-siig-is-i-bw' ómwáan' ékitambâla[12]
          oil   it-P$_3$-smear-INSTR-PASS child handkerchief
          'the oil was smeared on the child with the handkerchief'

      c. ekitambála kí-ka-siig-is-i-bw' ómwáán' ámajûta
          handkerchief it-P$_3$-smear-INSTR-PASS child oil
          'the handkerchief was used to smear the oil on the child'

The other tests also apply.[13]

    In (108) the nouns omwáana, ebitooke, and omu-nyúŋgu all have DO status. Examples in (111) show the application of passivization.

(111) a. omwáán' a-ka-cumb-il-il-w-a mú kat' ébitook' ómu-nyúŋgu
          child he-P$_3$-cook-APP-APP-PASS LOC Kato bananas in-pot
          'the child was cooked-for bananas in the pot by Kato'

      b. enyuŋgw' é-ka-cumb-il-il-w-a mw' ómwáán' ébitooke
          pot   it-P$_3$-cook-APP-APP-PASS LOC child bananas
          'the pot was cooked-in bananas for the child'

      c. ebitooke bí-ka-cumb-il-il-w-a mw' ómwáan' ómu-nyúŋgu
          bananas they-P$_3$-cook-APP-APP-PASS LOC child in-pot
          'the bananas were cooked for the child in the pot'

In (112) all three nouns are incorporated as pronouns:

(112) kat' á-ka-gi-bi-mú-cumb-il-il-á mu   'Kato cooked them for him
        Kato he-P$_3$-it-them-him-cook-APP-APP LOC   in it'

The other tests also apply.

    Notice that the above sentences provide decisive support to the Non-Uniqueness Assumption. In fact we cannot simply say for Haya that the two

grammatical relations DO and IO are "collapsed". We still would have another DO to justify. Thus even accepting the claim that what in some languages look like "the same grammatical relation" are in fact the realizations of two different grammatical relations that lost their differentiating features, we would still have to allow one of the two grammatical relations to "double".

   5.6. Three DO's in relationally primitive sentences. As mentioned above, in order to validate the Weak Relational Annihilation Law in Haya, we must find cases of relationally primitive sentences with three DO's. Examples (107) and (108) are not appropriate because they would involve at least one advancement rule: instrumental $\longrightarrow$ DO (for (107)) and locative $\longrightarrow$ DO (for (108)). Accepting the hypothesis made by Gary and Keenan (1976) on the dative marking triggered by the semantic relation and not by an advancement-to-DO rule, we can see three possible ways in which to come up with three DO's in a relationally primitive sentence (i.e. without applying any relation-changing rule): (i) by finding a verb with three basic DO's; (ii) by marking with an applicative morpheme (for dative) a verb that already has two DO's; (iii) by marking with two applicative morphemes a verb that already has one DO.

   Of all three possibilities, (i) and (iii) are not realized in Haya. There are no verbs with three basic DO's (i.e. verbs with four "basic NP arguments"), and it is not possible to mark two dative relations on the same verb by means of the applicative morpheme.[14] Thus we are left with (ii). We will briefly examine one case (but other examples would exhibit the same properties) and show that the three NP's that should behave as DO's do not fully exhibit all the properties outlined in section 2 above.

   To begin, sentences like (113) with three full NP DO's are hardly acceptable:

(113) ?*kat' á-ka-sιιg-ιι' ábantw' ómwáán' ámajûta
      Kato he-P₃-smear-APP people child   oil
      'Kato smeared the child with oil for the people'

The acceptability of (113) does not improve with different word orders. If we pronominalize one of the dative NP's, as in (114), we get a more acceptable sentence:

(114) ?kat' á-ka-bá-sιιg-ιι' ámajút' ómwáana   'Kato smeared the oil on the
      Kato he-P₃-them-smear-APP oil   child   child for them'

A sentence with three (clitic) pronouns is the only one that is completely acceptable:

(115) kat' á-ka-ga-ba-mú-sιιg-ιι-a   'Kato smeared it on him for
       Kato he-P₃-it-them-him-smear-APP   them'

(116) kat' á-ka-ga-b-éé-sιιg-ιι-a   'Kato smeared it on himself
       Kato he-P₃-it-them-REFL-smear-APP   for them'

In (116) above reflexivization has applied.

   Starting from (114), only omwáana can be subjectivized via passivization and only if the other NP's (except the agent) are pronominalized, as in (117):

(117)   omwáán' a-ka-ga-bá-siig-il-w-a káto   'the child was smeared oil
           child he-P$_3$-it-them-smear-APP-PASS Kato   for them by Kato'

Given the fact that even sentences like (118) and (119) are unacceptable,

(118)   *omwáán' a-ka-bá-siig-il-w-a kat' ámajûta   'the child was smeared for
           child he-P$_3$-them-smear-APP-PASS Kato oil   them the oil by Kato'

(119)   *abantu bá-ka-siig-il-w' ómwáán' ámajûta   'the people were smeared-for
           people they-P$_3$-smear-APP-PASS child oil   oil (on) the child'

one cannot simply argue that passivization cannot apply because of conflict
among the various NP's trying to get the immediate postverbal position. Re-
call from (110a) that amajûta does not have to occupy the position immediately
after the verb. Nevertheless, both (118) and (119) are unacceptable. In
(118) we have removed the dative NP abantu 'people' by pronominalizing it;
in (119) we have left the agent unexpressed. If the unacceptability of pas-
sive sentences derived from (113) (which is also unacceptable) was due to
the coding conflict of different NP's wanting to take over the immediate
postverbal position, both (118) and (119) should have been acceptable. It
appears that the predicate in such examples is somehow "overloaded" and rules
are not free to apply as in the other cases illustrated in previous sections.
It is then at least problematic to argue for relationally primitive sentences
with three DO's as being "normal" or "well-accepted" in Haya. Furthermore,
recall that if the number of verbs like -siig- 'smear', which take two basic
DO's, is highly restricted, the number of possible sentences with three "prim-
itive" DO's is even more restricted. We are still confronted with the ac-
ceptability of sentences like (115) and (116). So far pronoun-incorporation
seemed to be a very strong test for objecthood. It may happen, however, that
partially demoted DO's will lose properties such as subjectivization and re-
lative clause formation, but they will retain pronoun-incorporation. This
is the case when an instrumental relation is marked on a verb which already
has one basic DO and a dative DO marked by the applicative morpheme. In sen-
tences like (120) both omwáana 'child' and ebitooke share all the properties
of DO's, whereas n'ómúhyo 'with knife' behaves as a regular prepositional
phrase (cf. (3) above).

(120)   kat' á-ka-shál-il' ómwáán' ébitooke n'ómúhyo
           Kato he-P$_3$-cut-APP child   bananas with knife
           'Kato cut the bananas for the child with the knife'

If we mark the semantic relation of the instrumental on the verb, as in (121),
the result is an unacceptable sentence:

(121)   *kat' á-ka-shál-iz' ómwáán' ébitook' ómúhyo
           Kato he-P$_3$-cut-APP/INSTR child bananas knife
           'Kato cut the bananas for the child with the knife'

None of the three postverbal NP's can be subjectivized via passivization,
even if the agent is eliminated:

(122) a.   *omwáán' a-ka-shál-iz-i-bw-a (kat ó) ómuhy' ébitooke
             child he-P$_3$-cut-APP-INSTR-PASS Kato knife bananas
             'the child was cut-for the bananas with the knife (by Kato)'

b. *ebitooke bí-ka-shál-iz-i-bw-a (kató) ómwáán' ómúhyo
   bananas they-P₃-cut-APP-INSTR-PASS Kato child knife
   'the bananas were cut for the child with the knife (for Kato)'

c. *omuhyó gú-ka-shál-iz-i-bw-a (kató) ómwáán' ébitooke
   knife it-P₃-cut-APP-INSTR-PASS Kato child bananas
   'the knife was used to cut the bananas for the child (by Kato)'

As seen in (123), relative clause formation on the basic DO ebitooke and the dative (benefactive) omwáana also yields unacceptable sentences:

(123) a. *ebitook' ébyó kató y-a-shal-íz' ómwáán' ómúhyo
         bananas REL Kato he-P₁-cut-APP/INSTR child knife
         'the bananas that Kato cut with the knife for the child'

     b. *omwáán' ówó kató y-a-shal-íz' ómuhy' ébitooke
         child REL Kato he-P₁-cut-APP/INSTR knife bananas
         the child for whom Kato cut the bananas with the knife'

However, both pronoun-incorporation and reflexivization are allowed on all three NP's, as seen in (124) and (125).

(124) kat' á-ka-bí-gu-mu-shál-iz-a   'Kato cut them for him with it'
      Kato he-P₃-them-it-him-cut-APP/INSTR

(125) kat' á-ka-gu-mw-éé-shal-íz-a   'Kato cut himself for him with it'
      Kato he-P₃-it-him-REFL-cut-APP/INSTR   'Kato cut him for himself with it'
                                               'Kato caused himself to cut it for him'

If one attempts to interpret the Su as coreferential with the instrumental NP (made into a reflexive), a causative reading is obtained (cf. Trithart 1977).

   5.7. The Human Constraint. Another case of partial demotion we would like to mention is related to the nature of the referents involved in the action rather than to the syntactic/semantic relations borne by the NP's to the verb. It turns out that certain grammatical processes of DO's having a human referent can be blocked by the advancement to Su of another nonhuman DO. Consider the following example:

(126) kat' á-ka-tééz' ómwáán' ékíti   'Kato hit the child with a piece
      Kato he-P₃-hit/INSTR child wood   of wood'

We know from what was said earlier that both omwáana and ekíti are DO's. Nevertheless, there is a difference in their status. Whereas the advancement to subject of omwáana does not affect the status of ekíti (which can still trigger or undergo some of the rules that characterize DO's, e.g. pronoun-incorporation in (127) and relative clause formation in (128)),

(127) omwáán' á-ka-kí-tééz-i-bw-a káto   'the child was hit with it
      child he-P₃-it-hit-INSTR-PASS Kato   by Kato'

(128) ekity' éky' ómwáána y-a-teez-i-bw-a káto   'the piece of wood that
      wood REL child he-P₁-it-INSTR-PASS Kato   the child was hit with
                                                        by Kato'

the advancement to subject of ekîtì affects the objecthood of omwáana, which now cannot trigger pronoun-incorporation or be relativized, as seen in (129) and (130), respectively.

(129) *ekîtì kî-ka-mu-téếz-i-bw-a káto   'the piece of wood was used to
        wood it-P₃-him-hit-INSTR-PASS Kato   hit him by Kato'

(130) *omwáán' ów' ékîtì ky-a-teez-i-bw-e káto
        child REL wood it-P-hit-INSTR-PASS-P₃Kato
        'the child that the piece of wood was used to hit by Kato'

Notice that a sentence like (129) but with a full NP instead of the pronoun -mu- 'him' is fully acceptable:

(131) ekîtì kî-ka-téếz-i-bw-a kat' ómwáana   'the piece of wood was used
        wood it-P₃-hit-INSTR-PASS Kato child   by Kato to hit the child'

This phenomenon seems to be independent from semantic relations. In (126) - (131) the human NP is an accusative; in (132) it is a locative, and in (133) it is a dative.

(132) a. kat' á-ka-bón' énshwel' áha-mwáana   'Kato saw the fly on
          Kato he-P₃-see fly   on-child   the child'

     b. omwáán' a-ka-gì-bón-w-a hó káto   'the child was seen it (fly)
          child he-P₃-it-see-PASS LOC Kato   on by Kato'

     c. *enshwel' é-ka-mu-bón-w-a hó káto   'the fly was seen on him by
          fly   it-P₃-him-see-PASS LOC Kato   Kato'

(133) a. kat' á-ka-cumb-iì' ómwáán' ébitooke   'Kato cooked the bananas
          Kato he-P₃-cook-APP child   bananas   for the child'

     b. omwáán' a-ka-bí-cumb-ìì-w-a káto   'the child was cooked them
          child he-P₃-them-cook-APP-PASS Kato   by Kato'

     c. *ebitooke bí-ka-mú-cumb-ìì-w-a káto   'the bananas were cooked
          bananas they-P₃-him-cook-APP-PASS Kato   (for) him by Kato'

In (132b) the locative DO has been subjectivized and the basic DO eshwéla 'fly' has been pronominalized. The sentence is acceptable. In (132c), on the other hand, the basic (nonhuman) DO is subjectivized and the locative (human) DO is pronominalized, and the sentence is not acceptable. If we were to apply the other tests we would find the same behavior illustrated with examples (126) - (131). The same is true for the sentences in (132). However, when the DO's are either both human or both nonhuman, as in (134) and (135), respectively, the constraint does not hold:

(134) abáána bá-ka-mu-lếết-el-w-a káto
        children they-P₃-him-bring-APP-PASS Kato
        'the children were brought him by Kato'
        'he was brought the children by Kato'

(135) ebitooke bí-ka-gí-cumb-ìì-w-a káto   'the bananas were cooked for
        bananas they-P₃-it-cook-APP-PASS Kato   it (e.g. dog) by Kato'

We will tentatively call the constraint here mentioned the *Human Constraint*, and we will state it informally in the following way:

(136) *The Human Constraint:* In a sentence with more than one DO, the advancement to subject of a DO with a nonhuman referent affects the objecthood of any other present DO with a human referent.

This constraint can be thought of as related to the higher likelihood that a subject will be human rather than nonhuman (cf. Hawkinson and Hyman 1974, Keenan 1976). It seems that in order for a nonhuman DO to become Su, the other (human) DO must be "not in play". Pragmatically one could argue that the human referent must be of lesser importance with respect to the action of the verb than the nonhuman referent. Because this violates one's expectations (human referents should be more "involved" in actions than nonhuman referents) the syntactic consequence is a "dead object" or a "prepositionless oblique" (cf. Hyman 1977, Morolong and Hyman 1977).

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this paper we have provided further evidence for the Non-uniqueness Assumption proposed by Gary and Keenan (1976) by showing that in Haya three NP's can bear the grammatical relation DO to the same verb. We have also shown that if we consider verb-marking as related to advancement rules (e.g. instrumental $\rightarrow$ DO, locative $\rightarrow$ DO) Haya regularly violates the Relational Annihilation Law proposed by Perlmutter and Postal (1974) and probably the weaker version stated by Gary and Keenan (1976) as well.

One case has also been presented in which a (partial) demotion seems to be related to the nature of the referents rather than to the grammatical or semantic relation of the NP's. This has been tentatively related to the greater likelihood in discourse of human referents to occupy the subject slot over nonhuman referents.

We must conclude then that, in terms of Universal Grammar, demotions must be stated independently from promotions (e.g. advancements), even if in some languages they may depend on one another. A similar suggestion has been made by Comrie (1976) in discussion demotional passives in several different languages of the world.

NOTES

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[1]For the concept of "basic" sentence, see Keenan (1976).

[2]The same constraint does not hold for subjects of active sentences.

[3]Even though pronouns and agreement markers are usually related diachronically (cf. Givón 1976a), synchronically speaking they may be substantially different.

[4]Without Inye 'me', sentence (39) is acceptable with the meaning 'the

arm was broken by the man', that is, with omushá̱ija 'man' acting as the agent NP. The source of this sentence would be omushá̱ĳ' a-ka-hénd' ómukôno 'the man broke the arm' and not (36).

[5]We are not really concerned here with the problem of whether or not it might have been a DO at an earlier stage of the derivation (cf. Hyman 1977).

[6]Cf. Trithart (1977).

[7]Cf. Perlmutter and Postal (1974) and the papers in Cole and Sadock (eds.).

[8]Johnson refers to the Accessibility Hierarchy given in Keenan and Comrie (1972): Su > DO > IO > Obj. of Prep. > Possessive NP > Obj. of Comparison (where > means "greater or equal in accessibility").

[9]The same argument holds for locatives, since there are prepositional locatives from which to derive the ones marked on the verb. We must point out, however, that locatives, as shown earlier (cf. 4.2), keep the "preposition" when the full NP is expressed in its postverbal position.

[10]The three sentences (88), (89), and (90) are all in fact ambiguous. The postverbal NP can also be interpreted as agent. In this case these sentences would mean 'the oil was smeared by the child', 'the picture was shown by the child', and 'the book was given by the child'.

[11]Both the Weak Relational Annihilation Law and the Non-uniqueness Assumption contradict one of the predictions made by Relational Grammar on the effect of passivization on the verb. According to Perlmutter and Postal (1974) and Keenan (1975) one of the generalizations captured by the relational definition of passivization (DO → Su for Perlmutter and Postal; Su → OO or Ø for Keenan) would be the fact that the verb of a passive sentence is by definition "intransitive" (having lost its DO). However, if a language is allowed to have more than one DO (like Kinyarwanda and Haya, for instance) the verb of a passive sentence can still have an NP acting as DO. Therefore we cannot affirm that passivization makes the verb intransitive.

[12]This sentence as well as (c) must be agentless for the same constraint illustrated in 5.2.1. Note in all of these examples that the instrumental verb marking is effected by means of the two extensions -is-i- as argued by Trithart (1977).

[13]For relative clause formation, see Duranti (1977).

[14]It is, however, possible to have two applicative morphemes when there are both a dative and a locative, as in example (108).

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5

CAUSATIVES AND INSTRUMENTALS

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0. INTRODUCTION

This paper is a descriptive presentation of the morphology, syntax, and
semantics of Haya causatives and instrumentals. It presents the differences
in syntactic possibilities when causatives and instrumentals are marked with
free vs. bound morphemes and notes the similarities and differences between
the two bound morphemes -i- and -s-. Arguments are presented that -s- is a
compound morpheme, composed of -s+i-. Inferences are drawn about the sequence
of historical steps that led to the present relationship between -s- and -i-.

1. THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF CASE MARKING FOR CAUSATIVES AND INSTRUMENTALS

1.1. *Free morphemes*. In Haya, an Inst NP may be marked by the indepen-
dent proposition na 'with', as seen in (1).

(1)   kat' á-ka-baij-a n'[1] ómúhyo   'Kato carved with a knife'
      Kato he-P$_3$-carve with knife

Causation may be marked using the independent verb okukôla 'to do, make, cause,
work', as in (2).

(2)   ŋ-ka-kól-a kató ká-á-baij-a n'ómúhyo   'I had Kato carve with a
      I-P$_3$-cause Kato that-he-carve with knife   knife'

1.2. *Bound morphemes*. Alternatively, bound morphemes may mark Inst and
Caus NP's. Either of two bound morphemes is possible: -i- or -s-. These
morphemes occur as part of the verbal complex. Morpheme selection is condi-
tioned by the choice of lexical verb.

2. SURFACE REALIZATIONS OF THE BOUND MORPHEMES

2.1. *Surface realizations of the -i- morpheme*. The -i- marker comes from
Proto-Bantu *-i- and may cause spirantization of an immediately preceding al-
veolar or palatal consonant. Thus,

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} l \\ d \\ j \end{array} \right\} + i \rightarrow z \qquad\qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ sh \\ c \end{array} \right\} + i \rightarrow s$$

With other consonants it is normally realized as the glide [y]. This occurs by a completely regular rule in Haya phonology which converts a high vowel to the corresponding glide before an immediately following non-high vowel. Thus,

$$i \rightarrow y \quad / \quad \underline{\qquad} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} -high \\ V \end{array} \right]$$

Table 1 below gives examples of verb stems which end in different consonants and which take the causative/instrumental marker -i-.

TABLE 1[2]

	BASIC VERB		VERB MARKED WITH -i-
l + i → z	okukîla	'to surpass'	okukîza
	okwíĵjula	'to fill'	okwíĵjuza
	okutéela	'to beat'	okutéeza
	okukôla	'to cause, work'	okukôza
	okunágila	'to sleep'	okunágiza
	okugula	'to buy'	okuguza
	okutóola	'to receive'	okutóoza
d + i → z	okuhênda	'to break'	okuhênza
	okugenda	'to go'	okugenza
j + i → z	okwiija	'to come'	okwiiza
	okubaija	'to carve'	okubaiza
	okwonja	'to go mushrooming'	okwonza
t + i → s	okwíita	'to kill'	okwíisa
	okwáata	'to break'	okwáasa
sh + i → s	okushaasha	'to hurt'	okushaasa
c + i → s	okucalca	'to be disturbed'	okucalsa
	okucanca	'to get busy'	okucansa
m + i → my	okuguma	'to be hard'	okugumya
g + i → gy	okushága	'to exceed, surpass'	okushágya
	okwóoga	'to be clean, wash self'	okwóogya
k + i → ky	okwôŋka	'to suckle!'	okwôŋkya
	okwaaka	'to glow'	okwaakya
h + i → hy	okutaaha	'to enter'	okutaahya

2.2. Surface realizations of the -s- morpheme. The first vowel of the -s- morpheme is phonologically conditioned. That is, it undergoes vowel harmony. The marker is realized as [is] following verb stems whose final vowel is i, u, or a. It is realized as [es] following verb stems whose final vowel is e or o. Table 2 below gives examples of verb stems which have different final vowels and take the causative/instrumental marker -s-.

TABLE 2

	BASIC VERB		VERB MARKED WITH -s-
final -a-	okutaaha	'to enter'	okutaahisa
	okusháaga	'to exceed, surpass'	okusháágisa
	okunaaba	'to wash'	okunaabisa
	okunâga	'to lose, throw away'	okunágisa
	okubâka	'to catch'	okubákisa
	okulwaana	'to fight'	okulwaanisa
	okugana	'to tell tales'	okuganisa
final -i-	okúhya	'to burn, be cooked'	okuhʃisa
final -u-	okuguma	'to be hard'	okugumisa
	okulûma	'to bite'	okulúmisa
	okushuna	'to pinch'	okushunisa
final -e-	okwéega	'to learn'	okwéégesa
	okuleeba	'to look'	okuleebesa
	okugenda	'to go'	okugendesa
final -o-	okwóoga	'to wash'	okwóógesa
	okubôna	'to see'	okubónesa
	okulôba	'to fish with a hook'	okulóbesa

3. REGULAR AND DEVIANT SEMANTIC USES: COMPLETE AND DEFECTIVE PARADIGMS

Either of the bound causative/instrumental morphemes (CI) may at times carry a completely predictable instrumental or causative meaning according to the context of the sentence. For example, (3b) shows -i- marking an instrumental NP. In this sentence, the meaning of the verb marked by -i- is completely predictable from the meaning of the basic verb, shown in (3a).

(3) a. kat' á-ka-téél' ómwáána n'éŋkoni   'Kato beat the child with
     Kato he-P₃-beat child with stick   a stick'

   b. kat' á-ka-tééz' ómwáán' éŋkoni   'Kato beat the child with
     Kato he-P₃-beat/CI child stick   a stick'

Similarly, (4b) shows -i- marking causation. Here again, the meaning of the verb marked by -i- is completely predictable from the meaning of the basic verb, shown in (4a).

(4) a. kat' á-ka-kól' émilimo   'Kato did the work/Kato worked'
     Kato he-P₃-work work

   b. ŋ-ka-kóz-aa kat' émilimo   'I had Kato do the work'
     I-P₃-work/CI Kato work

Sentence (5) shows affixation of -s- to mark instrumental and causation with similarly predictable results.

(5) a. kat' á-ka-bák' ómupʃʃla n'ékikápu   'Kato caught the ball with
     Kato he-P₃-catch ball with basket   a basket'

   b. kat' á-ka-bák-is' ómupʃʃl' ékikápu   'Kato caught the ball with
     Kato he-P₃-catch/CI ball basket   a basket'

    c. ŋ-ka-bák-ɪs-aa kat' ómupɪ́ɪɩa   'I had Kato catch the ball'
       I-P$_3$-catch/CI Kato   ball

    While the meanings associated with the -ɪ- and -s- forms are *usually*
predictable from those of the basic verb, one cannot always predict whether
these suffixes will convert a basic verb into a causative or an instrumental.
For example, the -ɪ- marker of okusháagya, from okusháaga 'to exceed, surpass',
can carry only instrumental meaning, not causative (cf. however the necessarily
causative form okusháágɪsa). On the other hand, the -ɪ- form okwɪ́ɪjuza, from
okwɪ́ɪjuɩa 'to fill (intr.)', can carry only causative meaning, not instrumental.
The -s- marker of okwéégesa, from okwéega 'to learn', can only carry causative
meaning, and so forth. Thus, certain verbs can be said to have defective
paradigms.

4. GENERAL RESTRICTIONS ON CONTEXTS FOR OCCURRENCE

    4.1. *Mutual exclusiveness of contexts for occurrence of -ɪ- and -s-.*
In general, in any given sentence, if -ɪ- may be used to mark instrumental or
causative, then -s- is not an acceptable alternative for the same function,
and vice-versa. In short, the two CI markers may never be freely substituted
for each other.

    4.2. *Constraints against repeated occurrences of the same CI morpheme.*
Although it is possible for a sentence to contain two different structures
which may both condition appearance of a bound morpheme in isolation, in con-
junction, the two different structures cannot condition two appearances of
the morpheme. For example, in (6b) an instrument can condition appearance of
-ɪ- on the verb of (6a). Similarly, in (6c) causation can condition -ɪ- on
the same verb. A sentence like (6d), however, which contains both instrument
and causation cannot contain two appearances of the -ɪ- marker. Instead, at
least one of the constructions must be marked using a free morpheme, as in (6e).

(6) a.   kat' á-ka-baɩj' óbwáato   'Kato carved a boat'
       Kato he-P$_3$-carve boat

   b.   kat' á-ka-baɩz' óbwáát' ómúhyo   'Kato carved a boat with a knife'
        Kato he-P$_3$-carve/CI boat knife

   c.   ŋ-ka-baɩz-aa kat' óbwáato   'I had Kato carve a boat'
        I-P$_3$-carve/CI Kato boat

   d.   *ŋ-ka-baɩz-(y)-a kat' óbwáát' ómúhyo   'I had Kato carve a boat
        I-P$_3$-carve/CI-CI Kato boat   knife   with a knife'

   e.   ŋ-ka-kóɩ-a kató ká-á-baɩz' óbwáát' ómúhyo   'I had Kato carve a boat
        I-P$_3$-cause Kato that-he-carve/CI boat knife   with a knife'

Likewise, in (7b), the addition of causation conditions the appearance of -s-
on the verb of (7a). Presumably, the addition of a second causative should be
able to do so also. This is not the case, however. Instead, appearance of two
-s- markers on the verb is ungrammatical. The construction can be expressed
grammatically only by replacing one of the bound morphemes with a free morpheme,
as in (7d).

(7) a. omwáán' a-k-éég' éísabu   'the child learned arithmetic'
       child he-P₃-learn arithmetic

    b. omwaalImw' á-k-éég-es' ómwáán' éísabu   'the teacher taught the
       teacher he-P₃-learn/CI child arithmetic   child arithmetic'

    c. *edmásit' a-k-éég-es-es' ómwaalImw' ómwáán' éísabu
       headmaster he-P₃-learn-CI-CI teacher child arithmetic
       'the headmaster had the teacher teach the child arithmetic'

    d. edmásit' a-ka-kól' ómwaalImú ká-á-yeg-es' ómwáán' éísabu
       headmaster he-P₃-cause teacher that-he-learn/CI child arithmetic
       'the headmaster had the teacher teach the child arithmetic'

5. VERBS WHICH MAY APPEAR WITH EITHER -I- or -s-.

A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 indicates that some Haya verbs may appear with either -I- or -s- in isolation. Table 3 lists a few of these verbs.

TABLE 3

BASIC VERB	with -I-	with -s-
okutaaha 'to enter, carry out wedding ceremony'	okutaahya 'to cause to enter'	okutaahIsa 'to help in wedding ceremony'
okusháaga 'to exceed, surpass'	okusháagya 'to exceed, surpass in X'	okusháágisa 'to exceed, surpass in X'
okuguma 'to be hard'	okugumya 'to have fortitude'³	okugumIsa 'to harden'
okugenda 'to go'	okugenza 'to go by X'	okugendesa 'to drive, cause to go'
okwóoga 'to be clean, wash intr.'	okwóogya 'to wash tr.'	okwóógesa 'to cause to wash/wash with'

These verbs frequently display an idiosyncratic meaning in one or another of their forms, as in the first and third cases above. When they don't, however, as with okwóoga 'to be(come) clean, wash oneself', okwóogya 'to wash (tr.)', and okwóógesa 'to cause to wash/wash with', it is possible to construct causative + instrumental constructions or double causative constructions without the use of free sentence formatives. The relative position and functioning of the two different markers, -I- and -s-, with these verbs is suggestive for the analysis of causative markers with a wider range of verbs. For the time being, I will consider only the implications for morphological analysis of the two markers -I- and -s-. Later, however, in section 9.3, I will consider their implications for describing the function of the -I- morpheme.

6. MORPHEME EMBEDDING AND DISAPPEARANCE

Consider the following sentences with okwóoga 'to be clean, wash self':

(8) a. ebyombo bí-k-óog-a   'the dishes became clean'
       dishes they-P₃-be clean

b. kat' á-k-óóg-y' ébyombo   'Kato caused the dishes to become
   Kato he-P₃-be clean/CI dishes   clean/Kato washed the dishes'

c. kat' á-k-óóg-es' ésabûndi   'Kato washed (himself) with soap'
   Kato he-P₃-be clean/CI soap

d. kat' á-k-óóg-ès' ébyomb' ésabûndi   'Kato caused the dishes to become
   Kato he-P₃-be clean/CI dishes soap   clean (i.e. washed them) with soap'

In (8a) the verb okwóoga occurs in its basic form with an intransitive meaning
(glossed best as 'to become clean', or 'to wash [intransitive]'. It carries no
bound morphemes to indicate either causative or instrumental. In (8b), the
marker -ɩ- has been suffixed to the basic verb stem to indicate causative. In
(8c), -s- has been suffixed to the basic verb stem to indicate instrumental.
Thus, presumably, both of the bound morphemes -ɩ- and -s- should appear. In
fact, however, this is not the case. Instead, the surface form of (8d) reveals
only the bound morpheme -s-. This suggests some rule prevently surface reali-
zation of -ɩ-. There is, in fact, in Haya phonology, a constraint against
[sy] sequences. Thus, although [s] is a consonant of Haya, [y] is a glide,
and consonant-glide sequences are allowable, an [sy] sequence never appears.
The construction of the verbal complex in (8d) can be seen as completely re-
gular, therefore, if the underlying form is analyzed as /a-ka-óg-s-ɩ-a/,
with the verb stem followed first by -s-, then by -ɩ-. The -ɩ- morpheme be-
comes [y] because it is immediately followed by -a. This [y] is then deleted
in accordance with the surface constraint in Haya against [sy] sequences.

A completely parallel derivation occurs in the verb of (9), where the
sentence contains a double causative construction.

(9) ŋ-k-óóg-es-aa kat' ébyombo   'I caused Kato to cause the dishes to be-
     I-P₃-be clean-CI Kato dishes   come clean/I had Kato wash the dishes'

Sentences (8a) and (8b) are those which are relevant in the derivation of (9).
As noted before, in (8a), the verb okwóoga occurs in its basic intransitive
form. In (8b), -ɩ- has been suffixed to indicate causative. In (9), there-
fore, a double causative construction, both -s- and -ɩ- are expected. In
fact, only -s- occurs. Thus, it is necessary to posit an underlying -ɩ- which
is deleted by the constraint against [sy] sequences.

7. ARGUMENTS FOR A GENERAL ANALYSIS OF -s- AS A COMPOUND MORPHEME -s+ɩ-

The fact that -s- in these sentences can be analyzed as a sequence of
/s+ɩ/ raises the question of whether such an analysis might be applicable
generally. There is, in fact, evidence for such a generalization. This evi-
dence comes from four sources: (i) vowel lengthening; (ii) constructions in
which some morpheme can intervene between the two CI markers (e.g. in situa-
tions where the P₂ or applicative extension occurs); (iii) alternations between
[s] and [sh]; and (iv) alternations in the shape of the passive morpheme.

7.1. *Vowel lengthening.* In general in Haya, the rule which reduces high
vowels to glides before an immediately following non-high vowel, that is, the
rule which is assumed to reduce the -ɩ- CI marker to [y], is accompanied by
compensatory lengthening of the following vowel. Various surface constraints,
such as that preventing long vowels in utterance final position, can operate

to prevent surface realization of the vowel lengthening rule. As an extremely
low-level phonetic rule, its output is not always transcribed. In the rele-
vant preceding examples we have, however, indicated the lengthened final vowel,
i.e. (4b), (5c), (6c), and (9). Thus, in an environment which allows the
lengthened vowel to surface (i.e. one which does not condition vowel elision
or vowel shortening), a lengthened vowel always follows the -s- affix. This
lengthened vowel results from glide formation ($i \rightarrow y$) and compensatory leng-
thening of the following vowel. The causative morpheme is then deleted in
accordance with the surface constraint against [sy] sequences. The same
vowel lengthening occurs even with a verb such as okubâka 'to catch' which never
has -i- in isolation. The lengthened final vowel in (10) is thus explained
by the analysis of -s- as -s+i-.

(10)   ŋ-ka-gu-bák-is-aa kát' ómupʃila   'I had Kato catch it, the ball'
       I-P₃-it-caught-CI Kato ball

   7.2. *Intervening morphemes.* 7.2.1. *The P₂ marker.* The P₂ tense in
Haya refers to events which happened the day before and produces verbs with
the structure shown in (11).

(11)   SM - verb stem - il - é

Thus, a verb such as okusháaga 'to exceed, surpass' is realized in the P₂ tense
as ashaagʃle /a-sháág-il-é/ 'he surpassed (yesterday)'. When a verb that takes
the -i- marker appears in P₂, -i- falls between the final two syllables -il-
and -é- of the basic form, causing spirantization of [i]. Thus, the instru-
mental form of ashaagʃle 'he surpassed (yesterday)' is ashaagʃze, analyzed as
/a-sháág-il-i-é/ (verb stem + il tense marker + i CI marker, + é tense marker).
with the -i- CI marker causing spirantization of [i] and subsequently disap-
pearing. This verb shows the relative ordering of the tense morphemes and
CI morpheme -i-. It also shows the phonological changes in the tense morpheme
-il- which the -i- morpheme induces.

   When a verb that takes the -s- CI marker appears in P₂, the changes that
are induced are completely unexpected if a monomorphemic analysis of the marker
is assumed. Under an analysis of the marker as composed of -s+i-, however,
the changes are completely predictable. A verb such as okugana 'to tell tales',
for example, takes the CI marker -s-, giving the causative form okuganisa.
Under a monomorphemic analysis of -s-, the P2 form for this verb would be as-
sumed to be *-ganilise or *ganisile, depending on the assumed order of causa-
tive and tense-marking morphemes. In fact, however, neither of these forms is
acceptable. Instead, the correct form is -ganʃsize, analyzed as /-gan-is-il-i-é/
or verb stem + s causative marker + il tense marker + i causative marker + é
tense marker. Here the -i- causative causes spirantization of the preceding
[i] and subsequently disappears, just as it did with okutóola 'to receive'.
The P₂ tense thus provides evidence for an analysis of -s- as a compound marker
-s+i-, since the spirantized [i] reflects the earlier presence of -i-, normal-
ly hidden by the surface constraint against [sy] sequences.

   7.2.2. *The applicative marker.* The arguments for analyzing the -s-
marker as underlying -s+i- are here completely parallel to those just given
for P₂. The relevant sentences are given in (12) and (13).

(12)   kat' á-k-óóg-ez-aa balong' ébyombo   'Kato washed (caused to be clean)
       Kato he-P₃-cleanAPP/CI Balongo dishes   the dishes for Balongo

(13) a.   ŋ-ka-cumb-a   'I cooked'
          I-P₃-cook

     b.   ŋ-ka-kú-cumb-il-a   'I cooked for you'
          I-P₃-you-cook-APP

     c.   ŋ-ka-mú-cumb-ìs-a   'I caused him to cook'
          I-P₃-him-cook-CI

     d.   ŋ-ka-mu-kú-cumb-is-iz-a   'I had him cook for you'
          I-P₃-him-you-cook-CI-APP/CI

Sentence (12) shows the ordering of morphemes which results when both the applicative (APP) extension -i- (representing, here, a benefactive) and the -i- CI marker appear in the same verb. Thus, the APP extension immediately precedes the -i- CI marker (the first vowel of the APP extension, like the vowel of the -s- CI marker, is phonologically conditioned). The -i- CI marker causes spirantization of the preceding [l] and subsequently drops out, giving [ez] as the phonological fusion of the two morphemes.

Sentence (13b) shows the -i- APP extension, marking a benefactive, affixed to the verb okucumba 'to cook', shown in its basic form in (13a). Sentence (13c) shows that okucumba takes the -s- CI marker. Sentence (13d) shows the compound nature of the -s- morpheme which surfaces when causative -s- appears in the same verb as the APP suffix. Here the compound nature of the -s- CI marker is revealed because the benefactive marker -i- occurs between the two morphemes -s+i- which normally are not separately distinguishable. Thus, the morphological breakdown of [ìsìz] in the verb of (13d) is /s CI + i APP + i CI/ which accounts for the l → z spirantization which occurs.

7.3. *Alternations between* [s] *and* [sh]. In Haya the phonetic [š], orthographically and henceforth sh, which is found before the vowels e, a, o, and u, derives from earlier *s, attested in closely related languages, e.g. Luganda, as seen in (14).

(14)   Luganda   elíiso   Haya   elíisho   'eye'

       Luganda   omusâjja   Haya   omushâija   'man'

       Luganda   omusujja   Haya   omushuliija   'fever'

In Haya, [sh] is not found before [i], and [s] is found only rarely anywhere but before [i]. Let us assume for the purpose of the present discussion that there is a rule in Haya of the form:

$$s \rightarrow sh \: / \: \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \: \{ e, \, a, \, o, \, u \} \quad [4]$$

What this means is that if the -s- CI marker were monomorphemic in nature, we would expect forms such as *okucumbisha 'to cause to cook', instead of the correct okucumbisa. The reason why the /s/ of the CI marker does not become [sh] in such forms is that it is followed by the -i- CI marker, as we have argued above. Thus, the alveolar [s] is "preserved", so to speak, before the -i-, which will later go on to become a glide and then delete. We must assume the same explanation for such rare forms as okúsa 'to grind', which we analyze as underlying /ó-ku-sí-a/. Note, finally, the following two forms

involving both an -I- CI marker an an -I- APP marker:

(15) a. okujunIsiza   'to cause to help for X'   /ó-ku-jun-Is-II-I-a/

     b. okugendesheza 'to cause to go for X'   /ó-ku-gend-es-eI-I-a/

In (15a) we obtain the [Isiz] sequence we saw earlier in (13d). The spiran-
tization of [I] is caused by the -I- CI marker which follows the APP extension.
In (15b), however, the /s/ of the -s- CI marker has become [sh] since it is
followed *not* by [i], but by [e], in accordance with the vowel harmony properties
mentioned earlier. We therefore observe that when the two CI markers become
separated (i.e. -s ... i-), and when the -s- CI marker is not followed by [i],
its underlying /s/ becomes [sh] just like any other underlying /s/. This
therefore provides a strong argument for the bimorphemic nature of the -s-
CI marker.

    7.4. *Alternations in the shape of the passive morpheme.* The passive
morpheme has two shapes in Haya: -w- and -bw-. The -w- form occurs following
a consonant; -bw- occurs following a vowel, as shown in (16).

(16)   ACTIVE   PASSIVE

    C :   okutééela   okutééelwa   'to beat/be beaten'

          okubâka   okubâkwa   'to catch/be caught'

    V :   okúha   okuháabwa   'to give/be given'

          okúlya   okulíIbwa   'to eat/be eaten'

The verb stems in the above forms are -téél-, -bák-, -há-, and -lí-.

    Now, the form of the passive marker following an -s- causative is -bw-,
not -w-, as seen in the form okucumbIsIbwa 'to cause to be cooked'. That is,
it is the form which follows a *vowel*, not that which follows a consonant,
which would be *okucumbIswa.

    In addition, the vowel which appears separating -bw- from the preceding
-s- is -I-. This -I- vowel is *not* the same as that which can appear preced-
ing the CI marker -s- (and the applicative marker -I-). The vowel preceding
-s- and -I- seems to be an epenthetic vowel which is the reflex of Proto-
Bantu *I (non-superclosed). As such, it harmonizes with the final vowel of
the preceding verb stem, as shown in (17) (cf. section 2.2).

(17)   BASIC VERB   APP VERB   s-CI VERB

    I   okuzîna   okuzínIla   okuzínIsa   'to sing'

    e   okutêma   okutémela   okutémesa   'to cut'

    a   okulaba   okulabIla   okulabisa   'to pass by'

    o   okubôna   okubónela   okubónesa   'to see'

    u   okucumba   okucumbila   okucumbisa   'to cook'

The -I- separating the passive marker -bw- from the preceding CI marker -s-,
however, does not participate in vowel harmony, as shown in okubónesIbwa 'to

```
          ' á-ká-íjuz-a          'Kato caused to be full/Kato filled'
       o he-P₃-fill/CI

        a-bák-ıs-a              'I caused [someone to] catch'
        ₃-catch-CI
         ' á-ka-bâk-a           'Kato caught'
         o he-P₃-catch
```

(20b), repeated below for convenience, is acceptable without an
subject, but (21b) is not.

```
        ka-baiz' óbwáato        'I caused (*helped) to carve a boat'
        P₃-carve/CI boat

        ka-bák-ıs' ómupílla     'I (*caused/*helped) to catch a ball'
        P₃-catch-CI  ball
```

nce between the two is that the verb in (20b) is a "basic" transi-
with a lexicalized -ı- causative whereas the verb in (21b) is pro-
erived.

rly, a transitive verb without an overt direct object can accept
ve argument as shown in (33).

```
        á-ka-bák-ıl-a balongo        'Kato caught for Balongo'
        he-P₃-catch-APP Balongo
```

intransitive verb which carries the -ı- suffix can also appear
overt direct object (the lower subject in a causative analysis),
benefactive argument, as shown in (34).

```
        á-ká-íjul-ız-aa balongo       'Kato filled for Balongo'
        he-P₃-fill-APP/CI Balongo
```

-s- marked transitive verb cannot appear without an overt direct
lower subject in a causative analysis) in such a case, as seen in (35).

```
        bák-ıs-ız-aa balongo        'I caused [someone] to catch for
        catch-CI-APP/CI Balongo             Balongo'
```

that a transitive verb obtained through affixation of -ı- to an
verb, as in okwóogya 'to wash (tr.)' from okwóoga 'to wash (intr.)',
tly like the lexically transitive verb okubâka 'to catch' in these
s.

```
        óg-esh-ez-aa balongo        'I caused [someone] to wash for
        wash-CI-APP/CI Balongo              Balongo'
```

er syntactic parallelisms between the lower subject of an -ı-
nsitive verb and the DO of a basic transitive verb are possible.

e for the lexicalization of -ı- causatives also appears in the
e shifts of meaning which can occur from the basic to the -ı-

marked form of verbs, as shown in (37).

(37)   BASIC FORM   I-MARKED FORM

          okuguma   'to be hard'   okugumya   'to have fortitude'

          okukôla   'to work'   okukôza   'to stab'

9.4. *The -I- marker as the historically earlier causative.* Several
facts taken in conjunction suggest that the -I- causative is the historically
earlier of the two markers and that it was augmented by -s- in cases where
verb stem + I had not become the lexicalized CI form.

The first is the fact that the two causative instrumental markers exist
in Haya without any apparent division of function, but that the markers for
the most part are not interchangeable in specific sentences or with specific
verbs. Second, -I- appears primarily with (i) intransitive verbs, where its
affixation produces the corresponding transitive form, and (ii) with transi-
tive verbs which end in an alveolar (or palatal), where it causes spirantiza-
tion. These are both situations in which lexicalization of the causative form
can easily occur, and this appears to have happened, as evidenced by the fact
that -I- no longer requires the overt presence of the NP or pronoun it marks,
as do other Haya verbal extensions.

Further, when a verb has two CI forms, one marked with -I- and the other
with -s-, the -I- form tends to be that with the more idiosyncratic or older
meaning, and the -s- form, that with the more regular or newer meaning. For
example, okugumya 'to have fortitude' has an irregular semantic relationship
to its base form okuguma 'to be hard'. It appears that after lexicalization
of -I-, a semantic shift occurred; or perhaps lexicalization took place *as a
result* of the semantic shift. In either case this left okuguma 'to be hard'
without a semantically regular -I- causative form. In this absence an -s-
causative has developed: okugumIsa 'to harden' (cause to become hard). Sim-
ilarly, okugenda 'to go' has a semantically regular I-marked instrumental form
okugenza 'to go by X'. It also has a semantically regular -s- marked causa-
tive form okugendesa 'to cause to go'. It is the -s- marked form, however,
which has been adopted for the relatively recent need for the meaning 'to drive
(as an automobile)'.

There is also the fact that the -I- marker in isolation is not productive,
whereas the -s- marker is.

Finally, the -s- marker always contains the -I- marker within it, sug-
gesting an augmentation of nonlexicalized -I- by -s-.

10. SUMMARY

To summarize, Haya has two structurally different ways of marking causa-
tives and instrumentals: (i) free morphemes, and (2) bound morphemes. The
free morphemes are na 'with', used to mark instrumentals, and okukôla 'to
cause, work', used to mark causation. The bound morphemes are -I- and -s-.
The -I- CI marker comes from Proto-Bantu *ɩ, causes spirantization of an im-
mediately preceding alveolar or palatal consonant, and does not undergo vowel
harmony. The -s- marker does not cause spirantization and does undergo vowel
harmony. There is strong evidence for a synchronic analysis of -s- as a com-
pound marker composed of -s+I-.

The choice of morpheme for a given sentence is conditioned primarily by the choice of lexical verb. Either marker may assume either an instrumental or causative reading, according to the sentence they occur in. With either meaning, these markers make the NP to which they refer accessible to verb infix agreement and pronominalization, as well as to subjectivization.

The meaning of these affixes in causative constructions is determined by the semantic relations of the NP's in the lower S. For example, these affixes assume a 'help' meaning when a lower agent is present. They assume a 'cause' meaning when a lower patient is present.

Of the two markers, there is a tendency for -i- to appear with (i) inherently intransitive verbs, and (ii) with transitive verbs which end in an alveolar or palatal consonant, and for -s- to appear with remaining verbs. Of the two markers, -s- is by far the more productive and frequently used. The -i- marker appears to be the historically earlier form which has been supplemented by -s- as it became lexicalized.

NOTES

[1]The vowel of the instrumental preposition has been elided preceding the initial vowel of the following word.

[2]Cf. E. R. Byarushengo, *An Examination of the Segmental Phonology of Haya.* Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam (1975).

[3]As in okugumy' ómwooyo 'to be strong at heart, to have a strong will' (omwooyo 'heart').

[4]The possibility of an "inverted" solution whereby /sh/ is considered underlying and [s] derived only before [i] will ultimately have to be considered. For discussion of the historical vs. the inverted approach to another kind of consonant alternation in Haya, see E. R. Byarushengo, "On the phonological status of p/h and d/l" (in this volume).

[5]For discussion of the nature of the "direct object" in Haya, see A. Duranti and E. R. Byarushengo, "On the notion of 'direct object'" (in this volume).

6

LOCATIVES

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0. INTRODUCTION

    This paper presents a preliminary description of Haya locatives. It can
be considered neither final nor complete, but even in the space of this brief
investigation, several interesting points have surfaced. Among these are:
(i) the syntactic behavior of lexicalized vs. derived forms for the same se-
mantic and grammatical relation, and (ii) the synchronic or historical rela-
tionship between two locative markers with comparable meaning, e- and o-ku-.
In spite of its preliminary nature, it is hoped that the present study will
prove to be of some use in future investigations of Haya grammar. At present
it stands as one more piece in a growing body of descriptive information and
linguistic speculation on the interesting subject of Bantu locatives.[1]

1. PRONOMINAL FORMS

    Haya has four basic locative markers:

    a-ha   'on' (or restricting an area)

    o-ku   referring to an unspecified place

    o-mu   'inside'

     e-   indicating a general area

The e- and o-ku locative markers have similar meanings, and in general, they
are functionally in complementary distribution. That is, if e- appears in a
given type of construction, o-ku does not, and vice versa.

    The first three locative markers, a-ha, o-ku, and o-mu, occur in pronom-
inal forms; e- does not. Haya has four pronominal forms for each of the first
three markers, as seen in the table on the following page.

2. LOCATIVE MARKER + NP CONSTRUCTIONS

    The first and third of the locative markers, i.e. a-ha and o-mu, are used

	intensified form 'near speaker'	less intense 'near speaker'	two forms which indicate non-proximity to speaker	
a-ha	hâ-nu	a-ha	a-ĥ-ó	hâ-II
o-ku	kû-nu	o-ku	o-kw-ó	kû-II
o-mu	mû-nu	o-mu	o-mw-ó	mû-II

productively in *locative marker + NP* constructions to form adverbs of place.
The second locative marker, o-ku, is not used in such constructions at all.
Since the rest of this paper describes the possible manipulations of these
constructions, this marker will not be discussed further. The fourth locative
marker, e-, appears in such constructions, but not productively.

   2.1.   The productive use of a-ha *and* o-mu. In Haya a-ha and o-mu are used
productively in *locative marker + NP* constructions to form adverbs of place.
Unlike English locative markers such as *on* and *in*, however, Haya locative mar-
kers show significant differences syntactically from prepositions. For example,
in *prep + NP* constructions, Haya prepositions freely occur with preprefixed
noun forms, as seen in (1).

(1) a.   na kǎto   'with Kato'   b.   n' ómwáana   'with the child'
         with Kato   with child   /ó-mu-ána/

Haya locative markers, on the contrary, *require* that the following noun occur
without its preprefix, as seen in (2):

(2) a.   aha-kyaalo   'at the village'   *ah'-é-kyaalo
         at   village   /ki-alo/

    b.   omú-nju   'in the house'   *omw'-é-nju
         in house

   In Haya, as in English, the basic *locative marker + NP* construction may
combine with an *associative marker + NP* construction (i.e. a "genitive") to
further specify a location, as shown in (3).

(3) a.   *simple:*   aha-kitooke   'on the banana'
                        on   banana

       combined: aha-nsi y' ékitooke   'at the bottom of the banana'
                        on bottom of banana   (lit. at the ground of banana)

    b.   *simple:*   omu-kyaalo   'in the village'
                        in village

       combined: omu-lubajú lw' énju   'beside the house'
                        in side of house

                        omu-gatI y' ékyaalo   'in the middle of the village'
                        in middle of village

   2.2.   The nonproductive use of e-. The locative marker e- appears in loc-
ative adverbials, but it is not used productively in the formation of *locative*

marker + NP adverbial constructions. Thus, although there are locatives marked by e-, such as those in (4a), most attempts to combine e- with NP's from classes 1-15 will be ungrammatical, as in (4b).

(4) a. e-ñúma   'behind'   e-ígúlu   'upwards'
         at behind   at sky

         é-nja   'outside'
         at outside

         e-ñuma y' énju   'behind the house'
         at behind of house

         e-nja y' ékyaalo   'outside the village'
         at outside of village

         e-igulu y' ékitooke   'on top of the banana'
         at sky of   banana

    b. *e-muntu   'around the person'
         at person

         *e-makerere   'around Makerere'
         at Makerere

         *e-maizi   'around the water'
         at water

3. INITIAL EVIDENCE FOR *LOCATIVE MARKER + NP* CONSTRUCTIONS AS NOUNS

    When locatives formed with e- are taken in isolation, as in the simple forms in (4a), they appear to be members of classes 5, 9 or 10, based on a morpheme analysis such as that in (5).

(5) a. e-ñ-úma   'behind'   (cl. 9 preprefix - cl. 9 prefix - stem)

    b. é-n-ja   'outside' (cl. 9 preprefix - cl. 9 prefix - stem)

    c. e-í-gúlu 'upwards' (cl. 5 preprefix - cl. 5 prefix - stem)

Such an assumption is initially supported by the fact that when the first two *locative marker + NP* constructions, eñúma 'behind' and énja 'outside', occur in combined forms, as in eñuma y' énju 'behind the house' and enja y'ékyaalo 'outside the house', the y- associative concord is that which is expected for class 9 nouns. However, when eígúlu 'upwards', class 5, appears in combined forms, it too takes y- concord. If eígúlu 'sky, upwards' were a class 5 noun in these constructions, we would expect a ly- concord, as in eigulú lyange 'my sky'. The fact that y- concord appears instead indicates that the form is appearing in some other noun class. If eígúlu has the same structure as other locatives, that is, *locative marker + noun*, with the noun composed of a noun class prefix followed by a noun stem, then í-gúlu must be the noun class prefix + the noun stem, and e- the locative marker. The fact that eígúlu 'up' triggers y- concord, whereas the homophonous form eygulu 'sky' triggers ly-concord also indicates that the locative marker + noun combines to form a new, derived noun class capable of triggering its own concord.

    Haya noun class markers, for the most part, have a V-CV shape and syllable

structure corresponding to a preprefix + prefix morpheme structure; e- does not have a V-CV shape or syllable structure, and the question arises as to whether e- is the preprefix, the prefix, or a phonological fusion of the two. Based on evidence from (3) above, it would appear that e- is the preprefix, and that the form of the prefix for this locative noun class is $\emptyset$. Thus, the locative noun /-gatʃ/'middle' in the first construction triggers the y- concord on the associative marker associated with the e- locative class. (Note that -gatʃ does not carry either the class 4 prefix mI- or the class 9 nasal prefix which it should if it were a noun stem from either of the other classes capable of triggering y- concord.) A comparison of omu-gátï 'in the middle' and omu-lubaju 'beside' indicates that the locative noun stem -gatʃ 'middle' should appear with a class prefix in the same way that the noun stem -bajú appears with lu-. No segmental prefix is present, however, implying that the prefix for the e- locative noun class is $\emptyset$.

The existence of an e- locative noun class which triggers y- concord on the associative suggests that further distinguishing concords may be found on verbs, adjectives, modifying numerals, relative pronouns, and so forth.

Further, a number of factors suggest that aha and omu can also conceivably participate in the formation of noun classes: (i) the V-CV structure of these two locative markers, corresponding to the V-CV structure of the augmented noun class prefix (i.e. preprefix + prefix); (ii) the vowel harmony in each marker, corresponding to the pattern observed for noun class markers; and (iii) the structural similarities between locative expressions formed with omu and aha and those formed with e-.

4. e- LOCATIVES VS. aha AND omu LOCATIVES

Before investigating the possibility of additional concords referring to all three locative markers, aha, omu, and e-, in verbs, adjectives, modifying numerals, and so forth, certain differences between the two sets of locatives should be noted. We saw previously that e- locatives are unproductive in locative marker + NP constructions, whereas aha and omu locatives are productive. In addition, two facts combine to give e- locatives a surface form identical to that of a noun in classes 1-15: (i) e- locatives do not have an overt prefix following the vocalic preprefix; and (ii) a noun following a locative marker does not have a preprefix, but carries a prefix. Thus, the surface shape of e- locatives is identical with that of nonlocative nouns.

Locatives with aha and omu, on the other hand, have a surface form which reveals their derived character much more clearly: locative preprefix + locative prefix + noun prefix + noun stem.

The differences in surface form between e- locatives and aha and omu locatives could in itself lead to a syntactic separation between the two. In addition, the surface similarity of e- locatives to lexical nouns in classes 1-15 also appears to have led to a reanalysis of e- locatives as lexical forms, as contrasted with aha and omu locatives, which are clearly derived. The reanalysis was no doubt facilitated by the fact that e- is the preprefix for classes 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10, so that in many cases (in every case elicited, in fact), e- locatives are homophonous with nouns from classes 1-15. An analysis which groups e- locatives with the lexical nouns in classes 1-15, separating them from the derived nouns formed with aha and omu, captures certain syntactic differences we have observed between them. For example, it provides a

basis for the difference in associative concord in the combined expressions in
(4a) vs. those in (3). In addition, it provides a structural basis for the
differences in productivity between the two sets of markers.

5. POSSESSIVES

In possessive adjectives the locative markers omu and aha, like the loca-
tive marker e-, are able to control concord. Unlike the e- locatives, however,
locative phrases with aha and omu may have either of two concords: concord with
the prefix of the noun or concord with the locative marker. These two concords
are not semantically or structurally interchangeable, however. Semantically,
concord with the noun indicates that the noun is the possessed item; concord
with the locative marker indicates that the place is possessed. Struoturally,
concord with the noun indicates that the construction is to be interpreted as
an NP; concord with the locative marker indicates that it is to be interpreted
as a sentence. Thus the paradigm in (6) obtains.

(6) a. omu-kyaaló kyaŋge   'in my village'

        omu-kyaalo mwaŋge   'in the village is mine'

   b. omu-njú yaŋge   'in my house'

        omunjú mwaŋge   'in the house is mine'

   c. aha-kitooke kyaŋge   'on my banana'

        aha-kitooke haŋge   'on (top of) the banana is mine' or 'the area
                                 around the banana is mine'

   d. aha-kyaaló kyaŋge   'at my village'

        aha-kyaalo haŋge   'the area around the village is mine'

In expanded locative constructions the same two possibilities for concord
with the same interpretations are again possible. This is true only for a
phrase-final possessive, however. The medial associative particle must evident-
ly always agree with the noun class marker of the immediately preceding unde-
rived noun. This gives the paradigm in (7).

(7) a. omu-maisho g'énjú yaŋge   'in front of my house' } NP
     *omu-maisho mw'énjú yaŋge [strange]
     *omu-maisho mw'énjú mwaŋge [rare] } S
     omu-maisho g'énjú mwaŋge 'in front of the house is mine'

     omu-lubaju lw'énjú yaŋge 'beside my house' } NP
     *omu-lubaju mw'énjú yaŋge [strange]
     *omu-lubaju mw'énjú mwaŋge [rare] } S
     omu-lubaju lw'énjú mwaŋge   'beside the house is mine'

   b. aha-nsi y'éyuwá lyaŋge   'at the bottom of my flower' } NP
     *aha-nsi h'éyuwá lyaŋge
     *aha-nsi h'éyuwá haŋge } S
     aha-nsi y'éyuwá haŋge   'at the bottom of the flower is mine'

$$
\left.
\begin{array}{l}
\text{aha-nsi y'énsaanó yaŋge} \quad \text{'at the bottom of my flour'} \\
\text{*aha-nsi h'énsaanó yaŋge}
\end{array}
\right\} \text{ NP}
$$

$$
\left.
\begin{array}{l}
\text{*aha-nsi h'énsaanó haŋge} \\
\text{aha-nsi y'énsaanó haŋge} \quad \text{'at the bottom of the flour is mine'}
\end{array}
\right\} \text{ S}
$$

At least two explanations for the grammaticality judgments in this paradigm are possible. One is that possessive adjectives can accept locative concord whereas associative particles cannot. A second is that the semantic difference between the two agreements, agreement with the basic noun vs. agreement with the locative marker, makes the latter a little peculiar in the middle of a combined locative expression. Of these two possibilities, the first seems at least partially countered by the examples of combined locative markers given in (4a), where the associative particle agrees with the preceding locative marker. The examples in (8) further argue against the first explanation. Here both possessive adjectives and associative marker + noun constructions are taking locative concord, apparently without requiring prior explicit presentation of a locative marker + noun.

(8) a. omwáŋge   'in/to mine (my home)'

     omwáabo   'in/to theirs (their home)'

     omwa káto   'in/to Kato's (home)'

   b. oháŋge   'at/to mine (my home)'

     oháabo   'at/to theirs (their home)'

     oha káto   'at/to Kato's (home)'

Partial support for the second explanation comes from the nature of the judgments against the starred examples in (7). The variability of judgments across instances of the same construction with different lexical content indicates that semantic criteria are applying. The values of the judgments themselves also seem consonant with this explanation. Thus, even in English, a statement such as 'in the side of in my house' corresponding to *omu-lubajú mw'énjú yaŋge [strange] seems worse than 'in the middle of in my house', corresponding to *omu-gatí mw'ékyaaló kyaŋge [almost OK].

6. CONCORD AGREEMENT ON ADJECTIVES AND PREFIX AGREEMENT ON THE VERB

Just as nouns in classes 1-15 trigger class-specific concord on adjectives and prefix-agreement on verbs, one would expect nouns in locative classes to do so also. In addition, just as the concord markers for these other noun classes are frequently exact or slightly modified repetitions of the noun class prefix, one would expect nouns in the locative classes to repeat this pattern. In fact, however, although the first assumption is borne out, the second is not. That is, locative nouns trigger distinguishing concord on verbs and adjectives. But this concord does not uniformly repeat the locative noun class prefix. Instead, the one locative marker aha serves as the basis for adjective concord and verb-prefix agreement for all of the locative noun classes. This concord distinguishes the locative noun classes as a group from each of the noun classes 1-15. The locative noun classes do not, however, have separate adjective concords and verb-prefix agreeements to distinguish them from each other. The examples in (9) illustrate the locative patterns for adjective and verb agreement.

(9) a. aha-kyaalo há-ka-bá ha-li halúŋgi   'at the village was good'
        at-village at-P₃-be at-be ᵥgood

        aha-kitooke há-ka-bá mu-li halúŋgi   'on the banana was good'
        on - banana on-P₃-be on-be good

   b. *omu-kyaalo mú-ka-bá mu-li mulúŋgi   'in the village was good'
        in-village in-P₃-be in-be good

ᴮUT: omu-kyaalo há-ka-bá ha-li halúŋgi   'in the village was good'
        in-village at-P₃-be at-be good

   c. *enj' é-ka-ba e-li elúŋgi   'outside was good'
        outside there-P₃-be there-be good

BUT: enja y' énjú há-ka-bá ha-li halúŋgi   'outside the house was good'
        outside of house there-P₃-be there-be good

These patterns are identical for singular and plural. Compare, for example,
the sentences in (10) with the corresponding sentences in (9).

(10) a. aha-bitooke há-ka-bá ha-li halúŋgi   'on the bananas was good'
          on-bananas on-P₃-be on-be good

   b. omu-byaalo há-ka-bá ha-li halúŋgi   'in the villages was good'
        in-villages on-P₃-be on-be good

    The ha- which appears in locative adjective concord and verb prefix agree-
ment also appears in the locative adverbial expressions hái 'near' and hala
'far', and in adjective concord and verb agreement for these expressions, as
seen in (11).

(11) a. hái n'énjú há-ka-bá ha-li halúŋgi   'near the house was good'
          near with house at-P₃-be at-be good

   b. halá n'énjú há-ka-bá ha-li halúŋgi   'far from the house was good'
        far with house at-P₃-be at-be good

Possessive adjectives occurring with these expressions, as seen in (12), take
the same agreements in the same patterns with the same interpretations as pos-
sessed locative expressions in (6).

(12) a. hái n'énjú yaŋge   'near my house'

          hái n'énjú haŋge   'near the house is mine'

   b. hala n'énjú yaŋge   'far from my house'

          hala n'énjú haŋge   'far from the house is mine'

7. BASIC SENTENCES WITH PREDICATE LOCATIVES

    7.1. *The applicative extension* -il/el-. When a locative occurs as part
of the predicate of a basic sentence, the applicative extension -il/el-, seen
also with datives and benefactives, frequently appears in the verb. Except
for a few verbs which take two objects,[2] this suffix is obligatory when there

is a benefactive or dative and thus functions to indicate that the verb has
such an argument (in addition to the accusative). As seen in (13a), the
verb -lim- 'cultivate' has no "applied" object (benefactive or dative) and
cannot take the applicative extension. In (13b) it has such an argument and
the applicative is therefore obligatory. In (13c) an alternative argument,
the direct object (accusative) has been substituted for the benefactive, and
the pattern of (13a) again obtains. The applicative extension thus obliga-
torily marks the addition only of specific verbal arguments.

(13) a.   kat' á-ka-lim-a   'Kato cultivated'
          Kato he-P₃-cultivate

          *kat' á-ka-lim-il-a   'Kato cultivated'
          Kato he-P₃-cultivate-APP

     b.   *kat' á-ka-lim' ómwáana ³   'Kato cultivated for the child'
          Kato he-P₃-cultivate child

          kat' á-ka-lim-il ómwáana   'Kato cultivated for the child'
          Kato he-P₃-cultivate-APP child

     c.   kat' á-ka-lim' ébitooke   'Kato cultivated bananas'
          Kato he-P₃-cultivate bananas

          *kat' á-ka-lim-il' ébitooke ⁴   'Kato cultivated bananas'
          Kato he-P₃-cultivate-APP bananas

When the applicative suffix occurs with locatives, its function is much
less obvious. Its appearance is sometimes optional, as in (14). It may al-
ternatively cause a shift in meaning, as in (15).

(14)   kat' á-ka-tambuk-(il)' ómu-kyaalo   'Kato walked within the village'
        Kato he-P₃-walk-(APP) in-village   (less acceptable without APP)

(15) a. kat' á-bon' ómu-kyaalo   'Kato sees the inside of the village'
        Kato he-see in-village

     b. kat' á-bon-el' ómu-kyaalo
        Kato sees if and only if he is inside the village'

When a sentence contains both a benefactive and a locative, the verb may
not carry two applied extensions. Thus, although an applicative is obli-
gatory with the benefactive in (13b) and optional with the locative in (16),
only one applicative suffix, obligatory, can appear in (17).

(16)   kat' á-ka-lim-(il)' ómu-kyaalo   'Kato cultivated in the village'
        Kato he-P₃-cultivate-APP in-village

(17)   *kat' á-ka-lim' ómwáán' ómu-kyaalo   'Kato cultivated for the
        Kato he-P₃-cultivate child in-village   child in the village'

        kat' á-ka-lim-il' ómwáán' ómu-kyaalo   'Kato cultivated for the
        Kato he-P₃-cultivate-APP child in-village   child in the village'

        *kat' á-ka-lim-il-il' ómwáán' ómu-kyaalo   'Kato cultivated for the
        Kato he-P₃-cultivate-APP-APP child in-village   child in the village'

7.2. The verb-final locative pronominal. A full locative in the predicate of a sentence may be replaced by a   verb-final locative pronominal. An example of this is given in (18).

(18) a.   a-gi-ba-h-eel' ómu-kyaalo   'he gives it to them in the
         he-it-them-give-APP in village   village'

     b.   a-gi-ba-h-eel-á mu   'he gives it to them therein'
         he-it-them-give-APP in

The ungrammaticality of separating this pro-form from the verb is shown in (19). Its ungrammaticality when placed inside the verb is shown in (20).

(19)   *kat' á-bon' émbwá mu   'Kato sees the dog therein'
      Kato he-see dog in

     *kat' á-bon-el' émbwá mu   'Kato sees the dog therein'
      Kato he-see-APP dog in

(20)   *kat' á-ka-mú-támbuk-a   'Kato walked therein'
      Kato he-P_3-in-walk

     *kat' á-ka-mú-támbuk-il-a   'Kato walked therein' (cf. (14))
      Kato he-P_3-in-walk-APP

8. FRONTING A LOCATIVE

A locative may be fronted in two ways: (i) The entire locative group, locative marker + N, may be moved to the front of the sentence. This requires that (a) a verb-final locative pronominal and (b) an applicative suffix -il/el- (possibly not obligatory) be left on the verb. (ii) The locative marker may be deleted and the N alone may be moved to the front of the sentence. This requires that (a) a verb-final locative pronominal, (b) an applicative suffix, and (c) an object infix, agreeing with the fronted N, be left on the verb.

The sentences in (21) illustrate the first strategy, that in (22), the second.

(21) a.   omu-kyaalo a-gi-ba-h-eel-á mu   'in the village, he gives it
         in-village he-it-them-give APP in   to them' (derived from (18))

     b.   aha-kyaalo a-gi-mu-h-eel-á ho   'at the village, he gives it
         at-village he-it-him-give-APP at   to him'

     c.   eñumá y' énjw' á-gi-mu-h-eel-á ho 'behind the house, he gives
         behind of house he-it-him-give-APP at   it to him'

(22)   ekyaalo kat' á-ka-ki-támbuk-il-á mu 'the village, Kato walked
      village Kato he-P_3-it-walk-APP   in   in it'

9. DISCUSSION

The two fronting strategies seen in section 8 are reminiscent of the two concord markers possible on possessive adjectives in section 5. Both operations suggest that two different structural assignments may be possible for locatives in Haya. One assignment takes the locative marker as a noun class prefix. The

other treats it as a separable morpheme.

Locatives in Haya have characteristics which present interesting possibilities for investigating the role of form vs. function in Haya grammar. For example, e- locatives are functionally identical but structurally different from a-ha and o-mu locatives. Parallel to this situation is the fact that the same locative can evidently be given two different structural assignments for the same syntactic operation, as shown in possessive constructions and fronting. The converse of this situation, identical structure but different functions, appears in grouping e- locatives with nouns in classes 1-15 and could be further investigated if functionally different constructions, such as time and manner adverbs, are structurally and morphologically similar to any of the locative a-ha and o-mu constructions.

NOTES

[1]For a general statement on locatives in Bantu, see Claire Grégoire, *Les Locatifs en Bantou*, Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale (1975).

[2]For further discussion, see Alessandro Duranti and Ernest Rugwa Byarushengo (in this volume).

[3]This sentence means 'Kato cultivated the child'.

[4]'Kato cultivated for bananas' (so that he might get them).

7

THE SYNTAX OF BODY PARTS

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0. INTRODUCTION[1]

In Hyman, Alford and Akpati (1970), an attempt was made to study in Igbo, a Kwa language of Nigeria, the kinds of syntactic constructions that seemed to be made possible by the presence of a body part. The well-known French examples in (1) and (2) were cited as illustrating two prevalent tendencies in languages from all parts of the world.

(1)   Il a levé le bras   'he raised his arm' (lit. he broke the arm)
      he raised the arm

(2)   Il m' a cassé le bras   'he broke my arm' (lit. he broke to me
      he me broke the arm   the arm)

In (1) we see that a body part, arm, occurs without an overt possessive marker, a situation we might compare with the English sentence in (3), taken from Fillmore (1968).

(3)   Mary pinched John on the nose   (i.e. on *his* nose)

In (2) we see that instead of an overt possessive marker, we find an indirect or dative clitic pronoun me (m'). The archaic constructions in (4),

(4) a.   look me in the eye!

    b.   don't look a gift horse in the mouth!

where 'eye' and 'gift horse' are datives, were said to be remnants of what was once a more widespread construction in English.

In the 1970 study it was demonstrated that Igbo is characterized by the same phenomena as in (1) and (2), which I shall henceforth refer to as *possessor deletion* and *possessor promotion*, respectively, as seen in (5) and (6).[2]

(5) ó sàrà ákǎ   'he washed his hand(s)'
     he washed hand

(6) ó sàrà m̀ ákǎ   'he washed my hand(s)' (lit. he washed me hand(s);
     he washed me hand   cf. ákǎ 'm̀ 'my hand(s)')

Since that time I have surveyed these constructions in a number of other West
African, and more recently, Bantu languages and have concluded that there is
in fact widespread agreement on the way in which body parts are syntacticized.
In the present paper I shall concentrate on the syntax of body parts in Haya,
especially as concerns the phenomenon of possessor promotion. Since I have
found similar, if not identical, phenomena in Luganda, Kinyarwanda, Sesotho,
Sukuma, Ciluba, and Punu, languages which are representative of the vast Bantu
region of Sub-Saharan Africa, it is likely that what I shall have to say about
Haya will be generally applicable to Bantu as a whole. In discussing the Haya
data it will be instructive to include occasional parallels from certain Euro-
pean languages, e.g. French and Italian. I shall conclude this study with a
brief reconsideration of the notion of "inalienable possession" and point out
some of the areas in which it might be fruitful to conduct further investi-
gations.

1. POSSESSOR DELETION

     Turning now to the syntactic treatment of body parts in Haya, we see in
(7) that possessor deletion occurs upon identity with the subject.

(7) ŋ-k-óógy' émikóno   'I washed my hands' (lit. I washed hands)
     I-P₃-wash hands

The corresponding sentence in (8), where the possessive pronoun is explicitly
expressed, is unacceptable, since it would imply that the 'hands' were not
part of my body, but rather were detached items.

(8) ?ŋ-k-óógy' émikóno yaŋge   'I washed my (detached) hands'
     I-P₃-wash hands   my

In (9) we see that the sentence corresponding to (8) is perfectly fine, if
the object is not a body part.

(9) ŋ-k-óógy' émótoká yaŋge   'I washed my car'
     I-P₃-wash car   my

On the other hand, if we attempt to delete the possessive pronoun of 'car',
as in (10),

(10) ŋ-k-óógy' émótoka   'I washed the/a car'
     I-P₃-wash car

it is not understood that the subject is also the possessor, but rather the
possessor is not specified, or perhaps there is no possessor.

     In (11), we see that an object can also control possessor deletion, this
time occurring within a prepositional phrase (in Bantu, a "locativized" noun).

(11) ŋ-ka-téél' ómwáán' áha-mútwe   'I hit the child on the head'
      I-P₃-hit   child   on-head

In the English gloss we observe that English also can allow possessor deletion
in such cases. Let us presume for the moment that prepositional phrases such
as 'stabbed in the heart', 'pain in the neck', 'to go by foot', etc., involve
either a greater recoverability factor, in terms of identifying the possessor,
or even, that the possessor is indefinite or irrelevant. I shall come back to
possessor deletion in the lengthy discussion of possessor promotion below, but
let us take note of the fact that deletability is in part conditioned by the
nature of the verb. Thus, as seen in (12),

(12) ŋ-ka-bón' émikôno   'I saw (the) hands'
      I-P₃-saw   hands

it is not clear whether the hands were mine, someone else's, or no one's. I
shall provide an explanation for the disparity between (12) and (7) after con-
sidering possessor promotion.

2. POSSESSOR PROMOTION

     2.1. Promotion to object. Possessor promotion in Haya, as well as every
other Bantu language I have studied, transforms the possessor into a direct
object, if the verb is transitive. An example is seen in (13).

(13) ŋ-ka-hénd' ómwáán' ómukôno   'I broke the child's arm' (lit. I
      I-P₃-break child   arm   broke the child the arm)

Failure to promote the possessor invariably implies that the body part has pre-
viously been severed from the whole. Thus, in (14),

(14) ?ŋ-ka-hénd' ómukono gw'ómwáana   'I broke the (detached) arm of
      I-P₃-break   arm   of child   the child'

the normal implication is that a child came in with an arm he had found, and
I broke it. With an ordinary object, of course, promotion is impossible.
Thus, 'breaking a child's stick' must be realized as in (15), not as in (16).

(15) ŋ-ka-hénd' éŋkoni y'ómwáana   'I broke the stick of the child'
      I-P₃-break stick of child

(16) *ŋ-ka-hénd' ómwáán' éŋkoni   (lit. I broke the child the stick)
      I-P₃-break child   stick

     2.1.1. Grammatical Characterization. Before entering into the various
semantic and pragmatic factors which make promotion possible, let us consider
the syntax of sentences such as (13). The notion has already been advanced
that the promoted possessor is a direct object. In Haya, as in Bantu in
general (cf. Duranti and Byarushengo 1977), three criteria which are frequently
employed to establish whether any one of a number of nouns following the verbal
complex is a direct object, with multiple DO's being possible, are as outlined
in (17).

(17) Criteria for Direct Object (DO) Status:

    a. accessibility to immediate post-verbal position
    b. accessibility to subject of passive
    c. accessibility to object infix position (as a pronoun)

The last qualification "as a pronoun" is added, since object markers (OM's) can arise as the result of pronominalization or agreement of different types (see Morolong and Hyman 1977 for a discussion and critique of these criteria). Let us apply (17a-c) to the noun 'child' in (13).

As seen already in (13), 'child' can occupy the position immediately following the verbal complex. It therefore satisfies the first criterion for direct object status. In (18), it is furthermore seen that it can occur as the subject of a corresponding passive sentence, where the agent is not expressed for simplicity reasons only.

(18) omwáán' a-ka-hénd-w' ómukôno   'the child's are was broken' (lit.
      child   he-P$_3$-break-PASS arm   the child was broken the arm)

The passive marker -w- occurs as an extension on the verb just preceding the final vowel -a (which is elided in the above example). In (19) we observe that a corresponding OM clitic pronoun is also possible replacing the noun.

(19) ŋ-ka-mu-hénd' ómukôno   'I broke his arm' (lit. I broke him arm)
      I-P$_3$-him-break arm

Thus, 'child' passes all of the tests, and we establish it as the direct object of 'break' in (13).

This leads us to ask what the status is of 'arm' in (13). Applying the same three criteria we find, first, in (20),

(20) *ŋ-ka-hénd' ómukón' ómwáana   'I broke the child's arm'
      I-P$_3$-broke arm   child

that it cannot occur directly after the verbal complex. In (21),

(21) *omukóno gú-ka-hénd-w' ómwáana   'the child's arm was broken' (lit.
       arm   it-P$_3$-break-PASS child   the arm was broken the child)

we see that it cannot occur as the subject of the corresponding passive. Finally, in (22),

(22) *ŋ-ka-gu-hénd' ómwáana   'I broke that of the child' (the child's)
      I-P$_3$-it-break child   (lit. I broke it the child)

'arm' is seen not to be pronominalizable into the OM slot. We thus conclude that 'arm' in (13) is not a direct object, even though it seems to be the accusative complement of the verb 'break'.

At this point it may be worthwhile to consider briefly the nature of verbal extensions in Haya (and in Bantu as a whole). Certain extensions such as the -il/el- applicative suffix, or the -is/es- or -i- causative/instru-

mental suffix have the effect of introducing or making possible additional verbal arguments. Thus, we have the simple sentence in (23), as compared to the corresponding extended verb in (24).

(23) ŋ-ka-cumb' ébítooke   'I cooked (the) bananas'
      I-P₃-cook   bananas

(24) ŋ-ka-cumb-il' ómwáán' ébítooke   'I cooked the child bananas'
      I-P₃-cook-APP child   bananas

The benefactive noun 'child' is possible in (23) only because of the presence of the applicative extension, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (25).

(25) *ŋ-ka-cumb' ómwáán' ébítooke
      I-P₃-cook   child   bananas

One might suggest that 'arm' is not accorded direct object properties in (13) because the verb 'break' does not have such an extension.

    Note, first, in (26),

(26) ?ŋ-ka-hénd-el' ómwáán' ómukôno   'I broke the/my arm for the child'
      I-P₃-break-APP child   arm

that when the applicative extension -el- is added to (13), two readings are possible, neither being equivalent to (13). First, the arm can have already been severed from a body, in which case there is no possessor--or, the possessor is indefinite or irrelevant. Or, second, the unmarked noun 'arm' can be construed as belong to the subject, me, with the possessive 'my' having undergone deletion of the type we have already discussed. It is impossible to interpret (26) as meaning 'the child's arm', since the subject has, as it were, prior claim in controlling possessor deletion.

    A second reason why the non-object status of 'arm' cannot be attributed to the lack of an extension is that there is a limited set of verbs in Haya, such as -há- 'give', which allow two basic direct objects without verb marking (cf. Duranti and Byarushengo 1977). In (27), for instance, both word orders are possible, as opposed to the unacceptable word order in (20).

(27) a. ŋ-ka-h' ómwáán' ébítookə   'I gave the child bananas'
         I-P₃-give child bananas

     b. ŋ-ka-h' ébitook' ómwáana
         I-P₃-give bananas child

In (28) we see that either noun can occur as the subject of the corresponding passive.

(28) a. omwáán' a-ka-háá-bw' ébítooke   'the child was given the bananas'
         child he-P₃-give-PASS bananas

     b. ebítooke bí-ka-háá-bw' ómwáana   'the bananas were given (to) the
         bananas they-P₃-give-PASS child   child'

Finally, in (29), it is seen that either noun can occur as an OM pronoun.

(29) a. ŋ-ka-mú-h' ébitooke   'I gave him (the) bananas'
         I-P$_3$-him-give bananas

     b. ŋ-ka-bí-h' ómwáana   'I gave them (to) the child'
         I-P$_3$-them-give child

In fact, Haya is one of the Bantu languages which allows more than one pronoun in the OM position, as seen in (30).

(30) ŋ-ka-bí-mú-h-a   'I gave them to him'
      I-P$_3$-them-him-give

It thus appears, as argued by Duranti and Byarushengo (1977), that more than one direct object can occur in Haya. We therefore are faced with the task of explaining why 'I broke child arm' behaves differently, syntactically, from 'I gave child bananas'. Since Haya can in principle support two post-verbal DO's, the non-object status of the body part must be due to the nature of possessor promotion, which it is now instructive to approach more systematically.

    2.1.2. Semantic Characterization. Given an input structure something like that in (31),

(31) SUBJECT - VERBAL COMPLEX - X of Y

we are concerned with the conditions under which the structure in (32) evolves:

(32) SUBJECT - VERBAL COMPLEX - Y - X

What I would like to suggest at this point is that the obtaining of structure (32) instead of structure (31) is brought about *in situations in which the possessor is at the same time the experiencer of the action of the verb.* The object which is created by possessor promotion experiences or, in other words, is *affected* by the action of the verb (cf. Diffloth 1974 for French and Garcia 1975 for Spanish). The evidence stems from the observation that a possessor object will be created only if certain conditions are met, as outlined in (33).

(33) Creation of a possessor object depends on:

    a. the nature of the possessed noun
    b. the nature of the verb
    c. the nature of the possessor

    We have already seen the relevance of (33a). In order for possessor promotion to take place, a certain relationship must exist between the possessed and the possessor. Body parts are ideal, since when an action is performed on them, the possessor is necessarily also affected. When we are dealing with possessed nouns other than body parts, this connection is not as strong. The important factor is the extent to which by affecting the possessed noun we are affecting the possessor as a whole. In (34) and (35) we observe that it is possible to have both constructions when the possessed noun is an item of clothing.

(34) ŋ-ka-teemul' éshaatl y'ómwáana   'I tore the shirt of the child'
      I-P₃-tear   shirt of child

(35) ŋ-ka-teemul' ómwáán' éshaatl   'I tore the shirt of(f) the child'
      I-P₃-tear   child   shirt   (lit. I tore the child the shirt)

In (33) it is understood either that the shirt was not on the child when I
tore it, or that I am not particularly focusing on the effect my shirt-tearing
has on the child as a whole. In (35), on the other hand, the only situation
in which this construction would be acceptable is if the child is wearing the
shirt--and the child is therefore necessarily bodily affected. Where the
possessor's body is not physically affected, Haya (but not all other languages)
finds it a little more difficult to accept possessor promotion. Thus, the
sentence we saw in (16) is not acceptable, even if we try to focus on the
effect of the stick-breaking on the child, rather than on the effect of the
breaking on the stick. In summary, with other things being equal, the struc-
ture in (31) will be found when the speaker is concerned with the effect of
the action on X; the structure in (32) will be found when the speaker is
concerned with the effect of the action on Y.

     Turning to (33b), if the notion of an experiencer or affected object is
correct, we should expect action verbs to provide an environment more conduc-
ive to possessor promotion than verbs of state--for example, sensory verbs.
Thus, with the verb 'like', the sentence in (36) is much more acceptable than
the sentence with the verb 'break' in (14).

(36) ñ-ñend' ámalsho g'ómwáana   'I like the eyes of the child'
      I-like eyes   of child

If we attempt to promote the possessor, as in (37),

(37) ñ-ñend' ómwáán' ámálsho   'I like the child's *eyes*' (i.e. what I
      I-like child   eyes   like about the child is the eyes)

the nuance which is added is that I *only* like the child's eyes, consistent
with the tendency for new, asserted information to be added late or at the
ends of utterances. If we compare these sentences with sentences involving
the verb 'see', as in (38) and (39), a similar nuance is obtained.

(38) ŋ-ka-bón' ómukono gw'ómwáana   'I saw the arm of the child'
      I-P₃-see arm   of child

(39) ŋ-ka-bón' ómwáán' ómukôno   'I saw the child's *arm*'
      I-P₃-see child   arm

Sentence (38) is neutral, and would in any case have to be used if the child
were not involved in person (either because I was viewing his arm in a photo-
graph, or because the arm had been detached). Sentence (39) implies that
what I saw of the child was only his *arm*, possibly also that I wasn't sup-
posed to see it. What is important in obtaining (39) instead of (38) is
that the child be *involved* in the action, as opposed to being incidental or
totally unimportant. With verbs such as 'to like' and 'to see' it is easier
to conceive of an object body part which is perceived in a certain way without

this implying the involvement or affectedness of the whole. Actions such as washing and breaking are necessarily different. In Haya, when you break someone's arm, you break that person. In fact, in context, a person can utter 'he has broken me', probably pointing to his arm. Thus, when a body part changes its state (e.g. washed, broken), we can expect this to affect the person more than when that body part is not even affected by someone's perception (e.g. liking, seeing).

Turning, finally, to (33c), the nature of the possessor is of considerable importance also to determining whether possessor promotion will obtain. We have found in Haya that first and second person possessors are much more prone to promotion than third person (human) possessors. Thus, (40) is considerably worse than (41).

(40) ??bá–ka–hénd' ómukóno gwaŋge   'they broke my arm'
     they-P$_3$-break   arm   my

(41) ?bá–ka–hénd' ómukonó gwe   'they broke his arm'
     they-P$_3$-break   arm   his

Both, of course, are expected to undergo possessor promotion, as seen in (42) and (43), although (41) seems more tolerable than (40).

(42) bá–ka–m–pénd' ómukôno   'they broke my arm'   (lit. they broke me arm)
     they-P$_3$-me-break arm

(43) bá–ka–mu–hénd' ómukôno   'they broke his arm' (lit. they broke him arm)
     they-P$_3$-him-break arm

This hierarchy can be extended, as seen in (44):

(44)   1st p.   >   2nd p.   >   3rd p. human   >   3rd p. animal   >   3rd p. inanimate

What is involved here is a personal hierarchy identical to that proposed in another context for another Bantu language, Shona (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974). Highest in the hierarchy are those persons closest to the discourse (the speaker and hearer), followed by humans, then animals, then inanimates. Call it a natural person hierarchy or a hierarchy of egocentricity, efficacy, or empathy, but the same fact remains, namely that persons higher in (44) will be more susceptible to possessor promotion. This does not mean that inanimates cannot be promoted. On the contrary, Voeltz (1976) has shown that the same kind of possessor promotion must be extended in Sesotho, another Bantu language, in order to include all part-whole relationships. A corresponding example to those cited by Voeltz is given from Haya in (45).

(45) ŋ-ka-hénd' ómuty' éítáagI   'I broke the branch of(f) the tree'
     I-P$_3$-break   tree   branch   (lit. I broke the tree the branch)

By breaking the branch, I have necessarily affected the tree, which then undergoes possessor promotion. If promotion does not occur, as in (46),

(46) ŋ-ka-hénd' éítaagI Iy' ómúti   'I broke the branch of the tree/
     I-P$_3$-break branch of   tree   the tree-branch'

this means that the branch of the tree (or the "tree-branch") had already been severed, and I later snapped it in two. Since branches more frequently occur severed from trees than do arms occur severed from human or animal bodies, (46) should occur with greater frequency, and make greater sense, than (14), where I have broken the previously severed arm of the child. Stated perhaps in reversed terms, since speaker/hearers are less concerned with the general welfare of trees, as opposed to human beings, we should expect (13) to be more manditory than (45). In Haya, we *do* have the option of making the tree into an involved participant, if in fact it is affected by what happens to its parts. Thus, we can conclude that any possessor can potentially undergo promotion, provided that a part-whole relationship obtains, and that by affecting the part, one is also affecting the whole. The likelihood of affecting the whole depends of course also on the nature of the verb, as we have seen.

Final support for the hypothesis that promotion applies to an affected or experiencer possessor is seen from comparisons of sentences such as (47) and (48).

(47) ŋ-ka-Iy' ókuguIu kw'émbûzi   'I ate the leg of goat'
      I-P₃-eat   leg   of goat

(48) ŋ-ka-Iy' émbúzy' ókuguIu   'I ate the leg off the goat'
      I-P₃-eat goat   leg   (lit. I ate the goat the leg)

The normal sentence is (47), where possessor promotion fails to obtain because 1) the goat is normally dead before it is cooked and eaten--and therefore cannot be an experiencer; and 2) the leg is normally severed off the goat prior to consumption (if not also prior to cooking). Thus it is highly unlikely that speaker/hearers will be concerned about the welfare of the goat at this point. In (48), however, I have treated the goat as an experiencer, and as can be expected, the only appropriate interpretation of this sentence is that I ate the leg *off of* the live goat. Put a lion in subject position, if you prefer!

Now compare the two sentences (49) and (50).

(49) ŋ-ka-bák' éíbaba Iy'éñoñi   'I caught the wing of the bird/
      I-P₃-catch wing of bird   the bird-wing'

(50) ŋ-ka-bák' éñoñy' éíbába   'I caught the bird (by) the wing'
      I-P₃-catch bird   wing

In (49) the wing had previously been severed before I could do any catching. A bird could have lost a wing, or someone could have thrown a bird-wing in the air, which I caught. In (50), on the other hand, where the possessor is promoted, the wing must necessarily have had to be attached in order for the bird to be an experiencer. The result is that this sentence means 'I caught the bird by the wing'. In (51) and (52), a similar distinction is observed, accompanied by a possible slight difference in the meaning of the verb itself.

(51) ŋ-ka-kwáát' ókuguIu kw'ómwáana   'I held the leg of the child'
      I-P₃-hold   leg   of child   'I touched the leg of the child'

(52) ŋ-ka-kwáát' ómwáán' ókuguIu   'I caught/held the child (by) the
      I-P₃-hold   child   leg   leg'

In (51) the verb okukwáata 'to hold' can mean, when possessor promotion does
not occur, either that I held the child's leg or that I simply *touched* it
(i.e. without having an effect on the whole body of the child). In (52), how-
ever, the child as a whole was necessarily held or caught. In (51) we are
interested in the effect of holding on the leg; in (52) we are interested in
the effect of holding on the child. Both are possible, depending on the roles
assigned to the two participants on the basis of the reality of the situation
as seen through the eyes of the speaker.

 2.2. Promotion to subject. In all of the cases of possessor promotion
presented thus far, the possessor turns up as a direct object. This is made
possible by the transitivity of the verb in each sentence. If the verb is
intransitive, on the other hand, the possessor is promoted into *subject* po-
sition. This is seen in (53) and (54).

(53) ??omutwe gw'ómwááŋa nı́-gu-sháash-a 'the head of the child is aching'
   head of child PR-it-ache

(54) omwááŋa n-aa-shááshʼ ómútwe   'the child has a headache' (lit.
   child PR-he-ache head   the child is aching the head)

(53) is unacceptable because the head is treated as having already been severed
from the whole, which would make it difficult for it to be aching. (54) is
much preferred, since when the head is aching, the child is in fact aching.
A similar pair of sentences is observed in (55) and (56).

(55) ?omukono gw'ómwááŋa nı́-gu-núuk-a 'the hand of the child smells'
   arm of child PR-it-smell

(56) omwááŋa n-aa-núúkʼ ómukôno   'the hand of the child smells' (lit.
   child PR-he-smell arm   the child smells [w/r to] the hand)

Again, (55) gives the impression of the hand not being part of the child's
body. It does not seem as bad as (53), however, since it is conceivable for
the child to have a severed hand which happens to smell (but not, of course,
to ache--unless the severed hand has a soul of its own!). In (56) we see
that possessor promotion to subject position has occurred, since it neces-
sarily follows from the smelling [intransitive] of the hand that the child
himself smells.

 Final confirmation of this interpretation of intransitives with possessor
promotion is seen in (57) and (58).

(57) omukono gw'ómwááŋa gú-ka-gw-a 'the arm of the child fell'
   arm of child it-P_3-fall

(58) *omwáánʼ a-ka-gwʼ ómukôno   (lit. the child fell [with respect to]
   child he-P_3-fall arm   the arm)

In (57) we imagine a situation where the child was holding up his arm, which
then suddenly fell. The child in (57) is not an experiencer, but rather the
agent of the action, unlike (54) and (56), where he is the experiencer. In
(58), where I have attempted to treat the child as the experiencer of the arm-

falling, the sentence is not acceptable. This I interpret to mean that when
the child's arm falls, the child does not himself fall. Thus, the action of
the part does not affect or predict the same action with respect to the whole.[3]

3. A POSSIBLE SOLUTION

It would appear from the preceding discussion that a possessor is promoted
when it represents the experiencer of an action deriving from a part-whole re-
lationship such as the one body parts normally take part in. The promotion is to
object if the verb is transitive, or to *subject* if the verb is intransitive.
We know from studies of grammatical relations in Haya and other Bantu languages
that these functions, subject and direct object, are exploited for the manifes-
tation of important arguments of a verb, or as Hawkinson (1977) has suggested
in her study of five Eastern Bantu languages, important *participants* in a
discourse.[4] In fact, the notion of higher vs. lower participants in an event
or action may help to understand the sentence in (56), where 'child' is not a
true experiencer, though his whole body/self is "affected" by a property of a
lower participant (i.e. his hand). Whether a participant will be "high"
enough to be syntacticized as a DO of a transitive verb or the subject of an
intransitive verb depends typically on three factors in Bantu, outlined in (59).

(59) Syntacticization of a participant as a DO will depend on:

    a.   case relations - BEN > DAT > ACC > INSTR   (incomplete)
    b.   the personal hierarchy (see (44))
    c.   reference - given vs. new (and/or presupposed vs. asserted);
                     definite vs. indefinite; specificity

In (59a) a benefactive semantic case will make a participant more likely to
be ranked over a dative, accusative, and instrumental for the reception of DO
properties (see (17) above). In addition, the participants higher in the
personal hierarchy given in (44) will receive more DO properties than parti-
cipants lower in the hierarchy. Finally, given/presupposed, definite, and
specific referents may be accorded higher DO status than new/asserted, inde-
finite, and nonspecific referents. To the extent that the three factors
outlined in (59) line up there will be no problem in determining which one
or ones of several participants will qualify as having DO status. However,
when there is conflict, Bantu languages move in a variety of nonarbitrary di-
rections in order to contain the conflict. In transitive sentences we have
seen the possessor promoted to DO, and the accusative demoted to non-object
status. Because the possessor is an experiencer, it occurs somewhere in the
case hierarchy on a par with benefactives or datives, i.e. higher than accu-
satives or patients. Because it is normally human, or at least animate, it
also qualifies by the animacy factor (i.e. our personal hierarchy) for higher
grammatical status than the accusative, which in the case of body parts is
inanimate. Finally, we had at least one hint (in (37) and (39) above) that
when the possessor is given information, i.e. discourse-old, it may also have
a greater chance at being promoted to DO.[5] The promotion part of possessor
promotion is thus well-motivated.

However, in order to explain the *de*motion part of possessor promotion
it appears in Haya that the body part is not high enough in terms of the
hierarchies in (59) to maintain its objecthood in the face of the rising po-
sessor. I would like to propose that possessor promotion involves the change

from a structure such as that in (60) to a structure such as that in (61)--or, in a model that does not involve actual derivations, nonpromoted vs. promoted possessor constructions differ as indicated in these two structures.

(60)

```
                    S
         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        NP                     VP
         │              ┌───────┴───────┐
       pron            V               NP
         │              │         ┌─────┴─────┐
         I            broke      NP          PP
                                  │      ┌────┴────┐
                                  N     prep      NP
                                  │      │         │
                                 arm    of         N
                                                   │
                                                 child
```

⟹

(61)

```
                    S
         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        NP                     VP
         │              ┌───────┴───────┐
       pron            V               NP        PP
         │              │               │      ┌──┴──┐
         I            broke             N     prep   N
                                        │      │     │
                                      child    ∅    arm
```
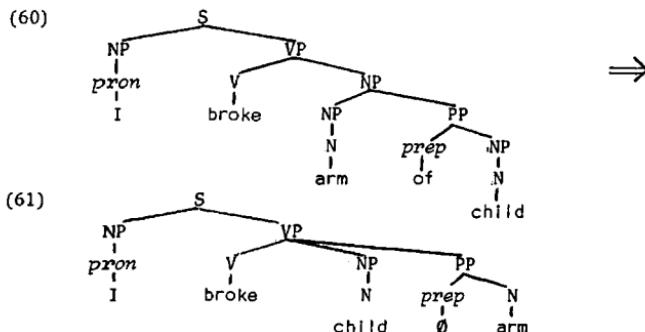
As is seen in (60) and (61), the same basic linear sequence NP-V-NP-PP is maintained, although the prepositional phrase (PP) is seen as an expansion of the VP in (61), as opposed to the NP in (60). In order for possessor promotion to be thusly described as a sort of "switching" between the body part and the affected possessor, it is necessary for the former in (61) to be seen as basically a prepositionless prepositional phrase (or oblique object to the verb). Note, first, that within Bantu only Kinyarwanda has been reported to allow the demoted body part to remain a second object (see Kimenyi 1976), in which language the above analysis would have to receive further attention. An argument for the prepositionless oblique hypothesis is the parallel that obtains between the non-object body part and the agent of the passive in Haya. As seen in (62),

(62) omwááná' a-ka-téél-w' ómushálja   'the child was hit by the man'
      child he-P$_1$-hit-PASS   man

there is no agentive 'by' preposition in the language. The agent noun 'man' in (62) is not an object, however, since it cannot be pronominalized into the OM position, as seen in (63).

(63) *omwááná' a-ka-mu-téel-w-a   'the child was hit by him'
      child he-P$_1$-him-hit-PASS

Further support for the notion of a ∅ preposition is seen from the fact that the demoted *subject* body part in sentences with intransitive verbs does not become an object. As seen in (64) and (65), the body parts in (54) and (56) cannot occur as corresponding OM clitic pronouns.

(64) *omwááná n-aa-gu-sháash-a   'the child's [head] is aching'
       child PR-he-it-ache   (lit. the child is aching it)

(65) *omwááná n-aa-gu-núuk-a   'the child's [hand] smells' (lit. the
       child PR-he-it-smell   child smells [with respect to] it)

The reason why (64) and (65) are ungrammatical is that they treat the demoted body part as a direct object, whereas the intransitive verbs 'ache' and 'smell' do not take an object. That is, possessor promotion involves the *inversion* of the roles of the (body) part and the affected possessor into pre-existing grammatical relations in Haya, rather than the creation of *new* grammatical slots. (A different statement would have to be made for Kinyarwanda.) This not only explains the ungrammaticality of (64) and (65), but also that of (67).

(66)   embw' é-ka-gw' áha-mutwe gw'ómwáana   'the dog fell on the head
        dog it-P₃-fall on-head of child   of the child'

(67) ?*embw' é-ka-gw' ómwáán' áha-mútwe   (lit. the dog fell the child
        dog it-P₃-fall child   on-head   on the head)

In (66) we have the intransitive verb 'fall' followed by a prepositional phrase 'on the head of the child'. In (67), however, where we have attempted to apply possessor promotion to the preceding sentence, the result is ungrammatical (or at least, extremely awkward). The reason is that 'child' in (67) would have to be treated as a DO, but the verb 'fall' is intransitive. Since possessor promotion does not create a new DO slot, but rather switches the participants in the pre-existing grammatical slots, (67) is not acceptable. It would be interesting to know whether (67) is acceptable in Kinyarwanda.

We conclude, then, that demoted body parts (or tree parts, etc.) are in an oblique relation to the verb, thus best conceptualized as having a ∅ preposition. Syntactically they behave no differently from other prepositional phrases which also fail the tests for direct objecthood given in (17) above. Our test sentences are therefore best translated as 'I broke the child with respect to the arm' and 'the child aches with respect to the head', etc. It remains only to be seen why possessor promotion should not be structure-creating as a process. The answer, as argued from the point of view of Sesotho by Morolong and Hyman (1977), is that a prepositionless oblique (or "dead object" or "chômeur") will be created in many if not most Bantu languages if the promotion process which accompanies the demotion *does not receive the backing of the grammar*. Possessor promotion is motivated on purely semantic grounds and there is no overt grammatical marking that accompanies it. In the case of the verb 'to give' the grammar (in this case, the lexicon) allows two objects. In the case of 'to cook' with an applicative extension allowing a second (benefactive) DO, the grammar *supports* what many see as the promotion of a benefactive to DO. Thus, it may be the case 1) that we must distinguish between semantically vs. grammatically + semantically motivated promotions, and 2) that the former may not have the "strength" to create new grammatical relations (for more discussion, see Morolong and Hyman 1977, where a parallel is drawn between body part syntax and cases of promotion based solely on the humanness of a participant).

4. PARALLELS WITH OTHER LANGUAGES

What is striking about the Haya data is the extent to which it conforms with everything that is known about body part syntax in distant West Africa as well as in Europe--and even Mon Khmer (Diffloth 1974). Returning, for example, to the French sentences in (1) and (2), we see the same possessor deletion and possessor promotion at work, although promotion is from a possessive to a dative or indirect object in French. Compare (1) with the French sentence

in (68).

(68) il s'est cassé le bras   'he$_i$ broke his$_i$ arm' (lit. he broke
      he REFL broke the arm   to himself the arm)

(68) differs significantly from (1) in that a reflexive pronoun is required.
When we remove the reflexive in (68) or insert one in (1), unacceptable sen-
tences result, as seen in (69) and (70).

(69) ?il a cassé le bras   'he broke the (severed) arm'
      he broke the arm

(70) *il s'est levé le bras   (he raised the arm to himself?)
      he REFL raised the arm

Langacker (1968) pointed out that a semantic difference is found between verbs
like 'break' and verbs like 'raise'. With arm-breaking or hand-washing an
action is performed onto a body part. With arm-raising and shoulder-shrugging
the body part performs its own action rather than being acted upon. The dif-
ference is clearest with washing vs. raising. If I am washing my hands and
someone asks me what I am doing, I can reply "I am washing myself". If I
raise my hand, and someone asks me what I have done, I cannot reply "I have
raised myself". The question concerns the extent to which the action per-
formed by or to the body part can be attributed to the body as a whole. In
other words, is the body, or its possessor, the agent *and* the experiencer (as
in the case of washing and breaking), or solely the agent (as in the case of
raising one's arm or shrugging one's shoulders). We saw this same distinc-
tion with the verb 'to fall' in (57) as opposed to the verbs 'to ache' and
'to smell' in (54) and (56).

   One of the interesting facts about languages promoting a possessor which
is also an experiencer is that other languages frequently extend the process
to other kinds of possession and/or experiencers. In French, and even more
so in Italian, the dative is frequently used to indicate the presence of a
possessive experiencer--even when there is no part-whole relationship. Con-
sider the sentences in (71) and (72).[6]

(71) ho mangiato la tua bistecca   'I ate your steak' [e.g. the one
      I ate   the your steak   that you bought]

(72) ti ho mangiato la bistecca   'I ate your steak on you' [i.e. what
      you I ate   the steak   I have done to you is eat your steak]

In (71) we have the neutral possessive construction which would normally be
expected. With a dative clitic pronoun in (72), however, the nuance is added
that I have deprived you of the steak you were going to eat. Thus, eating
the steak destined for you (as opposed to simply a steak that may have been
in your possession in (71)) has caused you to become an "affected" object--
represented by the dative in Italian. Syntacticizing a participant as a
dative in Romance languages may mean that it is a benefactive, a dative-
recipient, or an experiencer. And the ability to make a possessor a dative
may eventually be generalized to any situation in which the possessor is af-
fected directly by the action--and still later may be generalized to all pos-

sessive situations, as has happened comparing Nupe vs. Gwari, for instance
(see Hyman and Magaji 1970). Finally, before concluding, let us reconsider
in light of the above the differences noted by Martine Mazaudon (see Hyman
and Zimmer 1976) with respect to the following French causative sentences
in (73) and (74).

(73)   j'ai fait nettoyer la cuisine par Jean   'I had the kitchen cleaned
       I made   clean   the kitchen by John   by John'

(74)   j'ai fait nettoyer la cuisine à Jean   'I made John clean the
       I made   clean   the kitchen to John   kitchen'

In (73) my primary intention was to do something to the *kitchen* (get it
cleaned) and John plays only a secondary role--it could have been done by
anyone, as far as I was concerned. In (74), however, since the dative prepo-
sition à is used, it is clear that my primary intention was to do something
to *John*, and the unpleasant task that I chose for him was cleaning the kit-
chen. In (73) John is thus an agent, but in (74) he is also an experiencer.
He undergoes the cleaning of the kitchen as well as bringing it about.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

        To recapitulate, we have seen that possessor promotion can take place
only if the possessor is affected by the action of the verb. We can gener-
alize to possessor deletion and say that if this process is made possible by
the recoverability of the deleted possessor, then in instances where the pos-
sessor is an experiencer, it will more easily delete under identity with a
subject (or object) noun. Thus, 'I washed hands' is better than 'I saw hands',
if both mean 'my hands'. When I wash the hands, I was myself, but when I see
the hands, I do not necessarily see myself. Because of such parallels, it is
tempting to try to collapse the two phenomena into one statement. Perhaps we
can say that possessor deletion is a kind of promotion under identity, where
the promoted possessor is "absorbed" into the coreferential higher participant
(e.g. the subject or DO). Or, perhaps we can say that possessor promotion is
a kind of deletion, if we start with an "ethical" dative in Romance, extended
presumably as an ethical DO in Haya, and delete the possessor upon identity
with this new element. In this case, 'I broke child arm' would "come from"
'I broke child arm of child' with deletion (rather than promotion) of 'of
child'. Whether such talk of collapsing the two into one can have any em-
pirical consequences is not clear, and I shall therefore not discuss this
issue any further here.

        In none of the foregoing have I made use of the notion of "inalienable
possession". In Hyman, Alford and Akpati (1970) this term was used to cover
both syntactic and morphological characteristics of body parts. Morphologi-
cally, many languages of the world do not permit a body part to be cited
without an overt possessor. This phenomenon has generally been attributed
to the fact that a body part does not occur without a possessor, i.e. without
a body, in nature, and this fact has been encoded into the language.[7] In the
morphological case we are dealing with notions which are inherently "relational"
as opposed to "free" (cf. Welmers 1973). That is, body parts combine with
kinship terms and certain locatives (e.g. 'top of') which can only be conceived
in relation to something. Into this category might be put a few cultural items

such as 'canoe', if everyone must have a canoe, or if no canoe exists without a possessor, etc. In the syntactic case, body parts combine with part-whole relationships (cf. Voeltz 1976) frequently involving such alienable concepts as 'the branch of a tree', etc. Kinship terms as frequently as not do not parallel the *syntactic* characteristics of body parts. It is thus odd to say the French sentence in (75),

(75) ?je lui ai embrassé la soeur   'I kissed his sister'
       I   him   kissed   the sister

even if in strething one's imagination, one saw this action as somehow affecting 'him', the brother. In fact, not only is the class membership for morphological vs. syntactic cases of body part marking different, but so are the hierarchies and implicational relationships. Thus, there are many languages which must morphologically mark kinship terms, but not body parts. There are no languages, apparently, which must mark kinship terms syntactically (as with possessor promotion), but do not do likewise with body parts. It seems that in a relational continuum, kinship terms would have to come higher than body parts, since it is harder to conceive of a 'mother' or 'father' except in relation to someone, while it is possible to conceive of a stray body part. On the other hand, body parts must be higher in the experiential (syntactic) hierarchy, since doing something to someone's body part will affect that person more directly (i.e. more physically, if you will) than doing something to that person's kin. Finally, in this so-called experiential continuum, animates must of course come higher than inanimate possessors in part-whole relationships. Thus, in Italian, a dative experiencer is required for humans, but somewhat strange for inanimates, as seen in the following sentences:

(76) ?ho tagliato i capelli del bambino   'I cut the hair of the child'
       I cut   the hairs of the child

(77) ho tagliato i capelli al bambino   'I cut the hair off the child'
       I cut   the hairs to the child

(78) ho tagliato il ramo dell' albero   'I cut the branch of the tree'
       I cut   the branch of the tree

(79) ?ho tagliato il ramo all' albero   'I cut the branch off the tree'
       I cut   the branch to the tree

Because 'child' is high on the personal (here, experiential) hierarchy, (77) must be preferred over (76). The language must, therefore, treat 'child' as an affected object, put into the dative. But since 'tree' is much lower on this same hierarchy, Italian treats it somewhat differently, preferring the structure in (78) over that in (79). We should expect that different languages will cut the hierarchies in different places, but that there will be implicational relationships of the type: if X is treated as an affected object, so will X+1. This would seem to be a fruitful area for further research.

The final point I would like to briefly discuss is the difference between promotion to DO in Haya (and Bantu, in general) vs. promotion to IO (indirect or dative object) in Romance. We have seen that with the promotion of the possessor to DO status comes a concomitant *demotion* of the basic or

accusative object. With the promotion of a possessor to an IO in Romance, the underlying ACC is allowed to remain DO to the verb. Romance thus seems to respect the grammatical relation of the basic object and chooses simply to "upgrade" the possessor to a DAT, which recall from (59a), is higher in the case hierarchy than an ACC. Perhaps because the affected possessor receives higher case status, it is not necessary to demote the basic DO. In Bantu, however, when the possessor is promoted, it assumes the grammatical relation of the basic DO, which then is demoted as a prepositionless oblique.

The reason for this difference, I would like to suggest, is that Romance marks grammatical relations on *nouns*, whereas Bantu marks grammatical relations on *verbs*. We have seen that Bantu allows multiple DO's (cf. Duranti and Byarushengo 1977). Since this is the case, the only way one DO can be seen as having higher status is if the verb is "oriented" toward one of them. This can be accomplished in one of two ways. In a few cases where a verb like 'to give' can take two lexical DO's, the verb is *lexically* oriented towards the semantic DAT (perhaps because it is normally animate). In other cases, the verb is *grammatically* oriented towards a DO by means of an extension (e.g. the applicative suffix, which orients the verb towards a benefactive or dative--or, occasionally, a locative). We have already seen in (26) that the affected possessor cannot be singled out by means of the applicative suffix. This means, as was pointed out, that the promotion of the affected possessor to DO must take place without the overt backing of the grammar (in this case, the morphology). If Bantu were to treat the two post-verbal nouns in (13) 'I broke child arm' as DO's, the two would not be differentiated with respect to participant status--in which case, one might ask why promotion of the possessor should take place at all.[8] The only alternative left is to promote the affected possessor and to demote the possessed part. By so doing, the same basic grammatical relations are kept, but, as seen in (60) and (61), the participants have been reversed. Whether the distinction I have made between semantically-motivated promotions vs. semantically- + grammatically-motivated promotions holds up will have to be tested against data from other Bantu (and ultimately, non-Bantu) languages.

NOTES

[1]An earlier version of this paper was presented to the U.S.C. Historical Bantu Syntax seminar in the Fall 1976, and at the University of California, Berkeley, on May 19, 1977. I wish to acknowledge the helpful comments I received at both of those meetings, and especially thank Ernest Byarushengo, Alessandro Duranti, Annie Hawkinson, and Karl Zimmer for making specific suggestions which I may or may not have been able to follow up. I am particularly indebted to Ernest Byarushengo, on whose insightful intuitions this paper is based.

[2]In this study I do not necessarily assume that one sentence is literally derived from another sentence, but rather that both are "obtained" from a combination of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic considerations--many of which are dealt with further below.

[3]Notice as in (56) that while the property (the smell) of the hand is transferred to the whole body (i.e. the body is *affected*), one cannot say that the child is a true experiencer (as also pointed out to me by Henry Thompson). I return to this below.

[4]The theoretical framework on which Hawkinson's work is based is available in Garcia (1975). I am particularly indebted to Robert Kirsner for several discussions on this approach to syntax, which I hope I have not misinterpreted or misapplied.

[5]Sentences such as (37) and (39) can be used either when the child is discourse-old, or when enumerating qualities, e.g. I like the child the eyes, but I like the woman the hair.

[6]I would like to thank Francesco Antinucci, Alessandro Duranti, Paola Giunchi, and GianMaria Lojacono for their intuitions on such sentences (and others) in Italian on many occasions.

[7]Inalienable and alienable types of possession can also be distinguished morphologically by requiring different possessive markers or different sets of possessive pronouns.

[8]It is an open question whether two participants can be of equal status, or whether communication is such that speakers are forced to hierarchized. The situation in Kinyarwanda, where both the affected possessor and the possessed part are DO's (Kimenyi 1976), would seem to be a likely candidate in providing two participants of equal status.

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8

RELATIVE CLAUSES

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0. INTRODUCTION*

This paper provides a preliminary description of relative clause forma-
tion in Haya. It will be shown that this language exhibits a wider range of
relativization patterns and possibilities than other closely related Bantu
languages such as Luganda and Kinyarwanda.[1] Haya speakers can form relative
clases (RC's) not only on subjects and direct objects, but also on other
kinds of prepositionless NP's, as well as on prepositional phrases. Differ-
ent strategies are used according to the kind of NP which is relativized,
and in one case (i.e. instrumental NP's) verb-coding and pronoun-retaining
can be used interchangeably.

1. SOME GENERAL FEATURES OF HAYA RC's

Haya RC's are postnominal, as expected in a consistent SVO language, and
the relative pronoun usually introduces the RC. However, if the subject of
the RC is a full NP, a special rule can move the relative pronoun immediately
before the verb of the RC. The relative pronouns follow the general rules of
nominal concord in Haya and are distinguished into two series: (i) a bound
form for relativized subjects; (ii) an unbound form in all other cases. (As
seen in Appendix 1, these pronouns are similar to the demonstratives meaning
'that/that one/those'.) In some tenses the morphology and the tone contour
of the verb in the RC are different from the corresponding forms in main
clauses (for a comparative list of the forms of the verb -gend- 'go', see
Appendix 2.) Haya does not overtly distinguish between restrictive and non-
restrictive RC's.

2. RELATIVIZATION ON SUBJECTS

The subject of an embedded clause is relativized by replacing it with
a relative pronoun (REL) which is attached as a preprefix to the very begin-
ning of the verbal complex. Given Haya basic word order (SVO), no movement

rule is needed. Examples (1) - (5) illustrate this construction with different noun classes and different verbal forms.

(1) embw' é-y-a-ly' ébitooke Ø yaŋge   'the dog that ate the bananas
     dog REL-it-P_1-eat bananas COP mine   is mine'

(2) abáán' á-ba-a-gend' ómu-kyaalo   'the children who have gone to
     children REL-they-P_1-go to-village   the village'

(3) ekintw' é-kí-tá-li kihâŋgo   'the thing that is not big'
     thing REL-it-NEG-be big

(4) omusháíj' á-y-a-bon' ómukâzi   'the man who saw the woman'
     man   REL-he-P_1-see woman

(5) ebitook' é-by-a-gul-w-a káto   'the bananas that have been bought
     bananas REL-they-P_1-buy-PASS Kato   by Kato'

As seen in the above examples, the relative pronoun for subjects consists of a high tone preprefix which agrees in noun class with the head noun. The only case where this REL marker is not identical in form to the preprefixes found on nouns (see Chagas 1977) is class 1, which has á- instead of the expected ó-. The latter form does appear, however, in front of an adjectival modifier with no overt copula.[2] Compare (6a) and (6b).

(6) a. omuntw' á-li muhâŋgo·   'the person who is big'
        person REL-be big

    b. omuntw' ó-muhâŋgo   'the big person'

2.1. Personal pronouns as head nouns. If the head noun is a (full) personal pronoun, both the verb and the relative pronoun agree with a non-expressed 3rd person referent. Therefore, for all human referents, whether 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person, the relative pronoun is identical to that used with class 1 head nouns in the singular and class 2 head nouns in the plural:

(7) iñ' á^3-gend' áha-mujájalo buli iwamukága ti-n-gulá bintu biŋgi
     I REL-go   to-market each Saturday NEG-I-buy things many
     'I who go to the market every Saturday do not buy many things'

Other forms: iw' á-gend' ...   'you (sg.) who go...'
               ·wénén' á-gend' ...   'he/she who goes...'
                icw' á-ba-gend' ...   'we who go...'
                iñw' á-ba-gend' ...   'you (pl.) who go...'
                bónén' á-ba-gend' ...   'they who go...'

These forms then mean something like 'I/you/he/she..., (the one) who goes [class 1]' and 'we/you/they..., (the ones) who go' [class 2].

3. RELATIVIZATION OF PREPOSITIONLESS NP's

A non-subject prepositionless NP is relativized by replacing it with a V(C)V-o pronoun which usually appears at the beginning of the RC (see section

5 for the "attraction-to-the-verb rule"). Since prepositionless NP's can have different syntactic and/or semantic roles, I will illustrate this relativization pattern by going through the different types of prepositionless NP's that Haya sentences can have.

  3.1. Direct objects (DO's). This category has been defined by Duranti and Byarushengo (1977) by a certain number of properties that are shared by what they call "basic" DO's. Without going into too many details, intuitively and traditionally speaking, such NP's as emótoka 'car' in (8), omwáana 'child' in (9), and ebitooke 'bananas' in (10) can be considered "basic" DO's.

(8) omusháíja y-a-guí' émótoka   'the mas has bought a/the car'
     man   he-P$_1$-buy car

(9) n-a-bon' ómwáana   'I have seen a/the child'
     I-P$_1$-see child

(10) embwá y-a-íy' ébítooke   'the dog has eaten (the) bananas'
     dog it-P$_1$-eat bananas

However, formally speaking, these nouns constitute a proper set, defined by the kinds of grammatical processes they can trigger, undergo, or control (see Duranti and Byarushengo 1977). Furthermore, their semantic role is implied by the verb in its "basic" form, that is, without any supplementary suffix (or "extension"). Examples (11) - (13) show relativization on the DO's of the above sentences.

(11) emótok' éy' ómusháíja y-a-gúl-a   'the car that the man has bought'
     car   REL man   he-P$_1$-buy

(12) omwáán' ówó n-a-bón-a   'the child that I have seen'
     child   REL I-P$_1$-see

(13) ebítook' éby' émbwá y-á-íy-a   'the bananas that the dog has eaten'
     bananas REL dog it-P$_1$-eat

  There are, in Haya, certain verbs that can take *two* basic DO's. Verbs like -óíek- 'show', -há- 'give', -jun- 'help' belong to this class. Especially when there are three human referents involved, sentences with these verbs are potentially ambiguous. However, in addition to background information shared by the speaker and the hearer, word order usually provides a "preferred" reading. A sentence like (14), for instnace, tends to be interpreted as 'I showed the child to the woman' rather than 'I showed the woman to the child'.

(14) n-a-yolek' ómukázy' ómwáana   'I showed the woman the child'
     I-P$_1$-show woman   child

But if either one of the two DO's is relativized, complete ambiguity arises:

(15) omwáán' ówó n-a-yolek' ómukázi 'the child that I showed to the woman'
     child   REL I-P$_1$-show woman 'the child to whom I showed the woman'

(16) omukázy' ówó n-a-yolek' ómwáana   'the woman that I showed to the child'
      woman REL I-P$_1$-show child   'the woman to whom I showed the child'

Another kind of prepositionless NP that behaves like a DO concerns NP's that have their semantic role marked on the verb by means of suffixes, e.g. omwáana 'child' in (17) and ekítambâla 'handkerchief' in (18).

(17) omukázi y-a-cumb-il'[4] ómwáán' ébítooke   'the woman has cooked (the)
      woman she-P$_1$-cook-APP child bananas   bananas for a/the child'

(18) n-a-slig-is' ómwáán' ékitambál' ámajûta   'I smeared the oil on the
      I-P$_1$-smear-INSTR child handkerchief oil   child with a/the handkerchief'

The benefactive role of omwáana in (17) is marked by the so-called "applicative" suffix -il- (APP) on the verb, and the presence of an instrumental NP in (18) is revealed by the suffix -ls- (sometimes -l-; cf. Trithart 1977). Notice that -slig- 'smear' is a two-DO verb like -há- 'give' and -ólek- 'show'.

With the above sentences more ambiguity may arise in RC's than in main clauses. Again, whereas in (19) there is a "preferred" reading, complete ambiguity arises if either one of the postnominal NP's is relativized:

(19) kató y-a-lt-il' ómukázy' ómuntu   'Kato killed the person for/because
      Kato he-P$_1$-kill-APP woman person   of the woman' [preferred reading]

(20) omukázy' ówó kató y-a-it-il' ómuntu
      woman   REL Kato he-P$_1$-kill-APP person
      'the woman that Kato has killed for/because of the person'
      'the woman for/because of whom Kato has killed the person'

(21) omuntw' ówó kató y-a-lt-il' ómukâzi
      person REL Kato he-P$_1$-kill-APP woman
      'the person that Kato has killed for/because of the woman'
      'the person for/because of whom Kato has killed the woman'

This way of marking the semantic role of a certain NP on the verb has been called the *verb-coding strategy* (cf. Keenan 1972, Keenan and Comrie 1972). It has been argued that this strategy is used to recover "the semantic function of the deleted coreferent argument in relativization" (Givón 1976:58). What we have just seen in Haya does not seem to support such a claim. Furthermore, Haya is a counterexample to another claim that has been made with respect to verb-coding strategies in Bantu. Givón (1976) states: "There are two striking themes running through the Bantu data. First, the verb-coding or promotion strategy within one language is used only for cases for which an alternative coding strategy is not available." As we will see in a later section, there is at least one clear case in Haya in which both a verb-coding strategy and a pronoun-retaining strategy are available.

3.2. *Other types of prepositionless NP's.* There are other kinds of prepositionless NP's that can be relativized the same way as DO's. This is the case, for instance, with possessed parts in the "affected possessor"

construction. Consider example (22).

(22) kató y-a-hend' ómusháíj' ómukôno   'Kato has broken the man's hand'
     Kato he-P₁-break man   arm   (lit. Kato broke the man the hand)

In (22) there are two prepositionless NP's, but only omushálja 'man' shares
all of the properties of DO's (cf. Hyman 1977). Nevertheless, both omushálja
and omukôno can be relativized by means of the same rule as for DO's:

(23) omusháíj' ówó kató y-a-hend' ómukôno   'the man whose hand Kato has
     man   REL Kato he-P₁-break arm   broken'
     (lit. the man that Kato has broken the hand)

(24) omukón' ógwó kató y-a-hend' ómusháíja   'the arm that Kato has broken
     arm   REL Kato he-P₁-break man   (of/to) the man'

The accessibility of NP's such as omukôno in (22) to this type of RC forma-
tion prevents us from stating this relativization pattern as "restricted" to
DO's. There are, however, prepositionless NP's that cannot be relativized
(either with this rule or with any other rule). For this reason we cannot
say that this rule applies to *all* kinds of prepositionless NP's. One clear
case of a prepositionless NP that cannot be relativized is the agent NP in
a passive construction. It turns out that Haya, as opposed to other Bantu
languages that use such prepositions as na, ka or ku, does not have a marker
on the demoted subject in a passive sentence. As seen in (25), the agent NP
simply follows the verb, which takes the suffix -w- (-bw- after a vowel).

(25) a.   omusháíja y-a-ít' émbwa   'the man has
           man   he-P₁-kill dog   killed the dog'   →

     b.   embwá y-a-ít-w' ómusháíja   'the dog has been killed
           dog it-P₁-kill-PASS man   by the man'

In Haya there is no way a noun like omushálja in (25b) can be relativized.
RC's like (25c) are completely unacceptable.

(25) c. *omusháíj' ów' émbwá y-á-ít-w-a   'the man (by) whom the dog
          man   REL dog it-P₁-kill-PASS   has been killed'

    The above is not the only case in which RC formation is blocked. As
shown by Duranti and Byarushengo (1977), sometimes when the syntactic status
of a DO is affected by some particular grammatical process, RC formation on
such a DO might be blocked. For this reason, mainly, this kind of RC forma-
tion has been considered as one of the properties that define (together with
others) a DO. Thus, even if we cannot say that this RC formation pattern is
restricted to NP's having DO status, we might still say that it is *one of
their properties* which may be lost when the DO is totally or partially de-
moted. The agent NP in a passive construction would then represent the most
extreme case of a "downgraded" NP in a Haya clause.

    3.3. Objects of comparison. Haya comparatives are constructed by means
of the verb -sháág- 'surpass', as shown in the following examples:

(26) a. n-dí mula ku-sháág' ómwáana 'I am taller than the child'
         I-be tall to-surpass child (lit. I am tall to surpass the child)

    b. ŋ-kol-a munó ku-sháág' ómusháíj' ómugûfi (lit. I work so much
        I-work much to-surpass man short to surpass the short
        'I worked harder than the short man' man)

NP's like omwáana 'child' in (26a) and omusháíj' ómugûfi 'short man' in (26b)
are like DO's of the verb -sháág- 'surpass'. RC formation thus applies as on
any other DO:

(27) a. omwáán' ówó n-dí mula ku-sháag-a 'the child that I am taller than'
         child REL I-be tall to-surpass (lit. the child that I am tall
                                            to surpass)

    b. omusháíj' ómugûfy' ówó ŋ-kol-a munó ku-sháaga
        man short REL I-work much to-surpass
        'the short man that I work harder than'
        (lit. the short man that I work so much to surpass)

   3.4. Personal pronouns as head nouns. As in the case of subject rela-
tivization, in this kind of RC formation as well, personal pronouns are con-
sidered as having a third person referent. In fact, we find for human refer-
ents the relative pronoun ówo (class 1) in the singular and abo (class 2) in
the plural. An example involving the first person singular is given in (28).

(28) Iñ' ówó kat' á-boin-e nyéígolo 'I whom Kato saw yesterday'
      I REL Kato he-see-P_2 yesterday

4. RELATIVIZATION ON OBJECTS OF A PREPOSITION

   4.1. "Simple" prepositions. There are very few "simple" prepositions
in Haya. They behave differently with respect to RC formation as well as to
other grammatical processes. As I will show below, the proposition na 'with'
has a different status from locative "prepositions" such as omu- 'in' and
aha- 'at, on'. This difference is revealed by the different kinds of RC form-
ation strategies that they require.

   The preposition na can be used with different NP arguments. Example
(29) illustrates the use of na as a marker of an instrumental NP, and example
(30) illustrates the use of na as a marker of a comitative NP.

(29) n-a-ít' éŋkóko n'éŋkoní 'I have killed the chicken with a
      I-P_1-kill chicken with stick stick'

(30) omusháíja y-a-gend-a n'ómwáana 'the man has gone with the child'
      man he-P_1-go with child

In order to relativize on an object of a preposition such as eŋkoní 'stick'
in (29) or omwáana 'child' in (30), in addition to the V(C)V-o relative pro-
noun at the beginning of the RC, the preposition na must be retained in its
"original" position plus a copy pronoun that agrees in noun class with the
relativized NP. Examples (31) and (32) show this RC pattern.

(31) eŋkony' éyó n-a-ít' éŋkóko ná-yo 'the stick with which I have
      stick REL I-P_1-kill chicken with-it killed the chicken'

(32) omwáán' ów' ómusháíja y-a-gend-a ná-we   'the child with whom the
      child REL   man   he-P_1-go with-him   man has gone'

There are two ways of relativizing on an instrumental NP in Haya: one in-
volves verb-coding, as we have seen in 3.1; the other involves the so-called
pronoun-retaining strategy seen in (31). The two strategies are interchange-
able, but they cannot be used together. Thus, (33) is acceptable only without
ná-yo 'with it' (class 9).

(33) enkony' éyó n-a-is'[6] énkóko (*ná-yo)   'the stick with which I
      stick   REL I-P_1-kill/INSTR chicken with-it   have killed the chicken'

The same pronoun-retaining strategy is used with genitival constructions.
Normally the connective element between the two NP's in a genitival construc-
tion is the so-called "associative" marker -a, preceded by a concord prefix
that agrees with the possessed NP, as shown in (34) and (35).

(34) omwááhna y-a-yogy' émotoka y'ómusháíja   cf. ya káto 'of Kato'
      child he-P_1-wash   car of   man
      'the child has washed the car of the man'

(35) omwááhna y-a-yogy' émotoka y'ábasháíja   'the child has washed the
      child he-P_1-wash   car of men   car of the men'

When the possessor NP is relativized, the connective element becomes a kind
of pronominal form which agrees with the relativized element, as seen in (36)
and (37).

(36) omusháíj' ów' ómwááhna y-a-yogy' émotoká ye   'the man whose car the
      man   REL child he-P_1-wash car his   child has washed'
      (lit. the man that the child washed his car)

(37) abasháíj' áb' ómwááhna y-a-yogy' émotoka yábo   'the men whose car the
      men   REL   child he-P_1-wash car their   child has washed'
      (lit. the men that the child washed their car)

Notice that in (34) and (35) the connective element ya (y') stays the same
even if the possessor NP changes. In (36) and (37), the class 9 connective
element has taken a pro-form that agrees also with the possessor NP.

    Locative prepositions behave differently. For example, whereas the
preposition na cannot be fronted in RC's,

(38) *enkonl n'éyó n-a-lt' énkóko   'the stick with which I have
      stick with-REL I-P_1-kill chicken   killed the chicken'

there are cases in which we find fronted locative prepositions in RC's, as
in the following two examples:

(39) omu-kyaal' ómwó n-túúl-a   'in the village in which I live'
      in-village in-REL I-live

(40) aha-mééz' áhó kat' á-shuntám-a   'on the table where Kato sits'
      on-table on-REL Kato he-sit

This fact can be explained if we consider the particular nature of locative prepositions in Haya (and in Bantu in general), which behave in many respects more as nominal prefixes than as prepositions. In fact, they have the same VCV structure as an augmented noun prefix and may trigger agreement on noun modifiers, as in (41).

(41) omu-njú mwange   'in the house (is) mine'
      in-house in-my

This might suggest that ómwó in (39) and áhó (áha-ó/) in (40) are produced by a simple rule of concord with the head noun. This is confirmed by the fact that locative relative pronouns are not well-accepted if the head noun is not "locativized". Sentences like (42) are only marginally acceptable.

(42) ??kat' á-ka-bón' ékyaal' ómwó n-túúl-a   'Kato saw the village in which
      Kato he-P$_3$-see village in-REL I-live   I live'

If we have more NP arguments, as in (43), the sentence might be completely unacceptable:

(43) *nl—m-many' ékyaal' ómwó y-a-gend-el' ómukâzl
      PR-I-know village in-REL he-P$_1$-go-APP woman
      'I know the village in which he has gone for the woman'

To express this properly, we must use the verb-coding strategy, as seen in (44).

(44) ni—m-many' ékyaal' ékyó y-a-gend-el-a mw' ómukâzl
      PR-I-know village REL he-P$_1$-go-APP LOC woman
      'I know the village which he has gone in for the woman'

In (44) the verb has been marked for the locative semantic role by means of the suffix mu, which conveys the same meaning as the preposition omu-. To mark the verb for the meaning of the preposition aha-, the suffix ho is used, as seen in (45).

(45) emeez' éyó kató y-a-shuntam=á ho   'the chair on which Kato sat'
      table REL Kato he-P$_1$-sit   LOC   (lit. the chair that Kato sat on)

In sentences like (44) and (45) RC formation works as for the other preposi-tionless NP's (cf. 3.1). Notice that in these cases the pronoun-retaining strategy is not available:

(46) *kat' á-ka-bón' ékyaal' ékyó n-tuul' ómwo   'Kato saw the village that
      Kato he-P$_3$-see village REL I-live in-it   I live in it'

4.2. Complex prepositional phrases. RC formation on the object of a complex prepositional phrase (that is, a prepositional phrase which is in fact a compound formed by a prepositional phrase + genitive, like the English *on the top of, at the bottom of,* etc.) is only marginally acceptable and is usually avoided by Haya speakers. The interesting thing, however, is that when the object of the prepositional phrase is relativized, the connective particle formed by the suffix -a and a preceding concord prefix can be

dropped, and in fact, in some cases the sentence sounds even better without it. In (46) the locative prepositional phrase omu-máísho, which literally means 'in-eyes' is followed by the connective ga, which agrees with amáísho 'eyes' (class 6).

(46)   kat' á-kol' ómu-maísho g'énju   'Kato works in front of the house'
       Kato he-work in-eyes of house

If we want to form RC on énju 'house', we can either drop the connective ga, or expand it with a pronominal form, i.e. gá-yo, as shown in (47).

(47)   enjw' éyó kat' á-kol' ómu-maísho (∅ or gá-yo)
       house REL Kato he-work in-eyes   of-it
       'the house in front of which Kato works'

In this case, then, the pronoun-retaining strategy is optional.

5. RELATIVE PRONOUN ATTRACTION TO THE VERB

     When the subject of the RC is a full NP the non-subject relative pronoun can be moved over the subject and placed adjacent to the verb, as in the (b) examples below:

(48) a. emótok' éy' ómwáána y-a-yogy-á ∅ yange   'the car that the child
         car   REL   child he-P_1-wash COP mine   has washed is mine'

  = b. emótok' ómwáán' éyó y-a-yogy-á ∅ yange

(49) a. omuhy' ógw' ómushálja y-a-shaz' ényama gu-ly' áha-mééza
         knife REL   man   he-P_1-cut/INSTR meat it-be on-table
         'the knife with which the man has cut the meat is on the table'

  = b. omuhy' ómushálj' ógwó y-a-shaz' ényama gu-ly' áha-mééza

However, in sentences like (50) and (51), this rule cannot apply.

(50) a. omwáán' ów' ómukázl y-a-cumb-ll' ébltook' a-lwáll-e
         child REL   woman she-P_1-cook-APP bananas he-sick
         'the child for whom the woman has cooked the bananas is sick'

     b. *omwáán' ómukázy' ówó y-a-cumb-ll' ébltook' a-lwáll-e

(51) a. n-a-bon' énjangw' éy' émbwá y-a-lúm-a   'I have seen the cat that
         I-P_1-see cat REL dog it-P_1-bite   the dog bit'

     b. *n-a-bon' énjangw' émbw' éyó y-a-lúm-a

Both in (50) and in (51) the subject NP of the RC and the head noun belong to the same noun class (class 1 in (50), class 9 in (51)). Given the fairly "free" word order of Haya, it seems that sentences like (50b) and (51b) would create severe problems in assigning the right bracketing and coreferentiality. The subject-verb agreement in (50b), for instance, could either refer to omwáana or omukázl, and omukázl itself could be the head noun of a RC with the subject-verb agreement referring to another person. (52) illustrates the different possible interpretations.

(52) omwáán'$_i$ ómukázy'$_j$ ówó$_{i/j}$ y$_{i/j}$-a-cumb-II' ébitook' a$_{i/j}$-twáli-e

The same rule of relative pronoun attraction to the verb seems to be obligatory in Luganda, as described by Walusimbi (1976), who argues against the "principle of pronoun attraction" proposed by Givón (1972). Such a principle would predict a tendency to *keep the relative pronoun as close to the head noun as possible*. Instead, in Luganda, a full subject NP intervenes always between the head noun and the relative pronoun. This seems consistent with the general tendency in Bantu to mark on (or next to) the verb as much grammatical information as possible.

6. PSEUDO-CLEFT SENTENCES AND EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

In this section I will briefly show that pseudo-cleft sentences are formed by using the same kind of strategies and patterns used for RC formation, and that *embedded questions are morphosyntactically the same as RC's*.

6.1. Pseudo-clefts. Haya can form pseudo-clefts on the same types of NP's on which it can form RC's. (53) shows a pseudo-cleft on a subject, (54) on a basic DO, (55) on a verb-marked DO (instrumental), and (56) on a comitative NP.

(53) a-y-a-leet' ébitooke ní káto '(the one) who brought the bananas
      REL-he-P$_1$-bring bananas COP Kato   is Kato'

(54) $\begin{Bmatrix} eyó \\ ekyó \\ REL \end{Bmatrix}$ kató y-a-shal-á Ø nyama 'what Kato has cut is meat'
      Kato he-P$_1$-cut COP meat

(55) $\begin{Bmatrix} ogwó \\ ekyó \\ REL \end{Bmatrix}$ kató y-a-shaz-á Ø múhyo 'what Kato has cut-with is
      Kato he-P$_1$-cut/INSTR COP knife   the knife'

(56) owó n-a-gend-a na-wé ní káto '(the one) who I went with is
      REL I-P$_1$-go with-him COP Kato   Kato'

In this kind of construction the copula can either be expressed by the morpheme ní, as in (53) and (56), when the pseudo-clefted NP is a proper name with no preprefix, or by the absence of the preprefix, as in (54) and (55).

In (53), where the subject relativization pattern has been used, the relative pronoun a- (class 1) has a low tone instead of high because of a general tone rule that lowers the high tone of a vowel immediately following a pause (cf. Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976). In (54) and (55), either one of the two relative pronouns can be used. The first form in each case agrees in noun class with the pseudo-clefted NP; the other (ekyó) is a general alternate form available for all inanimates, agreeing with the class 7 noun ekíntu 'thing' (cf. Bennett 1977).

6.2. Embedded questions. In Haya embedded questions are superficially the same as RC's.[7] Furthermore, there is no distinction between such pairs as the English 'I know the man that the woman saw' vs. 'I know which man the woman saw'. These are both expressed by the following structure:

(57) ni-m-many' ómushátí' ów' ómukázi y-a-bóin-e
      PR-I-know   man   REL woman she-P$_1$-see

(58) provides an example with a locative role marked on the verb:

(58) nl-m-many' ékyaal' éky' á-tuul-á mu   'I know the village in which he
      PR-I-know village REL he-live LOC   lives/I know in which village he
                                             lives'

NOTES

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[1]Cf. Ashton et al (1954), Walusimbi (1976), and Keenan (1972) for Luganda; Kimenyi (1976) and Gary and Keenan (1976) for Kinyarwanda.

[2]See also Chagas (1977).

[3]Underlyingly this would be /á-a-gend-a/, the first a- being the relative pronoun (preprefix) and the second one the subject-verb agreement.

[4]The suffix -ll- (or -el-) most frequently marks what might be generally called the "dative" case (in the sense of early Case Grammar). APP refers to "applicative", which is the term used by Bantuists.

[5]This is in fact a RC out of an embedded sentence, even if it is much better (i.e. more "acceptable") than a RC on the DO of a "full" embedded clause like (i):

(i)   kató n-a-tekeléz' aty' ómwáána y-a-bon' ábasháija
      Kato PR-he-think that child he-P_1-see men
      'Kato thinks that the child has seen the men'

(ii) ?*abasháíj' ábó kat' á-lí-ku-tékelez' aty' ómwáana y-á-bôn-a
      men   REL Kato he-be to-think that child he-P_1-see
      'the men that Kato thinks that the child has seen'

In these cases, in order to relativize on a DO, it is better to promote the DO to subject (via passivization), as in (iii):

(iii) abasháíj' ábó kat' á-lí-ku-tékelez' atl ba-a-bon-w' ómwáana
      men   REL Kato he-be-to-think that they-P_1-see-PASS child
      'the men that Kato thinks that (they) have been seen by the child'

Notice that in (iii) the relative pronoun is the one usually found for non-subject NP's, whereas abasháija 'men' is the subject of the embedded clause, as shown by the subject-verb agreement ba- in ba-a-bon-w-a 'they have been seen'. This might be due to the fact that the relative pronoun for subject NP's is a bound form that cannot be taken away from the verb of the RC, whereas in this case we need a marker of the RC far away from the RC. It is of course also possible that 'men' is simultaneously considered as a DO of kutékeleza 'to think' or a prepositionless oblique, something which may require further study.

[6]The form -is- 'kill with' is derived from /ít+i/, with the instrumental suffix causing spirantization (see Trithart 1977).

[7]For a cross-linguistic survey and some semantically-based arguments

for such a phenomenon, see Keenan and Hull (1973).

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APPENDIX 1

Noun Class	Demonstrative ('that/those')		Nonsubject REL		'with which/whom'	
1	ógwo[1]	/ó-gu-o/	ówó[1,2]	/ó-u-ó/	náwe[4,5]	/na-u-é/
2	ábo	/á-ba-o/	ábó	/á-ba-ó/	nábo	/na-ba-ó/
3	ógwo	/ó-gu-o/	ógwó	/ó-gu-ó/	nágwo	/na-gu-ó/
4	égyo	/é-gi-o/	éyó[2]	/é-i-ó/	náyo	/na-i-ó/
5	élyo	/é-li-o/	élyó	/é-li-ó/	nályo	/na-li-ó/
6	ágo	/á-ga-o/	ágó	/á-ga-ó/	nágo	/na-ga-ó/
7	ékyo	/é-ki-o/	ékyó	/é-ki-ó/	nákyo	/na-ki-ó/
8	ébyo	/é-bi-o/	ébyó	/é-bi-ó/	nábyo	/na-bi-ó/
9	égyo	/é-gi-o/	éyó[2]	/é-i-ó/	náyo	/na-i-ó/
10	ézo	/é-zi-o/	ézó	/é-zi-ó/	názo	/na-zi-ó/
11	ólwo	/ó-lu-o/	ólwó	/ó-lu-ó/	nálwo	/na-lu-ó/
12	áko	/á-ka-o/	ákó	/á-ka-ó/	náko	/na-ka-ó/
13	ótwo	/ó-tu-o/	ótwó	/ó-tu-ó/	nátwo	/na-tu-ó/
14	óbwo	/ó-bu-o/	óbwó	/ó-bu-ó/	nábwo	/na-bu-ó/
15	ókwo	/ó-ku-o/	ókwó	/ó-ku-ó/	nákwo	/na-ku-ó/
16	áho	/á-ha-o/	áhó	/á-ha-ó/		
17	ókwo	/ó-ku-o/	---[3]			
18	ómwo	/ó-mu-o/	ómwó	/ó-mu-ó/		

[1]The demonstrative and nonsubject REL forms are transcribed with the surface tones they would have if both preceded and followed by some segment rather than being at the beginning or end of an utterance. [2]Classes 1, 4, and 9 do not have an intervocalic /g/ in the REL forms. [3]Class 17 is not very productive in Haya. The REL form is missing and the demonstrative ókwo is one of the few forms attested in the language. [4]'with REL' forms are transcribed as they would appear tonally at the end of an utterance. [5]Class 1 has the alternate náge.

APPENDIX 2

TENSE	MAIN CLAUSE ("the man goes/ went, etc.")	RELATIVE CLAUSE ("the man who goes/ went, etc.")	MAIN CLAUSE ("the men go/ went, etc.")	RELATIVE CLAUSE ("the men who go/ went, etc.")
Pres. Hab.	a-génd-a he-go	á-á-gend-a REL-he-go	ba-génd-a they-go	á-bá-gend-a REL-they-go
*Pres. Pr.**	n-aa-génd-a PR-he-go	á-lí-ku-gend-a REL/he-be-to-go	ni-ba-génd-a PR-they-go	á-ba-lí-ku-gend-a REL-they-be-to-go
Past. Hab.	y-aa-gend-âg-a he-P_1-go-HAB	á-y-a-gend-âg-a REL-he-P_1-go-HAB	ba-a-gend-âg-a they-P_1-go-HAB	á-ba-a-gend-âg-a REL-they-P_1-go-HAB
$Past_1$	y-áá-gend-a he-P_1-go	á-y-á-gend-a REL-he-P_1-go	bá-á-gend-a they-P_1-go	á-bá-á-gend-a REL-they-P_1-go
$Past_2$	a-genz-îl-e he-go-P_2	á-á-genz-il-e REL-he-go-P_2	ba-genz-il-e they-go-P_2	á-bá-genz-il-e REL-they-go-P_2
*$Past_3$**	a-ka-gend-a he-P_3-go	á-y-a-genz-îl-e REL-he-P_1-go-P_2	bá-ka-gend-a they-P_3-go	á-ba-a-genz-îl-e REL-they-P_1-go-P_2
$Future_1$	a-laa-génd-a he-F_1-go	á-á-laa-génd-a REL-he-F_1-go	ba-laa-génd-a they-F_1-go	á-ba-laa-génd-a REL-they-F_1-go
$Future_2$	a-lí-génd-a he-F_2-go	á-á-lí-genid-a REL-he-F_2-gó	ba-lí-génd-a they-F_2-go	á-ba-lí-gend-a REL-they-F_2-go
Condit.	y-a-ku-genz-il-e he-P_1-MOD-go-P_2	á-y-a-kú-genz-il-e REL-he-P_1-MOD-go-P_2	ba-a-ku-genz-îl-e they-P_1-MOD-go-P_2	á-ba-a-kú-genz-il-e REL-they-P_1-MOD-go-P_2
Mod. 1	y-a-ku-génd-a he-P_1-MOD-go	á-y-a-kú-gend-a REL-he-P_1-MOD-go	ba-a-ku-gênd-a they-P_1-MOD-go	á-ba-a-kú-gend-a REL-they-P_1-MOD-go
*Mod. 2**	n-a-bá-sa-ku-gend-a PR-he-be-MOD-MOD-go	á-lí-ku-ba-sa-ku-gend-a REL/he-be-to-be-MOD-MOD-go	ni-ba-bá-sa-ku-gend-a PR-they-be-MOD-MOD-go	á-ba-lí-ku-ba-sa- ku-gend-a REL-they-be-to-be-MOD -MOD-go

*marks tenses with morphological differences in RC's; tones are given as they would appear when preceded by something other than pause

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9

CONJUNCTION

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0. INTRODUCTION

This paper gives a general survey of the (coordinate) conjunction system of Haya. In view of the fact that a number of languages employ different conjunctive morphemes for conjoining different syntactic categories, it will be appropriate to divide our discussion into several parts according to the conjoined categories. Specifically, we will discuss conjunction of: 1) noun phrases, 2) adverbs, 3) adjectives, 4) verbs, and 5) sentences.

1. NOUN PHRASES

In Haya NP's are conjoined by na 'and', as illustrated in (1).

(1)   omushá íja na káto   'the man and Kato'
       man   and Kato

Now observe the phrases in (2):

(2) a.   omushá íja n'ómwáana   'the man and the child'
          man [1] and child [1]

    b.   omushá íja n'émbwa   'the man and the dog'
          man [1] and dog [9]

In (2) the same morpheme (na) is employed in (2a), where both conjuncts are class 1 (human), and in (2b), where class 1 and class 9 nouns are conjoined. This shows that noun classes have no bearing on the forms of conjunction.

While two NP's are conjoined in the preceding examples, (3) exemplifies conjunction of more than two NP's.

(3)   omushá íja n'ómukázi n'ómwáana   'the man and the woman and the child'
       man   and woman   and child

As in English, all but the last occurrence of na can be deleted, as shown by (4),

(4) omushá í j' ómukâzi n' ómwáana   'the man, the woman, and the child'
     man   woman and child

where a comma intonation is required after 'man' and 'woman' (notice the falling tone as well; cf. Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976).

The phrase in (5) involves the expression 'both... and' (bómbi).

(5) omushá í ja n'ómwáana bómbi   'both the man and the child'
     man   and child   both

Having established the form of NP conjunction, we shall examine the agreement between verb and conjoined NP's. First, let us concentrate on subject-verb agreement. Sentence (6) involves two conjoined NP's, both of which belong to class 1 in the singular.

(6) omushá í ja n'ómwáana bá-á-gend-a   'the man and the child went'
     man   and child they-P_1-go

As seen in (6), if both conjuncts are of the same class (here, class 1), the agreement pronoun in the verb takes the corresponding plural form of the conjuncts (here, class 2). There arises a conflict, however, if the conjuncts belong to different noun classes. Thus consider sentence (7), which involves a noun of class 1 and a noun of class 9.

(7) a.   omushá í ja n'émbwá bá-á-gend-a   'the man and the dog went'
          man   and dog they-P_1-go

    b.   *omushá í ja n'émbwá z-áá-gend-a (class 10 SM)

In (7a) we see that the subject marker must be bá- (class 2), agreeing with omushá í ja 'man' (class 1) despite the presence of the class 9 noun émbwa 'dog', which would predict a plural in class 10. Here one might hypothesize that the pronoun in a verb agrees with the first conjunct. This hypothesis however is falsified by (8), where we obtain the same agreement as in (7), even though the order of the two conjuncts is reversed.

(8) a.   embwá n'ómushá í já bá-á-gend-a   'the dog and the man went'
          dog and man   they-P_1-go

    b.   *embwá n'ómushá í já z-áá-gend-a (class 10 SM)

This shows that when nouns designating a human being and an animal are conjoined, the human noun always takes precedence over the animal noun in determining subject-verb agreement, regardless of the order of the conjuncts.

Now consider sentence (9) containing two inanimate nouns, one being class 3 (omúti 'tree') and one class 7 (ekyaalo 'village').

(9) a.   omutí n'ékyaalo ni-bí-hya   'the tree and the village are burning'
          tree and village PR-they-burn

    b.   *omutí n'ékyaalo n-éé-hya (class 4 SM)

c.   ekyaalo n'ómutí ni-bí-hya   'the village and the tree are
     village and tree PR-they-burn   burning'

d.   *ekyaalo n'ómutí n-éé-hya (class 4 SM)

Sentences (9a) and (c) show that when nouns of classes 3 and 7 are conjoined
as subject, the agreement pronoun in the verb is invariably realized as class
8 (the corresponding plural of class 7), regardless of the order of the con-
juncts. Thus if inanimate nouns of different classes are conjoined, the noun
higher in the "class hierarchy" determines the subject-verb agreement. This
accounts for the ungrammaticality of (9b) and (9d), where subject marker (SM)
e- (class 4) agrees with the noun of the lower class (omútí 'tree', class 3).

    These two observations lead us to set up the following hierarchy for
subject-verb agreement in Haya.[1]

(10) Human[3] ˃ Animate ˃ Inanimate   (i is higher than j in noun class)
                          i ˃ j

Thus the agreement is determined partly semantically (humanness, animacy)
and partly grammatically (noun classes).

    The situation of verb-object agreement, however, is quite different
from that of subject-verb agreement. Thus, although an object pronoun may
figure in a verbal complex if the object consists of a single noun or multi-
ple nouns of the same noun class, we can find no verb-object agreement if
the object NP is composed of nouns of different classes. Compare (11) with
(12) below.

(11)   a-ka-bá-ít' ómusháíja n'ómukâzi   'he killed them, the man and
       he-P_3-them-kill man and woman   the woman'

(12) a.   a-ká-ít' ómusháíja n'émbwa   'he killed the man and the dog'
          he-P_3-kill man   and dog

     b.   a-ká-ít' émbwá n'ómusháíja ·· 'he killed the dog and the man'
          he-P_3-kill dog and man

     c.   *a-ka-bá-ít' ómusháíja n'émbwa

     d.   *a-ka-zí-ít' émbwá n'ómusháíja

In (11) the verb contains the class 2 pronoun (-ba-), since the object NP
consists of nouns in the same gender (1/2). In (12), on the other hand,
since the object has nouns of different classes, no agreement pronoun is
allowed in the verb, thus rendering (12c) and (12d) ungrammatical. The
agreement hierarchy in (10) thus pertains only to subject-verb agreement.

    Before going on to the next topic, observe the following sentences.

(13) a.   omusháíja na kató bá-á-gend-a   'the man and Kato went'
          man   and Kato they-P_1-go

     b.   omusháíja y-áá-gend-a na káto   'the man went with Kato'
          man   he-P_1-go   with Kato

(13a) and (13b) are considered synonymous. Whether or not one is transfor-

mationally derived from the other, we observe that the same morpheme (na) is employed for both 'and' and 'with' (comitative). Needless to say, (13a) with conjoined subjects exhibits a plural agreement in the verb, whereas (13b) shows a singular agreement since the subject here is only omushá¦ja 'man'. Notice that due to this dual function of na as a conjunction and a comitative marker, (12a) above can also be taken to mean that he killed the man with the dog--this meaning is made clearer by means of a relative clause ('the man who had the dog with him') as a means of avoiding the ambiguity of the preposition na.

To sum up so far, NP conjunction in Haya is denoted by na, which also functions as a comitative marker 'with'. Subject-verb agreement is determined by the noun classes of conjoined nouns, whereas there is no agreement between verb and objects if the objects belong to different noun classes.

We will now move on to the disjunction 'or'. The morpheme for 'or' in Haya is áŋga, as seen in (14).

(14) a. omwáan' áŋgá káto   'the child or Kato'
         child   or Kato

     b. omwáan' áŋg' ómushá¦ja   'the child or the man'
         child   or   man

While bómbᵢ (cf. (5) above) corresponds to English 'both' (class 2), the counterpart of English '(n)either' is lacking in Haya.

The verb agreement with subject NP's involving 'or' seems to be a nuisance in any language having noun-verb agreements. Haya eschews this problem by rendering sentences like 'the child or the dog went' totally unacceptable. Instead of NP-disjunction in the subject, then, speakers of Haya use sentence disjunction, as in (15).

(15) embw' ó-ka-gend' áŋg' ómwáán' a-ka-gend-a   'the dog or the child
      dog it-P₃-go   or   child he-P₃-go   went'
      (lit. [either] the dog went or the child went)

Since Haya does not have agreement between verb and conjoined object nouns of different classes, as discussed earlier, there should arise no problem even if NP's with 'or' are put in the object position. The fact is, however, that sentences like (16a) with object disjunction are marginal in acceptability,[3] and again sentence disjunction is preferred, as in (16b).

(16) a. ?a-yend' ómwáan' áŋg' émbwa   'he likes the child or the
         he-like child   or   dog   dog'

     b. a-yend' ómwáan' áŋg' á-yend' émbwa 'he likes the child or he
         he-like child   or he-like dog   likes the dog'

In short, NP conjunction with 'and' occurs freely in Haya, while NP disjunction with 'or' is generally avoided.

2. ADVERBS

Conjunction of adverbs is described by mále 'also, in addition', as exemplified in (17).

(17) kat' á-lim-á mpôla malé kúbi   'Kato cultivates slowly and
      Kato he-cultivate slowly and poorly   poorly'

The morpheme mále, however, conjoins only pure adverbs like mpôla 'slowly'
and kúbi 'poorly' as in the above example. Some Haya adverbs are constructed
by adding na 'with' to nouns, as in n'óbunafu 'lazily'(lit. 'with laziness'),
to which the mále type of conjunction does not apply:

(18) ?*kat' á-lim-a kubí malé n'óbunafu   'Kato cultivates poorly and
     Kato he-cultivate poorly and with-laziness   lazily'

The semantic content of (18) is expressed either by using sentence conjunction,
as in (19a), or by dropping out mále, as in (19b).

(19) a.   kat' á-lim-a kubí mál' á-lim-a n'óbunafu
          Kato he-cultivate poorly and he-cultivate with-laziness

     b.   ?kat' á-lim-a kubí n'óbunafu
          Kato he-cultivate poorly with-laziness

Note that the na (n') in (19b) is not the conjunction 'and', but a homophon-
ous preposition 'with' (used also for manner and instrumentals).

     Disjunction of adverbs is designated by the same morpheme (ánga) as
that of nouns. But as with nouns, disjunction of adverbs has only a marginal
status, and sentence disjunction generally takes its place:

(20) a. ?*kat' á-lim-a mpôl' ángá bwangu   'Kato cultivates slowly or
        Kato he-cultivate slowly or quickly   quickly'

     b.   kat' á-lim-a mpôl' áng' á-lim-á bwangu
          Kato he-cultivate slowly or he-cultivate quickly

(20a), with adverb disjunction, appears to be unacceptable unless it is a
question with a rise in pitch at the end of the sentence. (20b), with sen-
tence disjunction, is totally acceptable.

3. ADJECTIVES

     We are now concerned with adjectives. Conjunction of adjectives, how-
ever, is generally avoided in both attributive and predicative uses. Moreover,
there is no special morpheme for conjoining adjectives in Haya. Instead,
simple juxtaposition of adjectives will suffice, although the predicative
use allows mále 'also'. Thus observe the examples in (21).

(21) a.   omwáán' ómulúngy' ómuhângo   'the good [and] big child'
          child   good   big

     b.   omwáana mulúngi (?malé) muhângo   'the child is good and big'
          child   good   and   big

     Adjective disjunction is denoted by ánga in both attributive and predi-
cative uses, as seen in (22).

(22) a.   omwáán' ómulúngy' áng' ómúbi   'the good or bad child'
          child   good   or   bad

b. omwáána mulúŋgy' áŋgá múbi   'the child is good or bad'
    child   good   or bad

4. VERBS

Verb conjunction in the sense 'A and (then) B' is denoted by simple co-ordination of two or more verbs without any conjunctive morpheme. Consider thus the examples in (23).

(23) a. a-gend' á-ly-a   'he goes and (then) he eats'
         he-go he-eat

    b. ba-gend-á bá-ly-a   'they go and (then) they eat'
        they-go they-eat

As we will see in the next section, verb conjunction as in (23) is a special case of sentence conjunction in which the subjects of both conjuncts are identical.

Incidentally, when one wants to express a simultaneous occurrence of two or more events, as in 'to go while eating', or 'to go and (then) eat, and go and (then) eat (repeatedly)', Haya employs the construction V_1 - V_2, where the first verb V_1 carries the tense of the entire sentence and V_2 is put into the present progressive form regardless of the matrix tense. This construction will thus be comparable to participial constructions in English.

Let us begin with sentence (24) involving the present habitual tense in the matrix sentence. (24a) exemplifies the singular form, and (24b) the plural form.

(24) a. a-gend-a n-áá-ly-a   'he goes (while) eating'
         he-go   PR-he-eat

    b. ba-gend-a ni-bá-ly-a   'they go (while) eating'
        they-go   PR-they-eat

There is no conjunction between the two verbs, and the first verbal complex (agénda and bagénda) designates the tense of the entire sentence, while the second verbal complex (náálya and nibálya) in the present progressive form has no mark for tense.

This formal characteristic of V_2 is observed throughout all categories of tense:

(25) Present Progressive

    a. naagendá náálya   'he is going while eating'
    b. nibagendá nibálya   'they are going while eating'

(26) Past Habitual

    y-a-gend-ag-a n-áá-ly-a   'he used to go while eating'

(27) Past₁   y-a-gend-a n-áá-ly-a   'he went while eating' [today]

(28) Past₂   a-genz-il-e n-áá-ly-a   'he went while eating' [yest.]

(29) Past₃ a-ka-gend-a n-áá-ly-a   'he went while eating' [before yest.]

(30) Fut₁ a-la-gend-a n-áá-ly-a   'he will go while eating' [today]

(31) Fut₂ a-ll-gend-a n-áá-ly-a   'he will go while eating' [after today]

This may be the proper place to touch upon the conjunction of negative verbs. Unlike the positive verbs discussed so far, negative verbs are conjoined by mále, as seen in (32),

(32) t-á-genz-ll-e male t-á-ll-ll-e   'he didn't go and he didn't eat'
      NEG-he-go-P₂ and NEG-he-eat-P₂   (i.e. he neither went nor ate)

where tl (t' before a vowel) is the negative morpheme. Thus, as far as conjunction is concerned, negative verbs show an interesting parallelism with adverbs and adjectives.

As with the other categories, disjunction of verbs is denoted by áŋga, as illustrated in (33).

(33) kat' á-génd' áŋg' á-ly-a   'Kato goes or he eats'
      Kato he-go or he-eat

5. SENTENCES

As the final category, let us consider conjunction of sentences. There are three constructions to be discussed: 'and', 'or', and 'but'.

Like simple verbs, sentences are conjoined without any overt morpheme for 'and', as seen in (34):

(34) a. omushálj' a-génd' ómwáán' á-ly-a   'the man goes and the child
         man he-go   child he-eat   eats'

     b. omushálj' a-génd-á kat' á-ly-a   'the man goes and Kato eats'
         man he-go   Kato he-eat

No conjunction marker is found between the two conjuncts in (34a) and (34b).[4] The absence of an overt conjunction holds not only with the so-called "symmetric conjunction", as in (34), but also with "asymmetric conjunction", as in (35).

(35) a-ká-ít' ómwáana kató y-áá-lwáal-a   'he killed the child and (there-
      he-P₃-kill child Kato he-P₁-become sick fore) Kato became sick'

As mentioned earlier, if the first and the second conjuncts of sentence conjunction have identical subjects, the sentence is represented as verb conjunction (with an obligatory subject marker on each verb). There is thus no difference between verb and sentence conjunction.

The examples of sentence conjunction given thus far involve verbs. Sentences with (predicate) adjectives are also conjoined in the same manner. Observe the sentence in (36), where no overt conjunction marker emerges.

(36) omushálja ∅ muhâŋg' ómwáána ∅ mulúŋgi   'the man is big and the
      man   COP big   child COP good   child is good'

As seen in (36), the copula in the present tense is realized by a zero morpheme ∅ in Haya.

Now, conjunction of negative sentences, like that of negative verbs, exhibits an idiosyncratic behavior:

(37) a. omwáána t-a-genz-íl-é na kató t-a-genz-íl-e
         child NEG-he-go-P_2 and Kato NEG-he-go-P_2
         'the child didn't go and Kato didn't go (either)'

 = b. omwáána t-a-genz-íl-é malé na kató t-a-genz-íl-e
         child NEG-he-go-P_2 also and Kato NEG-he-go-P_2

As seen in (37a), negative sentences are conjoined by na, just like simple NP's. Moreover, málé 'also, in addition' may optionally show up before na, as seen in (37b).

Sentence disjunction is expressed by ánga. Since we are already famil-iar with this morpheme, one example will suffice:

(38) omusháíj' a-génd' áng' ómwáán' á-ly-a   '(either) the man goes or
         man   he-go   or   child he-eat   the child eats'

Finally, consider the construction with 'but'. The Haya morpheme for 'but' is kyóŋka, which is employed as seen in (39).

(39) omusháíj' a-génd-á kyoŋká kat' á-ly-a   'the man goes but Kato
         man   he-go   but   Kato he-eat   eats'

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This concludes our discussion of the conjunction system in Haya. One salient difference between Haya and English is that Haya does not have a morpheme corresponding to English '(n)either'. 'Neither... nor' is expressed as NEG + NEG. This, however, is a natural consequence of the fact that nega-tives in Haya are invariably incorporated into the verbal complex. The state of affairs obtaining is schematized as follows:

(40)   ~ (A ∨ B)   ≡   ~ A ∧ ~ B
              ↓   ↓
           English ←   Haya

The findings of our study are summarized in the table in (41). The null symbol ∅ indicates that no overt morpheme is used.

(41)

		AND	OR	BUT[5]
a.	NP	na	ánga	---
b.	Adjective	(usually avoided; OK if ?∅ or málé)	ánga	kyóŋka
c.	Adverb	málé	ánga	kyóŋka
d.	Verb	∅ (positive) málé (neg.)	ánga	kyóŋka
e.	Sentence	∅, na, málé (pos.) na (neg.)	ánga	kyóŋka

NOTES

[1]A similar hierarchy is reported for Shona by Hawkinson and Hyman (1974). For related discussion on Luganda and Xhosa, see Givón (1970) and Voeltz (1971), respectively.

[2]A complete hierarchy will also distinguish between first, second, and third person humans, in that order. Conjunction of different persons always results in a plural pronoun taken from the higher person in the hierarchy. Thus, both 1 + 2 and 1 + 3 yield a first person plural pronoun 'we' in Haya. Similarly, 2 + 3 yields a second person plural pronoun 'you'.

[3](16a) may be fully acceptable if it is interpreted as a question with a final rising pitch.

[4]There is, however, a full phrase boundary (%) which causes a preceding L-H to become H-H (as in (34)) and a preceding H-L to become F-L (falling followed by low tone). These changes are discussed at great length by Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum (1976).

[5]Although not exemplified in the text, kyóŋka 'but' can be used with adverbs, adjectives, and verbs (as well as with full sentences). Relevant examples are: mpóla kyoŋká kulúŋgi 'slowly but nicely', mulúŋgí kyoŋká úgufi 'she's beautiful but (she's) short', and a-iiuk-a kyoŋk' á-ill-a muno 'he runs, but (he) cries a lot'.

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10

IMPERATIVES

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     In Haya, there are several different syntactic forms that can be used
to express imperative force. This paper investigates these different syn-
tactic structures and considers choices which may be made according to prag-
matic features of the situation.

     Using the verb 'to cook', we can designate these forms in English
paraphrases as follows:

(1) a. cook!

   b. go ahead and cook! (literally, 'that you cook!')

   c. I tell you to cook!

These represent what will be termed the following types of imperative con-
structions: (a) simple imperative; (b) possible imperative; (c) performa-
tive imperative. All of these may appear in either the affirmative or the
negative.

     In the simple affirmative, both singular and plural forms are realized
in one structure. In fact, there are no syntactic markers for any semantic
distinctions, either for the speaker or the addressee. The following exam-
ples show typical forms:

(2) a. ñw-a   'drink!'   b. íy-a   'eat!'

      génd-a   'go!'   bón-a   'see!'

      cúmb-a   'cook!'   téél-a   'hit!'

      jún-a   'help!'   túm-a   'send!'

In the simple imperative, the underlying representation for the form is:
verb stem + /-á/. Stems in (2a) have underlying low tone; stems in (2b)
have underlying high tone. By the regular tone rules of the language (see
Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976) L-H and H-H both come out H-L be-

fore pause, as in the above examples.[1] It should be noted that this form can have no other reading than the imperative, although intonation can be used to indicate how strongly the command is meant.

While the simple imperative is unambiguous, the possible imperative may possibly represent an imperative, possibly something else, e.g. the answer to a question. To illustrate, let us suppose that we call someone to come inside the house. They answer with a question corresponding to 'why should I come in?'. We can answer ó-ly-e, meaning 'that you eat', or 'you should eat'. In English, this is most frequently rendered by the infinitive, i.e. 'to eat'. That this construction is productive can be seen from its use of other pronouns. For example, bá-ly-e may be used as an answer to 'what should they do?'. It indicates simply 'that they eat' or 'they should/may eat'. However, the important thing is that in both of these examples the construction does not have the force of an imperative, but is simply the answer to a question.

On the other hand, such a construction can also be used with the force of a command, with the sense of 'go ahead and eat!'. In this construction, corresponding to (2), we find the forms in (3).

(3) a.   ó-ñw-e   mú-ñw-e   'go ahead and drink!'

         ó-génd-e   mu-génd-e   'go ahead and go!'

         ó-cúmb-e   mu-cúmb-e   'go ahead and cook!'

         o-jún-e   mu-jún-e   'go ahead and help!'

   b.   ó-ly-e   mú-ly-e   'go ahead and eat!'

         o-bón-e   mu-bón-e   'go ahead and see!'

         o-téél-e   mu-téél-e   'go ahead and hit!'

         o-túm-e   mu-túm-e   'go ahead and send!'

The above singular and plural forms are analyzed morphologically as in (4).

(4)   o - verb stem - é   mu - verb stem - é

      2 sg.   [subjunctive]   2 pl.   [subjunctive]

When the verb is used without any object markers (benefactives, instrumentals, accusatives, etc.), the second person subject marker, either singular or plural, must be present. However, when other markers are present, the second person marker is not required, as seen in (5) - (9) below:

(5)   bi-cumb-íl-é mu   'cook them in there!'
       them-cook-APP-SBJN LOC

(6)   bi-mu-cumb-îl-e   'cook them for him!'
       them-him-cook-APP-SBJN

(7)   bi-gi-cumb-îs-e   'cook them in it' or 'use it to cook
       them-him-cook-INSTR-SBJN   them'

(8)   bî-Iy-e   'eat them!'

(9)   mu-Jún-e   'help him/her!'

The final vowel seems to indicate that these forms are related to, if
not derived from, the subjunctive construction, i.e. the possible imperative,
rather than the simple imperative with final /-á/. This indicates further
that the simple imperative cannot take markers at all, but can only consist
of the verb and non-verb-marked complements such as the object noun in (10):

(10)   jùn-á. káto   'help Kato!'

The sentence in (10) differs from that in (9) only in that there is a noun
object rather than a clitic pronoun marked in the verbal complex. Since
such "object" nouns cannot be verb-marked, it is intriguing to consider the
possibility that the simple imperative causes object complements to be de-
moted (to the status of "chômeurs"; cf. Duranti and Byarushengo 1977). The
result is that they cannot be verb-marked.

Another use of the possible imperative can be seen with the verb oku-
leka 'to leave alone'.[2] To form the equivalent of English 'let him go!',
Haya utilizes a two-verb construction, using okuleka as the first verb:

(11)   o-mu-Iek' á-génd-e   'let him go!' or 'let him alone so
       you-him-leave he-go-SBJN   that he may go'

The morphological analysis of (11) is shown in (12).

(12)   / o - mu - Iek - é   a - gend - é /
         you   him   leave SBJN he   go   SBJN

That the underlying vowel of the first verb is /-é/ can be seen from the
form 'let them go!': o-ba-Iek-é ba-génd-e.

The markers for the second person are also optional in these forms, so
that /o/ or /mu/ may be either present or absent:

(13)   (mu)-mu-Iek' á-génd-e   'you (pl.) let him go!'
       you/PL-him-leave he-go-SBJN

(14)   (o)-ba-Iek-é ba-génd-e   'you (sg.) let them go!'
       you-them-leave-SBJN they-go-SBJN

In (13) and (14) the subject marker is optional, leaving the object marker
at the beginning of the construction when the subject is not expressed.

Another affirmative form used to express the imperative makes use of
the higher performative verb okugamba 'to say'. In such a construction,
okugamba stands for a verb meaning 'command'. This form translates most
closely as 'I am saying that you go/you should go', with only the second
verb being marked for subjunctive. This contrasts with forms utilizing
okuleka, where both verbs are marked with the subjunctive /-é/.

(15)   n-aa-gamb-a nty' ó-génd-e   'I am saying that you should go'
       I-P$_1$-say   that you-go-SBJN

In contrast to the affirmative forms, which either do not use a marker for second person at all (i.e. simple imperative), or may use it optionally (i.e. in most cases of possible imperative and all cases involving the first verb of a performative imperative), the negative imperative must always include a marker for second person, either singular or plural, preceding the negative morpheme. The following examples show the negative counterparts to the affirmative imperatives in (2):

(16) a.

o-tá-ñw-a	pl.	mu-tá-ñw-a	'don't eat!'
o-ta-génd-a	pl.	mu-ta-génd-a	'don't go!'
o-ta-cúmb-a	pl.	mu-ta-cúmb-a	'don't cook!'
o-ta-jún-a	pl.	mu-ta-jún-a	'don't help!'

b.

o-tâ-ly-a	pl.	mu-tâ-ly-a	'don't eat!'
o-ta-bôn-a	pl.	mu-ta-bôn-a	'don't see!'
o-ta-téel-a	pl.	mu-ta-téel-a	'don't hit!'
o-ta-tûm-a	pl.	mu-ta-tûm-a	'don't send!'

Morphologically this construction is built on the simple imperative preceded by the second person marker (singular or plural) and the negative morpheme /ta/. Without the second person marker, this form would mean 'he doesn't eat', 'he doesn't go', etc.

Although the above examples are fairly straightforward, other cases where the negative is involved become more complex. When more than one verb is involved, the negative may be on either verb, depending on the meaning of the sentence. When the negative is attached to the first verb, we have such examples as (17) and (18).

(17) o-ta-mu-lek-ó ka-a-génd-a   'don't let him go!'
      you-NEG-him-leave that-he-go

(18) tI-n-a-gamb-a nty' ó-génd-e   'I'm not saying that you go'[3]
      NEG-I-P$_1$-say that you-go-SBJN

The negative may also be attached to the second verb as in (19).

(19) n-a-gamb-a nty' ó-ta-génd-a   'I'm saying that you not go'
      I-P$_1$-say that you-NEG-go

The relationship between the two negative allomorphs /tI/ and /ta/ is not clear. The effect of the negative marker on the final vowel may be a function of structure, i.e. whether or not the marker appears in the higher sentence or in the embedded one, the relationship between the two sentences, whether or not one is a performative, etc. A full negative paradigm can be seen in the following:

(20) lekél-a ku-lim-a   'stop cultivating!'
      leave to-cultivate

(21) o-ta-lekél-a ku-lim-a   'don't stop cultivating!'
      you-NEG-leave to-cultivate

(22) o-lekél' óku-tá-lim-a^d 'stop [the act of] not culti-
      you-leave to-NEG-cultivate   vating!'

(23) o-ta-lekél' óku-tá-lim-a^d 'don't stop [the act of] not
      you-NEG-leave to-NEG-cultivate   cultivating!'

The above forms involve a higher verb 'leave, stop' followed by an infinitive
(either in the affirmative or the negative). Notice again that whenever the
negative marker is present, the second person pronoun must be specified to
have imperative force, for as indicated earlier, tâ-ly-a means 'he doesn't
eat' vs. o-tâ-ly-a, which means 'don't eat!'.

     However, with the imperative construction itself, certain pragmatic
factors are important. ly-a and ó-ly-e may both be used as commands, but
ó-ly-e may also function as the answer to a question. Although these forms
do not mark formality or politeness in themselves, there are ways to mark
these pragmatic features dependent upon the situation. In many instances of
the possible imperative and the performative imperative, the presence of the
second person marker is optional, if we are concerned only with structural
well-formedness. However, the presence vs. absence of this morpheme indicates
to some extent the force with which a statement is to be taken. Specifically,
the absence of the /o/ or /mu/ suggests a stronger command. Thus, the dif-
ference between the two possibilities in (24) are approximately as glossed.

(24) a. n-aa-gamb-a nty' ó-génd-e   'I am saying that you should go'
         I-P_1-say   that you-go-SBJN

     b. n-aa-gamb-a ntí génd-a   'I say GO!'
         I-P_1-say   that go

     At the same time, the absence of the second person marker is not the
only way to increase the imperative force of an utterance. In particular,
intonation can also function as a marker that a statement is meant as a
strong imperative, either with or without the person marker. That is, even
a form with a person marker will be "read" with strong imperative force if
the specific intonational pattern is used.

     While the absence of the second person marker or a specific intonation
contour may mark stronger force, there are also ways to weaken the imperative
force, i.e. to increase politeness. In such cases, Haya uses an impersonal
marker /ba/ 'they' (class 2), as seen in (25).

(25) ba-m-p' ómwóoño   'give me salt!' (polite)
      they-me-give salt

The impersonal marker /ba/^{5} is used to avoid making any personal reference
to the individual to whom one is speaking. Such a form could be used with
visitors, by a prospective son-in-law to the father, to one's in-laws, and
so on. Such a use is a frozen polite form conventionalized to imperative
force.

Finally, we have seen in Haya that statements can be used with imperative force, i.e. with okugamba. However, there do not seem to be cases of questions with imperative force, a popular ploy in English. The elicited data indicate that questions cannot be used with indirect force in Haya, but must be taken literally. Thus, "can you pass the salt?" means just that; it is not a request that you pass the salt.

In Haya, then, the simple imperative is supplemented by other syntactic forms which can be used to indicate a command. These syntactic forms can be adjusted to indicate the degree of force with which a command is meant, either by morphological or suprasegmental means.

NOTES

[1]The reason why ñw-a 'drink!' and Iy-a 'eat!' have low tone in isolation is that there is a rule in Haya lowering underlying high to low tone before pause (see Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976). These imperatives are underlyingly /ñu-á/ and /Ií-á/.

[2]This verb may also be used as a simple imperative in isolation; thus: Iék-a 'stop (it)!'.

[3]This may not, however, still have the imperative force with the explicit performative negated.

[4](22) and (23) have the tonal variants o-Iekéi' óku-ta-Iím-a and o-ta-Iekéi' óku-ta-Iím-a, respectively.

[5]This /ba/ is of course the third person plural marker, but in this use the intention is not to refer to a person or persons as 'they', but rather to avoid making any reference to the person at all. In this usuage it seems to correspond to other uses of /ba/ as an impersonal subject (cf. Duranti and Byarushengo 1977).

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11

CONDITIONALS [1]

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0. INTRODUCTION

Conditionals can be classed semantically into three categories:

(i) *Simple conditionals* state that a proposition results if another proposition holds. Simple conditionals typically allow the same range of tense distinctions that is found in simple declarative sentences:

(1)   if you go to the store, I will cook (future simple)

(2)   if John agreed, Mary disagreed (simple past)

(3)   if the sun shines, the birds sing (simple present)

(ii) *Hypothetical conditionals* are conditional sentences in which the antecedent introduces a hypothetical or imaginary proposition (where that proposition is not assumed to be false):

(4)   if I saw Sidney Poitier in person, I'd faint

(5)   if the king of Siam were to come to dinner, I wouldn't serve him
          Chinese noodles

(iii) *Counterfactual conditionals* are conditional sentences in which the antecedent asserts a proposition which is assumed to be false.

(6)   if I were you, I wouldn't talk like that

(7)   if he had cooked, I would have eaten

(8)   if he had stolen the money, he wouldn't have turned himself in

Notice that some sentences which are counterfactual semantically can have the syntactic structure usually associated with hypotheticals (e.g. (6) above).

Thus, Schachter (1971) has proposed a syntactic typology which groups (4), (5) and (6) together as opposed to (7) and (8). She calls these present and past subjunctives, respectively.

Conditional sentences in language have been mostly the concern of philosophers. The main issue which concerned philosophers has been the verifiability of contrary-to-fact conditionals. What we know thus far is that the truth value of a counterfactual sentence cannot be derived from the truth value of its component parts, at least, not in any axiomatic fashion. In any case, my data will have little, if anything, to offer to this dilemma.

There are, however, interesting questions regarding the syntax and semantics of conditionals, on which the data in this paper may shed some light. I will be concerned, in particular, with two problems. The first has to do with the notions *Reality* and *Unreality* in language. All languages make some systematic distinction between real and unreal sentences, as the following examples show:

Real: If they bring the food, we bring the wine

Unreal: If they were to bring the food, we would bring the wine

In most languages this contrast is found in conditional sentences. Many languages, in addition, show this contrast in non-conditional sentences:

Real: I will kill him when I see him

Unreal: I would kill him, but I don't have a gun

We learn from philosophers (e.g. Goodman 1954) that future simple conditionals are semantically unreal. That is, they share certain assumptions with hypothetical and counterfactual conditional sentences. Since future simple conditionals are unreal (as are hypotheticals and counterfactuals), a reasonable question to ask is why the syntactic facts of English and Haya show a closer relationship between future simple conditionals and other real conditionals than between future simples and imaginaries. Would we want to say that the syntactic facts of these languages do not correspond to the semantic reality? In section 2 we shall discuss this problem in detail, bringing data from languagess which show a close syntactic relationship between future simples and other unreal conditional sentences, for contrast. We will conclude that languages differ as to how they segment the semantic contrast between Reality and Unreality. That is, we will see that the syntactic facts of English and Haya support a slightly different analysis of the real-unreal contrast in language than that manifested by Swahili and Chaga.

The second problem has to do with counterfactuality. Counterfactuals in some languages (e.g. English, Haya) may be expressed syntactically as either present or past subjunctives.

Pres. subj. :   If I were you, I would wear this one

Past subj. :   If I had gone to the store, I would have bought meat

Both of these sentences make the same kind of assumptions. They assume the

negation of the antecedent. What does this, then, suggest about the nature of counterfactuality? In searching for an answer to this question, some interesting observations are brought forth about types of counterfactual sentences.

We shall proceed to look at the data, and discuss these issues as they arise.

1. SIMPLE CONDITIONALS

The antecedent of the simple conditional in Haya is introduced by ká 'if'. ká introduces the antecedents of all simple conditionals and most imaginary ones. In many languages (e.g. English) such a conditional clause introducer alone marks the sentence as being conditional. That is, the tense and modal possibilities are pretty much as they are in simple declarative sentences: If Jack voted for the resolution, Jill voted against it (simple past); If today is his birthday, he is out celebrating (simple present).

The simple conditional in Haya is unlike the simple conditional in English in that Haya indicates the mood of the sentence by way an affix inside the antecedent clause. This affix -la-, the future$_1$ indicator, takes on a special meaning in conditional sentences. It is used to mark the sentence as being a simple conditional sentence rather than, say, a declarative one. -la- is attached to the auxiliary verb -bá- 'be', leaving the main verb free to carry the semantic tense marker for that clause:

(9) ká jóóny' a-la-ba y-á-íkilíz-a jáck y-á-yâŋg-a   'if John agreed, Jack
     if John he-F$_1$-be he-P$_1$-agree Jack he-P$_1$-disagree   disagreed'

Before going further, let us briefly consider the Haya tense system, which shows more time distinctions than that of English. In Haya, there is a three-way distinction in past time:

Past$_1$ (P$_1$) = recent past (earlier today) : -á- (prefix)

Past$_2$ (P$_2$) = semi-recent past (yesterday) : -il-é (suffix)

Past$_3$ (P$_3$) = distant past (anytime before yesterday) : -ka- (prefix);
                 but realized as a combination of P$_1$ and P$_2$ forms in
                 non-major clauses (e.g. relatives, negatives)

Haya also distinguishes two future tenses:

Future$_1$ (F$_1$) = near future (tomorrow) : -la- (prefix)

Future$_2$ (F$_2$) = distant future (after tomorrow) : -li- (prefix)

There are a number of aspectual markers as well (e.g. progressive, perfect). Haya, like English, requires the presence of a tense marker in every sentence. This contrasts with many African languages which can have aspect markers in a sentence without marking the sentence for tense (e.g. Hausa, Yoruba). I refer later to languages with tense systems like Haya and English as being *tense prominent*, as opposed to Yoruba and Hausa, which are *aspect prominent*.

The following are examples of simple conditionals in Haya:

(10) P$_1$ ká jóóny' a-la-ba y-á-íkilíz-a jáck y-á-yâŋga
          if John he-F$_1$-be he-P$_1$-agree Jack he-P$_1$-disagree
          'if John agreed, Jack disagreed' (earlier today)

(11) P₂   ká jóóny' a-la-b' á-íkillz-e jáck a-yang-íl-e
          if John he-F₁-be he-agree-P₂ Jack he-disagree-P₂
          'if John agreed, Jack disagreed' (yesterday)

(12) P₃   ká jóóny' a-la-ba y-a-ikíllz-e jáck a-ká-ang-a
          if John he-F₁-be he-P₁-agree-P₂ Jack he-P₃-disagree
          'if John agreed, Jack disagreed' (before yesterday)

(13) PROG k' ómushaná gu-la-ba ni-gu-jw-á tu-Imûk-e
           if   sun   it-F₁-be PR-it-shine we-get up-SBJN
           'if the sun is shining, we should get up'

(14) PRES k' á-la-ba a-li mutâmbi Iny' áho n-di ntâle
           if he-F₁-be he-be doctor me then I-be lion
           'if he's a doctor, I'm a lion'

I have omitted examples of future simple conditionals, as they are covered
in the next section. Remember that the F₁ marker in the above examples is be-
ing used in a special way to mark the clause as being conditional. We shall
see subsequently that in all conditional sentences some type of modal is af-
fixed onto the verb, which indicates the mood of the sentence. In simple con-
ditionals that marker is -la-. In imaginaries, that marker is -ku-.

Since future conditionals were omitted, the rules given below for the
formation of simple conditionals must be seen as tentative: (i) The antece-
dent of simple conditionals is introduced by ká 'if'. (ii) All simple condi-
tionals require the presence of the future marker -la- in the antecedent.
-la- is affixed onto the auxiliary -bá- in the position where tense markers
normally occur (between the subject pronoun and the verb stem).

2. FUTURE SIMPLE CONDITIONALS

Semantically, the class of unreality conditionals consists of hypotheticals,
counterfactuals, and future simple conditionals. An interesting fact is that
in many languages (e.g. English) both hypothetical and counterfactual sentences
make use of a syntactic marker of unreality (e.g. *would* in English). Future
simple conditionals, in contrast, lack such an unreality marker. In fact, fu-
ture simple conditionals are syntactically like real conditionals (other simple
conditionals). Note before addressing the Haya data that Goodman (1954) uses
unreality to refer to (i) *fiction*, i.e. what might happen in some other world;
(ii) *fact* (counterfactuals), i.e. what didn't happen in this world; and (iii)
forecast (future simples), i.e. what will happen in this world.

In the following I consider the Haya data with respect to how closely
the syntactic facts of future simple conditionals correspond to the fact of
their being unreal semantically. The Haya situation will be shown to parallel
that of English, where future simple conditionals are always syntactically dis-
tinct from hypotheticals and counterfactuals. This may not prove to be the
general case in Bantu, however, as there are languages (e.g. Chaga and Swahili)
which, upon preliminary investigation, contrast with Haya in this respect.
These languages show the future marker being used in some imaginary sentences.

The following are examples of future simple conditionals in Haya:

(15) k' á-la-ijá n-da-mu-bôn-a   'if he comes, I will see him'
      if he-F_1-come I-F_1-him-see   (-la- $\longrightarrow$ [da] after a nasal)

(16) ká n-da-mu-bón-a n-da-mu-gamb-îl-a   'if I see him, I will tell him'
      if I-F_1-him-see I-F_1-him-tell-APP

(17) k' á-la-ikílíz-a n-da-ij-á ŋ-ku-many-îs-e   'if he agrees, I'll come
      if he-F_1-agree   I-F_1-come I-you-know-CAUS   and inform you'

(18) ná íwe k' ó-la-ikílíz' áho tu-la-many-is' ábándi bá-íj-e
      and you if you-F_1-agree then we-F_1-know-CAUS others they-come-SBJN
      'and if you agree also, then we will inform the others so that
                   they may come'

     Future simple conditionals are like other simple conditionals in that the
F_1 indicator is obligatory. Recall that the future indicator -la- is used to
show conditionality in simple conditional sentences. In simple conditionals
which are not semantically future, -la- is placed on the auxiliary verb -bá-
'be', leaving the main verb free to carry the appropriate tense indicator for
the sentence. Future simple conditional sentences differ from other simples
in that the auxiliary -bá- is not used to carry the F_1 indicator. The F_1
marker is attached directly onto the main verb. The F_1 marker in future simple
conditionals is ambiguous, showing both futurity and conditionality. We can
then revise the rule for simple conditionals to read as follows: All simple
conditionals require the presence of the future marker -la- in the antecedent.
If the antecedent is semantically non-future, the auxiliary -bá- is used to
carry the future indicator, leaving the main verb free to carry the semantic
tense marker of the sentence.

     Notice that according to the above rule, either of the two future markers
can be used if the simple conditional is semantically future. Thus, the fol-
lowing is also possible (cf. (15) above):

(19) k' á-li-ij-á n-di-mu-bón-a   'if he comes, I will see him' (next week)
      if he-F_2-come I-F_2-him-see

If the simple conditional is non-future, however, only -la- (F_1) can be used,
never -li- (F_2). This shows that -la- has achieved a status in simple condi-
tionals beyond its usage as an indicator of future$_1$.

     Now to bring the facts of Haya to bear on what we know about future simple
conditionals in other languages, consider the following statement concerning
future simple conditionals in English: "So although the future simple condi-
tional is like the imaginative indicating unreality, it differs from them in
that it is *never* used to indicate divergence from this world" (Schachter
1971:68). Schachter says this after finding in English that future simple
conditionals are syntactically like other simple conditionals. Furthermore,
she apparently found no syntactic evidence of their being used to show unre-
ality. We can conclude from this that the syntactic facts of English show a
contrast between unreality and reality where unreality excludes future pro-
jections about this world. Unreality is restricted to talking about what
might happen in some other world (hypothetical) and what didn't happen in this
world (counterfactual).

Haya is like English in this respect. Syntactically, future simple conditionals are always kept distinct from imaginary conditionals. The syntax of Haya then supports, as does English, an unreality/reality distinction, where "unreal" excludes projections into the future in this world.

There are, interestingly, languages whose syntax exhibits a closer relationship between future simple sentences and imaginary ones. Yoruba (Kwa), Chaga and Swahili are examples of such languages. In the following data from Swahili, we find the future indicator -ta- appearing in contexts which are clearly imaginary. The imaginary marker is ŋge.[2]

(20)   kama ni-ki-ona farasi mwenye mabawa mwanzo ni-ŋge-kimbia na fikiri
        if I-COND-see horse having wings first I-IMAG-run   I   think
        'If I saw a horse with wings, first I would run, I think.'

        kama si-wezi ku-kimbia ni-ŋge-tafuta vunduki labda   na kama si-ŋge-weza
        if I/NEG-able to-run I-IMAG-look for gun perhaps and if I/NEG-IMAG-able
        'If I couldn't run, I would look for a gun perhaps, and if I couldn't

        ku-pata vunduki labda ni-ŋge simama ni-ka-aŋgalia farasi a-ta-fanya nini
        to-get   gun perhaps I-IMAG wait I-CSC-see   horse he-FUT-do what
        get a gun perhaps I would wait to see what the horse would do.'

(21)   ... na ni-ŋge-penda ku-jua a-ta-kula chakula gani
            and I-IMAG-like to-know he-FUT-eat food what sort of
            'and I would want to know what types of food she eats'

Notice that in example (21) the imaginary marker ŋge is used in the antecedent, and the future indicator -ta- in the consequent of the same sentence.

Chaga behaves like Swahili in this respect. An imaginary sentence in Chaga can be expressed using either the imaginary marker we or the future indicator in the consequent.[3]

(22)   John a-wé-ich-a inú ŋgí-we-kor-á machalári   'if John were to come today,
        John he-IMAG-come today I-IMAG-cook bananas   I would cook bananas'

(23)   John k-a-ch-a inú ŋgé-kor-a machalári   'if John were to come today,
        John if-he-come today I/FUT-cook bananas   I would cook bananas'

Interestingly, however, the reverse is not true. That is, a future simple sentence does not have the option of being expressed with the imaginary marker we. Given this, we might want to say that the future indicator is the general unreality marker. That is, it can be used to show unreality in this world or in another world. The imaginary marker we, on the other hand, is limited to showing unreality outside the domain of this world.

We can conclude that the syntactic facts of Chaga and Swahili support a slightly different analysis of the unreal/real contrast than do the facts of Haya and English. The Chaga and Swahili data support an analysis where unreality includes future projections. The following diagram shows the way the two types of languages show the unreal/real distinction, syntactically.

	REALITY	UNREALITY
English Haya	SIMPLE conditionals, including futures	HYPOTHETICALS - what might happen in some other world (*fiction*) COUNTERFACTUALS - what didn't happen in this world (*fact*)
Swahili Chaga	SIMPLE conditionals, not including futures	HYPOTHETICALS COUNTERFACTUALS FUTURE SIMPLE - what will happen in this world (*forecast*)

3. IMAGINARY CONDITIONALS

"Imaginary" is the term used by Schachter to cover that subset of unreal conditionals which indicates divergence from this world. Semantically, imaginary conditionals consist of (i) those conditionals which express an imaginary or hypothetical situation, e.g.

(24) If the queen came to dinner, I would prepare her favorite dish

and (ii) those conditionals which express imaginary situations, but whose antecedents are interpreted as being negated:

(25) If the queen had come to dinner, I would have prepared her favorite dish

Following Schachter's analysis I call the form of (24) a present subjunctive and that of (25) a past subjunctive. This syntactic terminology is needed because counterfactual sentences are not consistently past subjunctive, as the following example shows:

(26) If horses had wings, they could fly

I will be using the terms present and past subjunctive as syntactic labels to refer to the two types of clauses in Haya, which are equivalent to (24) and (25), respectively.

Imaginary sentences in general tend to exhibit the following characteristics: (i) Their antecedents, like those of simple conditionals, are introduced by a conditional indicator. (In Haya and English the indicator in imaginary sentences is the same as that in simple conditional sentences.) (ii) They usually include some type of marker of "imaginariness" (e.g. *would* in English); (iii) The tense possibilities are usually very restricted. This is because tense distinctions are superfluous in imaginary sentences, with the exception of past subjunctives, where past tense is crucial to the interpretation of some counterfactual sentences.

Imaginary conditionals in Haya are introduced by the conditional clause indicator ká. They are distinguished from non-imaginary sentences by the presence of the imaginary marker -ku-. The tense possibilities are limited to the following: (i) present subjunctive $[P_1]$; and (ii) past subjunctive $[P_1 + P_2]$. Examples of imaginary conditionals are as follows:

(27)   ká n-a-ku-bon' éfarasy' eln' ámabába tⁱ-n-á-ku-hamⁱn-a
       if I-P₁-UNR-see horse having wings NEG-I-P₁-UNR-believe
       'if I saw a horse with wings, I wouldn't believe it'

(28)   ká n-a-ku-zⁱléb-a ŋ-ka-bón-a ntⁱ ego farásⁱ kwó zⁱn' ébⁱbába
       if I-P₁-UNR-look I-CSC-see that yes horse truly having wings
       'if I looked and saw that they were truly horses having wings,

       n-a-kw-end-a ku-zⁱ-lebag-e ku-leb-a ŋka z-emⁱl-e ŋka éfarâs' áŋgá
       I-P₁-UNR-like to-them-examine to-see if they-are like horses or
       I would like to examine them to see if they are like horses or

       ŋka z-emⁱl-e kûndⁱ
       if they-are different   if they are different'

The above present subjunctives should be compared with the following past
subjunctives:

(29)   ká n-a-ku-g-ⁱⁱ' ómúká n-a-ku-l-ⁱⁱ' ébⁱtooke n'énfúlu
       if I-P₁-UNR-go-P₂ home I-P₁-UNR-eat-P₂ bananas and-fish
       'if I had gone home, I would have eaten bananas and fish'

(30)   ká n-a-ku-g-ⁱⁱ-e bushûmba n-a-ku-leb-ⁱⁱ-e má élesⁱ tw-aa-ku-gáán-ⁱⁱ-e
       if I-P₁-UNR-go-P₂ Bushumba I-P₁-UNR-see-P₂ Miss Alice we-P₁-UNR-talk-P₂
       'if I had gone to Bushumba I would have seen Miss Alice,we wouldhave talked'

       n-a-ku-hⁱig-ⁱⁱ' ákanya kó ku-gy' ómumwanⁱ ku-leb' ómwaana·wa munyáⁿyanzy!
       I-P₁-UNR-hunt-P₂ time of to-go Omumwani to-see child of (my) sister
       'I would have found the time to go to Omumwani to see my nephew...

       ókw' á-lⁱ ku-shom' ómushúule
       how he-be to-read in-school   '...how he is doing in school'

     This marker -ku-, which I call a marker of "imaginariness", apparently de-
rives from the infinitive marker ku-. Its usage in these sentences is strikingly
different from its usage as an infinitive marker in several important ways.
Firstly, the infinitive plus verb can never occur with a subject prefix. Se-
condly, the verb in its infinitival form never carries a tense indicator. We
saw in the above examples, however, that both subject prefixes and tense markers
are prefixed to the verbs marked by -ku-. For this reason, -ku- is considered
an imaginary indicator, perhaps derived historically from the infinitival marker.
Thus, -ku- is equivalent to *would* in English. Evidence that -ku- is roughly
equivalent to English *would* is provided when we consider unreal non-conditional
sentences, which share certain semantic properties with imaginary sentences:

(31)   katό y-a-ku-ku-ⁱs-ⁱⁱ-é kyoŋká t-á-ⁱn-a mbûndu
       Kato he-P₁-UNR-you-kill-P₂ but NEG-he-have gun
       'Kato would have killed you, but he doesn't have a gun'

(32)   n-a-ku-cumb-îl-e kyoŋká t-á-lⁱ mú majûta   'I would cook but there's
       I-P₁-UNR-cook-P₂ but NEG-LOC-be LOC oil   no oil'

(33)   katό y-a-ku-cúmb-á bwaigolo   'Kato may cook tonight'
       Kato he-P₁-UNR-cook tonight

(34) n-a-ku-ku-bon-á nyéŋkya   'I may see you tomorrow'
      I-P$_1$-UNR-you-see tomorrow

(35) n-a-ku-cumb-îl-e kyoŋká y-a-b-a a-tá-li mú majûta
      I-P$_1$-UNR-cook-P$_2$ but LOC-P$_1$-be LOC-NEG-be LOC oil
      'I would have cooked but there was no oil'

The preceding sentences are like imaginary conditional sentences, semantically,
in that they either imply the negation of the clause marked by the presence of
-ku- (i.e. (31), (32), (33)), or they imply some doubt as to the actualization
or realization of the action expressed by the verb (i.e. (34), (35)). Interest-
ingly, those sentences which I claim imply the negation of the antecedent, i.e.
(31), (32), and (33), use the tense frame that is used in counterfactual condi-
tional sentences. We know that counterfactual conditionals imply the negation
of their antecedents. Notice also that (31), (32), and (35) can be paraphrased
by conditional sentences. Similarly, those sentences which I claim imply some
doubt as to the actualization of the action expressed by the verb take the tense
frame usually associated with hypothetical conditional sentences.

    Another point worth noting is that only two tense possibilities are allowed
in imaginary conditionals. Haya, like English, makes a syntactic distinction
between present and past subjunctives. Present subjunctives require the P$_1$ in-
dicator and past subjunctives require usage of both the P$_1$ prefix and the P$_2$
(or perfective) suffix. This phenomenon was not included as one of the general
characteristics of imaginary conditionals because, in fact, many languages lack
such a distinction. Chaga and some dialects of Swahili are examples of such
languages. In these languages one imaginary marker is used to express both
hypotheticals and counterfactuals. The only indication that the sentence is
counterfactual would come from contextual clues (e.g. yesterday, last year,
etc.). The following examples show this:

(36) SWA. kama ni-ŋge-kwend-a nyumba-ni kiaŋgazi ki-ja-cho
           if I-IMAG-go   home   summer   it-come-REL
           'if I went home this coming summer,

           ni-ŋge-pend-a ku-kaa nyumba-ni na wazee waŋgu kwa siku chache
           I-IMAG-like   to-stay home   with parents my for days few
           I would like to stay at home with my parents for a few days'

(37) SWA. kama ni-ŋge-kwend-a nyumba-ni kiaŋgazi ki-li-cho-pit-a
           if I-IMAG-go   home   summer   it-PAST-REL-pass
           'if I had gone home last summer,

           ni-ŋge-pend-a ku-kaa nyumba-ni na wazee waŋgu kwa siku chache
           I-IMAG-like   to-stay home   with parents my for days few
           I would have liked to have stayed home with my parents for a few days'

(38) CHG. ŋgí-we-hend-a shúle ŋgí-we-som-a kiiŋgerésä   'if I went to school,
           I-IMAG-go   school I-IMAG-study English   I would study English'

(39) CHG. ŋgí-we-hend-a shúle mfiri fo káwí ŋgí-we-kulosha kiiŋgerésa
           I-IMAG-go   school day   of 2nd I-IMAG-study   English
           'if I had gone to school last Tuesday, I would have studied English'

The markers ŋge (Swahili) and we (Chaga) indicate that the sentence is imaginary. Interestingly, these languages which make no syntactic distinction between present and past subjunctives are what I have called non-tense prominent. That is, in these languages, aspect markers can be used where no syntactic reference is made to tense. It seems natural that languages in which tense is often subordinate to aspectual distinctions in simple sentences would extend this pattern to conditional sentences. Thus, these languages mark the "imaginariness" of the sentence syntactically, leaving the time reference to be contextually determined.

Haya and English, on the other hand, represent tense prominent languages. These are languages in which aspectual references can only be made with reference to some tense mark (e.g. present progressive, past progressive, future progressive). This tense prominence, then, is carried over into conditional sentences, giving a syntactic distinction between present and past subjunctives among imaginary conditionals.

We saw in section 2 that a typology can be drawn among these languages also in terms of how they express syntactically the distinction between unreality and reality. Those languages for which unreality includes future projections into this world are the same languages which show no contrast between present and past subjunctive. This seems not accidental. Among imaginary conditionals, the difference between future simples and imaginaries (hypotheticals and counterfactuals) can be looked at as one of tense (future vs. nonfuture). The languages which include future simples with other imaginaries are ignoring this distinction. These are the same languages which show no distinction between present and past subjunctives... the aspect prominent languages.

Those languages, in contrast, which exclude future simples from the unreal group may be doing so because the tense distinction here is important. In like manner, these languages always contrast present from past subjunctives, syntactically.

I have tried to show that the typology drawn on the basis of the reality-unreality distinction is not completely separate from that which is drawn on the basis of presence vs. absence of a contrast between present and past subjunctive conditional sentences.

Returning now to imaginary sentences in Haya, we saw earlier that imaginary sentences are introduced by ká. There is, however, an optional clause introducer which can be used to introduce the antecedents of imaginary conditionals. This introducer is kubá. Morphologically, kubá is the infinitival form of the auxiliary verb that we saw in the discussion of simple conditionals. It was shown that -ku- derives from the infinitival marker and has achieved a special meaning. Apparently, when kubá functions to introduce an imaginary conditional, it is not simply an infinitival. Rather, ku is functioning to show imaginariness, as the antecedent lacks this marker only in case it is introduced by kubá 'to be':

(40) kubá n-a-ba-il-e n-donz-il-w-e ku-gy-á dar es saláám kuwákilish'
      if-UNR I-P_1-be-P_2 I-choose-P_2-PASS to-go Dar es Salaam to-represent
      'if I had been chosen to go to Dar es Salaam to represent   ...

      ábanafunzi ba los ángeles ekyámbele n-deng-a n-a-ku-shemeleil-w-e muno
       students of Los Anglees first   I-think I-P_1-UNR-be happy-PASS much
      the students of Los Angeles, first, I think, I would have been very happy'

I translate kubá to mean 'if it were that.../if it had been the case that...'.

In summary, imaginary conditionals in Haya are represented as follows: (i) Every imaginary conditional is introduced by a conditional clause introducer, either ká 'if' or kubá 'if it were that' (lit. 'to be'). (ii) All imaginaries contain an affix -ku- in the verbal complex, both in the antecedent and consequent. (iii) There are only two tense possibilities in imaginary conditionals: present subjunctives (P_1) and past subjunctives ($P_1 + P_2$).

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages I have given a first look at conditional sentences in Haya. It was shown how various markers in the language have been extended in usage to function in conditional clauses. The F_1 marker, for example, is obligatory in all simple conditionals. In imaginary conditionals, the modal marking imaginariness derives from the infinitival marker ku. This tendency to mark the mood of the sentence on the verb follows from the highly agglutinative nature of the verbal complex in Bantu languages.

This paper is but a first attempt at describing the system of conditional sentences in one Bantu language. Undoubtedly, there are many questions left unanswered about conditional sentences, as well as about the state of affairs in the proto language. If this paper motivates research in other aspects of Haya syntax and the study of conditionals in other Bantu languages, its purpose will have been well served.

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NOTES

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[2] The following data are representative of the Mombasa dialect of Swahili.

[3] The data which follow are representative of the dialect of Chagga known as "Old Moshi".

13

LEFT- AND RIGHT-DISLOCATIONS

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1. DISCOURSE CONTEXT

The structure of any given utterance crucially depends upon its sur-
rounding context. The speaker attempts to be continually in tune with the
hearer. He assumes knowledge concerning the hearer's state of mind--what
the hearer is thinking about--and adjusts the organization (structure) of
his utterances accordingly. Not only does the speaker take into considera-
tion such factors as background knowledge and the information that has pre-
viously been exchanged in the discourse, but he is also planning ahead
(Hetzron 1975).

Once mentioned, a referent, an expression which identifies something,
may be referred to in subsequent discourse. The speaker, intending to dis-
cuss this referent for at least a sequence of two utterances, will structure
the initial utterance, the one introducing this referent into the dis-
course, in such a way as to provide for maximal perceptually saliency for
the hearer--typically utterance-initial or utterance-final positions. This
word order manipulation for highlighting a specific element in the utterance
is not unique to the discourse context of referent introduction. The same de-
vice is used for focusing on any important information be it for purposes
of emphasis, contrast, or separating "given" from "new" information.

Given information, the knowledge that the speaker assumes to be in
the hearer's consciousness at the time the utterance is made (Chafe 1976),
must somehow be made distinct from new information if the hearer is to be
able to process the material efficiently. By marking a referent as given,
the hearer knows to search his short-term memory for another mention of the
referent. Givenness should not be confused with definiteness. Even though
a referent is definite, known to both speaker and hearer, it can still be
new to the discourse.

The separation of the utterance into given and new portions also se-
parates presupposed from asserted material. Once a referent has been es-
tablished in the discourse its existence cannot be questioned. Only the new
information, the asserted information, is open to questioning.

The amount of planning ahead that the speaker is able to accomplish is determined within a discourse situation. Compare a prepared speech with a spontaneous multi-party conversation. In the latter case, with control of the conversation shifting from person to person and by being under the pressure of time, only a minimal amount of planning is possible. Keenan (1977) suggests that adults in unplanned discourse situations tend to rely on discourse strategies acquired relatively early in the language acquisition process.

One of these strategies is the vertical constructions (cf. Scollon 1973) in which a child points out the referent and then makes some kind of predication on that referent. This type of construction seems similar to Keenan's analysis of left-dislocations as *referent + proposition* constructions (see also Keenan and Schieffelin 1976b).

2. LEFT-DISLOCATION

Left-dislocation is technically a transformation which moves an NP out of its normal position to the front of a sentence. This process has generally been thought to result in "topicalization" (cf. Ross 1967). Topics seem to share the following generalities (Li and Thompson 1976): 1) they are always definite; 2) they function as the center of attention; 3) they are found in sentence-initial position.

In Keenan's view of the referent + proposition construction, on the other hand, the referent is not the current center of attention. By making note of the discourse context in which this construction is found, introducing and reintroducing referents, Keenan argues that its function is to bring the referent into the foreground of the hearer's consciousness. In terms of the given vs. new dichotomy, the referent + proposition construction is one way of establishing a referent as old information.

In Haya, a left-dislocated object is marked by its presence to the left of the verbal complex and the obligatory presence of its corresponding object marker in the verb. Haya allows either or both of two possible objects to be left-dislocated:

(1) a. bá-ka-h-á kát' émbwa   'they gave Kato the dog' (unmarked order)
        they-P$_3$-give Kato dog

    b. kató bá-ka-mú-h' émbwa   'Kato, they gave him the dog' (dislo-
        Kato they-P$_3$-him-give dog   cated dative object)

    c. embwá bá-ka-gí-h-a káto   'the dog, they gave it to Kato' (dis-
        dog they-P$_3$-it-give Kato   located accusative object)

    d. kat' émbwa bá-ka-gi-mú-h-a   'Kato, the dog, they gave it to him'
        Kato dog they-P$_3$-it-him-give   (two dislocated objects)

3. RIGHT-DISLOCATION

Right-dislocation results in a construction in which a noun is attached to the end of a syntactically complete utterance. The most common motivation for this form is the afterthought phenomenon (Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976). Imagine a situation in which the speaker begins his utterance assuming that all the referents under discussion are uniquely given

(unambiguously represented in the hearer's consciousness), so that denotation by pronominal form is all that is needed. Now suppose that during the course of uttering, the speaker has reason to believe that his assumption may not be correct. In order to amply clarify his choice of referent for the hearer, the speaker will tack on to the end of the utterance a full NP corresponding to the pronoun whose referent was in doubt.

There are other reasons for right-dislocating a noun. As discussed earlier, the beginning and end of an utterance are useful positions in bringing attention to an element. Utterance-final position seems especially useful in connoting surprise, emphasis, or contrast.

The subject and/or either or both objects could theoretically be right-dislocated. Although it is a possibility, it is difficult to contrive a situation which would warrant the speaker to right-dislocate all three nouns in any one utterance.[1]

In Haya, a right-dislocation construction is formed whenever a noun occurs to the right of the VC and its corresponding anaphoric pronoun, either a subject marker (SM) or object marker (OM), occurs within the VC. A syntactic break can be tonally detected, separating the right-dislocated material from the rest of the utterance (Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976). In the following examples, this break is represented by the phrase boundary %.

(2) a. bá-ka-cumb-il-a kakúlw' éŋkôko   'the cooked Kakulu chicken' (unmarked
    they-P_3-cook-APP Kakulu chicken   order)

   b. bá-ka-gí-cumb-il-a kakûlw' % éŋkôko 'they cooked it for *Kakulu*,
    they-P_3-it-cook-APP Kakulu chicken   the chicken'

   c. bá-ka-mú-cumb-il' éŋkôko % kakûlu 'they cooked him the *chicken*,
    they-P_3-him-cook-APP chicken Kakulu   Kakulu'

   d. *bá-ka-mú-cumb-il-a % kakúlw' éŋkoni 'they cooked him, Kakulu, the
    they-P_3-him-cook APP Kakulu chicken   chicken'

Compare examples (2c) and (2d). Both have a right-dislocated dative object, yet (2d) is ungrammatical. The reason is that *all right-dislocated material must be placed after a grammatically complete utterance*. Example (2d) violates this principle, since what precedes it lacks an overt marker for the accusative object which follows. Thus, while what precedes Kakulu in (2d) could be complete in some other context, right-dislocation is not possible until all of the to-be-specified arguments have received mention, either as independent noun phrases or as markers within the VC.

Subjects also may be right-dislocated, as may any combination of subject and object(s):

   e. bá-ka-cumb-il-a kakúlw' éŋkôk' % ábakâzi 'they cooked Kakulu the
    they-P_3-cook-APP Kakulu chicken   women   *chicken*, the women'

   f. bá-ka-gí-cumb-il-a kakûlw' % éŋkôk' % ábakâzi
    they-P_3-it-cook-APP Kakulu chicken   women
    'they cooked it for *Kakulu*, the chicken, the women'

4. DISLOCATIONS WITHIN DISCOURSE

4.1. The data base. All of the examples in this section were taken from a transcription of a telephone conversation of approximately one half hour in length (150 pages).[2] The interlocutors were two men ("B" and "K") and a woman ("A"), all native speakers of Haya (though each from a slightly different dialect).

The following table shows the distribution of three reference-expression types (constructions which differ in word order, phrase length, and syntactic category, and which denote a referent): right-dislocated subject = PRO + Subj NP, right-dislocated object = PRO + Obj NP, and left-dislocated object = Obj NP + PRO. These are studied in three discourse contexts: introducing the referent (I), mentioning a "given" referent (M), and reintroducing the referent (R). A referent was considered to be reintroduced if it was previously established in the discourse but not denoted for a minimum of four intervening utterances between its previous and present mention.[3]

(3)		PRO + Subj NP	PRO + Obj NP	Obj NP + PRO
	I	.33 (1)	.33 (1)	.28 (2)
	M	.33 (1)	.66 (2)	.28 (2)
	R	.33 (1)	-- (0)	.43 (3)

The scarcity of examples in relation to the other reference-expression types studied indicates that both left-dislocations and right-dislocations are exceptional constructions in denoting a referent.

(4)	Subjects (127)			Objects (113)		
	Noun Subj	:	.22 (28)	Noun Obj	:	.46 (52)
	PRO Subj	:	.76 (96)	PRO Obj	:	.45 (51)
	PRO + N Subj	:	.02 (3)	PRO + N Obj	:	.03 (3)
				N Obj + PRO	:	.06 (7)

Perhaps they signal some kind of distress in the discourse which is occasionally found in unplanned speech. If this is the case, one would expect these constructions to appear in a "trouble source" of a discourse. A trouble source is a point in the discourse where an utterance is unacceptable to the hearer for some reason and a request for clarification is made. On the other hand, the infrequency with which these constructions appear (if the 30 minute sequence is representative) might be due to their connection to a restricted subset of all possible discourse contexts, such as contradictions, etc.

In order to ascertain which of these alternatives more probably accounts for the distribution of these constructions, examples of each type will be presented and discussed in turn.

4.2. Object NP + PRO. Unlike right-dislocation constructions, no syntactic break can be detected either by pause or tone change in left-dislocations. This leads one to speculate as to the amount of planning this construction receives. Indeed, all of the examples from the corpus of data

strongly suggest that an Obj NP + PRO construction, rather than being un-
planned, shows a remarkable degree of forethought. By topicalizing an argu-
ment, by bringing the argument into the center of attention, the speaker
forces the hearer to focus on that particular element. It is one way of
controlling the conversation.

(5)   B: Inyé ŋ-ka-bá-w-á mu na afrikan styúdents oganazéísheny'
           me I-P₃-them-finish LOC and African Students' Organization
           'Me, I am finished with them, and the campus African Students'

           éyá kámpasí ŋ-ka-gí-w-á mu
           of campus I-P₃-it-finish LOC
           organization, I have nothing to do with it'

The utterance in (5) above is an example of a sub-topic shift. Topics
can change either abruptly or, as in this case, by shifting the topic to one
that is closely related to the present topic. After several sub-topic
shifts, the initial topic seems to have very little in common with what
results.

A much cleaner example of outright manipulation is found in the follow-
ing dialogue. Notice how the interlocutors use the Obj NP + PRO construction
while vying for control of the conversation.

(6)   K: mbwé' ákafáívu ŋ-ka-gul' ébí' émó kazilo
           today five   PR-it-buy beer onepoorboy   (five = five shillings)
           'And yet a five buys only one beer, my God'

      B: ?e kyoŋká bil' êbí deló (   )
           oh but days these in fact ---
           'In fact now a days --- '

      K: amaiwá n-já (k)u-gá-lekela kwa kwêli
           beer I-come to-it-stop   really
           'Beer, I'm going to stop it, really'

      B: inye da le saláám ni-ŋ-gi-tíiná kwa kwêli
           me Dar es Salaam PR-I-it-afraid really
           'Me, Dar es Salaam, I'm really scared of it'

      K: mŋ́ŋ́   'what?'

      B: da le saláám ni-ŋ-gi-tíin-a   'Dar es Salaam, I'm scared
           Dar es Salaam PR-I-it-afraid   of it'

      K: bulí kantu ŋ-ka-séel-a kwa kwéeli   'Everything is expensive,
           every thing PR-it-expensive really   really'

      B: olw' ókuba   'Because'

      K: ?nh   'Yeah?'

      B: ?haa ((pause))

B: ká ŋ-ku-tekeleza nyé ámalwá njá (k)u-gá-lekel-a
    when I-may-think me   beer I-come to-it-stop
    'when I think (about it), me, beer, I'm going to stop it'

In the first utterance, K uses the most frequent technique to introduce a
referent--an Obj NP construction. It was ignored by B. K however perseveres
by trying to force B's attention to the topic of his choice by left-dislocat-
ing the NP (changing the English loan word to the native word for beer). B
continues to ignore the topic and instead offers a topic of his own. This
so surprises K--the fact that B tried to establish a different topic--that he
asks for clarification. B does not relent. He repeats the Obj NP + PRO con-
struction, insisting upon his choice of topic. K finally acquiesces. How-
ever, after two more turns, B seems to realize that he has erred. Conversa-
tion is a cooperative venture. He was not cooperating by insisting upon his
choice of topic over K's choice. So to,in effect,apologize for his mistake,
B switches to K's choice of topic, reintroducing it in a left-dislocation
construction, indicating that it now occupies the center of his attention.

   4.3. PRO + Obj NP. A right-dislocated object seems to have two separ-
ate functions. The first is a simple case of afterthought. In the follow-
ing example, since (people in) Dar es Salaam has not been previously mentioned
in the discourse, a pronoun was insufficient to denote the referent. Rather
than waiting for the hearer to ask for clarification, the speaker attached
the full NP form of the referent to the end of the utterance himself, cor-
recting a possible trouble source--a "self-initiated self-repair" (Schegeloff,
Jefferson, and Sachs 1976).

(7) B: ni-ŋ-gonz-a n-o-many-á mbwéénu m-ba-andik-i-il'
         PR-I-want PR-you-know today I-them-write-APP-P$_2$
         'I want, you know now, I have written them

         ébalúa da le saláamu
         letter Dar es Salaam
         a letter, Dar es Salaam'

   The second function of PRO + Obj NP constructions serves to express
surprise, doubt, or disbelief.

(8) B: nnhń kyoŋka maá e ma' égyo si ŋ-ka-gy-é-bon-el-a
         what but   that one anyway I-P$_3$-it-self-see-APP
         'What? But that one, I saw it myself, anyway'

     K: o-ka o-ka-gi-bôn' ébênzi
         you-P$_3$ you-P$_3$-it-see Benz
         'Did you see it, the Benz?'

(9) B: dusó n'o-gi-mány-a   'DUSO, do you know it?'
         DUSO PR-you-it-know

     K: ?ehe   'Yes'

     B: o-kya-gi-juk-a dúso   'Do you still remember it, the DUSO?'
         you-still-it-remember DUSO

Notice that in example (9), a left-dislocation construction establishes
Duso (which was already introduced into the discourse) as topic. In terms
of referent identification, only a pronominal form is necessary for such
clear unambiguous denotation. However, for the purpose of separating the
argument from the assertion, an NP was added to the right. This allowed
for emphasizing the argument and de-emphasizing the assertion, bringing
just the argument into question.

   4.4. PRO + Subj NP. A right-dislocated subject also separates the
argument from the assertion. This construction can be used to repair a
trouble source.

(10)   B: ná ná ná akatoyotá kaŋge ka-tem-il-é mu
            and and and   toyota   my   it-cut-P$_2$ in
            'And my Toyota too did a good job,

            bwáan' o-tá-bon-a ka-t' ka-ta-gl-il-é (h)alá
             sir you-NEG-see it-NEG it-NEG-go-P$_2$ far
            brother, even though it hasn't been on a long journey'

       K: akákl   'what?' (class 12)

       B: kyoŋká ka-tem-il-é mu akatoyotá kaŋge
            but   it-cut-P$_2$ in   toyota   my
            'But it's done a good job, my Toyota'

K heard the noun class but did not catch the subject of B's utterance. In
order to bring attention to the noun, it was separated from the rest of the
proposition.

   PRO + Subj NP was found to be an ineffective construction in reintro-
ducing a referent.

(11)   B: ya naŋk' á-ka-ij' álwakátanu kakûlu
            someone he-P$_3$-come Friday   Kakulu
            'Did he come on Friday, Kakulu?'

       A: o-tai   'what?'
            you-say

       B: kakûlw' a-ka-ij' álwakátanu   'Did Kakulu come on Friday?'
            Kakulu he-P$_3$-come Friday

       A: íIña   'yes'

While PRO + Subj NP was not perceived by A, a Subject NP construction was
easily understood.

5. COMPARISON WITH CONTINGENT QUERIES

   Left-dislocations and right-dislocations are commonly found in the
structure of contingent queries--questions that ask for clarification of
all or part of a previous utterance. Bennett (1977) found that when an ele-
ment of an utterance is considered surprising or doubtful, the hearer-turned-
querier may either left-dislocate that element and use a surprise intonation
(a high pitch with a rising tone on the final vowel), or alternatively, as

discussed in section 4.3, he may right-dislocate that element.[4]

(12)   Given: omusháíj' a-ka-h' ómwáán' éŋkoni
                           man   he-P$_3$-give child stick
                           'the man gave the child a stick'

       Querying *child*:   omusháíj' éŋkony' a-ka-gí-h' ómwáaná
                           man   stick he-P$_3$-it-give child
                           'did the man give the *child* a stick?'

       Expected answer: eee, omwáana   'yes, the child'

Notice that only the element which is in doubt is positioned to the right
of the VC in a contingent query while all "given" or "noncontested" argu-
ments are to the left of the VC. Perhaps this suggests a separation of
function of left- and right-dislocations and/or differences in focus that
utterance-initial vs. utterance-final positions receive.

6. CONCLUSION

     Both left-dislocations and right-dislocations serve vital discourse
needs. By separating the assertion from the arguments, selective attention
can be directed. This seems to be the major function of dislocations in
general. Substantiation for this hypothesis can only be found by viewing
each occurrence of such constructions in a discourse-context framework.

     Left-dislocations most typically occur in situations in which a ref-
erent is reintroduced--contexts establishing givenness. In contingent
queries, the given NP's are left-dislocated. Right-dislocations are found
to convey surprise/disbelief besides being the construction which is used
for "afterthought".

     It seems as though some type of attention-ranking scale could be de-
vised to show the relative strength of the various positions within an ut-
terance:

(13) | Pragmatic Situation | Construction | Ranking | Comments |
       |---------------------|--------------|---------|----------|
       | normal declarative | basic word order
 $\frac{sV-O}{1\ \ 2}$ | 2 ˃ 1 | 2 = new information |
       | establish givenness | left-dislocation
 $\frac{O\ \ soV}{1\ \ \ 2}$ | 1 ˃ 2 | 1 = topic |
       | states given | left-dislocation
 $\frac{O\ \ soV}{1\ \ \ 2}$ | 2 ˃ 1 | 2 = query verb |
       | expresses surprise | right-dislocation
 $\frac{soV\ \ O}{1\ \ \ 2}$ | 2 ˃ 1 | 2 = element in doubt |
       | afterthought | right-dislocation
 $\frac{soV\ \ O}{1\ \ \ 2}$ | 1 ˃ 2 | 2 = afterthought |

contingent query	left- and right- dislocation $\underset{1}{O}\ \underset{2}{\underline{soV}}\ \underset{3}{\underline{S}}$	3 ʾ 1 & 2	3 = query 1 = old infor- mation

(13) suggests that (by a 2:1 margin) utterance-final position seems to be the favored choice for placing "important" information. Utterance-initial position is preferred only when establishing topic and, by default, in cases of afterthought.

What does this imply for the notion of the "plannedness" of disloca-tion constructions? With the exception of the afterthought phenomenon, these constructions seem to be manipulative and highly contextually bound. Although the control of attention that can be achieved in using these con-structions might be indicative of some forethought, the fact that they oc-cur in extremely limited discourse contexts suggests that dislocations are reflective of unplanned speech, triggered by a small set of discourse context stimuli.

NOTES

[1]It is possible to contrive a situation with three *left*-dislocations, as in the following example:

abakâzi kat' émbwa bá-ka-gi-mú-h-a   'the women, Kato, the dog, they
women Kato dog they-P$_3$-it-him-give   gave it to him'

Here we know that abakâzi has been left-dislocated since it is separated from the verbal complex by the two left-dislocated objects.

[2]I am greated indebted to Ernest Byarushengo for his aid in trans-cribing this conversation.

[3]For a more complete discussion of the distribution of seven reference-expression types, see Tenenbaum (1977).

[4]Bennett (1977) states that disbelief is expressed by "shifting the surprising NP to the right and denying it an agreement pronoun in the verbal complex...". My limited examples of this situation show the right-dislocation; however, I have no examples of agreement pronoun deletion.

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INTERROGATIVES

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1. STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL TYPES OF INTERROGATION

Generally speaking, there are two ways one might request information from a fellow communicator, in Haya as well as in a number of other languages. These somewhat parallel the distinction in English between the so-called "WH-questions" and "Yes-No Questions" (interrogatives proper), from a structural standpoint. In addition, one may make a functional distinction among types of questions in any language; the true interrogatives request information about a topic—a person, object, event, or state of affairs in the world—and as such may be used to initiate a conversational interaction among participants, insofar as the question is not ignored and is appropriately responded to. A second functional type of question appears in a discourse or conversational context, and is the type with which this work will be concerned. These are the "contingent queries" (Garvey 1975), so-called because they follow an utterance by a previous speaker and request clarification of part or all of that preceding utterance (i.e. they are *contingent* upon a previous utterance). This clarification can be required of 1) some particular element which was not heard or understood by the hearer; 2) the entire utterance; 3) it may request further elaboration upon some point within the utterance or 4) beyond it. This last type has been called a query of "potentials" (Garvey, p.8,10), because the speaker asks about information not directly included in the utterance under consideration, but something which might *potentially* be predicated about some point in the utterance (cf. below, example (4)). All four querying types are exemplified in the following hypothetical examples:

(1) (The hearer requests clarification of a particular element in
     the utterance)

a. A: I gave my father a yacht for Father's Day.
    B: Who? (Requests clarification of the subject of the sen-
       tence or, more probably, the indirect object/benefactive)
    A: *I* did.
or: A: My father.

b. B: A what? (Requests clarification of the direct object)
    A: A yacht.

c. B: For what? (Or "when", etc.: a request for clarification
       of the temporal or circumstantial element)
    A: (For) Father's Day.

d. B: You did what? (Requests clarification of the predicate or
       verb).
    A: (I) gave my father a yacht for Father's Day (With the sub-
       ject "I" specified, this is also the response to the global
       question "what?").

In the last example (d), it may be the case that the hearer did not
hear the verb, but in fact did hear the terms (one or more) of the verb.
If so, then as in the cases of (1a,b,c), the hearer-become-querier may
ask only for the information he or she has failed to perceive. It is par-
ticularly true of certain educated and/or impatient speakers, who perhaps
want to communicate most efficiently and waste as little conversational
space as possible, that the querier will design contingent queries (here-
after CQ's) to be extremely specific about what is to be repeated by the
speaker. Thus, if such a querier wants only the verb of our utterance
repeated, he or she may ask:

e. B: You did what with a yacht (to your father, etc.)?
    A: I gave him one (for Father's Day, etc).

The responder or original speaker A must use caution not to repeat
more than what was asked for (at least not too much more), or else risk
offending the querier. The following hypothetical, anomalous discourse
sequence illustrates what happens when this condition is disobeyed:

    A: Oh--he's just trying to make a big impression.
    B: Who is?
    A: He's just trying to make a big impression.
    B: Yeah I *know*, but *who* is?

The second type of CQ has been parenthetically illustrated above in
(1d), but another example is offered. This is the "global" CQ, utilized
when the querier wants to start over and have the entire utterance repeated
or paraphrased:

(2) A: Well, I think she's pregnant anyway.
    B: What?
    A: (I said) I think she's pregnant anyway.
    B: Oh (optional)[1]

(3) (The querier may request elaboration upon a particular element)
    A: That guy went right through a red light!
    B: Which one?
    A: That guy in the Maserati (or "The one at the intersection of Pico and La Cienega")

(4) (Finally, there may be a query of "potential")
    A: I saw the wierdest-looking billboard the other day.
    B: Where?
    A: In Hollywood (or wherever).[2]
    B: Naturally (optional).

These examples (1)-(4) illustrate the solicited CQ, but Garvey points out (p.8) that responses, paraphrases, repetitions, and so on may be "unsolicited" or initiated by the speaker of the utterance. When such is the case, the query itself remains implicit, and the speaker merely supplies the elaboration. In English and Haya, right-dislocated structures, or "afterthought" phenomena, may exhibit this (see Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976, Byarushengo and Tenenbaum 1976). For another view of "unsolicited CQ's", see the work by Sacks, Schegeloff, and Jefferson on repair and self-repair.

A third functional category of questioning contains interrogatives which appear on the surface to be CQ's, but to which there is an element of deviousness, for in seeming to ask for clarification about some aspect of the previous utterance, the querier is in fact doubting its validity, or expressing surprise at its truth value. These are also structurally similar to all the varieties of CQ's, but tend to differ in intonation; like CQ's, the speaker of the question may choose a particular element of the preceding utterance about which to be surprised or doubtful, or may express this attitude about the entire utterance. This is done with intonation which is represented orthographically, typically, by a series of question marks and exclamation points: "What??!!??!!").

In Haya, these three functional types are operative and identifiable, and shall be presented in turn. This paper presents a rather general survey of CQ's based on many kinds of (syntactic) structures. In some cases, an area was only touched upon, but it was felt that a brief look at many kinds of structures would have more general consequences than a detailed study of a very esoteric nature. Wherever it was felt to be needed, some explanation accompanies the examples presented within, though in general questioning in Haya is a fairly transparent process.

2. A WORD ABOUT *WH*-QUESTIONS

True interrogatives do not differ to a great extent from the CQ's which will be investigated here. To ask for the identification of a particular referent noun phrase, the question has the structure NP + kí, with the inherent high tone of the particle /-kí/ appearing on the final vowel of the noun, e.g.

(5) /musháíja + kí/ ⟶ [musháíjá kí] 'which man?'
     man which

Note that, in general, the preprefix normally associated with noun phrases in Haya does not appear in such question constructions (cf. Chagas 1977).

The words corresponding in Haya to English WH-questions are as follows:[3]

(6)   ówa   'who'   kúbákí   'why'
       múkí   'what (cl. 1)'   kíha   'which'
       ŋkáha   'where'   óta   'how'
       máki   'when'

In questioning a verb plus non-subject term of the verb, no object pronoun for the questioned element appears in the verbal complex. This is probably due to the "nongivenness" of a term which is being questioned (cf. Byarushengo and Tenenbaum 1976).

As in most Bantu languages, no fronting or topicalization of the question word (hereafter Q-word) occurs in the formation of a question (Welmers 1973:438). There are, however, exceptions to this which will be discussed in more detail below. Essentially, a question in Bantu resembles, when given a morpheme-by-morpheme translation into English, the so-called "echo-question", e.g.

(7) a.   kat' á-lim-a ŋkáha   'where does Kato cultivate?'
          Kato he-cultivate where

    b.   a-lim-a ŋkáhá káto
          he-cultivate where Kato

    c.   *ŋkáha kat' á-lim-a
          where Kato he-cultivate

3. CONTINGENT QUERIES

CQ's specifying a number of constituents were investigated, and the findings will be presented in this section.

3.1. *"Global" CQ's.* A "global" CQ represents a request for clarification or repetition (or paraphrase) of the entire preceding utterance, and the required response is usually for the speaker to repeat the entire utterance intact, or else present an adequate (and possibly more elaborate) paraphrase. This probably holds true for all languages. There are two alternatives for asking this type of CQ in Haya, regardless of the structure of the preceding utterance:

(8) a.   óta   'how?'
    b.   w-a-gamb-á kí   'what did you say?'
          you-P$_1$-say what

3.2. *Querying the subject (Su).* A query of the Su is simplest if: 1) there is only one term of the verb (i.e. the Su), or 2) there is only one [+human] noun phrase/term (namely, the Su). When this is the case, a querier may unambiguously produce the CQ by using only the word for 'who'. In this case, therefore, given utterance (9), there are alternatives (10a) and (10b) for making a Su CQ, the first being the simpler type:

(9) omusháíj' a-tambúka   'the man walks'
     man   he-walk

(10) a. ówa   'who?'

     b. a-támbuka n'ówǒ [4] 'who is it that walks?'
         he-REL-walk be who

A form such as ówa is quite inappropriate, however, when the utterance being questioned contains more than one human term. Its inappropriateness is due to the ambiguity which results. In these instances, then, it is not un-common to request clarification via a more disambiguating structure such as the passive:

(11) omusháíj' a-ka-h' ómwáán' éŋkoní   'the man gave the child a stick'
     man   he-P$_3$-give child stick

(12) a-ka-gí-háá-bw' ówa   'who gave it to him?' (lit. who was it given by)
     he-P$_3$-it-give-PASS who

For a three-termed verb with all human terms,[5] the CQ ówa is three-ways ambiguous. Utterance (13) can thus be questioned in the passive, but this is actually ambiguous also, although the ambiguity lies with interpretation of the object pronoun mu 'him' as an accusative or dative object, and not in the word ówa itself.

(13) omukázy' a-ka-h' ómusháíj' ómwáana   'the woman gave the man the
     woman   she-P$_3$-give man   child   child'

(14) a-ka-mu-háá-bw' ówa   'who was he given by/who was to him given by'
     he-P$_3$-him-give-PASS who

Although it is appropriate to answer such CQ's by repetition of the Su NP only, potentially ambiguous CQ's such as (12) and (14) above may be ans-wered with a complete sentence. This would take the form *not* of the ori-ginal queried utterance, that is, not of the active indicative, but rather the form in which the CQ was constructed. Because of this "discourse con-straint", a passived CQ such as (14) would therefore be answered in the passive:

(15) a-ka-mu-háá-bw' ómukâzí   'he was given (to) him by the woman'
     he-P$_3$-him-give-PASS woman

3.3. Querying the object (accusative). Accusative object CQ's (henceforth Acc) follow similar lines as the Su CQ's. Where only the Acc is [+human] the question word alone suffices; if the Acc is the only [-human] term, the question word may not be used in isolation, but the verb of the queried utterance must be supplied as well. Examples (16) and (17) illus-trate the [+human] case; examples (18) and (19) and CQ (20) illustrate the case of [-human] Acc's.

(16) embw' é-ka-sím' ómusháíja   'the dog bumped into the man'
     dog it-P$_3$-bump   man

(17)   ówa   'who?'   (answer = omusháija 'the man')

(18)   omukázy' a-ít' éŋkôko   'the woman kills chickens'
       woman she-kill chicken(s)

(19)   *kí   'what?'

(20)   a-ít-á kí   'what does she kill?'
       she-kill what

When there are three verbal terms, the Su and the Dat(ive) (or what
would be indirect object in English) *may* under certain circumstances appear
as full NP's, but normally they appear as clitic pronouns when the Acc is
being queried.[6] Given utterance (11), example (21) is a perfectly likely CQ:

(21)   a-ka-mú-h-á kí   'what did he give him?'
       he-P$_3$-him-give what

It may be that there is a potential ambiguity in (21) (i.e. the inter-
pretation of the clitic pronoun as accusative, yielding 'he gave him to
what'), but -mu- tends to be interpreted as the dative due to a pragmatic
strategy of assigning the [+human] element to this case over the [-human] one.

The queried utterance could have contained an Acc and a Dat from the
same noun class, and thus the form ówa for a CQ of the Acc is ambiguous.
Given utterance (13) above, there are two alternative CQ's for the Acc. If
the hearer has not heard enough of the Acc to place it in a -mu- class and
is willing to risk offense to the possibly human NP, he or she may ask:

(22)   a-ka-mú-h-á kí   'what did she give him?'
       she-P$_3$-him-give what

Alternatively, the hearer may have heard the prefix of the Acc, and thus
knows it is probably class 1 (human). In this case, (23) may be asked:

(23)   a-ka-mu-h' ówa   'who did she give him?'
       she-P$_3$-him-give who

Again, as in the case of the Su, an appropriate answer need only con-
sist of the element which was actually queried. It is also appropriate to
repeat the verb plus Acc, provided that any NP's which were contained in the
CQ (whether in full or pronominalized form) have been reduced to pronouns in
the response. That is, given CQ (25), only (26) is truly felicitous, and
not (27), since both 'the man' and 'the knife' are discourse old and given
information.

(24)   omushái̇̀j' a-ka-shal' ényama n'ómúhyo   'the man cut the meat with
       man   he-P$_3$-cut   meat with knife   a knife'

(25) a.   a-ka-shálá kí n'ómúhyo   'what did he cut with a knife?'
          he-P$_3$-cut what with knife
     b.   a-ka-shálá ki[7]   'what did he cut?'
          he-P$_3$-cut what

(26) a.　a-ka-gu-sház' ényama　　'he cut meat with it'
　　　　he-P$_3$-it-cut-INSTR meat

　　b.　enyama　　'meat'

(27) ?omusháʃj' a-ka-shál' ényama n'ómúhyo　(=(24))

　　　3.4. *Querying the dative object (Dat)*. Again an ambiguity arises when
there are two or more [+human] terms in an utterance and a CQ is made con-
sisting solely of the word ówa 'who?'. For an utterance such as (11) above,
the unambiguous query of the Dat takes the form of the verb complex with
a clitic pronoun or full NP for the Acc, and the Q-word for class 1.

(28)　a-ka-gi-h' ówa　　'whom did he give it to?'
　　　he-P$_3$-it-give who

Note that this cannot unambiguously query the Su, because that would mean
that the pronoun for the dative object would be missing, yielding an un-
grammatical sentence rendered approximately 'who gave it?'. This is un-
grammatical in Haya because the verb okúha 'to give' is lexically coded
for two objects (cf. Duranti and Byarushengo 1977). If querying the sub-
ject one would use the following passivized sentence:

(29)　a-ka-gi-háá-bw' ówa　　'he was given it by whom?'
　　　he-P$_3$-it-give-PASS who

　　Where there are three verbal terms (Su and two nonoblique objects),
all from the same noun class, even a CQ of the form verb (with pronouns) +
ówa is unclear (as the pronoun could refer to either the Acc or the Dat).
It may be that in such a case the querier will have to specify fully just
what is was that was heard and what was not heard or understood, as in (30):

(30)　omukázy' a-ka-h' ómusháʃj' ówa　　'the woman gave the man who?'
　　　woman she-P$_3$-give　man　　who

Or better yet, the querier may use a pseudo-cleft construction which makes
the former Dat the topic, and utilizes a copula:

(31)　ow' ómukázi y-a-ha-il' ómusháʃja n'ówa　　'who the woman gave the man
　　　who woman she-P-give-P$_3$　man　be who　　is who?' (or 'who is it that
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　the woman gave the man?')

　　In the case of a benefactive (Ben) (and other cases where an extension
on the verb is used, in general), the extension makes the situation clear
and helps to avoid ambiguity. Hence, given (32), the CQ (33) positively
requests repetition of the Ben, as it would be ungrammatical to have the
Ben left unsaid when there is an applicative suffix on the verb (as would
be the case if ówa referred to the Su).

(32)　omusháʃj' a-ka-shál-il' ómwáán' ényama　　'the man cut meat for
　　　man　　he-P$_3$-cut-APP　child　meat　　　the child'

(33)　a-ka-gi-shál-il' ówa　　'who did he cut it for?'
　　　he-P$_3$-it-cut-APP who

(cf. a-ya-shal-il' ómwáán' ényama n'ówa / a-ya-mu-shal-il' ényama n'ówa 'he
who cut for the child/him is who?', which queries the Su.)

Some NP's may follow the Ben, e.g. an instrumental, in which case a
somewhat interesting ordering of the Q-word and the instrumental appears in
the CQ. Given (34), only the CQ's in (35) are grammatical.

(34)   omushéfj' a-ka-shál-il' ómwáán' ényama n'ómúhyo
       man   he-P$_3$-cut-APP child   meat with knife
       'the man cut meat for the child with a knife'

(35) a.   a-ka-gi-shál-il' ówa n'ómúhyo   'who did he cut it for with a
          he-P$_3$-it-cut-APP who with knife   knife?'[8] (gl 'it' = meat)

     b.   a-ka-shal-il-w' ényama n'ówa[9]   'who was the meat cut for?'
          he-P$_3$-cut-APP-PASS meat be who

(36)   *a-ka-gi-shál-il-a n'ómuhy' ówa   *who* did he cut it for with a
        he-P$_3$-it-cut-APP with knife who   knife?'

The CQ (36) is ungrammatical due to the position of the Q-word for the Ben
(ówa), which is placed after the oblique instrumental case. As shown by
Duranti and Byarushengo (1977), there is a hierarchy of case status, whereby
verbal terms have access to positions closer to the verbal complex than
oblique cases of "nonterms". As might be expected, if the instrumental ap-
pears with a verbal extension (i.e., is a term of the verb), it is permitted
to position itself in the verbal complex, and thus precede ówa in the CQ:

(37)   a-ka-gi-gu-shál-iz' ówa   'who did he cut it for with it?'
       he-P$_3$-it-it-cut-APP-INSTR who   (gl = meat; gu = knife)

3.5. Queries of oblique cases. For the purpose of querying the NP's
which are not full verbal terms (because they are objects of prepositions
and not encoded in the verbal complex via an extension), the instrumental
will serve as an example. An utterance such as (24) above can be most
grammatically queried with the form (38), while (39) receives questionable
status. (40a) and (40b) are acceptable answers, with (41) being about as
questionably acceptable as (39).

(38)   a-ka-gi-shál-a ná kí   'what did he cut it with?'
       he-P$_3$-it-cut with what

(39)   ?ná kí   'with what?'

(40) a.   n'ómúhyo   'with the knife'
          with knife

     b.   a-ka-gi-sház' ómúhyo   'he cut it with the knife'
          he-P$_3$-it-cut-INSTR knife

(41)   ?omúhyo   'the knife'

If there has been an utterance with both an instrumental and a Ben (or
Dat), under certain discourse conditions one might find it felicitous to
repeat this Ben in the querying of the oblique instrumental. Utterance

(34) above may be queried for the instrumental with either (42a) or (42b):
(42a) does not include the Ben, while (42b) incorporates it into the verbal
complex as a pronoun. (34) may also be queried with (43), which fully ex-
presses the Ben NP. Acceptable answers are (40a) above and (44).

(42) a. a-ka-gí-shál-a ná kÍ   'with what did he cut it?'
         he-P₃-it-cut with what

     b. a-ka-gí-mu-shál-íl-a ná kÍ   'with what did he cut it for him?'
         he-P₃-it-him-cut-APP with what

(43) a-ka-gí-shál-íl' ómwáána ná kÍ[10] 'with what did he cut it for the
      he-P₃-it-cut-APP child with what   child?'

(44) a-ka-gí-mu-shál-íl-a n'ómúhyo   'he cut it for him with the knife'
      he-P₃-it-him-cut-APP with knife

Interestingly enough, if the instrumental is promoted to object status via
a verbal extension, a highly questionable query results:

(45) ??a-ka-gí-mu-shál-íz-a kÍ   'with what did he cut it for him?'
     he-P₃-it-him-cut-APP-INSTR what

   3.6. Querying the action, plus or minus terms. It is also the case
in communicative situations that a hearer may hear most of the utterance
except the verb, or that he or she may miss the verb and some terms of it
as well (see example (1d) above). In Haya, a CQ of the verb is generally
accomplished through repetition of the full Su (optional) and the Su in
the form of a pronoun-subject prefix on the verb okukôla 'to do' and the
Q-marker kÍ. Thus, returning to the initial intransitive sentence in (9),
repeated here as (46),

(46) omusháíj' a-tambúk-a   'the man walks'
      man   he-walk

(47) represents an appropriate CQ if the hearer has not heard the verb.

(47) (omusháíj') a-kol-á kÍ   'what does the man/he do?'
      man   he-do what

And the response may be (48a) or (48b), but not (48c).

(48) a. omusháíj' a-tambúk-a   'the man walks'
         man   he-walk

     b. a-tambúk-a   'he walks'
         he-walk

     c. *tambúk-a   'walks'
         walk

   In the case of an utterance with two or more verbal terms, it is possi-
ble that neither the verb nor one or more of the terms was heard or under-
stood. In English, a CQ on an utterance such as (49) would take a form

somewhat like (50).

(49)   That man is hitting that poor dog

(50)   He's doing what to (who, what)?

In Haya, however, such CQ's are impossible. It seems that one cannot question
more than one element at a time, since it was also not possible to elicit
CQ's on, e.g. both objects, or both Su and Acc, and so on. In these cases,
a querier must merely make a global CQ, and get more than he or she really
needs repeated.

There is another problem in the querying of verbs, and that is that if
a hearer has not heard the verb, then chances are he or she has also not
heard the tense. Given (13) above (repeated here as (51)), the querier has
the alternatives in (52).

(51)   omukázy' a-ka-h' ómusháíj' ómwáana   'the woman gave the man the
       woman she-P_3-give man   child   child'

(52) a.   a-ka-kol-á ki   'what did she do?' [general past]
          she-P_3-do what

     b.   a-koz-ll-é ki   [yesterday past]
          she-do-P_2 what

     c.   y-a-kol-á ki   [today past]
          she-P_1-do what

Form (52a) assumes that the speaker has said something which is somewhat
dated information (prior to yesterday), and that he or she should perhaps
more felicitously have said before. (52b) assumes that the speaker was
talking about some event that took place yesterday (the time being perhaps
deduced from the preceding discourse context). (52c) is the "unmarked"
case, as it assumes that the speaker was reporting an event in the fairly
immediate past, and thus a more newsworthy event. It is possible, of
course, to avoid the whole problem by asking the speaker to repeat the
whole utterance.

Another problem arises when a verb has two or more terms which are
[+human], one or more of which was not heard. In an utterance such as (51)
above, (53) would be the correct CQ if neither the verb nor some terms
were perceived, but it would be a most vague CQ at best.

(53)   ba-a-kol-á ki   'what did they do?'
       they-P_1-do what

In this case the original speaker can determine that the querier heard no
verb, but not whether (and if so, how many) terms were heard. To insure
that the original message is communicated, the speaker must therefore repeat
the entire utterance.

   3.7.   Other cases: selectors (e.g. adjectives), potentials, posses-
sives (alienable and inalienable), comparatives, passives, and causatives.
Many utterances contain so-called "selectors" or modifying words, which are

prone to be misheard. As in other CQ's, the word kí is used (this time with the meaning 'which'), appended to the noun of which one did not hear the modifier. As with the true interrogatives of this sort, the noun appears without its preprefix (cf. Chagas 1977). To kill three birds (or terms) with one stone, a good illustration involves an elaborate (an unlikely, except in literature) utterance in which all three terms are modified by an adjective. The following utterances represent the various types of CQ's for the selectors.

(54) omushá$\int$j' ómuhâng' a-ka-h' émbw' él ikwíílaguí' éŋkoní nda
      man   big   he-P$_3$-give dog   black   stick long
      'the big man gave the black dog a long stick'

(55) mushá$\int$já kí   'which man?'
      man   which

(56) a. omushá$\int$j' ómuhângo   'the big man' (the man who is big)
         man   big

     b. omuhângo   'the big one'
         big (cl. 1)

(57) ṁbwá kí   'which dog?'
      dog which

(58) a. embw' él íkwíílaguía   'the black dog' (the dog which is black)
         dog   black

     b. el íkwíílaguía   'the black one' (the one which is black)
         black (cl. 9)

(59) ŋkoní kí   'which stick?'
      stick which

(60) a. eŋkoní nda   'the long stick' (the stick which is long)
         stick long

     b. enda   'the long one' (the one which is long)
         long (cl. 9)

Alternatively, one might have heard the selector, but be unsure of the noun which it modifies. In English, given (54) above, one might say, e.g. "the big *what*?"; or, if one were fairly certain that the noun was [+human], "the big *who*?". It is not *impossible* to make such queries in Haya, but somehow a form such as (61) seems extremely strange. Perhaps part of the problem is that in the original utterance, what is big is [+human], and the CQ in (61) treats it as [-human].

(61) ?ekíhángo kí-kí   'what's big?'
      big (cl. 7) what

It is better to merely ask ówa 'who?'.

Note here that the copulative form omuhángo n'ówa 'who is it that's big?' can only be used to question after a long list of selector + noun

constructions, e.g. "the dog is black, the stick is long, the child is small, the man is big". Thus: "who is it that's big?"; "the man".

If these utterances were being produced in a situation where the NP's under discussion were in view, the CQ noun + kı could be responded to with a deictic, and perhaps a pointing gesture. The speaker would respond to the CQ with the demonstrative pronoun appropriate to the class of the noun which was being queried, e.g. ogwo for omushǎĺja, egyo for eŋkonı, and so on.

The hearer may wish to indicate that everything except some particular element was heard or understood (e.g. everything but the selector), and could do so by forming a CQ which contained those elements which were heard. Thus, given utterance (54) above, an interesting phenomenon arises in the case of the CQ for each element when the other elements are fully expressed (no selectors are necessary). Note the word order in CQ's (62), (64), and (66), as well as the appearance of the copula.

(62) nı mushǎĺjǎ ky' ǎ-y-a-ha-iı' ǎmbw' ǎŋkonı   'which man gave the dog
      be man which he/REL-P-give-P dog stick   a stick?' (Su)

(63) omuhâŋgo   'the big one'

(64) nı m̂bwǎ ky' ǎy' ǒmushǎĺj' a-ha-iı' ǎŋkonı   'which dog did the man
      be dog which REL man   he-give-P stick   give a stick to?' (Dat)

(65) elíkwíílagula   'the black one'

(66) nı ŋkonı́ ky' ǎy' ǒmushǎĺja y-a-ha-iı' ǎmbwa   'which stick did the man
      be stick which REL man   he-P-give-P dog   give the dog?' (Acc)

(67) enda   'the long one'

These CQ's appear to be formed through a type of cleft construction, whereby the element under consideration--the topic and the NP about which the question is being formed--is fronted in a left-branching structure. (Fronting may not necessarily be the case in (62), since the topic is identical to the Su, which is already fronted). After the fronted NP, and the interrogative marker and the relative pronoun, the utterance continues as it occurred in the speech of the original speaker (but without selectors) with respect to the ordering of nouns. The topicalized noun is of course missing from its original position to the right of the verb, if it was originally an object of some sort.

The problem of the genesis of the so-called "potential" questions will not be treated in detail here, but examples in Haya will be presented.[11] In general, one need merely ask the appropriate WH-question (see section 2) or repeat the verb + WH-Q-word to make a potential CQ. Hence, give the utterance (68), (69) asks about the potential location; given (70), (71) asks about the potential identity of a noun; given (72), (73) asks about potential time and (74) about potential location. Note that potentials heavily involve logical and pragmatic presupposition, and it is these pre-suppositions which must underlie the CQ, and not anything necessarily stated in the CQ itself.

(68) ní-m-pulíí' éyómbo   'I hear a noise'
      PR-I-hear   noise

(69) ŋkáha[12]   'where?'

(70) n-a-ly-a múno   'I ate too much'
      I-P_1-eat much

(71) w-a-ly-á kí   'what did you eat?'
      you-P_1-eat what

(72) n-a-bon' ómukáma   'I saw the chief'
      I-P_1-see   chief

(73) mâkí   'when?'

(74) ŋkáha   'where?'

      Possessives can be queried (if they are alienable) by repeating the noun in question plus the Q-word ówa 'who' functioning as the second element of an associative construction. Inalienable possessions are queried somewhat more indirectly. Hence (75) is questioned with (76), but (77) cannot be questioned with (78), but only with something like (79). (80) has the two alternative CQ's in (81) and (82).

(75) ŋ-ka-cumb' ébitooké byaŋge   'I cooked my bananas'
      I-P_3-cook   bananas   my

(76) ebitook' éby' ówa   'whose bananas?' (the bananas which
      bananas   of   who   are of who)

(77) ŋ-ka-hénd' ómukôno   'I broke my arm' (I broke arm)
      I-P_3-break   arm

(78) *omukon' ógw' ówa   'whose arm?'
       arm   of   who

(79) o-ka-hénd-á kí[13]   'what did you break?' (answer =
      you-P_3-break what   omukôno; 'my' is understood)

(80) a-ka-m-pénd' ómukôno   'he broke my arm' (he broke me [with
      he-P_3-me-break arm   respect to the] arm)

(81) ogw' ówa   'whose?' (answer = ogwáŋge 'mine')
      of   who

(82) a-ka-hénd' ówa   'who did he break?'
      he-P_3-break who

Although an appropriate answer to (82) might be as in (83),

(83) a-ka-hénd' inye   'he broke *me*'
      he-P_3-break me

this assumes that omukôno was heard, which may be an erroneous assumption. It is better, though less efficient, to have the speaker repeat the entire utterance.

To form a CQ about a comparative construction, one repeats the entire original utterance with ki substituted for the NP which was not heard or understood.

(84) (ni) mula ku-shaag' ómuty' ôgwo   'he is taller than that tree'
      be   tall to surpass tree   that   (mula = class 1)

(85) (ni) mula ku-shaag-a ki   'what is he taller than?' (answer:
      be   tall to surpass what   omúti/omuty' ógwo 'tree/that tree')

Examples of CQ's in the passive have already been seen as disambiguation strategies (see (15) above). To query the Acc, it is permissible to form the CQ in the active indicative and follow the lines presented in section 3.3.

It is not possible, or only marginally so, to question a causative construction with the causative suffix attached to the verb okukôla 'to do'. But then it is really not necessary, as the speaker is required to repeat the entire verb in the form given in the original utterance anyway, or else provide an adequate paraphrase:

(86) omushấ{j' a-ka-guz' ómukázy' énkôko   'the man sold (=caused to buy)
      man   he-P₃-sell woman chicken   the chicken to the woman'

(87) a-ka-kốl-á ki   'what did he do?'
      he-P₃-do what

(88) a-ka-guz' ómukázy' énkôko   'he sold the woman a chicken' (= ans-
      he-P₃-sell woman   chicken   wer to (87))

The problem with asking the question using okukôla + CAUS is that the result is a verb meaning not 'to cause to do' but rather 'to stab'. It is unlikely, given that the hearer heard only the [z] of those verbs whose stems normally end in [l], that the hearer would interpret this [z] as resulting from the causative suffix rather than a verb stem lexically ending in [z], e.g. okukôza 'to cause to do' vs. 'to stab'.

(89) omukázy' a-ka-liz' ómushấlja   'the woman caused the man to cry'[14]
      woman she-P₃-cry-CAUS man

(90) a-ka-mu-kóz-á ki   ?'what did she cause him to do?'
      she-P₃-him-X what   ?'what did she stab him?'

Actually, (90) could be interpreted as 'what did she cause him to do', but this is still an unlikely interpretation given the other meaning for okukôza. Apparently, hearers are more likely to interpret a verb as monomorphemic rather than as a stem + extension, if this is possible.

4. YES-NO QUESTIONS, CONTINGENT AND NON-CONTINGENT

Yes-no questions are the most transparent type to form in Haya, as there are no word order changes (but see section 5) or Q-words required. One need merely form the declarative which underlies the desired question, and add a rising tone to the final vowel. Thus, (18) above, here repeated as (91), is questioned via (92).

(91) omukázy' a-ít' éŋkôko   'the woman kills chickens'
      woman   she-kill chickens

      omukázy' a-it' éŋkôkǒ   'does the woman kill chickens?'
      woman   she-kill chickens

The appropriate answers are eego or eee[15] 'yes' and cei 'no'.

If the hearer presupposes that a situation X exists (that, for example, the woman does in fact kill chickens), but for some reason the querier is not sure that the speaker is aware of this state of affairs, an interrogative CQ may be formed in the negative:

(92) omukázi t-á-ít-a ŋkôkǒ   'doesn't the woman kill chickens?'
      woman NEG-she-kill chickens (cf. affirmative without final rise)

This question must be answered a-zí-íta 'she kills them' for the affirmative, and t-a-zí-íta 'she doesn't kill them' for the negative. There is a problem, if the woman *does* kill chickens, with answering eego or eee 'yes', as it tends to answer the surface value of the question and not the underlying presupposition. That is, a mere 'yes' may mean 'she doesn't kill chickens'. Because of its vagueness, such an answer is avoided.

5. CONTRASTING QUESTIONS AND QUERIER DOUBT AND DISBELIEF

When a querier wishes to express surprise that a given element was contained in the utterance of a previous speaker, there are a number of ways to do so. Given that the entire utterance is doubted, or at least very surprising to the hearer, he or she may query by asking óta 'how?' or wagambá ki 'you said what?' (cf. (8) above) with "surprise" intonation--i.e. by raising the level of all of the tones and adding rising intonation to the final vowel of the question even though it may contain a Q-word. (Rising intonation is not usually necessary of a question containing a Q-word.) If it is a particular element which is surprising or in doubt, the corresponding WH-question CQ is asked, again with all the tones slightly raised, and an optional rising tone on the final vowel. Alternatively, one may front the NP which is in doubt, as in a pseudo-cleft, but the corresponding "surprise" intonation is still required. A distinguishing discourse feature of these surprise CQ's is that unlike other questions, the original speaker may respond by saying "yes" + NP, where the NP of the response is the very one being questioned by the querier, in the case of yes-no CQ's. Also, one can express disbelief of the objects and subject, as seen in the following examples, by *shifting the surprising NP to the right and denying it an agreement pronoun in the verbal complex, although, since it has just been mentioned in previous discourse, it theoretically is "old information" and should be "given".*[16] The querier is thus denying the "givenness" of the NP: what is "given" goes to the left of the verbal

complex, as seen below.

(93) omusháíj' a-ka-h' ómwáán' éŋkoni   'the man gave the child a stick'
      man   he-P₃-give child stick

(94) omusháíj' éŋkony' a-ka-gí-h' ómwáaná   'did the man give *the child*
      man   stick he-P₃-it-give child   a stick?'

(95) Answer: eee, omwáana   'yes, the child'

(96) omusháíj' ómwáán' a-ka-mú-h' éŋkoní   'did the man give the child
      man   child he-P₃-him-give stick   *a stick*?'

(97) Answer: eee, eŋkoni   'yes, a stick'

(98) omwáán' éŋkony' a-ka-gí-háá-bw' ómusháíjá   'was the child given a
      child   stick he-P₃-it-give-PASS man   stick by *the man*?

Notice that (98) is formed in the passive--this is one way to move a subject
to the right. As it becomes agent, it alters the "unmarked" order for asking
the yes-no question omusháíj' a-ka-h' ómwáán' éŋkoní 'did the man give the
child a stick?'.

6. CONCLUSION

    Although it was not possible to investigate every type of structure
which could appear as a question in Haya, it is hoped that the types which
were presented, which represent the most basic, provide an adequate view of
the general kinds of interrogation. Questions in their discourse context
were concentrated on because these provide particularly interesting insights
into the ways speakers and hearers adapt their language to functional pur-
poses: denying the "givenness" of a part of speech, for example; or focus-
ing on some particular topic, and so forth. It is certain that any continued
work in the area of questions, in Haya or any language, will provide even
more complex kinds of structures, and ever-increasing subtleties of function.
After all, it is possible to use language as a communicative system: this
work demonstrates how it may be adapted into such a system.

NOTES

    [1]Since a CQ refers only to a preceding utterance and is contained within
a larger conversational unit (the speech act or sequence, and then the dis-
course itself), its intervention does not alter the structure of the discourse
as a whole with respect to speaker turns, and so on. That is, B is still re-
quired to make any appropriate responses to A's original utterance (cf.
Garvey 1975).

    [2]See Leech (1974) on "null arguments" and Chafe (1972).

    [3]These data were elicited by Charles Randriamasimanana and confirmed
by the present author.

    [4]The form n'ówa appears only with these relative constructions and is
a pseudo-cleft structure (lit. 'he who walks is who'). It also seems to be

restricted to queries of the topic, as well as being the only topicalized form.

[5]Cases beyond three terms, such as utterances with subject, dative, accusative (the last two both direct objects in Haya) and instrumental are also, of course, capable of being queried. Especially when two or more of these terms of [+human], the relative-copula (or pseudo-cleft) construction is used. For example, compare the following query on the Su: ·

 a-y-a-shal-il' ómwáán' ényama n'ówa 'who cut the child the meat
 REL-he-P-cut-APP child meat be who   with a knife?'
 (lit. he who cut the child the meat with a knife is who)

[6]See Duranti and Byarushengo (1977) for a discussion of grammatical relations in Haya.

[7]One may also pose the following question:

 omwáán' a-ka-shál-il-w-á kí 'what was cut for the child'
 child he-P$_3$-cut-APP-PASS what
 (lit. the child was cut what)

But in Haya, unlike in English, this is ambiguous, meaning either 'what was cut for the child?' or 'what was the child cut for?'.

[8]This is admittedly an odd thing to ask, but one can imagine perhaps that the querier is, e.g., surprised that it was a *knife* which was used to cut the meat for the child, as opposed to some other instrument.

[9]This CQ is potentially ambiguous, but the meaning 'who was cut for the meat' is semantically odd.

[10]To make this a non-contingent query, simply remove the rising tone from the word kí. Generally, when a Q-word is contained in a question (such as kí or ówa), rising tone is not needed. It does, however, serve the pragmatic function of distinguishing CQ's from true interrogatives.

[11]See Leech (1974), Chafe (1972).

[12]One could also ask yómbó kí 'what noise?', and so on.

[13]This question is efficient, as it serves to elicit a repetition of the noun, but also may elicit a repetition of the possessive pronoun if it is not understood through the noun. After the speaker has responded, there should then be no question about what NP was originally stated. Notice, finally, that (78) is probably unacceptable because there was no possessor in (77) that could have gone unheard. Just hearing the noun 'arm' would automatically tell the hearer that the arm belonged to the subject. If 'arm' had not been heard, then (79) would be asked *instead* of (78).

[14]For some reason this sentence was considered pragmatically odd.

[15]This is a little difficult to capture orthographically. It is produced with falling intonation and substantial duration.

[16]Not all NP's are shifted to the far right. If it was there in the first place, it remains (i.e. the Acc would remain).

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14

GREETINGS

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I

Greetings in Buhaya[1] are one of several forms of conversational openings.
All of these openings have the form "summons/response", and they function as
attention getting devices.. Most of them occur before a greeting, and can
influence what transpires in the greeting. What I refer to here as a greeting
is what the Haya call *ekishulo* (or as a verb: *okushula*).

It would perhaps be more accurate to call this speech event an exchange
of salutations. A completed greeting requires a first utterance chosen from
a set of 25 to 30 alternatives (not all available to all speakers), and an
answer to it. This may be followed optionally by another pair of utterances,
and finally by an optional set of questions.

It is expected that when people meet for the first time in a day, they
will greet. They do not repeat this greeting again in the same day. The
greetings make statements about the social relationship between two speakers,
particularly their relative statuses. What the speakers are exchanging are
amounts and types of deference (*amakîne*). This is signalled by the utterance
form and by who goes first in the exchange.

A distinguishing feature of the Haya greeting is that its structure lends
itself to the interpretation that one speaker is superordinate and the other
subordinate. Someone, for example, must greet first, and in principle, to
greet first is to offer the greater amount of deference.

The strategy of the interaction consists in the following: a speaker
must balance success in coming out with the higher role in the greeting against
the possibility of disrupting his relationship with the addressee. For, if
one should assert higher status than one's interlocutor thinks appropriate,
one runs the risk of insulting him.

What constitutes a satisfactory greeting and what constitutes an insult?
Aside from the fact that there are rules about who ought to receive deference
from whom, there are also greeting histories which develop between pairs of

speakers. Slight changes are quickly noticed and the indirect communication intended is looked for by the addressee. It is expected that people will give each other what they "deserve", or even a little more. This is called *okukúnila*. Opposed to *okukúnila* (which can be done with other behavior as well as greetings) there is the concept *okugaya*. This means to treat someone as if they were of low status, or "to put down". This term also applies to a range of behavior, both verbal and non-verbal. *Okugaya* is an action which comments on the social status of its referent by violating the expected pattern of communication of respect. To -*gaya* someone means to give them less deference than they think they deserve. This can be done by behaving towards someone as if they were a social inferior, by implying that the referent has characteristics associated with low status, or by acting in a way which clearly indicates disdain.

I will give a few examples of *okugaya* using means other than greeting and later discuss how this is done in greetings. In the language itself, there is a way to *gaya*. Haya has a system of noun classes. Inclusion in any class is marked by a specific prefix. One or more semantic features is associated with each of the classes in speech. But the features do not apply to every member of a class. The meaning of some nouns can be altered by shifting their noun class membership. The ekí- prefix, for example, connotes grossness or stupidity. Thus, in a folktale, the leopard empîsi becomes ekipîsi when he kidnaps a young girl and carries her away in his knapsack to make a meal of her. He is also easily outwitted by the women of a village who rescue the girl by substituting stones for her in the leopard's sack. Although he is big and dangerous, he is also stupid. As a second example, a misbehaving girl-child when being scolded can be called ekíisíki instead of omwíisíki. A child protesting a spanking by his older brother was heard to yell: kitantêla 'don't you [ki] hit me!'.

Another means of *okugaya* is not to answer a summons or a greeting. Both actions require an account of motive because they are such strong forms of insult. The person who does not answer a summons or greeting must account for the lapse in communication. The most common excuse is "I didn't see you". It is about the only acceptable one if the speaker wishes to avoid a confrontation over the reason for refusing to respond. Not responding to greetings and summonses is a sure sign of a break in social relations. As an insult, in terms of the definition given above, it means that the person who did not respond regards the difference in status between himself and the interlocutor to be so great that he need not acknowledge the other's presence. In the pre-independence social system of Buhaya, it was only the chief and his immediate family who could pass by without responding to greetings offered by those they passed.

The greeting interchange provides the mechanism by which social status is typically communicated. As such, it holds the possibility of *okugaya*. One of the functions of the greeting is, in fact, to communicate the speaker's appraisal of the status relationship between himself and the addressee. Thus, while *okukúnila* is always expected, *okugaya* is always a possibility. In the following discussion, I hope it will become clear that an insult done with a greeting involves switching the addressee from the category he expected to be in to a lower one, thus insulting him.

There are many relationships in which the two speakers' relative statuses

are settled, and in which there is minimal ambiguity. Where there are less clearly defined relationships, there are ways to keep ambiguity at a minimum. However, the ambiguity can be used to communicate subtle information--for instance, the state of personal relations between two speakers.

The area in which I collected greetings was known as Kihanja in Bukoba, Tanzania. I found that there were different greeting systems in other areas, including different lexicon and some variations in the rules for the event. The data I present here comes from the northwestern part of Kihanja only. It is interesting to note, however, that because this area is one to which many people have newly migrated, there was much awareness, even to the point of public discussion, about regional differences in greeting patterns.

The 25 utterances grouped under the label *ekishulo* are used to convey social meaning. Some of the phrases in themselves make referential sense as questions: "How have you slept?" "How have you passed the time?" However, the meaning conveyed in the greeting has to do mainly with the relative statuses of the speakers, the state of their relationship and the social situation in which the greeting is uttered.

The alternatives form a code, the essential meanings of which derive force from being mapped onto typical pairs of hypothetical speakers whose social characteristics are known.

The basic social divisions in Haya society come from two sources: a system of ranking which before 1961, when Tanzania became independent, did have political and economic functions; and second, from the kinship system.

The Haya have patrilineal clans which before 1961 were ranked into two groups: the upper groups who were rulers in a state bureaucracy were called the *Abalangila* (sg. *Omulangila*). The lower group, called *Abáilu* (sg. *Omwîilu*), were commoners. Membership in the two categories was determined by the clan into which one was born (although women could marry into the upper group, and some *Abáilu* did attain political appointments from rules and thus assumed a semi-royal status).

In the period during which I was in West Lakes Region (1968 to 1970), this status distinction still existed. There were still seven clans considered to be *Abalangila* and 100-150 considered *Abáilu*. But the economic and political functions of the *Abalangila* were no longer official. One of the economic implications of this ranking was that the *Abalangila* controlled access to much of the best coffee land and cattle. Up until 1961, there was also a practice of awarding political appointees of the chief large tracts of land in the villages which they administered. The grant was made by the chief. The farmers living on that land became the tenants of the *Omulangila* landholder. They were called *Abanyalubânja*. Only about 20% of the *Abáilu* became *Abgnyalubânja*, but all *Abáilu* were ruled by the *Abalangila* and their appointees.[2]

Especially between the landlord and tenant, this relationship was reflected in the greeting system. A tenant always greeted his landlord as the superordinate irrespective of other social characteristics of the landlord. The landlord could respond with the least amount of deference allowed in the system. The *Abalangila* also greeted other *Abáilu* asymmetrically, but here the standard cross-group greeting conveyed less distance than the one between tenant and landlord.

Today the patron/client arrangement no longer exists, but some *Abalangila*

still greet their former clients as they did before the institution ended. These, however, are the few *Abalangila* who are still powerful landholders. Whether or not this status group distinction should still function in the greeting system seems to be under dispute, as we shall see later. The kinship system provides a second source of social distinctions. The Haya follow a patrilineal system of descent and succession. It is important to note here only that generational seniority and birth order are principles which in 1968-70 were still relevant to decision-making.

Haya kin terminology is of the Omaha type. One of the characteristics of the Omaha system is that classifications for "father", "mother" and 'children" cover people of different geneological generations and sometimes of widely divergent ages. For instance, all children of the men of one's mother's clan are classed as either "mother's brothers" or "mother's sisters". So one's mother's brother's son's son is classed as "mother's brother", although he may be only a child. Similarly, your sister's children and your father's sister's children and your father's father's sister's children are all your "children". Hence, your children may be much older than you (cf. Kinship diagram, Appendix II).

In discussing greeting rules, most people stated that parents (including classificatory "mothers" and "fathers") deserve the greatest amount of *amakine* (deference) and return the least. Birth order determines who is superordinate among relatives in the same generation. When birth order cannot be determined, as with clan brothers and sisters, it is sex which determines who goes first. Thus, women should precede men, children precede parents, juniors precede seniors. There are instances in which these younger "mothers" and "fathers" are not greeted first by their much older "children". More interesting is the fact that there are also many instances in which they are greeted first. I will discuss this tension between kin category and actual age using a few examples later.

Haya speakers talk about kinds of status using three terms: *ekitiinwa* (literally, that which is to be feared), refering to positions of authority and high prestige; *obukûlu*, meaning seniority based on maturity (in terms of kin category or actual relative age); and *obufûla*, meaning higher status by virtue of birth into the *Abalangila* clans, or marriage into them. In discussing how two people are ideally expected to greet, people say *obufûla* takes precedent over all other criteria, and the *Abáilu* go first (in cases where these distinctions are observed). If there is no *obufûla* between speakers, then *obukûlu* (seniority) takes precedence. Lacking these two, then sex takes precedence, with a woman expected to go first. Although these are clearly stated rules and informants were quite consistent about them, we will see later that other variables may take precedence in spontaneous interactions.

The greeting system also expresses distinctions between people who are not in relationships initially defined by either kinship or rank. Typical amounts of deference are taken from the spheres of kin and rank and are used to express other social variables such as age difference, relative position in the life cycle, co-village membership, and friendship. These distinctions are expressed as if they were kin-based. For instance, a woman greets her children's friends as if they were her own children, but she distinguishes them from her children by adding a title. She greets the mid-wife who delivered her children as she would her mother, etc.

To test whether there was a shared set of expectations for greeting, I

conducted a series of interviews. Hypothetical greeting situations were created
and respondants were given three tasks: (i) to give their expectation of the
typical greeting interchange between two speakers in specified relationships;
(ii) to predict what two speakers whom they know would say; and (iii) to inter-
pret what a given interchange tells them about the speakers, just from hearing
the interchange. Usually, these hypothetical interchanges were context-free,
that is, the social situation was not specified. However, some situational
rules emerged. These deal with going first. Consistently, the respondants
wanted to know whether the situation involved a visit or participating in a
wedding. There seem to be two types of sequencing rules. In visits between
people who are not in a very formal relationship (parents and in-laws), the
host should go first. This rule is reversed at weddings. There, the bride-
receivers, who are the guests, should go first. This is because during the
period of negotiating and exchange of bride-price, the bride-givers rise in
status and the bride-receivers are lowered. Thus, one might talk of three types
of greeting situation: visits, weddings, and all others. Visits are a trans-
formation of the ordinary type, and weddings are a transformation of visits.
The most interesting point here is that by supplying these two contexts, one
eliminates ambiguity so that who goes first is never problematical in these as
it may be in other contexts.

I also found that certain pairs of interchanges evoked consistent responses
about the social characteristics of the two speakers. For instance, olaílóóta
said without a title before or after it was an answer given to a child. shúma-
lámú wáítu goes between adult married men.[3] In the next section I will discuss
the utterance form.

II

Greetings can be divided into two types: one which I call a fixed form
and another which I will call a 3-slot form.

The 3-slot form is composed of a question and a title of address. In the
morning, the question is olaílóótaí 'how have you slept?'. In the afternoon,
it is wasíbóóta 'how have you passed the time?'. The 3 slots include one at
the beginning for an optional title of address, then one for the question, and
then another for an optional title of address.

Titles include Má, Máe and Máwe. Ma is a shortened form of Máwe, which
is the title used to an adult married woman usually with one child. Máe is the
kin term used in address to one's own mother. Ta and Tata are titled for men,
with Tata being both the kin term used in address to one's own father, and a
term of address to an adult married man in the community. Ta is a shortened
form of Tata. Wáítu is an address title which was originally used exclusively
to or between the *Abalangila*. It is still used to them and between them, but
it is now also used between men of the lower status group. The last title in
greetings is Bâba, which is used between siblings and good friends, to children
by adults, to women by men, and between women. It is considered a title which
expresses affection. When adults use Bâba to each other, in contrast to Mâwe,
Tata or Wáítu, they express intimacy rather than distance or formality.

Titles can be ranked by Haya speakers according to how much deference they
give. Ma and Ta, for example, give less deference than Mâwe or Tata, just be-
cause they are shortened forms. Similarly, the longer the question forms, the
greater the *amakúne* expressed, and the more questions asked afterwards, the

greater the *amakûne*. People universally stated that the longer one stays to greet and talk afterwards, the greater the *amakûne* exchanged. Wáltu as a title in greetings gives the most deference, being associated with the *Abalangila*. Bâba gives the least, being associated with use to and between women and children.

When the title appears in the first slot (in front of the question), more deference is being offered. Behind expresses less. The least deference of all occurs when no title is offered with the salutation question. Thus, in the area in which I lived, a greeting in the morning could be either Máw' olaιlóóta or olaιlóótáι Mâwe. The first form offers more deference than the second. The form olaιlóóta with no titles is offered to one's own children. Men extend this to all people who are in the same age group as their children. Women distinguish their own children from someone else's child by adding bâba behind the salutation question. There is only one other instance in which a simple olaιlóóta answer was expected, and even this is under dispute now. The *Abalangila* in their role as patrons used to greet clients with olaιlóóta. In the interviews, the *Abáιlu* said that this was no longer allowed and the *Abalangila* said that it was. Later we will see examples of how speakers handle this disagreement over the status of the *Abalangila*.

It should be noted here that in terms of *amakûne*, when you greet your own child with the olaιlóóta form you are not insulting him. In this system, although your child is entitled to the least amount of deference, you are still giving the expect amount of *amukûne* to him. With respect to the place of children in this status hierarchy, I will add here that every adult should be greeted individually, eye-to-eye, and that it is only children who can be greeted as a group. Thus, when a youngster begins to receive individual greetings and to give them himself, this is a sign of growing up in the eyes of the community.

The second type of salutation, the fixed form, also has morning and afternoon variants. In the morning, adult married men use shúmalámú Wáltu. In this form, the title Wáltu is almost never moved in front to form Wáltu shúmalámu, for instance. If a man wishes to give a great deal of deference, he can only say Wáltu, shúmalámú Wáltu. In itself, shúmalámú Wáltu conveys the most deference one can give. The asymmetrical answer is osιngílé Wáltu. This answer conveys several types of difference. If the two speakers are in the same status group and not relatives, it conveys age difference. If they are relatives, it conveys birth order distinction. If they are of different status groups, it conveys the difference between *Abalangila* and *Abáιlu*.

shúmalámú Wáltu is a married men's greeting. Women and men who have never been (or may never be) married do not use it. The two other specifically men's greeting forms are the other two fixed forms: musháná Wáltu and wasιbóótá Wáltu. The former is used between young married men. The latter goes between elders. Women do not use or receive these forms. The one fixed form which women can use and receive is ŋkushûla Wáltu, and this can only be used by elderly women.

I found that women generally use the 3-slot form between themselves and when addressing men. Men use the fixed forms more often, and in fact, using the fixed forms indicates that the speaker is a married man. The one time a woman can receive shúmalámú Wáltu is when she is a mother-in-law.[4] At that time, her son-in-law greets her by kneeling and using this form.

Note that for men, in the morning, the same interchange can convey different sorts of status difference. Let me illustrate this by contrasting three pairs of interchanges:

First Speaker:	Second Speaker:	Remarks:
shúmalámú Wáltu	shúmalámú Wáltu	- between equal age, married, non-related men; *also* between equal age classificatory married male siblings
shúmalámú Wáltu	osìngílé Wáltu	- between unequal age, married, non-related men; *also* between younger brother and older brother; *also* between equal age *Omulangila* and *Omwtilu*
shúmalámú Wáltu	olaìlóóta	- between client and patron, married men; *also* between married son and his father

These three interchanges convey three levels of difference. When the speaker receives exactly what he gave, equality has been expressed (see Appendix I).

Now, how would a speaker insult (-gaya) with a greeting? If two men of equal age, who are both married and in the same status group, approach each other to greet, and one begins with shúmalámú Wáltu and receives osìngílé Wáltu, he has been insulted. The speaker has put himself above the addressee who is his equal in the three relevant dimensions between adult married men. The addressee has used the typically asymmetrical response to shúmalámú Wáltu rather than returning exactly what he got. Here, the insult is performed by the second speaker. (In the next section I will give a number of examples of actual greetings in which these type of insult occurred and we will see what Haya speakers do about them.)

One of the reasons for maintaining that pairs of greetings convey typical meaning, even without an interactional context, is that speakers can talk about types of greetings as short-hand to characterize relationships. For instance, one young man said of his oldest brother, who was about to become the heir to his father's farm: "Now he's going to greet us olaìlóóta". The speaker did not say "now he's going to inherit my father's position". In Haya succession rules, the heir succeeds to his father's position when he inherits an estate. Titles to him change, kin terms are rearranged, and the greeting pattern to and from him changes.

Changes in how a person is addressed, in kin terms applied to him, and in how he is greeted occur as he goes through the life-cycle. When a man marries, he stops greeting Táta olaìlóóta[5] and begins using shúmalámú Wáltu. At a certain point later in his life, his elders will stop greeting him asymmetrically and begin to return shúmalámú Wáltu. Similarly, after a woman has a child, other married women begin to return Máw' ólaìlóóta to her. However, it is important to note that this gradual equalizing tendency occurs between unrelated community members. The more closely related people are, the finer and more fixed are the distinction they make. Thus, no matter how intimate one's relationships are within the kin group, these are the people with whom the greatest status distances are expressed.

A woman for instance is greeted more often as a child in her village of birth than in the one into which she married. Further, the in-law relationship is one in which the greatest amounts of respect are given, and it seems to be

the most rigid area in terms of variability of greeting.

III

I would now like to present some examples of greetings recorded in spontaneous conversation. We shall see that greetings are not simply a reflection of social or political arrangements, but are a means of asserting social relationship and of accomplishing a variety of rhetorical purposes.

1. The first set of examples illustrates how much and how little flexibility exists in greetings between people who are related through kinship.

1.1. The first instance occurred between a woman and her classificatory father-in-law. The woman   was   sitting in
the back room of the anthropologist's house. On that day, I was visited by *Muzee* M., an *Omulangila* elder. As this woman came into the front room where he was sitting, she immediately knelt, took off her kerchief, and said Wáìtu wasìbóóta. He answered wasìbóóta. It was later learned that she was married to an *Omulangila* and that *Muzee* M. was a member of her husband's clan, and thus was her father-in-law. She did not return to the room until he had left, in accordance with the proscription against father-in-law and daughter-in-law even sitting together in the same room. This example points out how strong and inflexible the rule of deference is in greeting to in-laws. The woman gave her greeting the minute she walked into the room and then left.

1.2. A contrasting pair of greetings with an in-law shows that while a parent-in-law relationship leaves little room for flexibility, some flexibility is occasionally possible. A young woman and I went to visit her mother-in-law. When we were seated inside the house, she came forward to kneel, took off her kerchief and greeted: Máwe wasìbóóta. The answer was: wasìbóóta. A few weeks later, as we passed her mother-in-law on thepath, the young woman again knelt, took off her kerchief and greeted: Máwe wasìbóóta. This time the old woman answered: wasìbótáí Máwe. During the visit to the house, despite the fact that the daughter-in-law was the guest, she was still obliged to go first. Such is the requirement of giving deference to a parent-in-law. However, outside on the path, the older woman gave her daughter-in-law an extra title Máwe, recognizing the younger woman as an adult. It seems that the superordinate in a relationship has the prerogative in a greeting of adding some measure of deference such as the title Máwe or Bâba. But note that it was added at the end of the salutation question. Also, it is interesting to add that it was more often elder women who did this sort of thing. Finally, it is more likely that this kind of mitigating of distance will occur in informal situations as opposed to rituals, visits, etc.

2. A second pair of greetings illustrates the function of the greeting in asserting rather than reflecting social relationship. It is interesting because the relationship being asserted is one of kinship, a dimension which was not expected to be open to such a degree of flexibility.

2.1. A woman, W, and a man, J, met when the man came to teach at the Lower Primary School in the area. Their greeting on many occasions was observed to be: W: Táta wasìbóóta, and then J: Máwe wasìbóóta. This example is typical of a cross sex, equal age, married adults greeting.

After he was in the area about a month, they began greeting differently. The man would begin Máwe wasìbóóta, and the woman would answer: wasìbóóta

Tâta. What had happened between them? The man had learned that he and W were kin, and that furthermore their parents had married in a brother-sister exchange which the Haya call ni-tu-zal-aŋgan-a 'we give birth to each other'. This means that depending on how they figured the relationship, either one could be both a nephew/niece or an aunt/uncle to the other. J had gone to W's father and established himself as a mother's brother's son--thus enabling himself to ask for their moral and financial support in establishing himself in the area. It was he who initiated the change in greeting such that he went first and she greeted him as a mother's sister (see Appendix III).

3. The following two examples illustrate how the speakers' definitions of social context can alter a greeting pattern between the same two speakers. (Note that the contrasting greeting here involves similar notions to the one posited in example 1.2.)

3.1. The first involves a 30 year old woman and her 10 year old "mother's sister". I have already noted that because of the system of classification of kin, the variables of actual relative age and kin category may often be in conflict. The woman in question here resolves that conflict in the following way. At rituals such as weddings, funerals and other gatherings of kin of a more formal nature, she goes first to her young "mother's sister". Woman: Má olaIlóóta. Child: olaIlóótaI Mâwe. The child's answer recognizes that the woman is grown and adult, but also that she is a classificatory child. Her answer uses the same communicative process as that of the mother-in-law in example 1.2, who added a title to her greeting to her daughter-in-law. Both speakers are pointing to the same social characteristic of the addressee.

When this woman and her young "mother's sister" meet on the path on occasions other than the formal type mentioned above, the woman waits for the child to go first. The greeting is: Child: Má olaIlóóta. Woman: Báb' olaIlóóta. This answer recognizes that the child is more than a peer of the woman's children. This is a child who "could" be a parent. Thus, the woman raises the child to the place where she would put her younger sister. Although the "mother" is forced to go first (because of the silence of the older woman), she is responded to at a level higher than the one she would normally receive if there were no relationship between them.

4. The next set of examples involves ways in which speakers refuse unsatisfactory greeting, and force a re-cycling of the interchange.

4.1. At a wedding, a middle-aged man sits down and begins to greet a younger man who is a teacher in the area. Both are in the party of the bride so that the rule of precedence at weddings is not involved in this exchange. The older man greeted first: Wáítu wasIbóóta, which gives just about the most deference possible between men in the afternoon. The teacher said, "úh-uh" (meaning no), mushána. The older man greeted again: mushána Wáítu, and the teacher answered: mushána Wáítu.

Here the rule of younger going first was broken because of the honored position of the teacher. However, the teacher did not want so much deference as to be greeted as would be an *Omulaŋgila*. So, he refused the first greeting and asked for the mushána form, which would have been appropriate to his age. He did, however, accept the elder's choice to go first. If he had wanted to go first himself, he would have said no, and then greeted the elder.

4.2. The second example in this group illustrates the same point, but

here the addressee's purpose is exactly the opposite--he wants *more* deference. *Muzee M.*, the same *Omulangila* mentioned earlier, was greeted by a young man who began: mushéné Wáitu (N.B. in Haya, the word mushána can mean either 'afternoon' or 'sun'). *Muzee M.*, instead of greeting back, snorted and said: Ego, gwajw' óku! 'sure, it's shining over there'. By taking the offering as a referential sentence, the old man jokingly refused the greeting. By making a pun of it, he denied that it had even occurred. The young man greeted again: Wáitu waslbóóta[6] and received: waslbóóta.

By beginning with mushéné Wáitu, the young man was, according to the elder, asserting something entirely inappropriate to their relative positions. He was an elder and an *Omulangila*. The young man had ignored both these social characteristics. The elder got his message across indirectly, but effectively. Also, most importantly, the elder managed to avoid a direct confrontation over their differing opinions about the importance *obufúla* should have in the greeting. There were many instances in which *Abáilu* men refused to recognize *enfúla* status. Not all were handled so gracefully by both parties.

4.3. The last example shows an objection which is much more direct and which can lead therefore to confrontations. Two women met in the marketplace. They were non-related neighbors. They were both *Abáilu*. One began by saying: Máw' olallóóta. She was answered: olallóóta. Upon hearing this, the addressee loudly commented: onzaile? 'did you bear me?' (implying, are you my parent that you can greet me as you greet a child?). They stared in silence and then parted in opposite directions. The addressee had been insulted.

5. The next set of examples illustrates the strategic use of consecutive greetings. The first involves four people. H is sitting in a house to which J and his adolescent niece come to visit briefly, unannounced. H is a man of about 50 years of age and J is a man about 30. The niece is about 15. The two men are married and *Abáilu*. When the younger man, J, walked in, H (the older) greeted first: mushéné Wáitu. J answered: waslbóóta. This was a glaring insult, first because of the age difference between the two men; and second, because the older had graciously gone first when he didn't have to. H, however, said nothing about the insult. The next interchange followed immediately. The niece greeted H: Táta waslbóóta, and H answered her: Máwe waslbóóta, raising her way above where she obviously should have been with respect to himself. Still, there was nothing further said about the insult.

When J and his niece left, I asked H why he had said nothing. He answered: "Didn't you hear how I greeted his niece?" Then he continued: "He should have given what he got. The next time, I will wait with this man. And when he greets me, I will *gaya* him. You should never go first. As the Haya say, 'if he hits you in the eye, you hit him in the ear'" (a proverb).

While it is expected that a person will *kúnila*, the first speaker still stands a risk of being insulted. The way to deal with the insult is twofold: you can say something about it at the time, or you can wait and insult the other person in return (thus the proverb). This strategy should give him an idea about your appraisal of the status relationship that should exist between you.

Recall the earlier examples of how people objected to unsatisfactory greeting. One man made a pun of the greeting and forced re-cycling of it. A woman directly objected to the dimension that seemed to underlie the inappro-

priate answer. In this example, the speaker will wait and insult in return the next time they greet. The waiting might result in neither of them going first and thus their passing in silence. On the other hand, both the waiting and the insult in return will communicate dissatisfaction with the greeting history.

I cite this example here also because the way H communicated his annoyance was to raise a child absurdly high in contrast to the way J lowered him absurdly low. This is a particularly subtle and indirect means of objecting to a greeting. However, it is effective because J will pick up the contrast. He knows that a 50 year old man must have a reason for raising a 15 year old unmarried girl to practically an equal. The message lies in the contrast between what H did with his two greetings and what J did with his.

6. This set of examples shows to what extent Haya speakers recognize a tension over going first, and how they deal with it.

6.1. An example now follows where one jokes with a greeting in order to say something about the structure of the event. This occurred between two married women who were best friends. The best friend relationship is named, occurs between people of the same sex- and it was often defined by informants in terms of not caring who goes first in greeting.

First woman: tonshûlǎ? 'aren't you going to greet me?' (an obvious demand that the other go first)

Second woman: ego, waslbóóta (giving the least possible deference)

This interchange was always done to an audience, and it never failed to amuse the hearers. By publicly giving her best friend the answer which was an obvious insult and by demanding that one's best friend go first, they are satirizing the implication of greeting which I mentioned earlier. That is, the tension which implies that someone must come out a subordinate. This works against the best friend relationship in which two people have arrived at a feeling of "peer-ness" in which they shouldn't have to worry about who goes first.

6.2. The second example in this group illustrates two processes by which speakers use greetings sequentially. First, it shows how, when speakers are in conflicting status positions, they use consecutive greetings to achieve some kind of balanace that each is satisfied with. Second, it illustrates the longer greeting sequence implied in my earlier structural statement: that is, that a double exchange may occur. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that "double greetings" were almost exclusively used by men.

Two *Abalangila* men, G and D, usually greeted in the following way. G began: shúmalǎmú Wǎltu; D answered: shúmalǎmú Wǎltu. G then began again immediately before any questions could be asked: Wǎítw'olallóóta, and was answered: olallóóta. Then the series of mutual "ritualized" questions could begin. (Sometimes they did not even do these.)

While G and D are both married, elders, and of the upper status group, and in this sense are equals, they are also not equals from a political and economic point of view. D's position in the area, and his clan subsection in relation to G's are both superordinate to G. The two greetings take care of their solidarity as adult married men and also their superordinate/subordinate relationship in other the other spheres mentioned above. Note that the second

greeting began with Wáítw' olailóóta. Wáítu precedes the salutation question. In a scale of diference, Wáítw' olailóóta presents the second most amount of deference that can be given to an addressee. Note also that D, the superordinate, chooses to respond as an equal to the first greeting, and then accepts his superordinate position in the second. This again is an example of the superordinate having prerogative to give more deference that he normally has to. And, like the teacher in example 4.1, he accepts the asserted relationship of superordinate in the second exchange.

7.   The last example illustrates that the parameters of status distinction are not fixed in this system, and are of some concern to speakers. Not all speakers agree on what is to be done about them in the contemporary situation in which a great deal of ideological and economic change is occurring in Tanzania.

7.1.   A 50 year old man was sitting in a tailor shop with a group of friends (*Ta* J). A slightly older man walked in. *Ta* J said, greeting him first: shúmalámú Wáítu. The man returned: shúmalámú Wáítu. *Ta* J immediately objected, saying that the addressee was older than he and that he should give osíngííé Wáítu in return. That is, *Ta* J objected to being made an equal with this older man. The man refused to re-do the greeting and give him osíngííé Wáítu. A lively discussion then ensued which included the audience to this interaction. Some men claimed that since *Ujamaa* (socialism) and *Uhuru* (freedom) had come to Tanzània, all married men were now equals. They should always give and receive shúmalámú Wáítu. *Ta* J claimed that this was throwing out the importance of seniority for which the Haya have always had great respect. He capped his argument, characteristically for the Haya, with a proverb: amakúnílane tí ítwáale 'giving each other deference (*amakûne*) is not the same as ruling each other'.

The contradiction inherent in greetings is evident in this last example. While it is expected that people will recognize their positions in a status and authority hierarchy, it is also true that there have been great changes in that hierarchy. Speakers are still concerned about being insulted, especially by the former ruling *Abalangila*, because there is still a residue of the old pattern in which to give deference and to be greeted asymmetrically was, indeed, to be ruled.

The struggle for independence has had a strong effect on economic conditions and ideology in Buhaya. With the ending of the *Abalangila* hegemony and the colonial regime which supported it, the Haya are engaged in considering the question of legitimate sources of authority. When we review the meaning of greetings in the Haya communication system, it is not surprising that these considerations and struggles are reflected in the way people greet and what they say about greetings.

NOTES

[1]The fieldwork during which the data for this paper were collected was done in Buhaya, West Lakes Region, Tanzania between 1968 and 1970. The data presented here will be more fully discussed in a forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation, *Language and Status in Buhaya* (University of Pennsylvania).

[2]For one account of the pre-independence interrelationship of status group and land tenure arrangements, see Priscilla Reining (1967), *The Haya: An Agrarian System of Sedentary People* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago). See also Ralph A. Austen (1968), *Northwest Tanzania under German and British Rule* (New Haven: Yale University Press) and Goran Hyden (1969), *Political Development in Rural Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House).

[3]Or rather, these greetings "most often evoked" the image of greetings between such people.

[4]In other areas a woman gets this form of greeting from her sons.

[5]Boys in some other areas are encouraged to use osìngílé Wáltu instead of Táàta olallóóta in their early teens.

[6]Wáltu wasìbóóta is the typical greeting given to an *Omulangila* man in the afternoon by an *Omwiilu* man. The expected answer to a young married man would be wasìbóóta; to an elder it would be wasìbóótáí Tâta.

APPENDIX I: Typical Greeting Interchanges

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UTTERANCES First speaker:	Second speaker:	same or dif. status (+/-)	rel. age	marital status	sex	tre-lated	other relevant speaker characteristics
shúmaiámú Wáitu	shúmaiámú Wáitu	+	=	+m/+m	M/M	-	
		+	=	+m/+m	M/M	+	classificatory brothers
shúmaiámú Wáitu	osingílé Wáitu	+	≠	+m/+m	M/M	-	
		+	≠	+m/+m	M/M	+	younger bro. to older brother
		-	irrel.	+m/+m	M/M	-	*Omɔtilu* to *Omulangila*
shúmaiámú Wáitu	olailóóta	+	irrel.	+m/+m	M/M	+	married son to mother-in-law, father, father-in-law
		-	irrel.	+m/+m	M/M	-	former *Omunyalubánja* to former patron
Tat' ólailóóta	Má olailóóta	+	=	+m/+m	F/M	-	
Má olailóóta	Má olailóóta	+	=	+m/+m	F/F	-	
		+	=	+m/+m	F/F	+	classificatory sisters
Má olailóóta	Báb' olailóóta	+	≠	-m/+m	F/F	-	
		+	≠	irrel.	F/F	+	classificatory sisters
Má olailóóta	olailóóta	+	irrel.	irrel.	F/F	+	daughter to mother, mother-in-law
Wáítw' olailóóta	olailóótáí Máwe	-	irrel.	+m/+m	F/F	-	*Omɔtilu* to *Omulangila*
Wáítw' olailóóta	Má olailóótai	-	≠	+m/+m	F/F	-	*Omɔtilu* much older to younger *Omulangila*

APPENDIX II: Partial Kinship Diagram

△ = male

○ = female

⟋△ = descendant

○△ = siblings

Generation relative to EGO:

+2

+1

same

-1

-2

mwfihwa + mwáana = child

nyinalûmi + nyinénto = mother's brother and mother's sister (male mother)

mwifjukulu = grandchild

íshe = father

nyina = mother

ishéŋkázi = father's sister (female father)

mulúmuna = sibling of same sex

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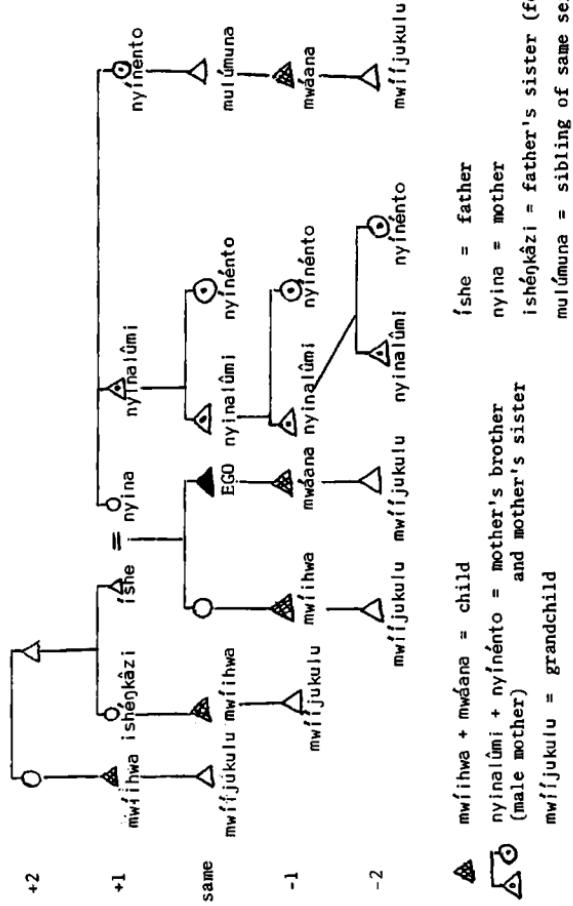
APPENDIX III: ni-tu-zal-angan-a   'we give birth to each other'
                PR-we-bear-RECIP

15
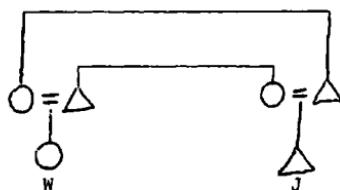
WORD LIST

ERNEST RUGWA BYARUSHENGO

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& University of Dar es Salaam

This word list is modeled on Guthrie's *Comparative Bantu Vol. II* and is intended mainly for persons interested in the comparative study of the Bantu lexicon. The following notes should be kept in mind in using the list:

All words starting with /oku-/ are verbs except okugulu 'leg'. If a word has a falling tone in penultimate position, that syllable should be assumed to have underlying *high* tone. If the penultimate syllable has high tone, that high tone should be assumed to belong to the *final* syllable in underlying structure.

Borrowings are designated with a letter indicating the loaning language (G for Luganda, S for Kiswahili).

Adjectives are given with a hyphen (-) preceding the stem. This means that they are always preceded by the concord marker of the respective head noun. The tones given in adjectives are those obtained when the adjectives are not followed by another word.

abdomen	olubûnda	alter (tr.)	okuhîndula
abuse	okujûma	alter (intr.)	okuhînduka
accompany	okushagala	anger	ekinîga
add to	okwongela	angry, become	okunîgaala
adder, puff	empîli	animal	ekigûnju
adult	-kulu	announce death	okubîka
affair	ekigambo	answer	empoloolo
age-group	omwîigûnwa	answer (to a call)	okwéétaba
aged, become	okukûla	ants, brown	empazi
agree	okwiikilliza	antelope	enjôbe
agreement	endagaano	anus	oluhende
ahead, go	okugendelela	argue	okuhakana
all	-ôna	arm	omukôno
allow/leave alone	okuleka	armpit	eñakwâwa

arrive	okuhika	blow (as wind)	okuhuuta
arrow	omwaambi	(with mouth)	okuhuua
ashes	éíjwi	blow bellows	okujuguta
ask	okubâza	blow nose	okufuua
ask for	okushaba	boat	obwáato
awake	okusisilmuka	body	omubili
axe	eshóoka	boil (n.)	ekihûte
back (rear)	eñuma	boil over	okublla
	omugoŋgo	bone	elgufa
backbone	oluti lwóómu-goŋgo	bone marrow	omunoita
bad	-bí	border on	okwááatana
bad (go bad)	okugaga	borrow	okutIila
badness	obúbi	bottle	echûpa
bag	omufuko	boundary	olubîbi
bait	ekyambo		omupâka (S)
bake in ashes	okujumbika	bow	obúta
baldness	oluhâla	brain	obwôŋgu
bail out water	okushaabula	branch	eitáagi
bamboo	omushe kehanda	bread	omukáate
banana	ekItooke	break (of glass)	okwáata
banana tree	eŋgemu	(of string)	okugútula
bark (of dog)	okubóígola	breast	eibéele
barren woman	omugumba	breastbone	eŋkôlo
basket	ekikápu	breath	omwooyo
bat	oluhuguhûgu	* breathe	okwiikya *
bathe	okwóoga	bridge	olutindo
be	-bá/-Ií	bring	okuléeta
bead	eŋkwânzi	bring up (child)	okulela
bean	empelege	broken, become	okuhéndeka
bear (child)	okuzáala	broken off, become	okumónyoka
beard	ebileju	broom	ekyeelelezo
become	-ba	broth	omucûzi (S)
bedstead	ekItânda	brother (younger)	omulúmuna
bee	enjôki	(older)	-kûlu
beehive	omuzIŋga	brother-in-law	omulâmu
beer	amáálwa	buffalo	embógo
begin	okubanza	bug	ekugúuni (S)
bellows	omujuba	build	okwómbeka
bellows, blow	okujuguta	bundle	omuganda
bend (tr.)	okuhênda	burn (tr.)	okwookya
bend (intr.)	okwiinana	burn (intr.)	okwaeka
bewitch	okuloga	burnt, become	okúhya
big	-hâŋgo	burst open (tr.)	okubálula
big, become	okuháŋgya	burst open (intr.)	okubáluka
bigness	obuhâŋgo	bury	okuzIika
bile	eñôŋgo	bush	ekisháka
bird	ekIñoñi	bushknife	ekipaŋka
bite	okulûma		olupaŋka
bitter, become	okushaalila	butcher	omutemi w'ênte·
black	-Ilagula	buttock	ekibûnu
blind person	omuhúme		eitâko
blood	obwâmba	buy	okugula
	eshágama (G)		

calabash	ekIlele	count	okubala
calf	eñâna	country	énsI
call	okwéeta	courtyard	ekibanja
cane-rat	eńshengi	cover	okushweeka
cannon	omuzinga (S)	cow	ente
canoe	obwáato	cowry	ensímbi
carry (child on back)	okuheeka	crack (v.)	okwáátika
(in arms)	okushútula	crack (n.)	olutanda
(on head)	okweetweeka	crawl	okwáájula
(away)	okutéala	crocodile	enshambi
castrate	okushumula	cross river	okushaabuka
cat	enjáŋgwa	crouch	okubándama
catch	okubâka	crow (bird)	ekikóona
catterpillar	ekIhúka	crust	obukôko
cattle	ente	cry	okuIila
cave	empako	cultivate	okuIima
cease	okulekela	cup	ekIkómbe (S)
(of rain)	okúkya	cupping	okuIúmIka
charcoal	eIkála	cupping-horn	ekiIúmIkyo
chase	okubinga	cure	okutámba
cheek	eItâma	cured, become	okukIIa
chest	ekIfûba	curse	okuIoga
chew	okukánjula	cut (up)	okushâla
chicken	eŋkôko	(down)	okutêma
chief	omukâma	(open, e.g. fish)	okutundula
child	omwáana	dance (v.)	okuzîna
chin	ekIleju	dance (n.)	amayaga
choke	okunókela	dark, get	okwIIIagúla
choose	okulônda	darkness	omwíIIima
clan	olugánda	dawn (n.)	bwaŋkya
clay	olubûmba	dawn (v.)	okúkya
clean	-yêla	day (24 hours)	ekIIo
cloth	omwendo	daylight	omushâna
clothe	okujwéeka	dead person	omúfu
clothes (take off)	okujúula	death	olúfu
cloud	ekIcwI	debt	eIbanja
coagulate	okuganda (S)	deceive	okubélya
cockroach	eñênje	defecate	okuñIa
cold	embêo	deflect	okuhindula
cold, become	okubêa	deny	okwéétoŋga
color	elaŋgi (S)	delay	okukéélelelwa
comb (v.)	okucucula	depart	okwIImukya
comb (n.)	ekIcucuzo	descend	okushuuka
come	okwIIja	desire (n.)	olushusho
cook	okucumba	desire (v.)	okwenda
cooked, become	okúhya	dew	olume
cooking-pot	eñúŋgu	die	okúfa
cooking-stone	eIhîga	difficult for	okulema
copulate	okucúga	dig	okuIima
corpse	omutûmbI	dip	ekíIna
cotton	epâmba (S)	dirt	enzîlo
cough (v.)	okukólola	disappear	okubûla
cough (n.)	eŋkólola	dish up food	okwiIhula

disinter	okufúndula	fear (v.)	okutíina
dislike	okutâmwa	fear (n.)	obutlinl
divide	okugaba	feather	ekishanda
do	okukôla		ekyóóya
doctor	omutambi	feed	okullisa
dog	émbwa		okugabila
door	olwIIgi	female	-kâzi
doorway	omulyango	fence	olúgo
down	ahansI	fetus	enda
draw water	okutâa	few, become	okukéeha
dream (v.)	okulóota	fierce	okubôya
dream (n.)	ekilóoto	fight	okulwaana
drink	okúñwa	fig-tree	omukúyu
drip	okutóoña	fill (tr.)	okwíjjuza
drum	engoma	(intr.)	okwíjjula
drunk (v.)	okutamlila	filter	okukénena
(n.)	omutamíile	find	okubôna
dry up (intr.)	okukala		okulônda
dust	ecuucu		okushanga
dwell	okwIikala	finger	olukûmu
eagle	ekihúñgu	...	ekyáala
ear (n.)	okútwi	fingernail	empambo
eat	okúlya	finish (tr.)	okumala
egg	eiulI	finish, become	okúhwa
eight	omunáana	fire	omullilo
elbow	eŋkókola		olwóoto
elephant	enjoju	fireplace (cooking)	eicumbilo
equal, become	okuhingana	firewood	éŋkwi
evening	bwaIgolo	firm, become	okuguma
exchange	okuhinga	first of new crops (eat)	okuganuza
excreta	amázi	first born	omuzigaijo
explain	okushoboolola	fish (n.)	enfulu
extinguish	okuláaza		ánfI
extinguished, become	okuláala	fish (v.)	okujuba
eye	ellisho	(with line)	okulóba
eyebrow	ekisíge	fish-hook	ellóbo
eyelash	engôhe	fish-scale	elgamba
eyelid	engôhe	fish-trap	omugono
face	obûso	five	itaanu
fail	okulemwa	flash	okulábya
fall	okugwa	flat, level, become	okubátama
fame	eibála	flat, lie	okubándama
famine	éífa	flavor, pleasant	obunuzi
farewell, say	okulaga	flesh	omunofu
fasten	okukôma	float	okweeleela
fat, become	okuháŋgya	flour	ensaano
(of person)	okugomoka		obuhunga (S)
father (my)	táata	flow	okugela
(your)	ísho	flower	elua (S)
(his)	ishe	fly (n.)	enshweela
(our)	ishéicwe	(v.)	okuhalala
(your pl.)	ishéiñwe	foam	elfûlo
(their)	ishêbo	fog	olyo

fold	okuzínga	hand	ekiganja
follow	okuhondela	handle	omukôno
food	ekyaakúlya	harvest (v.)	okugesha
foot	ekílenge	head	omútwe
footfall (n.)	ekisíndo	headpad	engâta
(v.)	okukuntíla	heap	entuumo
footprint	olwáayo	hear	okuhúlila
forearm	omukôno	heart	omwooyo
forest	ekíbila	heavy	-síkíla
foretell	okulagula	help	okujuna
forget	okweebwa	hem	okupínda (S)
four	ína	hiccup	akasíkini
friend	omuñwáañí	hide (tr.)	okusheleka
frighten	okutíínisa	hill	akabanga
frog	ekikêle	him/her	wénêne
from, come	okuluga	hip	
front	omumáísho	hippopotamus	enjúbu
fruit	eitúnda (S)	hit	okutéela
fry	okukálanga (S)	hoe	enfûka
full, become	okwíjjula	hole	ekíína
fur	omwóóya	home from work, go	òkwiínuka
gather firewood	okushéeña	honey	obwóoki
giddiness	olweeyo	hook, fish	elôbo
	ekízunguzungu (S)	horn	elhembe
gift (sent)	ekigemulo	hot	-yokya
	ezawâdi (S)	house	énju
giraffe	entwíiga	how many?	-ŋgáha
girl	omwlisíki	hump	eibango
give	okúha	hundred	kikúmi
go	okugenda	hunger	enjala
goat	embûzi	hunt	okuhíiga
God	Luhánga	hurt a sore	okutóneka
	Katonda (G)	hyena	empuumí
	Múngu (S)	ill, become	okulwáala
good	-lúngi	illness	obulwáíle
grandchild	omwíjjukulu	imitate	okweegekana
grandmother, my	máwénkulu	inherit	okusíka
grass	obunyáasí	insect	akahúka
grasshopper	ensénene	inside	omunda
grassland	olwééya	intestines	amala
grave	eñanga	intoxicated, become	okutamiila
grind	okusa	invite	okuláálika
grinding stone	elseelo	iron	ekyóóma
groom	kishwééla	island	ekizínga
ground	énsi	itch	okubábililwa
groundnut	ebíñóobwa	itch, craw-craw	obu/oluhele
grow, sprout	okumela	jigger	omúla
grow up	okukúla	journey	olugendo
guinea-fowl	enkânga	jump	okuguluka
gun	embûndu	kaffircorn/sorghum	omugûsha
hair	eishôke	kidney	ensígo
hammer	eñondo (S)	kill	okwíita

knee	ekíjwi	medicine	omubâzi
kneel	okutééla májwa	medicine, practice	okulagula
knife	omúhyo	milk (n.)	amáta
know	okumanya	milk (v.)	okukâma
lake	eñanja	millet	obúlo
lame, become	okulémala	millipede	ekigongólo
lame person	omulêma	mix	okucángaña (S)
laugh	okusheka	molar teeth	amagigo
laughter	ensheko	monkey	eŋkende
leaf	eibâba	moon/month	omwéezi
learn	okwéega	morning	bwaŋkya
left hand	ogumósho	mosquito	omúbwi
leg	okugulu	mother (my)	máawe
lend	okutiila	(your)	ñoko
length	obula	(his/hers)	ñina
leopard	eŋgo	mountain	eibaŋga
leprosy	obubêmbe	mourning	okucúla
letter	ebalúa (S)	mouth	omunwa
lick	okulâmba	move one's residence	okufúluka
lie down	okuñfama	mud	ebishaabo
life	obulola	mushrooms	ebitûzi
light fire	okuhêmba	nail (on fingers)	empambo
lightning	olulâbyo	name (n.)	eibâla
lion	entâle	navel	omukundi
lip	omunwa	neck	eŋgoto
lit, become	okwaaka	nephew, niece	omwíihwa
liver	eine	nest	ekishuŋkuli
lizard	omúña	net	omutêgo
load	omuzîgo	new	-hya
locust	enzige	news	amakúlu
long	-la	night	ekílo
look after child	okulela	night, pass the	okulaala
look behind	okukébuka	nine	mwenda
lose	okunâga	noise	eyómbo
lost, get	okubûla	number	olubála
louse	enda	oath	ekjapo
love	eŋgónzi	off, take clothes	okujúula
mad, become	okulaluka	oil	amajûta
madness	obulálu	old	-kúlu:
maggot	ebihúka	old age	obukúlu
maize	ebicooli	one	-mó
man	omushálja	only	-ŋka
mane	eñenje	open (tr.)	okukíŋgula
many	-íŋgi	other	-ndi
marimba	eñimba	out	enja
marriage	obushwéela	out, take honey from hive	okuhákula
marry	okushwéela	take food from pot	okupákula (S)
mat	omukeeka	paddle	eŋgáʃi
mature	-kúlu	pain	obushaasi
me	Íñe	palm, of hand	ekiganja
mean, become	okwíima	partridge	endai
measure	okupima (S)	patch	okubamba
meat	eñama	pay	okulipa

pay back	okushashula	rise up	okwiimuka
peanuts	ebiñóobwa	river	omwiiga
peg	emambo	roar (e.g. lion)	okusînda
penis	embôlo	room	ekyûmba (S)
pepper	obuguluma	root	omuzi
person	omuntu	rope	omuguha
pick up	okulônda	rotten, become	okujunda
pierce	okutóbola	rub	okusinga
pig	empǔnu	rumble	okujûma
pigeon	ekliba	run	okwîîluka
plait	okusiba	salt	omwóonyo
plant (v.)	okubyáala	sand	omushêñe
plate	eshahâñi (S)	say	okugamba
play	okuzáána	say that	-ti
poison	esumu (S)	scales, fish	amagamba
poor person	omunâku	scar	eŋkôju
porcupine	ekishégeshe	season	okulunga
pot	eñúŋgu	see	okubôna
poverty	obunâku	seed	empambo
pregnancy	enda	seize	okukwáata
prize	ebêi	sell	okuguza
promise	okulagaana	send	okutûma
puff-adder	empîii	set trap	okutêga
pull	okuñulula	settle dispute	okulamula
pumpkin	omwôŋgu	seven	mǔshanju
pupil of eye	embôni	sew	okushôna
pus	amahîia	shadow	ekiñumaañûmi
put	okúta	shame	enshôni
put away	okubfika	sharpen (edge)	okuhyóola
put down (of load)	okutúula	(point)	okushoŋgola
python	olushâto	shave	okumwa
quick, be	okwaŋguha	sheep	entaama
quickness	obwaŋgu	shelter from rain	okwéégama
rain	enjûla	shield ·	eŋgabo
rat	embeba	shiver	okucûndwa
razor	olumoiso	shoot at	okulâsha
read	okushoma (S)	short	-gûfi
red	-tukula	shoulder	eibega
refuse	okwâŋga	show	okwóóleka
remain	okusîgala	shut	okukîŋga
remember	okwiijuka	side	olubaju
resemble each other	okushushana	sift (liquid)	okukénena
rest	okuhúmula	sister	múñáaña
return	okugaluka	sister-in-law	omulâmu
rhinocerous	eŋkula	sit	okushúñtama
rib	olubaju	six	mukáaga
rice	omucêie (S)	skin (of animal)	olúhu
rich, become	okutûŋga	sky	eigulu
right hand	ogǔiyo	slap	olǔhi
ring	empete (S)	sleep (v.)	okuñîama
ringworm	amazômbo	sleep (n.)	otúlo
ripe, become	okúhya	slip	okutelela

small	-ke	them/they	-nêne
smell	okunuuka	thicket	ekishǎka
smoke (n.)	omwííka	thief	omushûma
smoothing stone	eŋkúlungo	thigh	ekíbelo
snail	ekiñîla	thing	ekintu
snake	enjôka	think	okutékeleza
snore	okugona	thirst	eiljo
soak	okulóbeka	thorn	éíhwa
soil	eitaka	three	-shatu
song	oluhooya	throat	throat
	ekizîna	throw	throw
sore	ekilonda	thumb	ekyaala kishǎija
speak	okugamba	thunder	eŋkûba
spear	eicûmu	tie up	okukôma
speed	obwaŋgu	tired, become	okulemwa
spider	olububi	tobacco	etǎǎba
spit	okúcwa	today	mbwéenu
spring of water	encûlo	tomorrow	ñéŋkya
sprout	okumela	tongue	olulîmi
squeeze	okukámula	tooth	eiíino
stab	okucúmita	top	eigúlu
stand	okwéémelela	top (for children)	eŋkuya
star	eñañîiñî	tortoise	akaishe ikogóto
steal	okwííba	trap	omutêgo
stick	eŋkoni	travel	okuzinduka
stir	okuhindula	tread	okulibata
	okukologa (S)	tree	omútî
stomach	olubûnda	tribe	oluganda
stone	eibáale	try	okulenga
store away	okubíika	tuck up a loin cloth	okubinda
strain (liquids)	okukénene	turn (tr.)	okuhindula
stream	encûlo	(intr.)	okuhinduka
strength	amáani	twins	abalongo
sugar-cane	ekigûsha	twist	okuzîŋga
sun	eizóoba	two	-bili
surpass	okukîla	udder	eibêle
	okushǎaga	uncle, maternal	-lumi
swallow	okumila	uncooked	-bîsi
sweep	okweelelela	urinate	okukójola
swell	okuzîmba	urine	omukója
taboo	omuzilo	us	icwe
tail	omukîla	valley	oluhanga
take, receive	okutóola	village	ekyaalo
tale	ekigano	voice	eilǎka
teach	okwéégesa	vomit	okutábika
tear from eye	eiíila	wait	okulinda
ten	ikûmi	wake up	okwiimuka
termite	omúshwa	walk	okutambuka
testicles	amagosi	war	ebiita
that/those	-li	warm oneself	okwóota
that, namely	-ti	wash	okwóogya
thatch	okushakaala	watch over	okulinda

water	amáizi	wing	eibába
wave	eiyeŋgo	wisdom	amagêzi
we	icwe	witch	omulogi
wear	okujwáala	woman	omukâzi
weed	omwáata	word	ekigambo
where?	ŋkáha	world	énsi
whistle (v.)	okutúliza	write	okuhandlika (S)
white	-la	yam	ekíla
who	ówa	yawn	okwééhahamula
wife	muka-	year	omwáaka
	mukâzi	yesterday	ñéígolo
wind	omuyaga	you (sg.)	iwe
		(pl.)	iñwe

*ADD:

bride	omugóie
brideprice	amakûla