

<特集「受動表現」>

The Passive construction in Kinyakyusa ニャキュサ語の受動表現

Amani Lusekelo
アマニ・ルセケロ

Dar es Salaam University College of Education
ダルエスサラーム・カレッジ・オブ・エデュケーション

要旨: 本稿は、東アフリカのマラウイ北部とタンザニア南部で話されるニャキュサ語における主要な受動構文のひとつである形態素 *-igw-* を用いる構造を中心に取り上げた。この構造においては、典型的な agent DP が斜格項に降格される一方で、theme/patient DP は主語位置に残ることを示した。また、いくつかの動詞にのみ見られる *-w-* は、述語の状態性を表示するものであって、受動態として扱うことはできないことを論じた。この形式は多くのバントゥ諸語における受動態形態素と形が似ているが、この言語では状態性の解釈しか許容しない。さらに、この言語では受動態化操作によって主語位置に立ち、かつ動詞の一致を受けうるのは、benefactive と theme/patient のみであることを示した。locative DP は主語位置に立ちうるが、動詞の側での主語一致は受けない。このことは、この言語においては、locative DP が受動化によって主語化されないことを実質的に示すものである。さらにニャキュサ語においては、譲渡不可能名詞も譲渡可能名詞と同様に、使役解釈をとまわずに受動主語化することができる。受動化は、他動詞および総称主語にのみ可能であって、伝達動詞の受動化は限定的な文脈においてのみ可能である。

Abstract: The contribution of the current paper surrounded the occurrence of the canonical passive structure *-igw-* in Kinyakyusa sentences, a language spoken in northern Malawi and southern Tanzania in East Africa. I showed that this structure allows the canonical agentive DP to be demoted to oblique, while permitting the theme/patient DP to sit in the subject position. I argued that the other form, *-w-*, which occurs in a few verbs, cannot be treated as a passive because it provides stative reading. Though the stative form *-w-* appears similar in shape with the passive form in many Bantu languages, it given only the stative reading. In addition, in the paper I substantiated that the passivization strategy allows only the benefactive and theme/patient to be promoted to the subject position and to agree with the verb in the sentence. The locative DP can be fronted, but it will never agree with the subject on the verb. This is an angle that substantiates that the locatives do not get passivized in Kinyakyusa. Based on the current data, Kinyakyusa allows passivization for inalienable and alienable parts but without causative reading. The passivization is only possible for transitive verbs and generic agentive DPs. Passivization of messenger verbs is only possible in limited contexts.

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1. Introduction

The general intent of the paper is to present the passivization strategies in the Bantu language Kinyakyusa spoken in northern Malawi and south-western Tanzania by over a million speakers (Hara & Lusekelo, 2024; Lusekelo, 2024a; Lusekelo, van der Wal & Msovela, 2024; van der Wal & Lusekelo, 2022). In Karonga District in



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Malawi, the language is popularly called Cinkonde or Cinyakyusa (Hara & Lusekelo, 2024), while in Mbeya Region in Tanzania the language is called Kinyakyusa (LoT, 2009). The data on the strategies of passivization come from the Rungwe District of Tanzania in East Africa. The paper argues against the postulations in Persohn (2020) that locatives in Kinyakyusa could be passivized and agree on the verb in a sentence.

Specifically, the contribution of the paper surrounds five points. The primary form for the formation of the passive construction in Bantu languages is the passive extension reconstructed as *-ibu-* or **-u-* (Schadeberg & Bostoen, 2019). Both forms are attested in Bantu languages. For instance, in Swahili Bantu (G42), the passive construction is introduced by the verb extension *-w-* as illustrated in (1b) (see Cong & Ngonyani, 2022; Lodhi, 2002). In Manda Bantu (N11), the passive form is *-iw-* as illustrated in (2b) (Bernander, 2018: 180). Since each Bantu language adopts one of the two forms, as in section two, the first contribution of the paper is to determine the structure of the verb extension for the passive construction in Kinyakyusa.

- (1) a. Mtoto amekata mti.
m-toto a-me-kat-a m-ti
1-child SM1-PST-cut-FV 3-tree
‘The child cut the tree.’
- b. Mti umekakwa na mtoto.
m-ti u-me-kat-w-a na m-toto
3-tree SM3-PST-cut-PASS-FV COM 1-child
‘The tree is cut by the child.’
- (2) a. Polisi agendesa ligeléda.
polisi a-gendes-a li-geleda
1.police SM1-drive-FV 5-car
‘The police drives the car.’
- b. Ligeléda ligendeséwa na polisi.
li-geleda li-gendes-iw-a na polisi
5-car SM5-drive-PASS-FV CONN 1.police
‘The car is driven by the police.’

The second contribution concerns the passive extension being associated with vowel harmony, similar to stative extension (Dubinsky & Simango, 1996), and adjustment of the consonant segments of the roots similar to causatives (Simango, 2009). Although the description of the occurrence of the passive form in section two considers the morpho-phonological features of the passive form, much attention is paid on the realisation of the structures *-w-* and *-igw-* in the language. The structures help to disambiguate the stative readings from the passive sentences.

It is also found that Bantu languages disguise the stative extension as passive extension though with limited passive interpretation because both extensions involve the suppression of the agentive (Bernander, 2018; Cong & Ngonyani, 2022; Dubinsky & Simango, 1996; Kumalo, 2009). In Manda Bantu (N11), for instance, the stative form *-ik-* functions for passivization as illustrated in (3b) (Bernander, 2018: 179). Similar case occurs in Chichewa whereby there is a slight difference between the two. It is stated that “the primary difference between (4a) and (4b) is that (4a) implies that the beans were cooked by someone, where (4b) makes reference only to their present state”

(Dubinsky & Simango, 1996: 750).

- (3) a. Dádi antóviti mwána.
 dadi a-mu-tov-iti mu-ana
 1a.father SM1-OM1-hit-PFV 1-child
 ‘Father has beaten the child.’
- b. Mwána atóvíki na dádi
 mu-ana a-tov-ik-iti na dadi
 1-child SM1-NEUT-hit-PFV COM 1a.father
 ‘The child has been beaten by father.’
- (4) a. Nyemba zinaphikidwa.
 nyemba zi-na-phik-idw-a
 10.beans SM10-PST-cook-PASS-FV
 ‘The beans were cooked.’
- b. Nyemba zinaphikika
 nyemba zi-na-phik-ik-a
 10.beans SM10-PST-cook-STAT-FV
 ‘The beans were cooked.’

Since the stative occurs as the passive in Bantu languages proximal to Kinyakyusa, therefore, the second contribution of this paper lies on the distinction of the passive and stative in the verbs of Kinyakyusa. Section three is dedicated to this purpose of the paper.

The fourth contribution concerns the syntax of passivization which allows the demotion of the agentive determiner phrases and promotion of theme/patient DPs in passive sentences. It is found that in the process the theme DP is promoted to the subject position (Cong & Ngonyani, 2022; Kumalo, 2009; Rugemalira, 1993; Simango, 2009). In examples (1b), (2b) and (3b) above, the theme DPs *mti* ‘tree’, *ligeléda* ‘car’ and *mwána* ‘child’ have been promoted to the subject position, while the agentive DPs *mtoto* ‘child’, *polísi* ‘police’ and *dádi* ‘father’ had been demoted to the by phrase position. The demoted agentive DP is usually introduced by the preposition *na* ‘by’ in Manda and Swahili. In section four of this paper, the status of the DPs in Kinyakyusa sentences are examined with regard to multiple object constructions, which appear to reveal primary and secondary post-verbal DPs (Rugemalira, 1993).

Having provided the preliminary status of the passive construction in Kinyakyusa, then the last contribution is offered in section five. The main intent is to evaluate contexts in which the passive form is allowed or disallowed in Kinyakyusa.

2. Morphological properties of the passive form

The two reconstructed passive forms in Proto-Bantu, namely **-ibũ-* and **-ũ-*, occur in Kinyakyusa verbs. In many verbs, it manifests as *-egw-* as shown in (5a) or *-igw-* as exemplified in (5b). Both reflexes stand for the former Proto-Bantu form. In addition, the passive form *-eligw-*, which is treated as a modified form by Lusekelo (2012), occurs in Kinyakyusa, as illustrated in (5c). This is also a reflex of the former Proto-Bantu form. In only a couple of verbs in Kinyakyusa, it occurs as *-w-* for the reflex of the later Proto-Bantu form, as illustrated in (5d).

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (5) a. | pa ‘give’ | pegwa ‘be given’ |
| | nua ‘drink’ | nwegwa ‘be drunk’ |
| b. | koma ‘hit’ | komigwa ‘be hit (by)’ |
| | fipa ‘sip’ | fipigwa ‘be sucked’ |
| | homba ‘pay’ | hombigwa ‘be paid’ |
| c. | aga ‘find, get’ | ag-ilw-a ‘be least, be short (of)’ |
| | mwa ‘shave’ | mweligwa ‘be shaven’ |
| | kwa ‘pay dowry’ | kweligwa ‘be paid dowry (by)’ |
| | swa ‘spit’ | sweligwa ‘be spitted’ |
| d. | nega ‘fetch, e.g. water’ | negwa ‘be fetched’ |
| | goga ‘dream’ | gogwa ‘be dreamed (of)’ |
| | kima ‘sate’ | kimwa ‘be satiated’ |
| | kunda ‘love’ | kundwa ‘be loved’ |
| | mila ‘swallow’ | milwa ‘be drowned’ |

The canonical passive form in Kinyakyusa is -igu-. The manifestation of the glide in -igw- is associated with the repair strategy for the disallowed sequence of the high back vowel and the default middle lower vowel. The alternative forms -egw- and -eligw- are associated with vowel harmony, as presented in subsequent part of the paper. What appears as the passive form -w- in Lusekelo (2012) is re-analysed in section 3 below.

3. The structure -w- on verbs: Stative or passive in Kinyakyusa?

Based on the sample sentences, Kinyakyusa reveals the form -igw- for the passive verb as in example (6a). The verb koma ‘hit’ takes the passive form. Lusekelo (2012) pointed out that there are verbs in Kinyakyusa which may take both forms -w- and -igw- and assumes that the form -w- is an irregular case of passivization. However, my current understanding is that the interpretation of the verbs with the form -w- could directly be stative, as illustrated by the verb goga ‘dream’ in (6c). In this case, it is the state of dreaming which determines the interpretation of the event described by the verb. In fact, example (6c) shows that the agreement on the verb occurs with the canonical pre-verbal agentive DP of ubibi ‘grandmother’, similar to the agreement in the non-passive example (6b).

- (6) [Simple passive form (Item 1-1)]
- a. Atu akomigwe nu Ipyana.
 Atu a-a-kom-igw-e nu Ipyana
 1.Atu SM1-PST-hit-PASS-PERF by 1.Ipyana
 ‘Atu was hit by Ipyana.’
- b. Ubibi ikugoga injosi
 u-bibi a-ku-gog-a i-njosi
 AUG-1.grandmother SM1-PRES-dream-FV AUG-9-dream
 ‘Grandmother dreams a dream.’

- c. Ubibi ikugogwa injosi
 u-bibi a-ku-gog-w-a i-njosi
 AUG-1.grandmother SM1-PRES-dream-STAT-FV AUG-9-dream
 ‘Grandmother dreams a dream.’
- d. Injosi jikugogigwa n’ ubibi
 i-njosi ji-ku-gog-igw-a nu u-bibi
 AUG-9.dream SM9-PRES-dream-PASS-FV by AUG-1.grandmother
 ‘The dream is dreamed by grandmother.’
- e. Injosi ikugogwa ubibi
 i-njosi a-ku-gog-w-a u-bibi
 AUG-9.dream SM1-PRES-dream-STAT-FV AUG-1.grandmother
 ‘The dream is dreamed by grandmother.’

The verb goga ‘dream’ also can occur with the passive form -igw-, as illustrated in (6d) above. Although Lusekelo (2012) suggests that this is a regular pattern, I would not confirm the claim; rather I argue that there is only the form -igw- which is the canonical passive structure. In the example (6d), the post-verbal theme DP injosi ‘dream’ in (6a) is promoted to the subject position in (6d) in order to provide the passive interpretation. Based on van der Wal, Lusekelo and Msovela (2023), the agreement on the verb is with noun class 9, which is for the pre-verbal theme DP injosi ‘dream’. The agreement with the DP in subject position is an important corner that substantiates that passivization of the theme occurred.

The case of example (6e), which bears the form -w-, offers another stative interpretation. Based on van der Wal et al. (2023), the sentence involves subject inversion in that the canonical pre-verbal agentive DP ubibi ‘grandmother’ occurs in the post-verbal position, while the canonical post-verbal theme DP injosi ‘dream’ occurs in the subject position. Irrespective of the swapping of the positions of the nouns in the sentence, the agreement on the verb still remains with noun class 1 for the canonical pre-verbal agentive DP ubibi ‘grandmother’. This being the case, there is no passivization.

In fact, some intransitive Kinyakyusa verbs bear the frozen passive -w-, as illustrated in (7). Lusekelo (2012) appears to suggest that these verbs have no underived counter-parts, hence the passive form had been fused in these verb roots. In my current research, I could also not identify verb-roots with more or less a non-passive structure. But, in this case, I argue that the readings of the verbs in (7) is completely associated with the stative.

- (7) kunwa ‘be in need, be troubled’
 ilamwa ‘be undecided’
 lakilwa ‘be choked’

Further evidence for the stative reading is associated with passivization. I argue that although the passivization by the canonical passive structure -igw- is possible for the verbs in (5e) above, this is not the case for the verbs in (7). Perhaps the examples in (8) will help us have a better understanding of this phenomenon.

- (8) a. Umwana ikulakilwa bwila.
u-mw-ana a-ku-lakil-w-a bwila
AUG-1-child SM1-PRES-chock-STAT-FV always
‘The child gets chocked always.’
- b. *Umwana ikulakilwigwa bwila.
u-mw-ana a-ku-lakilw-igw-a bwila
AUG-1-child SM1-PRES-chock-PASS-FV always
Intention: ‘The child gets chocked always.’
- c. *Umwana ikulakiligwa bwila.
u-mw-ana a-ku-lakil-igw-a bwila
AUG-1-child SM1-PRES-chock-PASS-FV always
Intention: ‘The child gets chocked always.’

The interpretation of the sentence in (8a) is typically stative. Therefore, the stative is also provided by the structure -w- in Kinyakyusa. The introduction of the regular passive structure -igw- causes ungrammaticality as in (8b). This happens because the verb bears the structure lakil-w-a ‘be/get chocked’ in which the form -w- introduces the stative reading. Also, this substantiates that the root of the verb cannot be *lakilw-a.

The introduction of the canonical passive form -igw- in place of the form -w- is also disallowed, as shown in (8c). This happens because the verb is intransitive hence cannot permit passivization. However, the verb allows stative reading.

At this juncture, I want to argue that Kinyakyusa comprises of the canonical passive form -igw- which allows passivization of transitive verbs. The language also has another form -w-, which provides stative reading. Based on the previous studies in Bantu languages Chichewa and Manda (Bernander, 2018; Simango, 2009), Kinyakyusa disguises the passive form into stative form, but using a different morphological unit. The stative structure -w- is limited in use as the stative is marked by the canonical form -ik- or -ek- (Lusekelo, 2012). The canonical form -ik- or -ek- occurs in many Bantu languages (Schadeberg & Bostoen, 2019).

4. Passivization and the status of post-verbal DPs

Kinyakyusa exhibits features of symmetric Bantu languages because it allows any of the object DPs to be passivized (Lusekelo 2024b). Based on the cases of co-occurrence of the benefactive and theme, both post-verbal DPs can be passivized. Example (9b) shows the benefactive being passivized, while example (9c) shows the theme being subjectivized. The agentive noun *Atu* in example (9a) is being demoted to the oblique position introduced by *nu* ‘by’ in examples (9b) and (9c).

- (9) a. *Atu* abapiijile abahesya ikisyesyeye.
Atu a-ba-piij-il-e a-ba-hesya i-ki-syesyeye
1.Atu SM1-OM2-cook-APPL-PERF AUG-2-guest AUG-7-bread
‘*Atu* cooked for the guests some bread.’
- b. Abahesya bapiijiligwe ikisyesyeye n’ *Atu*.
a-ba-hesya ba-piij-il-igw-e i-ki-syesyeye nu *Atu*
AUG-2-guest SM2-cook-APPL-PASS-PERF AUG-7-bread by 1.*Atu*
‘The guests have been cooked for some bread by *Atu*.’

- c. Ikisyesyeye kipijiiligwe abahesya n'Atu.
 i-ki-syesyeye ki-pij-il-igw-e a-ba-hesya nu Atu
 AUG-7-bread SM7-cook-APPL-PASS-PERF AUG-2-guest by 1.Atu
 'Some bread has been cooked for the guests by Atu.'

The passivization of the benefactive abahesya 'guests' is possible, as shown in (9b). The subject marker on the verb is realised as ba- (noun class 2), which is the noun class of the benefactive. The passivization of the theme ikisyesyeye 'bread' is also possible, as shown in (9c). In this example, the subject marker on the verb is ki- (noun class 7), which is the noun class of theme.

Basically, the passivization of the locative DP cannot be allowed. The agreement of the locative DP in the subject position with the subject marker in the verb is disallowed (van der Wal et al., 2023: 161). Probably example (10) will help us have a better understanding of this point.

- (10) a. Amabwe gabonike muchunya.
 a-ma-bwe ga-bon-ek-e mu-chunya
 AUG-6-stone SM6-see-STAT-PERF 18-Chunya
 'Minerals are discovered in Chunya.'
- b. *Pachunya ku-bonike amabwe.
 pa-chunya pa-bon-ek-e a-ma-bwe
 16-Chunya SM16-see-STAT-PERF AUG-6-stone
 Intention: 'Minerals are discovered in Chunya.'
- c. *Kuchunya ku-bonike amabwe.
 ku-chunya ku-bon-ek-e a-ma-bwe
 17-Chunya SM17-see-STAT-PERF AUG-6-stone
 Intention: 'Minerals are discovered in Chunya.'
- d. *Muchunya ku-bonike amabwe.
 mu-chunya mu-bon-ek-e a-ma-bwe
 18-Chunya SM18-see-STAT-PERF AUG-6-stone
 Intention: 'Minerals are discovered in Chunya.'

Kinyakyusa does not permit the agreement of the formal locative classes 16-18 as illustrated in (9), while the agreement of the benefactive and theme is possible, as shown in (8) above. This is a small corner that shows that the post-verbal locative DPs cannot be promoted to the subject position. Although Persohn (2020) appears to have found passivization of the locative DPs in Kinyakyusa, the current research reveals that promotion of the locative to the subject position is prohibited in the language. Further examples are provided in (11).

- (11) a. Tuntufye abiikile ulukama kusofu.
 Tuntufye a-biik-ile u-lu-kama ku-sofu
 1.Tuntufye SM1-put-PERF AUG-11-milk 17-room
 'Tuntufye put milk in the bedroom.'

- b. Ulukama lubiikigwe kusofu n' Tuntufye.
 u-lu-kama lu-biik-igw-e ku-sofu nu Tuntufye
 AUG-11-milk SM11-put-PASS-PERF 17-room by 1.Tuntufye
 'Milk has been put in the bedroom by Tuntufye.'
- c. Kusofu lubiikigwe ulukama n' Tuntufye.
 ku-sofu lu-biik-igw-e u-lu-kama nu Tuntufye
 17-room SM11-put-PASS-PERF AUG-11-milk by 1.Tuntufye
 'Milk has been put in the bedroom by Tuntufye.'
- d. *Kusofu kubiikigwe Ulukama n' Tuntufye.
 ku-sofu ku-biik-igw-e u-lu-kama nu Tuntufye
 17-room SM17-put-PASS-PERF AUG-11-milk by 1.Tuntufye
 Intention: 'Milk has been put in the bedroom by Tuntufye.'

The examples above substantiate that locatives cannot be passivized even for transitive verb *biika* 'put' that requires mandatory locative DP. With this verb, the locative DP is mandatory and is not licenced by the applicative suffix (Kumalo, 2009; Lusekelo, 2012; Rugemalira, 1993). In example (10a), both the theme DP *ulukama* 'milk' and the locative DP *kusofu* '(in the) bedroom' are mandatory. The agreement is with the agentive DP *Tuntufye*.

The passivization of the theme DP *ulukama* 'milk' is possible. It also agrees with the verb in the subject marker in noun class 11, as illustrated in (11b). My data, as well as data in Lusekelo et al. (2024) and van der Wal et al. (2023), substantiates that the passivization of the locative and its agreement on the verb is disallowed. This is the reason in example (11c) there is agreement inversion because the locative DP *kusofu* '(in the) bedroom' is fronted but the agreement in noun class 11 is with the post-verbal theme DP *ulukama* 'milk'. The complete agreement with the locative DP *kusofu* '(in the) bedroom' is ungrammatical, as shown in (11d).

5. Occurrence and non-occurrence of the passive form in various kinds of verbs

So far, I showed that the simple passive form is realized as *-igw-* that occurs with inalienable parts (12a) and alienable parts as in (12b). Since in Kinyakyusa the causative reading is not available, the item 5 is not attested.

- (12) a. [Inalienable parts (Item 1-2)]
 Ikilundi kya Atu kyakanyigwe nu Ipyana.
 i-ki-lundi ki-a Atu ki-a-kany-igwe nu Ipyana
 AUG-7-leg 7-ASSOC 1.Atu SM7-PST-step-PASS-PERF by 1.Ipyana
 'Atu's foot was stepped on by Ipyana.'
- b. [Alienable parts (Item 1-3)]
 Ikikapu kya Atu kyalibigwe nu Ipyana.
 i-ki-kapu ki-a Atu ki-ali-ib-igw-e nu Ipyana
 AUG-7-bag 7-ASSOC 1.Atu SM7-PST-steal-PASS-PERF by 1.Ipyana
 'Atu's bag was stolen by Ipyana.'

Intransitive verbs cannot be passivized in Kinyakyusa. This phenomenon is illustrated with the verb *lila* 'cry' as in (13) below.

(13) [Intransitive verbs (Item 1-4)]

Mmajolo pakilo umwana alilile. Ngagona utulo.

mmajolo pakilo u-mu-ana a-a-lil-ile ni-ka-gon-a u-tulo
 yesterday night AUG-1-child SM7-PST-cry-PERF SM1-NEG-sleep-FV 11-sleep
 ‘Last night, the baby cried. So, I couldn’t sleep.’

There is a possible that the agentive DP be omitted in the sentence, as exemplified in (14a). Also, sentences with generic agentive DPs allow the passive form as in (14b).

(14) a. [Omitting the agentive DP (Item 1-5)]

Inyumba imbya jajengigwe (nu Tuntufye).

i-nyumba i-mbya ji-a-jeng-igw-e nu Tuntufye
 AUG-9.house AUG-9.new SM9-PST-build-PASS-PERF by 1.Tuntufye
 ‘A new building was built (by Tuntufye).

b. [The passive in a generic agentive DP (Item 1-6)]

Ikifaransa kikujobigwa Mukongo.

i-ki-faransa ki-ku-job-igw-a mu-kongo
 AUG-7-French SM7-PRES-speak-PASS-DF 18-Kongo
 ‘French is being spoken in Congo.’

Nyakyusa allows the passive form for the results of the action as shown in (15a), but does not allow the passive form for the outcome of the action as exemplified in (15b).

(15) a. [Result of an action (Item 1-7)]

Ikikapu kyalibigwe nu Ipyana.

i-ki-kapu ki-ali-ib-igw-e nu Ipyana
 AUG-7-bag SM7-PST-steal-PASS-PERF by 1.Ipyana
 ‘The bag was stolen by Ipyana.’

b. [Outcome of an action (Item 1-8)]

Ikifwani kili muimato.

i-ki-fwani ki-li mu-i-mato
 AUG-7-picture SM7-be 18-5-wall
 ‘The picture is on the wall.’

As exemplified in (16a), the sensory verbs such as gana ‘to love’ can be passivized in Kinyakyusa sentences. Conversely, as illustrated in (16b), the messenger verbs such as kolela ‘call’ and buula ‘tell’ cannot be passivized in Kinyakyusa. While in complex sentences Kinyakyusa allows the passivization of the messenger verb such as kolela ‘call’ as illustrated in (16c), it cannot be passivized in other contexts as in (16d).

- (16) a. [Sensory verbs (Item 1-9)]
 Ikupa aganigwe nu Tuntufye.
 ikupa a-gan-igw-e nu Tuntufye
 1.Ikupa SM1-love-PASS-PERF by 1.Tuntufye
 ‘Ikupa is loved by Tuntufye.’
- b. [Messenger verbs (Item 1-10)]
 Ikupa ambuulile Tuntufye ukuti anganile.
 ikupa a-m-buul-ile Tuntufye ukuti a-m-gan-ile
 1.Ikupa SM1-OM1-tell-PERF 1.Tuntufye that SM1-OM1-love-PERF
 ‘Ikupa told Tuntufye that she loves him.’
- c. [Complex sentence (Item 1-10a)]
 Ikupa akoleligwe nu Tuntufye, na ulu ali kukyumba kya Tuntufye.
 ikupa a-kolel-igw-e nu Tuntufye na ulu a-li
 1.Ikupa SM1-call-PASS-PERF by 1.Tuntufye and now SM1-be
 ku-ki-umba ki-a Tuntufye
 17-7-room 7-ASSOC 1.Tuntufye
 ‘Ikupa was called by Tuntufye, and is in Tuntufye’s room now.’
- d. [Complex sentence (Item 1-10b)]
 Tuntufye ankolile Ikupa, nu Ikupa ali kukyumba kya Tuntufye.
 Tuntufye a-m-kolel-e na ulu ikupa a-li
 1.Tuntufye SM1-OM1-call-PERF and now 1.Ikupa SM1-be
 ku-ki-umba ki-a Tuntufye
 17-7-room 7-ASSOC 1.Tuntufye
 ‘Tuntufye called Ikupa, and Ikupa is in Tuntufye’s room now.’

6. Conclusion

The aim of the paper had been to re-look at the postulations about the passive constructions in Kinyakyusa as appearing in Lusekelo (2012) and Persohn (2020). My first intent in the paper was to challenge the previous claim that Kinyakyusa contains both proto-forms *-ibu-* and **-u-* for the passive constructions. I argued in the paper argued that there are occurs one canonical passive structure *-igw-* in Kinyakyusa sentences. This form is attested in monotransitive and ditransitive verbs. The structure *-w-*, which was assumed to offer passive interpretation is called to question. The conclusion drawn now is that this is a typical stative structure which disguises as passive. Moreover, I provided evidence to substantiate that the canonical passive structure *-igw-* allows the canonical agentive DP to be demoted to oblique, while permitting the theme/patient DP to sit in the subject position. Furthermore, I showed that the passivization strategy allows only the benefactive and theme/patient to be promoted to the subject position and to agree with the verb in the sentence. The locative DP can be fronted, but it will never agree with the subject on the verb. This is an angle that substantiates that the locatives do not get passivized in Kinyakyusa.

My second intent was to test further the manifestation of the passive form *-igw-* in different contexts of sentences. Therefore, using the current data, I found that Kinyakyusa allows passivization for both inalienable and alienable parts. The data did not offer any environment that the causative reading could be available. I confirmed that that the passivization is only possible for nontransitive and ditransitive verbs. Also, I found that the generic

agentive DPs could be passivized. Lastly, the paper demonstrated that passivization of messenger verbs is only possible in limited contexts.

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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執筆者連絡先 : amanilusekelo@gmail.com, amani.lusekelo@udsm.ac.tz

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