

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

IMPERATIVES AND HORTATIVES IN VWANJI

BY
AHIMIDIWE ZABLON MAHALI

A Linguistic Project Submitted to the Graduate School in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts in Translation Studies

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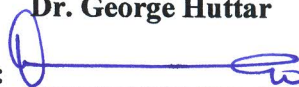
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Student's Declaration

IMPERATIVES AND HORTATIVES IN VWANJI

I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other College or University for academic credit.

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners

(signed) 

Ahimidiwe Zablon Mahali

July 2007

ABSTRACT

Imperative mood is the form of the verb used in issuing direct commands or orders and they are restricted to second person in both singular and plural. Hortatives are verbs which may be used to encourage people to do something, to express wishes, or exhortation. In this paper I have attempted to describe the imperatives and hortatives in *Vwanji* particularly the forms and functions. Chapter one includes the background information about the people and the language. Chapter two is about imperatives and in Chapter three I have described the hortatives. Also I have discussed in brief the question of politeness. Finally the conclusion which includes the summary of the paper and suggestion on what I have researched.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
COND	Conditional
CV	Consonant Vowel
EMP	Emphasis
FPST	Far past
FV	Final vowel
HAB	Habitual
IMP	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfect
IND	Indicative
INF	Infinitive
OBJ	Object
PL	Plural

PRF	Perfect
PRS	Present
PST	Past
REFL	Reflexive
SBJV	Subjunctive
SG	Singular
V	Vowel
vd	Voiced
vl	Voiceless

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Topic

For a language about which much has not been done in the grammar it is apparent that any topic in linguistics is worthwhile. I have decided to make the study on this type of grammar (imperative and hortative) because of its usefulness. From a sociolinguistic point of view the way *Vwanji* people use imperative and hortative needs to be analysed in order to make use of these structures appropriately in translation and literacy programmes. Therefore, I am going to describe the structure of the grammar of the imperative and hortative of the language; that is the form (how they are marked) and find out when and where in an utterance or discourse should one use a given form, and not another (the function). In what types of the social setting (context) are these forms preferable? How is a higher speaker's status against lesser hearer's obligation fulfilled and vice versa? And how does the language make polite orders and requests?

1.2 Background Information

1.2.1 The People: Vwanji Speakers

Vwanji is a language spoken by the people called Vavwanji who live in Iringa Region, Makete District, in the Kipengere Mountain Range West of the Bena, south of the Sangu, north of the Kinga in Tanzania. The tribe has around 30,000 population (according to the 2002 nation census carried on Matamba and Ikuwo areas which is also called Uvwanji land). This number excludes the Vwanji people who are living outside the Uvwanji land. It is a language from the Bantu family: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, G, Bena-Kinga (G.60) (Gordon, 2005).

1.2.2 The Language

1.2.2.1 Socio-linguistic Information

The language has three dialects; namely *Kimavemba*, *Kisika*, and *Kikigala*. There are slight differences between *Kimavemba* and *Kisika* while *Kikigala* incorporates a lot of vocabulary from *Kikinga* and *Kibena* (these Bantu neighbouring languages from the same family with *Vwanji* as mentioned above). The description mostly is based on *Kimavemba* and *Kisika* due to the fact that the data provided has

been obtained from these two dialects and the writer of this paper speaks *Kimavemba* and he has worked for several years where *Kisika* is spoken. Moreover, the *Vwanji* view these two dialects as standard.

1.2.2.2 Typology

Vwanji in simple sentences has the subject/agent followed by the verb and then the object/patient (SVO). It is a stress language; normally the stress changes according to the number of the syllables in the word. In bisyllabic words the first syllable is the most prominent and in trisyllabic words the stress shifts to the first syllable. The stress remains in the antepenultimate when the word has four syllables and above. The language syllable pattern is CV and V.

<i>'meta</i> ‘cut’	'CV.CV
<i>'lughano</i> ‘love’	'CV.CV.CV
<i>pu'luluka</i> ‘fly’	CV.'CV.CV.CV
<i>pʉli'kisia</i> ‘listen’	CV.CV.'CV.CV.V
<i>ʉlʉnya'funyafu</i> ‘greenish’	V.CV.CV.'CV.CV.CV

The language classifies nouns according to class system; there are about 20 classes and class 19 is not attested (Mbeni 2005, 10).

Table 1: Noun Classes

Class	Prefix	Prefix (2)	<i>Vwanji</i> example	Gloss
1	umu-	umw-	umuunu/umwaana	man/child
2	ava-	avi-	avaanu/avimbi	men/singers
1a	u-		ung'ineesu	mother
3	umu-	umw-	umulangali/ umwaka	red/tree
5	ili-		ilivue	stone
6	ama-		amalenga	water
7	iki-	iky-	iki tengo/ ikyaka	chair/handle
8	ifi-	ify-	ifitengo/ifyaka	chairs/handles
9	in-		imbunda	club
10	in-		imbunda	clubs
11	ulu-	ulw-	ulumili/ulwaala	tongue/grinding stone
12	aka-		akapene	small goat
13	utu-	utw-	utupene/utwaana	small goats/little children
14	uvu-	uvw-	uvughale/uvwoogha	ugali/mushroom
15	ku-		kughenda	to walk
16	pa-		pambele	later
17	ku-		kuseela	other side of mountain/house
17 &14	kuvu-	kuvw-	kuvuseemo/ kuvwandulilo	west/at the beginning
18	mu-		mankate	inside of
20	ughu-		ughutemo	big axe

1.2.2.3 Phonology and Orthography

The language has eight vowels; all have a lengthened form except one vowel [e].

There are twenty consonants which are not modified and forty modified consonants; this is according to my personal field work 2006.

Table 2: Vowel Chart

	FRONT		BACK			
	UNROUNDED		UNROUNDED		ROUNDED	
	Short	Long	short	long	short	Long
Close	i	i:			u	u:
Intermediate	ɪ	ɪ:			ʊ	ʊ:
Close-mid	e				o	o:
Open-mid	ɛ	ɛ:				
Open			ɑ	ɑ:		

Table 3: Consonant Chart

		Bilabial	Labiodentals	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	vl vd	p b		t d		k g	
Central fricatives flat	vl vd	β	f			ɣ	h
Central fricatives grooved	vl vd			s			
Nasals		m	ɱ	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral Approximant				l			
Central Approximant		W			j		
Prenasalization	vl vd	^m p ^m b	^m f	ⁿ t, ⁿ s ⁿ d	ⁿ ɲ	ⁿ k ⁿ g	
Labialization	vl vd	p ^w b ^w , m ^w	f ^w	t ^w , s ^w d ^w , l ^w , n ^w	ɲ ^w , ɲ ^w	k ^w g ^w , ɣ ^w , ŋ ^w	h ^w
Palatalization	vl vd	p ^j b ^j , m ^j	f ^j ɱf ^j	t ^j , s ^j d ^j , n ^j , l ^j		k ^j	
Lengthened & Syllabification		mː, m̩		nː, n̩			

Table 4: Orthography Chart

Phonemes	Graphemes	Phonemes	Graphemes
/i/	i	/l/	l
/i:/	ii	/w/	w
/I/	ĭ	/j/	y
/II/	ĭĭ	/ ^m p/	mp
/e/	e	/ ^m b/	mb
/ε/	e	/ŋf/	mf
/ε/	ee	/ ⁿ t/	nt
/a/	a	/ ⁿ s/	ns
/a:/	aa	/ ⁿ d/	nd
/o/	o	/ŋj/	nj
/o:/	oo	/ŋk/	nk
/u/	u	/ŋg/	ng
/u:/	uu	/p ^w /	pw
/u/	u	/b ^w /	bw
/u:/	uu	/m ^w /	mw
/p/	p	/f ^w /	fw
/b/	b	/t ^w /	tw
/t/	t	/s ^w /	sw
/d/	d	/d ^w /	dw
/ʃ/	j	/l ^w /	lw
/k/	k	/n ^w /	nw
/g/	g	/ʃ ^w /	jw
/β/	v	/p ^w /	nyw
/f/	f	/k ^w /	kw

/ɣ/	gh	/g ^w /	gw
/h/	h	/ɣ ^w /	ghw
/s/	s	/ŋ ^w /	ng ^w
/m/	m	/h ^w /	hw
/ŋ/	m	/p ^j /	py
/n/	n	/b ^j /	by
/ɲ/	ny	/m ^j /	my
/ŋ/	ng'	/f ^j /	fy
/ŋf ^j /	mfy	/k ^j /	ky
/t ^j /	ty	/m:/	mm
/s ^j /	sy	/m̄/	m'
/d ^j /	dy	/n:/	nn
/n ^j /	ni + (a, e, o, u)	/ŋ/	n'
/l ^j /	ly		

1.2.2.4 Morphology and Syntax

In this section I explain in brief the morphology of the language, particularly the conjugation of the verb: the way the language marks the subject, object, mood, aspect, and tense. The verb in *Vwanji* is the most marked part of speech, such that verb can present an entire sentence. The affixes can be either prefixed or suffixed to the verbal root.

The verbs whose roots either begin with a vowel syllable (V.CV) or end with a vowel syllable (CV.V) undergo some changes in the root when the prefix or suffix is added to the verbal root. In verbs whose roots begin with a vowel, *-kw-* emerges when conjugated (prefixed); and those verb roots which end with a vowel, *-s-* is inserted before the final vowel when suffixed with habitual marker. The habitual marker is *-agh-* and in the verbs which end with a vowel because of the insertion of *-s-* the affix is *-sagh-*.

(1)	Imperative	indicative PRS	habitual indicative
a.	<i>is-a</i>	<i>i-kwis-a</i>	<i>i-kwis-agh-a</i>
	come-FV	3SG-come-FV	3SG-come-HAB-FV
	‘Come!’	‘he is coming or he eats’	‘he will be coming’
b.	<i>im-a</i>	<i>i-kwim-a</i>	<i>i-kwim-agh-a</i>
	stand-FV	3SG-stand-FV	3SG-stand-HAB-FV
	‘You stand!’	‘he is standing or he stands’	‘he will be standing’
c.	<i>li-a</i>	<i>i-li-a</i>	<i>i-li-sagh-a</i>
	eat-FV	3SG-eat-FV	3SG-eat-HAB-FV
	‘Eat!’	‘he is eating or he eats’	‘he will be eating’
d.	<i>pi-a</i>	<i>i-pi-a</i>	<i>i-pi-sagh-a</i>
	burn-FV	3SG-burn-FV	3SG-burn-HAB-FV
	‘Burn!’	‘he is burning’	‘he will be burning’
e.	<i>lim-a</i>	<i>i-lim-a</i>	<i>i-lim-agh-a</i>
	dig-FV	3SG-dig-FV	3SG-dig-HAB-FV
	‘Dig!’	‘he/she is digging’	‘he will be digging’

Vwanji marks the habitual in future and past tense but not the present. The present indicative present also can be used as the habitual present depending on the context; in order to make habitual explicit in present, a time phrase is added *ilia jaatu* ‘he eats every day,’ *ikwima jaatu pakivwilile* ‘he stands every evening.’

Vwanji has five tenses; three past, one present (which has three aspects), and one future. However, the present tense form semantically is used for both present and near future depending on the context.

(2) Tense and aspect (indicative)

a.	Near past	past	far past
	<i>a-li-a</i>	<i>a-ka-li-ile</i>	<i>a-lya-li-ile</i>
	3SG-eat-FV	3SG-PST-eat-PRF	3SG-FPST-eat-PRF
	‘he ate (yesterday)’	‘he ate (one month-year)’	‘he ate (many years past)’
b.	Simple present/habitual	simple present continuous	simple present perfect
	<i>i-li-a</i>	<i>a-lipi-li-a</i>	<i>a-li-ile</i>
	3SG.PRS-eat-FV	3SG-PRS.CONT-eat-FV	3SG-eat-PRF
	‘he eats’	‘he is eating’	‘he has eaten’
c.	Far future		
	<i>i-li-li-a</i>		
	3SG-FUT-eat-FV		
	‘he will eat’		

The simple present can be used also as habitual and immediate future about one day to a year while the far future begins from one year and following.

1.3 Previous Works

The language has been written since the 1920's when a hymn book and catechism were published by German missionaries of the Berlin Society. Later the liturgy for Sunday service, funeral and wedding ceremonies were added in the hymn book. Up to date there are several books written in the language including the book of Mark, small portions of the Bible, catechism and revised hymn book. There is no other literature written in this language outside of this Christian collection, mainly by the Lutheran Church. These few writings give a notion that there have been some studies about the language carried out by the pioneers who began writing *Vwanji*; but I have not been able to find out any document of such study. However, according to my knowledge those few pieces of literature found in the language are difficult to read for they had adopted Germanic orthography; still they are basic and helpful foundation for working out the language. Meanwhile the orthography is in process of being standardized under the patronage of SIL International. This paper is going to employ the orthography which is currently on trial.

1.4 Sources of Data

Data have been acquired by analysing different texts of *Vwanji* which I collected from different people who are native speakers of the language in the *Uvwanji* area. Also a number of data come from the literacy and translation team of the

language working under the auspices by SIL International. Moreover, I have drawn data from my knowledge of the language as a native speaker.

1.5 Limitation and Delimitation

This research paper focuses on describing *Vwanji* imperatives and hortatives. The concentration will be on the form and function of these grammatical entities of the language, centring the discussion on where, when and why one can use the given form in an utterance or discourse. However, this paper limits the discussion about the topic to the data which the author has been able to identify from the given texts worked upon.

CHAPTER TWO

IMPERATIVE

2.1 Definition

Imperative mood is the form of the verb used in issuing direct commands or orders. Imperative falls in the category of manipulative speech-acts. Imperatives are typically restricted to second person in both plural and singular. Imperatives involve the speaker/manipulator and addressee/manipulee. The speaker intends the hearer to act upon the order uttered to him/her, "...the speaker attempts to manipulate the behaviour of the hearer, with the goal being that of eliciting *action* rather than information" (Givón, 1984, 311). The hearer is governed by the situation/will and ability to act upon the desired/intended action by the manipulator.

2.2 Form

2.2.1 Finiteness

In many languages, the imperative form of the verb is the least marked of all major verb types. "Over half of the languages surveyed, in fact, employ an entirely affixless verbal base to indicate request. Two tenses are found in one stage of Latin, but

tense distinctions of any kind are extremely rare” (Sadock and Zwicky, 1985, 172).

Imperatives tend to be less finite than indicatives, in that they frequently do not have all the inflectional possibilities of indicatives. Imperatives normally do not allow tense and mood marking. *Vwanji* does not mark subject in the imperative but in some instances indirect or direct object is marked in a verb. Imperatives are typically restricted to 2nd person (plural and singular).

(1)	indicative	imperative
a.	<i>ghu-li-a</i> 2SG-eat-FV 'You eat'	<i>li-a</i> IMP.eat-FV 'Eat!'
	<i>mu-li-a</i> 2PL-eat-FV 'You eat'	<i>li-a</i> IMP.eat-FV 'Eat!'
	<i>ghu-lim-a</i> 2SG-dig-FV 'You dig'	<i>lim-a</i> IMP.dig-FV 'Dig!'
	<i>mu-lim-a</i> 2PL-dig-FV 'You dig'	<i>lim-a</i> IMP.dig-FV 'Dig!'
	<i>ghu-kwis-a</i> 2SG-come-FV 'You come'	<i>is-a</i> IMP.come-FV 'Come!'

mu-kwis-a
2PL-come-FV
'You come'

is-a
IMP.come-FV
'Come!'

- b. *Ghu-lond-a ku-ku-nyu-a kisita vomba? Vwuka apa!*
2SG-want-FV EMP-INF-drink-FV without working IMP.go here
'You want to drink before working? Go away!'

Basically simple present indicative and imperative are almost the same in form: the only difference is that the former includes a subject marker (prefix), whereas the imperative does not. The imperative form does not inflect for number, thus, second singular and plural are same in form, though they can be differentiated in context.

2.2.2 Aspect

Vwanji allows aspect marking in the imperative, specifically a difference between perfective and imperfective. "The contrast between perfective ('completive') and imperfective ('in-completive') involves the terminal boundary of events, as well as its relationship to the time axis" (Givón, 1984, 277). *Vwanji* perfective refers to an order to be acted upon to complete an action, while the imperfective marks the continuation of the action ordered. It can also represent an action to be carried out habitually, marked by the imperfective with either *-agha* or *-aghe* suffixes. *Vwanji* also makes a distinction between immediate order (action should be accomplished right

away) and deferred order (action may be accomplished later). The immediate order is the typical imperative and allows aspect marking (perfective and imperfective):

Immediate perfective order is a basic form of verb (verbal root) while the immediate imperfective marks the verb with habitual marker.

(2) *li-a*
 IMP.eat-FV
 ‘Eat!’ (perfective)

li-sagha
 IMP.eat-HAB
 ‘Eat! Keep on eating! or Eat every day’ (imperfective)

2.2.3 Immediate and Deferred

Deferred commands have full marking including the person suffixes and they are marked by the subjunctive. Deferred commands can be classified into three time frames. Immediate future is marked with perfective, near future is habitual and the far future is also imperfective or habitual with an addition of affix *-li-* (far future marker), as demonstrated in examples below respectively. The verb in question is underlined.

Immediate future

(3) *ʉ-li-e* *taasi* *pe* *ʉ-lut-agh-e*
 2SG-eat-SBJV first then 2SG-go-HAB-SBJV
 ‘You eat first and then go.’

Near future

- (4) *U-nga-fik-e* *pakaaja* *u-li-sagh-e* *uvughale*
 2SG-if-reach-SBJV home 2SG-eat- HAB-SBJV ugali
 ‘If/when you reach home eat ugali’

Far future

- (5) *Amafyulisi* *ghangalivese* *u-li-li-sagh-e*
 fruits when.they.ripe 2SG-FUT-eat-HAB-SBJV
 ‘When fruits are ready you have to eat!’

2.2.4 Negative (Prohibitive)

There are two different forms of expressing negative command in *Vwanji*. The first way uses an imperative of the verbs *kuvuhila* ‘to leave’ or *kuleka* ‘to leave’ plus the infinitive form of the negated verb (main verb). This form is in the present tense. The present negative commands are typical imperative (number and tense are not inflected). Second, future prohibitive commands are marked with a negative affix plus subjunctive (both immediate and deferred future) in the main verb. Also the verbs *kuvuhila* and *kuleka* can be used for future prohibitive command, but in this case these two verbs are inflected in number, tense, gender and aspect and in this case the main verb which is negated will be in infinitive form as in present tense. The deferred prohibitive commands are imperfective (marked with habitual suffix).

Present prohibitive command with verb *kuvuhila* and *kuleka*.

- (6) *vuhila ku-lia*
 IMP.leave INF-eat
 ‘Leave to eat/don’t eat!’

leka pi-saagha, iyi nyumba jaako.
 IMP.leave INF-think this house your
 ‘Don’t worry, this is your house.’

Deferred prohibitive command with verb *kuvuhila* and *kuleka*.

Singular	Plural
(7) <i>u-vuhil-agh-e ku-lia</i> 2SG-leave- HAB-SBJV INF-eat ‘Don’t eat’ (Immediate future)	<i>m#-vuhil-agh-e ku-lia</i> 2PL-leave-HAB-SBJV INF-eat ‘Don’t eat’ (Immediate future)
<i>u-lek-agh-e pi-luta</i> 2SG-leave- HAB-SBJV INF-go ‘Don’t go’ (Immediate future)	<i>m#-lek-agh-e pi-luta</i> 2PL-leave-HAB-SBJV INF-go ‘Don’t go’ (Immediate future)
<i>u-li-vuhil-agh-e ku-lia</i> 2SG-FUT-leave- HAB-SBJV INF-eat ‘Don’t eat!’ (far future)	<i>m#-li-vuhil-agh-e ku-lia</i> 2PL-FUT-leave-HAB-SBJV INF-eat ‘Don’t eat!’
<i>u-li-lek-agh-e pi-luta</i> 2SG-FUT-leave- HAB-SBJV INF-go ‘Don’t go!’ (far future)	<i>m#-li-lek-agh-e pi-luta</i> 2PL-FUT-leave-HAB-SBJV INF-eat ‘Don’t go!’ (far future)

In the examples above there two types of infinitive which are differentiated by their prefix *pi-* and *ku-*, both of them can be translated by the particle ‘to’ in English. In this paper I am not going to go in detail and explain why some verbs take *pi-* and others *ku-*.

Deferred prohibitive command with a negative particle affixed in the main verb;

When a negative particle is prefixed on a verb, it goes with a affix *-nga-*. The affix *-nga-* is the marker for the conditional statements, but when this affix is used in the prohibitive commands semantically it does not reflect conditional sense in the verb.

Singular	Plural
(8) <i>n-ʉ-nga-li-sagh-e</i> NEG-2SG-COND-eat- HAB-SBJV 'Don't eat!' (Immediate future)	<i>na-mʉ-nga-li-sagh-e</i> NEG-2PL-COND-eat- HAB-SBJV 'Don't eat!' (Immediate future)
<i>n-ʉ-nga-li-li-sagh-e</i> NEG-2SG-COND-FUT-eat-HAB-SBJV 'Don't eat!' (far future)	<i>na-mʉ-nga-li-li-sagh-e</i> NEG-2PL-COND-FUT-eat-HAB-SBJV 'Don't eat!' (far future)

2.3 Restrictions

Vwanji does not allow the imperative in non-agentive or stative verbs. The verb *-va* 'to be' in commands and requests prefers subjunctive.

(9) <i>ʉ-v-e</i>	<i>n-nofu</i>	<i>mʉ-v-e</i>	<i>va-nofu</i>
2SG-be-SBJV	2SG-good	2SG-be-SBJV	2SG-good
'Be good!'		'Be good!'	

2.4 Function of the Imperative

Basically the uses of imperatives depend very much on the relationship between a speaker (commander) and a hearer (one being commanded). This relationship

determines the authority of a speaker towards a person who is receiving the command and it is this relationship which governs the response of the hearer to the order uttered. Moreover, the will and ability of the hearer to comply with that command is crucial. Givón notes, while the manipulator (speaker) has legitimate authority over the manipulee (hearer), on the other hand the manipulee is free to act in the proposed direction.

...manipulation involves the social-personal relations between the speaker and hearer. The exact variant manipulative speech-act to be selected is determined by the status, power, and obligation gradients between the manipulator and the manipulee. Questions of politeness, propriety, fear or respect, and of potential social consequences of improper usage, are all germane to the choice of appropriate manipulative construction (Givón 1984, 311).

Generally speaking imperative in *Vwanji* is not a polite way of asking somebody to do something, especially the bare imperative. Therefore, the situation where perfective imperative will not sound anomalous is in jokes (among people of the same age), when somebody is angry, especially an elderly man/woman speaking to a younger one, and a voice of alerting someone in times of danger; for example uttering to a person who is about to step on a snake. The imperfective imperative is more polite than the perfective. In some instances imperative sounds polite especially when a command is

made by using two or more verbs consecutively. The first verb will be a perfective imperative followed by the imperfective imperative or a verb marked by subjunctive.

- (10) *ima lʉt-agma ʉ-katool-e ikimaghe mʉ-nyumba.*
 IMP.stand IMP.go-HAB 2SG-take-SBJV knife in.the-house
 ‘Arise! Go (and) take a knife in the house.’

- or *ima ʉ-lʉt-agh-e ʉ-katool-e ikimaghe mʉ-nyumba.*
 IMP.stand 2SG-go-HAB-SBJV 2SG-take-SBJV knife in.the.house
 ‘Arise! Go (and) take a knife in the house.’

- **ima, lʉta toola ikimaghe mʉ-nyumba.*
 IMP.stand IMP.go IMP.take knife in.the.house
 ‘Arise! Go take a knife in the house.’

Therefore, phrases which are typically imperative in one language, when translated into *Vwanji*, need not necessarily be translated as imperative but the context and type of text will determine how to translate that particular text. Compare the following Greek (Mark 1:15) and Hebrew (Jonah 3:2) examples below.

- (11) ...*μετανοείτε και πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.*
 ...repent and believe in the gospel
 ‘...repent, and believe in the gospel.’

Vwanji translation:

- ...*mʉ-lat-aghe na ku-kuli-vingilila ilivangili*
 ...2SG-repent-HAB.SBJV and INF-3SG.OBJ-follow the.gospel
 ‘...repent and follow the gospel.’

*...*lata* *na* *vingiila*...
 ...IMP.repent and IMP.follow...
 ‘...repent and follow...’

- (12) ...^{קָוֵם} ^{לְךָ} ^{אֶל-נִינְוֶה} ^{הַעִיר} ^{הַגְּדוֹלָה} ^{וְקָוֵם}
 ...proclaim.and great.the city.the Nineveh-to go arise
 ‘Arise, go to Nineveh, that great city, and proclaim...’

Vwanji translation:

ima *luta-gha* *u-palisi-e* *kulikaaja* *ilivaha*
 IMP.arise IMP.go-HAB 2SG-proclaim-SBJV to.the.city the.great

ilya Ninawi

of Nineveh...

‘Arise go to proclaim to the great city of Nineveh...’

**ima,* *lata* *palisia*...
 IMP.arise IMP.go MP.proclaim...
 ‘Arise, go, proclaim...’

CHAPTER THREE HORTATIVES

3.1 Definition

Here hortative refers to the first person forms (singular and plural). This is a type of mood where a speaker imposes his or her will on to the entity being addressed; the speaker determines to carry out a verbal process. Hortatives are verbs which may be used to encourage people to do something, to express wishes, or blessings. Different languages do this differently; English uses ‘let me/us’ or ‘may I/we’ expressions, Hebrew adds a suffix ׀ָ- to the imperfect form of the verb in first person singular and plural. Hebrew grammarians call the first person volition ‘cohortatives’ (Long 2004, 101). In this section I am going to explain and give some examples as to how *Vwanji* marks these types of verbs and their function. Not only first person volition request, but also in the second person and volition to the third person will be discussed in this chapter. I am using the word jussive for the third person volition.

3.2 Forms

3.2.1 First Person Volition

According to the data collected I have identified three types of first person volition in *Vwanji*. The first type involves the use of the verb *leka* ‘leave’ in imperative form with the main verb marked by subjunctive. The second type use the verb *kuvuuka* ‘to move’ marked with subjunctive and the main verb also marked with subjunctive. Finally, the main verb can be used alone with subjunctive marker.

With the verb *leka* ‘leave’ imperative;

- (1) *lek-a ni-lut-e*
 IMP.leave-FV 1SG-go-SBJV
 ‘Leave me to go!’

lek-a tu-lut-e
 IMP.leave-FV 1SG-go-SBJV
 ‘Leave us to go!’

lek-a ni-dind-e umlyango
 IMP-leave 1SG-close-SBJV the.door
 ‘Leave me to close the door’

Example (15) can be used in a situation where a person(s) is asked to do something and responds. Also it applies to the will of a person or a group to do a certain thing. For example, *leka nilute* ‘leave me to go’ can refer to a situation where somebody is in need of help, now a person who is willing to help can say *leka nilute nintange* ‘let me go and

help him/her.’ Apart from expressing the will such an expression also supposes an affirmation and ability to do the action that one wills to do. If a person has no ability to perform then it is inappropriate to use such expression. Moreover, this type of expression is used when a force to do something is focused in future and not the circumstances behind which forces somebody to do something. Indeed this is a strong expression, for example in a group it can be used by a group leader or somebody with authority. In spite of the fact that (15) *leka* is translated as ‘leave’ this does not mean that it is asking for permission, it is typical first person volition. The request for permission form uses the verb *kusuma* ‘to ask for/beg;’

- (2) *ni-suum-a ni-lut-agh-e*
 1SG-ask-IND 1SG-go-HAB-SBJV
 ‘I ask I go/I beg I go.’

The verb *kuvuka* ‘to move’ is used in those expressions which involve movement. Therefore, in phrases like ‘let us sit,’ or ‘let us eat,’ this verb can not apply unless it is like ‘let us sit there;’ whereby the word ‘there’ implies that we have to move from where we are to ‘there’ and then sit. The verb *kuvuka* is marked by the subjunctive and the main verb is marked by subjunctive too. The main verb can be with or without a habitual marker. The imperative form of the verb *kuvuka* can never be

used with the first person like the verb *kuleka*; its imperative is always used in the second person cf. example (3)b *Vhuka apa!*

(3) *ni-vhuk-e* *ni-lut-agh-e*
 1SG-move-SBJV 1SG-go-HAB-SBJV
 ‘Let me move (and) go!/Let me go!’

tu-vhuk-e *tu-lut-aghe*
 1PL-move-SBJV 1PL-go-HAB-SBJV
 ‘Let us move (and) go!/Let us go!’

tu-vhuk-e *ni-ku-soon-e* *ukwa ku-ghula ifinu ifya ku-lia.*
 1PL-move-SBJB 1SG-2SG.OBJ-show-SBJV where to-buy things of to-eat
 ‘Let us go and I will show you where you can buy something to eat.’

The verb *kuvhuka* can be used in a situation where the present or future circumstances force the speaker to make such a request; whereas *kuleka* always the focus is on something to be done in future. For example, *tvhuke tthumaghe* ‘let us go out’ because time is over but you can not say *leka tthume* ‘leave us to go’ because time is over; rather that expression will mean ‘leave us to go’ because we are required there where we have to go.

The third way is just by using the main verb without any other helping verb in the sentence, also in this form the main verb is marked by subjunctive. This type of hortative can be an imperfective marked with the habitual suffix *-aghe* or perfective. Semantically the perfective is used for an action to be done once and for all, whereas an

imperfective functions as a thing to be done habitually or just once, therefore, (19) is either ‘let us be going to the farm everyday/occasionally’ or ‘let us go to the farm this particular time’; context will tell. *Vwanji* uses these types of verbs in normal conversation when a speaker is urging or wishing something to be done and the speaker is part and parcel of what is supposed to be done. Hortatives are also evident in narrative texts, particularly in reported speech, when a narrator quotes the words of the character.

Perfective

- (4) ...*tɔ-tɔl-e* *ɛlɛghoji tɔ-kwes-an-e* *tɔ-lol-e* *veeni ɛnyangɛfu*.
 1PL-take-SBJV rope 1PL-pull-REFL-SBJV 1PL-see-SBJV who.is strong.
 ‘Let us take a rope, pull one another, let us see who is strong/let us take a rope and start pulling each other and we will see who is strong.’

Imperfective

- (5) *ni-lɛt-agh-e* *kɛmɛghɛnda*
 1SG-go-HAB-SBJV to.the-farm
 ‘Let me go to the farm.’

tɔ-lɛt-agh-e *kɛmɛghɛnda*
 1PL-go-HAB-SBJV to.the.farm
 ‘Let us go to the farm.’

3.2.2 Request in Second Person

Vwanji uses different ways of making requests to a second person as opposed to imperatives. The first option is making a request by using a question with the word *ndeponu*; this word can neither be inflected for tense nor number, it can be translated as ‘may/can/would/should’ and the main verb is in indicative form.

- (6) *Ndeponu, ghu-dind-a umlyango?*
 may/can 2SG-close-IND the.door
 ‘May you close the door/Can you close the door?’

Ndeponu, mu-lut-a ka-sukulu umsyughu?
 may/can 2PL-go-IND to-school today
 ‘Can you go to school today?’

A second way of making request uses the precative *sivyo* ‘please’ with the main verb and it always comes before the main verb. The precative *sivyo* can go with the main verb of different moods including imperative and indicative but not an infinitive.

- (7) *Sivyo, dinda umlyango.*
 please, IMP.close the.door
 ‘Please, close the door.’

Sivyo na-pel-a, u-n-sagh-ile pelepele!
 please 1SG-confess-IND 2SG-1SG.OBJ-forgive-PRF confess
 ‘Please, I confess forgive me please!’

Ghwe nyalukolo, sivyo u-m-yanil-e, ni-pel-ile.
 you relative please 2SG-1SG.OBJ-forgive-SBJV 1SG-confess-PRS
 ‘Friend, please forgive me.’

Third, the infinitive of a verb *kusũma* ‘to beg’ can be used with the main verb (inflected in number and marked with subjunctive).

- (8) *Ni-ku-ku-sũm-a* *ũ-dind-e* *ũmũlyango*
 1SG-PRS-2SG.OBJ-beg-IND 2SG-close-SBJV the.door
 ‘I beg you, you close the door.’

Ni-ku-va-sũm-a *mũ-dind-e* *ũmũlyango*
 1SG-PRS-2PL.OBJ-beg-IND 2PL-close-SBJV the.door
 ‘I beg you, you close the door.’

Finally the construction illustrated in (21) which uses *sivyo* ‘please,’ can be combined with that in (22), with the verb *kusũma* ‘beg’ (indicative) and the main verb is inflected in number and marked with subjunctive.

- (9) *Sivyo ni-ku-ku-sũm-a* *ũ-dind-e* *ũmũlyango*
 please 1SG-PRS-2SG.OBJ-beg-IND 2SG-close-SBJV the.door
 ‘Please, I beg you, you close the door.’

Sivyo ni-ku-va-sũm-a *mũ-dind-e* *ũmũlyango*
 please 1SG-PRS-2PL.OBJ-beg-IND 2PL-close-SBJV the.door
 ‘Please, I beg you, you close the door.’

Finally, the employment of the main verb marked with subjunctive.

- (23) *Mwe vivaha, hongela mũ-vomb-ile, lino mu-kal-e mũ-lavũk-e.*
 hello friends, thanks 2PL-working-PRF, now 2PL-sit-SBJV 2PL-eat-SBJV
 ‘Friends, thank you for your work, now sit down and eat.’

In all these examples the underlying logic is that the more words are incorporated in a request, the more polite it becomes.

3.2.3 Jussives (third person forms)

Like the first person volition and second person request in some instances *Vwanji* uses a verb *kuleka* ‘to leave’ in jussives. Always the verb *kuleka* is perfective while the main verb can be either perfective or imperfective. Whereas the verb *kuleka* in first person volition semantically has a sense of ability of the speaker towards the action proposed by the speaker, in jussives the function of this verb has a sense of authority or power of the speaker; this means that the wish has to be uttered by a superior to someone inferior for example a father to a child, or leader to the one(s) he leads, a teacher to a student, an old man or woman to the younger one. I suppose it is because of cultural issue that wishes come from the higher part to the lower and not vice versa.

Perfective: the action not to be done habitually

- (10) *#viise ati, “m#-lek-e a-l#t-e”*
 his.father said, 3SG-leave-SBJV 3SG-go-SBJV
 ‘His father said, “Leave him to go/let him go.”’

#viise ati, “va-lek-e va-l#t-e”
 his.father said, 3PL-leave-SBJV 3PL-go-SBJV
 ‘His father said, “Leave them to go/let them go.”’

**#nswambe ati, “m#leke #baba alie”*
 his.son said, leave my.father he.eat
 ‘His son said, “Leave my father to eat.”’

Imperfective: the action to be done habitually; the main verb is marked with habitual and subjunctive.

- (11) *m#lek-e* *a-l#t-agh-e*.
 3PL-leave-SBJV 3SG-go-SBJV
 ‘Leave him to go.’

va-lek-e *va-l#t-agh-e*.
 3PL-leave-SBJV 3PL-go-SBJV
 ‘Leave them to go.’

#Ng#l#ve *a-k#f#unya-gh-e*
 3SG.God 3SG-2SG.OBJ-bless-HAB.SBJV
 ‘May God bless you!’

**leka* *#Ng#l#ve* *ak#funyaghe*
 leave 3SG.God, to bless you
 ‘Leave God to bless you’

CHATER FOUR DEGREE OF POLITENESS

In the above chapters especially Chapters two and three I have been alluding to the question of politeness in different forms. Here I am going to summarize the discussion regarding how *Vwanji* makes polite orders. Below is the politeness hierarchy according to the data discussed in the above chapters. The imperative is the rudest one and as you go down the hierarchy the more polite it becomes. The imperfect marked by habitual is more polite than the perfective one, and the use of precatives makes it yet more polite.

(1) *Li-a*
Eat-FV
'Eat!'

Li-sagha
eat-HAB
'Eat!'

U-li-sagh-e
2SG-eat-HAB-SBJV
'May you eat!'

Sivyo *#li-sagh-e*
 Please 2SG-eat-HAB-SBJV
 ‘Please eat’

Sivyo *ni-ku-ku-suum-a* *#li-sagh-e*
 please 1SG-PRS-2SGO.OBJ-beg-IND 2SG-eat-HAB-SBJV
 ‘Please, I beg you eat!/Eat please!’

Another aspect of politeness in *Vwanji* is connected to indirectness; for example one may use a question to make a request or an order cf. (20) above.

Vwanji does not allow negative imperative because negation by itself is not a pleasing language therefore to avoid double impoliteness the negation uses the polite form, which is the subjunctive with habitual *-(s)agh-* cf. (10).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This paper represents an initial inquiry into imperatives and hortatives in *Vwanji*. The goal of the project has been to describe how the language marks different forms of imperatives and hortatives, with their functions. I have been able to describe the morphology of the verb in a basic form (the indicative) and what are the different forms of the verbs when they are used in orders and volition.

In chapter one, I have introduced the purpose of the study in this particular area of the language. Also background information about the people and the language has been introduced including: the demography, language typology, phonology and orthography, morphology and syntax, socio-linguistic information and the limitations of the paper; including previous work which has been done on the language.

In Chapters two and three, I have dealt with the definition of imperatives and hortatives and their different forms and their functions. The language marks aspect in the imperatives, thus, an imperative can be either perfective or imperfective. The language does not allow negative prohibition as a result prohibitive commands are marked by the subjunctive. The question of politeness has been discussed briefly and needs more work to be done.

It is my hope that the information found in this paper will be useful for better understanding of the language in the area of imperatives and hortatives. This information is worthwhile for whoever wants to make a thorough study on the language and I hope it will be useful to me as I join a translation team back home at the end of my studies here at NEGST.

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APPENDIX

A Story of a person who was very rude to a fellow

1. *Amaghove, Iwiho Iwa Vavwanji.*
 working.together custom of the.Vwanji
 ‘Working together is a custom of the Vavwanji.’

2. *Uvufumbue ku-tanga-na imbombo.*
 the.aim INF-help-REFL works
 ‘The goal to help one another in his/works.’

3. *Ikighono kimonga u-nya-mughunda a-ka-suum-a ulutango.*
 day certain 3SG-of-farm 3SG-PST-ask-FV help.
 ‘One day the farmer asked for the help.’

4. *Avamanyaani va-ka-lut-a va-ka-lim-a vunofu ndavule jaatu.*
 his.friends 3PL-PST-go-FV 3PL-PST-dig-FV well as everyday
 ‘His friends responded and went to the farm, they worked very well as usual.’

5. *Ye va-mal-ile u-nya-mughunda a-ka-va-hongesi-a,*
 when 3PL-finish-PRF 3SG-of-farm 3SG-PST-3PL.OBJ-give thanks-FV
 ‘When they had finished working the owner of the farm thanked them,’

“Mwe vivaha, hongela mu-vomb-ile, lino mu-kal-e mu-lavuk-e.”
 hello friends, thanks 2PL-working-PRF, now 2PL-sit-SBJV 2PL-eat-SBJV
 “‘Friends, thank you for your work, now sit down and eat.’”

6. *A-ka-va-peel-a uvwalua va-ki-kal-agh-a vooni paasi.*
 3SG-PST-give-FV beer 3PL-PST-sit-HAB-FV all down
 ‘All sat down and he gave them a traditional beer.’

7. *Unsiki ndebe vuvæle, umuunu jumonga juno ale mbambisi*
 time little nothing man certain who was a man looking for a drink
 ‘After a while a certain man who was thirsty

a-ka-fik-a, a-ka-hungil-a, a-ka-ti, “Mu-vomb-ile!”
 3SG-PST-come-FV 3SG-PST-greet-FV 3SG-PST-say 2PL-work-PRF
 arrived and greeted them saying, ‘You have worked.’”

8. *Vadebe vakitikila.*
 few 3PL-PST-respond-FV
 ‘Few of them responded.’

9. *Umbambisi ula a-ka-vel-agma a-ki-kal-agma,*
 a.man.looking.for.a.drink that 3SG-PST-approach-HAB 3SG-PST-sit-HAB
 ‘That man who was looking for a drink approached and sat

a-ka-huviil-a ku-nyua.
 3SG-hope-FV INF-drink
 expecting to have a drink.’

10. *Umulumisi jumonga juno a-ka-tambulw-agh-a Kimhupe,*
 worker certain who 3SG-PST-call-HAB-FV Kimhupe
 ‘One of the workers who was called Kimhupe

a-ki-im-a kamo idalika akati, “Ghwe
 3SG-PST-stand-FV while 3SG-talk-FV 3SG-PST-say you
 stood while talking, saying, “You

muyavu uve, ghu-hong-ile jaatu u-vee-le ghu-tegheluk-a
 man you 2SG-like-PRF everyday 2SG-havePRF 2SG-wait-FV
 man you are like that every day, you have been waiting

kumonga, gh-wagh-ile tu-mal-ile pi-lima pe ghu-fik-a,
 somewhere 2SG-see-PRF 1PL-finish-PRF INF-dig then 2SG-arrive-FV
 somewhere, now you have seen that we have finished the work you are coming

ʉsue tʉ-pumwik-e uve ghu-lond-a ku-ku-nyu-a kisita
 we 1PL-suffer-SBJV you 2SG-want-FV EMP-INF-drink-FV without
 we have suffered and you want to drink without

vomba naghunyua! Vʉka apa!”
 work IMP.go here
 working! Go away!”

11. *ʉmbambisi jʉla ilitavua lya mwene aale ghwe*
 a.man.looking.for.a.drink that name of him was ARTICLE
 ‘That man who was looking for a drink his was

Mbututu, pe a-ka-degh-agh-a kyongo, a-ka-vʉk-a
 Mbututu then 3SG-PST-anony-HAB-FV very 3SG-PST-move-FV
 Mbututu, he was annoyed very much, then he left and

i-vʉj-a
 3SG.PRS-turn-FV
 went home.’

12. *Ye ghakilile ameesi nda ghalingi ʉkimhupe akakyulagha,*
 when 3PL-pass-PRF months of several Kimhupe 3SG-PST-travel-FV
 ‘When several months had passed, Kimhupe travelled

a-ka-fik-a ku-titu kʉ-likaaja lino likatambulwagha Kitekelo.
 3SG-PST-reach-FV at-night at-a.village which was.called Kitekelo
 he reached during the night at the village which was called Kitekelo.’

13. *Pe a-ka-lond-agh-a ʉkwa kʉ-ghona.*
 then 3SG-PST-find-HAB-FV of INF-sleep
 ‘Therefore, he was looking for a place to sleep.’

14. *A-ka-lut-a inyumba jimonga, ava nyumba*
 3SG-PST-go-FV house certain those in.house
 ‘He went to a certain house and those in the house

va-ka-mwu-pil-agh-a.
 3PL-PST-3SG.OBJ-welcome-HAB-FV
 welcomed him.’
15. *Ye i-kwingil-a akadeghagha humbe mwe mwa*
 when 3SG.PRS-enter-FV 3SG-PST-astonish-HAB-FV alas of the
 ‘When he entered he was astonished! Alas! It was (the home) of

Mbututu juno alyandag-ile pa mughove,
 Mbututu who 3SG-PST-3SG.OBJ-chase-PRF when working together
 Mbututu, the person he chased at the farm (when he wanted to drink beer),

a-ka-ghasuk-a na ku-kelesi-a.
 3SG-PST-amaze-FV and INF-wonder-FV
 he was amazed and caught with a great surprise.’
16. *Na jihungilile jikava ja vwoghofi.*
 and greetings was of fear
 ‘Even the way he greeted them showed fear.’
17. *A-ka-ghul-agh-a kino ki-luta pi-voneka.*
 3SG-PST-wait-HAB-FV what 3SG.go-FV INF-happen.
 ‘He was waiting what will come next.’
18. *U-nya-nyumba a-ka-tengelel-a.*
 3SG-of-house 3SG-PST-minister-FV
 The house owner ministered to him
19. *A-ka-li-a na ku-nyua vnofu.*
 3SG-PST-eat-FV and INF-drink well
 ‘He ate and drank well.’

20. *Pe Ukimhupe ye a-sivwene isio soni, a-tengul-a*
 then Kimhupe when 3SG-see those all 3SG-begin-FV
 ‘Then, Kimhupe when had seen all of what they did to him, he began

pi-laata sino a-lya-mbomb-ile Umututu, a-ka-jov-a
 INF-repent which 3SG-PST-3SG. OBJ.-do-PRF Mbututu 3SG-say-
 to repent for what he had done to Mbututu, he said

a-ka-ti, “Ghwe nyalukolo, sivuo u-myani-e,
 FV3SG-PST-say you friend please 2SG-forgive-SBJV
 that, “My dear, please forgive me,

ni-pelil-e, na-lya-kuhok-ile ikighono kila kino
 1SG.PRS-confess-SBJV 1SG-PST-maltreat-PRF a.day that which
 I maltreated you that day when

na-lya-kudag-ile pa mughove.”
 1SG-PST-chase-PRF at the.farm
 I chased you at the farm.’

21. *Ye i-jova ulalaato uluo a-ka-fugham-agh-a paasi*
 when 3SG-say confession that 3SG-PST-kneel-HAB-FV down
 When he confessed he knelt down

a-ka-ti-sagh-a, “Sivyo na-pel-a, u-n-saghil-e.”
 3SG-PST-say-HAB-FV please 1SG-confess-FV2SG-1SGO.OBJ-forgive-SBJV
 said, “Please I confess, forgive me.”

22. *Umututu akati, “Une namalile pi-ku-ku-saghil-a*
 Mbututu 3SG-PST-say I 1SG-finish-PRF EMP-INF-2SG.OBJ-forgive-FV
 Mbututu said, “I did forgive you

katali, leka pisaagha,”
 long time IMP.leave INF-think
 long time ago, don’t worry.”

23. *Ukimhupe a-ka-hongesy-a.*
Kimhupe 3SG-PST-thank-FV
Kimhupe was very grateful.