

〈特集「受動表現」〉

Passive construction in Siswati (S53) スワティ語 (S53) の受動表現

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要旨：本稿は、語研論集 14 号(2009)所収の調査票にもとづいて収集したツァナ語(バントゥ系；南アフリカ共和国)の受動表現に関する記述的資料を提供するものである。

Abstract: This article presents descriptive data on various passive constructions in Setswana, a southern Bantu language spoken in South Africa. The data was collected through the questionnaire “Passive expressions” designed in *Journal of the Institute of Language Research* 14, 2009.

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1. Introduction

The goal of this paper is to present passive constructions (-w-) in Siswati (S53), a Southern Bantu language spoken in Mpumalanga, South Africa, and Swaziland. Siswati is a tonal Bantu language of the Nguni group, closely related to Zulu and more distantly, to Xhosa. Statistics from census 2011 (statistics South Africa, 2011) show that 1 297 046 people in South Africa speak Siswati as their first language. Eswatini has around 1.3 million Siswati speakers, making Siswati spoken by about 2.4 million people. Siswati is taught in schools from grade 1 to grade 12, it is also taught at the university level from undergraduate to Doctorate. Siswati is primarily spoken in Eswatini (Swaziland) and South Africa. In South Africa, it is predominantly spoken in the Mpumalanga Province, especially in areas like the Nkomazi region. In Eswatini, Siswati is used as a medium of instruction in the early years of schooling and studied as a subject throughout primary and secondary education. In South Africa, Siswati is taught as a home language or additional language in schools within Mpumalanga and other regions with Siswati-speaking populations. However, English is often the primary medium of instruction in later education. Siswati plays a crucial role in maintaining the cultural identity of its speakers. It is used in traditional ceremonies, oral literature (e.g., storytelling and proverbs), and other cultural expressions such as dance and music. Siswati is written using the Latin alphabet.



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2. Basic data

Examples of the simple passive forms are shown in (1). The passive morpheme is -w-. The examples in (1b-d) are the same types as the passive in (1a). The agents of the passive in (1c-d) is not introduced by *ngu* ‘by’; it may be due to the agent being a plural noun, or it being a non-specific noun (cf. agents in (1a-b) are proper nouns).

(1) Simple Passive [Item 1-1]

- a. *Sakhile ushaywe nguSipho.*
 Sakhile u-shay-w-e ngu-Sipho
 Sakhile SM1-hit-PASS-FV by-Sipho
 ‘Sakhile was hit by Sipho.’
- b. *Liphalishi liphekwe nguZandile.*
 ‘The porridge was cooked by Zandile.’
- c. *Libhuku lifundvwa bantfwana.*
 ‘The book is read by children.’
- d. *Libhuku lifundvwe bantfwana.*
 ‘The book was read by children.’

As shown in (2) and (3a-b), the inalienable noun in (2) and the alienable noun in (3a-b) can both pattern as subject of passive sentences. The example in (3a) also exhibits the causative meaning.

(2) Inalienable subject noun [Item 1-2]

- a. *Lunyawo lwaSipho lonyatselwe nguSakhile.*
 lu-nyawo l-wa-Sipho lu-nyatsel-w-e ngu-Sakhile
 11-foot 11-ASSC11-Sipho SM11-step.on-PASS-FV by-Sakhile
 ‘Sipho’s foot was stepped on by Sakhile’
- b. *Umkhono waSakhile uphulwe nguNdleleni.*
 ‘Sakhile’s arm was broken by Ndleleni.’

(3) Alienable subject noun [Item 1-3]

- a. *Sipashi saZanele sintjontjwe nguNozipho.*
 si-pashi sa-Zanele si-ntjontj-w-e ngu-Nozipho
 7-wallet ASSC7-Zanele SM7-steal-PASS-FV by-Nozipho
 ‘Zanele’s wallet was stolen by Nozipho.’ / ‘Zanele had his wallet stolen by Nozipho.’
- b. *Kudla kwababe kudliwe ngumake.*
 ‘My father’s food was eaten by my mother.’

The example in (4) shows that intransitive verb such as *bekukhala* ‘was crying’ cannot be used in a passive form.

(4) Intransitive verb [Item 1-4]

- a. *Itolo ebusuku bekukhala umntfwana, ngaloko angikakhoni kulala.*
 itolo ebusuku bekukhala u-m-ntfwana, ngaloko angikakhoni kulala
 last night WAS.CRAYING AUG-1-baby so I.cannot sleep
 ‘Last night, the baby cried, so I couldn’t sleep at all.’

The passives in (5) and (6) do not have a particular agent in the meaning of the passive. The agent can be optional as in (5). In (6), the agent would be a general group of people that does not target others.

(5) Optional agent phrase [Item 1-5]

- Sakhiwo lesisha sakhiwe (nguSikhumbuzo).*
 sa-khiwo lesi-sha sa-khi-w-e ngu-Sikhumbuzo
 7-building 7-new SM7-build-PASS-FV by-Sikhumbuzo
 ‘A new building was built (by Sikhumbuzo).’

(6) Generic agent is omitted [Item 1-6]

- a. *SiFrentji sikhulunywa eKhanada(eCanada).*
 si-Frentji si-khuluny-w-a e-Khanada (eCanada)
 7-French SM7-speak-PASS-FV LOC-Canada
 ‘French is being spoken in Canada.’
 b. *Emabhontjisi adliwa eNelspruit.*
 ‘Beans are being eaten in Nelspruit.’
 c. *SiNgisi sikhulunywa ePitoli.*
 ‘English is being spoken in Pretoria.’

In the examples in (7), the subject of the passive is not any more accessible because they are stolen by others or they are being eaten up.

(7) Other passives [Item 1-7]

- a. *Sipashi sintjontjwe nguZodwa.*
 si-pashi si-ntjontj-w-e ngu-Zodwa
 7-wallet SM7-steal-PASS-FV by-Zodwa
 ‘The wallet was stolen by Zodwa.’
 b. *Kudla kudliwe bantfwana.*
 ‘The food was eaten by children.’
 c. *Imali yaPhethile intjontjwe nguGugu.*
 ‘Phethile’s money was stolen by Gugu’

The example in (8a) is a passive where the subject remains in the place after an action is taken place. Compare (8a) with the non-passive sentence in (8b).

(8) Stative passive [Item 1-8]

- a. *Sitfombe sinanyatsiselwe elubondzeni.*
 si-tfombe si-nanyatsisel-w-e e-lubondz-eni
 7-picture SM7-paste-PASS-FV LOC-wall-LOC
 'A picture is pasted on the wall.'
- b. Copular sentence
Sitfombe siselubondzeni.
 si-tfombe si-s-e-lubondz-eni
 7-picture SM7-cop-LOC-wall-LOC
 'A picture is on the wall.'

The passive construction can be used with emotion verbs as in (9). The message verb *tjela* 'to tell' can also be passivized as shown in (10).

(9) Emotion verbs [Item 1-9]

- a. *Gugu utsandvwa nguSipho.*
 Gugu u-tsandv-w-a nguSipho
 Gugu SM1-love-PASS-FV by-sipho
 'Gugu is loved by Sipho.'
- b. *Sakhile utondvwa nguNtozakhe.*
 Sakhile u-tondv-w-a nguNtozakhe.
 Sakhile SM1-hate-PASS-FV by-Ntozakhe
 'Sakhile is hated by Ntozakhe'

(10) Message verb [Item 1-10]

- a. *Zanele watjelwa nguZothando kutsi ahambe.*
 Zanele wa-tjel-w-a ngu-Zothando kutsi a-hambe
 Zanele SM1-tell-PASS-FV by-Zothando to SM1-go
 'Zanele was told by Zothando to go.'
- b. *Lifa watjelwa nguNosipho kutsi awashe timphahla takhe*
 Lifa wa-tjel-w-a ngu-Nosipho kutsi a-washe ti-mphahla takhe
 Lifa SM1-tell-PASS-FV by-Nosipho to SM1-wash 10-cloth his
 'Lifa was told by Nosipho to wash his clothes'
- c. *Lifa utjelwe kutsi nguNosipho kutsi ahambe*
 Lifa u-tjel-w-e ngu-Nosipho kutsi a-hambe
 Lifa SM1-tell-PASS-FV by-Nosipho to SM1-go
 'Lifa is told by Nosipho to go'

The subject of the passive can also serve as a covert subject of a clause after a conjunction as shown in (11). When a canonical object of a transitive verb as in (11) is the subject of a following clause, it has to be overtly mentioned.

(12) Subject of passive [Item 1-10a]

- a. *Gugu ubitwe nguZodwa, usendlini yaZodwa nyalo.*
 Gugu u-bit-w-e ngu-Zodwa, u-se-ndl-ini yaZodwa nyalo.
 Gugu SM1-call-PASS-FV by-Zodwa, SM1-LOC-room-LOC ASSC1-Zodwa now
 ‘Gugu was called by Zodwa, and is in Zodwa’s room now.’
- b. *Gugu ubitwe esikoleni, usesikoleni nyalo.*
 Gugu u-bit-w-e e-sikol-eni, u-se-sikol-eni nyalo
 Gugu SM1-call-PASS-FV LOC-school-LOC, SM1-STILL-school-LOC now
 ‘Gugu was called at school, (and) is at school now.’
- c. *Gugu uyabitwa esikoleni, utakuya esikoleni nyalo.*
 Gugu u-yabit-w-a e-sikoleni, u-takuya e-sikol-eni nyalo
 Gugu SM1-call-PASS-FV LOC-school-LOC, SM1-FUT-go LOC-school-LOC now
 ‘Gugu is being called at school, (and) will go to school now.’

(12) Object of active in bi-clausal sentences [Item 1-10b]

- a. *Sihle ubite Gugu, Gugu usendlini yaSihle nyalo.*
 Sihle u-bit-e Gugu, Gugu u-se-ndl-ini yaSihle nyalo
 Sihle SM1-call-FV Gugu, Gugu SM1-LOC-room-LOC ASSC-Sihle now
 ‘Sihle called Gugu, and Gugu is in Sihle’s room now.’
- b. *Sihle ugwaze Gugu, Gugu usesibhedla nyalo.*
 ‘Sihle stabbed Gugu, and Gugu is in hospital now.’
- c. *Sihle ugwazwe nguGugu, sihle usesibhedla nyalo.*
 ‘Sihle was stabbed by Gugu, and Sihle is in hospital now.’

3. Conclusion

This paper has examined the passive constructions in Siswati. The morpheme is –w- and most examples in this paper follows the expectations in the survey database. Passive, however, cannot be used with intransitive verbs as in (4).

Abbreviations

- 1, 2, 3, ...: Noun class numbers
 1SG, 2PL, ...: Person and Number
 AUG: Augment (initial vowel prefixed to a noun class prefix)
 CJ: Conjoint (a verbal form obligatorily followed by a post-verbal constituent)
 COMP: Complementiser
 DJ: Disjoint (a verbal form usually not followed by a post-verbal constituent)
 FV: Final Vowel (default inflectional suffix of the finite verb)
 INF: Infinitive
 LOC: Locative
 NEG: Negative marker
 OM: Object Marker
 PASS: Passive

PERF: Perfect

POSS: Possessive pronoun

SM: Subject Marker

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