

**UC Berkeley**  
**Dissertations, Department of Linguistics**

**Title**

Runyambo Verb Extensions and Constructions on Predicate Structure

**Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1xp5453s>

**Author**

Rugemalira, Josephat

**Publication Date**

1993

Runyambo Verb Extensions and Constraints on Predicate  
Structure

by

Josephat Muhozi Rugemalira

B.A. (University of Dar es Salaam) 1984

M.A. (University of Lancaster) 1986

M.A. (University of California at Berkeley) 1991

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Linguistics

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA at BERKELEY

Committee in charge:

Professor Charles J. Fillmore, Chair

Professor Sam A. Mchombo

Professor Johanna B. Nichols

Professor Larry M. Hyman

1993

The dissertation of Josephat Muhozi Rugemalira is approved:

<u>Dee J. Fillmore</u> Chair	Nov 2, 1993 Date
<u>Larry M. Hyman</u>	Nov. 9, 1993 Date
<u>Patricia A. ...</u>	Nov. 4, 1993 Date
<u>Stevie ...</u>	Nov. 1, 1993 Date

University of California at Berkeley

1993

## ABSTRACT

**RUNYAMBO VERB EXTENSIONS AND CONSTRAINTS ON PREDICATE  
STRUCTURE**

by

Josephat Muhozi Rugemalira

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California at Berkeley

Professor Charles J. Fillmore, Chair

This study presents a description of the productive verb extensions in Runyambo, a Bantu language of Tanzania. It challenges the common view that the extensions are potentially a resource for increasing the number of a verb's arguments indefinitely, and shows instead that the extensions form part of a set of interrelated mechanisms, within the Bantu languages, which ensure that the arguments of a verb remain distinguishable from each other.

The first chapter provides a general background to the language and its speakers. Chapter two articulates a theoretical framework of argument differentiation which proposes a two-level theory of predicate structure (argument structure and lexical semantic structure) and helps focus attention on the means for distinguishing arguments from each other.

Chapters three and four treat the two extensions (the applicative and causative) that expand predicate structure. It is argued that the distinction between them suggests that



the number of thematic roles that participate in grammatical generalizations can be reduced to two, viz. actor and nonactor. The actor is a causative role, while the nonactor is an applicative role.

Chapter five deals with the three extensions (reciprocal, stative, and passive) that contract predicate structure. It shows that the extensions are organized around the binary distinction between actor and nonactor thematic roles.

Chapter six shows that extension combinations are highly constrained by the general requirement that arguments be distinguishable from each other. It is this requirement that finds reflection in restrictions on extension repetition and cooccurrence. These restrictions furnish further evidence for the dual thematic role organization proposed in this study. In addition, evidence that undermines the significance of variable ordering of the extensions is presented and it is suggested that some of the restrictions are compatible with a template-matching view of affixation.

*Charles J. Fillmore*

Runyambo Verb Extensions and Constraints on Predicate  
Structure

Copyright 1993

by

Josephat Muhozi Rugemalira

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	vi
Abbreviations	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Chapter One: General Background	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Geography and Society	2
1.2 Linguistic Profile of Runyambo	6
1.2.1 Phonological sketch	6
1.2.2 Nominal morphology	9
1.2.3 Verb morphology	11
1.3 The Challenge of the Verb Extensions	15
1.3.1 Identifying the extensions	15
1.3.2 Productive extensions and predicate structure	18
1.4 Materials and Methods	22
Notes to Chapter One	25
Chapter Two: A Grammar of Argument Differentiation	28
2.0 Introduction	28
2.1 On Grammatical Relations and Thematic Roles	28
2.1.1 Lexical mapping theory	30
2.1.2 Problems in defining grammatical functions	37
2.2 Predicate Structure	42
2.3 Linguistic Mapping and Argument Differentiation	45
Notes to Chapter Two	50
Chapter Three: The Applicative	56
3.0 Introduction	56
3.1 Form and Terminology	56

3.2	Applicative Thematic Roles	59
3.2.1	Beneficiary role	59
3.2.2	Subjective role	63
3.2.3	Motive role	66
3.2.4	Locative role	68
3.2.5	Durative role	68
3.2.6	Neutral role	69
3.3	Locative Patterns	70
3.3.1	Morphosyntactic patterns	70
3.3.2	Semantic patterns	77
3.3.3	Semantic groups of verbs	84
3.4	Argument Structure and Argument Differentiation	89
3.5	Summary	99
	Notes to Chapter Three	100
	 Chapter Four: The Causative	 104
4.0	Introduction	104
4.1	Forms of the Causative Extension	104
4.2	Causative Thematic Roles	113
4.2.1	Causee role	113
4.2.2	Instrument role	115
4.2.3	Subjective role	117
4.2.4	Causee vs instrument	118
4.3	Argument Structure and Argument Differentiation	120
4.3.1	Valency increaser	120
4.3.2	Causee omission	125
4.3.3	Distinguishing causative from applicative	134
4.4	Conclusion	142
	Notes to Chapter Four	142
	 Chapter Five: Detransitivizing Extensions	 148
5.0	Introduction	148
5.1	The Reciprocal	148

5.1.1 Forms of the reciprocal extension	148
5.1.2 Syntax and semantics of the reciprocal	152
5.1.3 Comparison with the reflexive	156
5.1.4 Summary	157
5.2 The Stative	157
5.2.1 Forms and terminology	157
5.2.2 Syntax and semantics of the stative	160
5.2.3 Summary	163
5.3 The Passive	163
5.3.1 Forms and distribution of the passive	163
5.3.2 Syntax and semantics of the passive	164
5.3.3 Summary	172
5.4 Conclusion	173
Notes to Chapter Five	175
Chapter Six: Cooccurrence Restrictions	180
6.0 Introduction	180
6.1 Extension Repetition	181
6.2 Extension Cooccurrence and Ordering	187
6.2.1 Phonological conditioning	187
6.2.2 Morphologically fixed sequences	190
6.2.3 Variable order	192
6.2.4 Predicate structure constraints	193
6.2.5 Summary	197
6.2.6 Combining three extensions	200
6.3 Conclusion	206
Notes to Chapter Six	211
Bibliography	220
Appendix: Lexicon of Runyambo Extended Verbs	232

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	
1.1 Nominal class prefixes	10
1.2 Suffix vowel harmony	14
1.3 Productive and non-productive verb extensions	16
2.1 Levels of representation of verb valency	29
3.1 Morphosyntactic patterns in applied locatives	72
3.2 Group two verbs	75
3.3 Group three verbs	76
3.4 Group four verbs	76
3.5 Displacing verbs	83
3.6 Time expressions (adjuncts)	96
3.7 Spatial expressions (arguments)	97
4.1 -is;- causative in CV roots	105
4.2 -;- and -is;- causatives in C-final roots	106
4.3 Selective use of -;- in Kiswahili	108
4.4 -is;- causative in "new consonants"	110
4.5 Distribution of -;- and -is;- causative forms	111
4.6 Causee omission verbs	126
5.1 Passives with variable argument structure requirements	169
6.1 Cooccurrence and ordering restrictions: choice of two extensions	198
6.2 Cooccurrence and ordering restrictions: choice of three extensions	200

## ABBREVIATIONS

A	Applicative
AS	Argument Structure
C	Causative
CG	Construction Grammar
D	Double Stem
FUT	Future Tense
FV	Final Vowel
GB	Government and Binding
I	Intensive
L	Locative
LC	Locative Clitic
LFG	Lexical Functional Grammar
LMT	Lexical Mapping Theory
LSS	Lexical Semantic Structure
NEG	Negative
P	Passive
PF	Perfective
PR	Present Tense
PST	Past Tense
PSY	Yesterday Past Tense
R	Reciprocal
RF	Reflexive
S	Stative
TP	Today Past Tense
V	Reversive

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee - Charles Fillmore, Larry Hyman, Sam Mchombo, and Johanna Nichols - for ensuring that this project came to a successful conclusion. Many thanks also to my friends, especially Kathleen Hubbard and Joyce Mathangwane, for invaluable assistance, and to all of my teachers at Berkeley. For financial assistance, I am particularly indebted to the University of California at Berkeley, and to the James Grubb Scholarship Foundation.

My wife Leah not only took care of me and our daughters, Neema and Namara, but she also provided tremendous assistance as my language consultant as I struggled to compile the data in the appendix. For all this, thanks Leah.



## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL BACKGROUND

#### 1.0 Introduction

The aims of this study are two-fold. First it seeks to present a detailed description of the productive verb extensions (suffixes) in Runyambo, viz. the applicative, causative, passive, stative, and reciprocal extensions. Second, it seeks to show that although on the face of it these extensions are potentially a resource for indefinitely increasing the number of arguments on any verb, there are general predicate structure constraints which restrict the realization of this potential. In the course of realizing these aims, the study will articulate a theoretical framework of argument differentiation which makes no use of the notion of grammatical relations and severely restricts the inventory of thematic roles that participate in grammatical generalizations to two, viz. actor and nonactor.

This chapter gives a general background to the language and its speakers. Section 1.1 discusses the geography and socio-political context. Section 1.2 provides a linguistic profile of Runyambo to facilitate a better understanding of the discussion in subsequent chapters and of the data in the Appendix. Section 1.3 presents the descriptive and analytical problem posed by the verb extensions. Section 1.4 discusses the database on which the study is based.

### 1.1 Geography and Society

The people whose language is the subject of this study inhabit the district of Karagwe, in the northwestern corner of Tanzania. The district covers an area of 2,700 square miles, stretching roughly from 30°30' to 31°30'E, and from 1° to 2°S. This constitutes the core of the old Karagwe kingdom, but it is said that the kingdom used to stretch further south and east before German colonialists gave part of the territory to Karagwe's neighbors whose kings collaborated with the invaders at the turn of the century (Katoke 1970, 1975; Cory n.d.; Webster 1979). The current territory is almost completely demarcated by natural boundaries. The Kagera river constitutes the western boundary with Rwanda, the northern boundary with Uganda, and the northwestern boundary with the district of Bukoba within Tanzania. A tributary of the Kagera, River Mwisa, and Lake Burigi and the adjoining marshland, form the eastern boundary with Bukoba and Muleba districts. The southern boundary with Ngara district consists of a straight line from the southern tip of Lake Burigi just south of the 2nd parallel.

According to the preliminary report of the 1988 census, the population of Karagwe was 292,589. Given an annual growth rate of 2.7%, the current figure should be about 325,000 inhabitants<sup>1</sup>.

The indigenous inhabitants of Karagwe call themselves **abanyambo** and refer to their orurimi 'tongue/language' as **orunyambo** or occasionally as **ecinyambo**. Since there has been considerable confusion in the literature on this score, a few clarifications are in order. The confusion is of two kinds. First, there is confusion in naming and locating the land, the people, and the language. This confusion apparently originates from Bryan (1959:107) who lists "nyambo(ru-)" and "Karagwe(ru-)" as two distinct languages spoken in the same area, then Tanganyika Territory, south of the Kagera river. Barreteau and Bastin's (1978) map compounds this confusion by seeming to locate these supposedly distinct languages in Uganda, north of the Kagera river! Although Rubanza (1988) correctly identifies Karagwe as the name of the old Kingdom, he wrongly aligns it with a "Mwani" dialect and never mentions Runyambo except in connection with Guthrie's and Nurse's works. While there is a Kimwani ward in Muleba district (not in Karagwe) on the shores of Lake Victoria, it is my understanding that the people of the area call their language oruháya, not orumwani. What should be clear is that Karagwe is not the name of a language, a people, or even a town. It refers to an administrative territory much larger than a town or a village.

The second type of confusion is inherently controversial, having to do with the problem of defining and identifying languages and dialects. Guthrie (1948, 1967-71), and Bryan (1959), Bastin (1978), and Nurse (1979) after him,

identified Runyambo (E21) and Ruhaya (E22) as distinct languages (the latter with the Ziba, Ihangiro, and Hamba dialects). Heine's (1972) classification, however, only mentions Ruhaya. And from the perspective of the two most extensive studies of Ruhaya, Byarushengo et al. (1977) and Rubanza (1988), Runyambo does not exist (This is the stuff that wars are made of!). In this regard Bickmore's work (1989, 1992) is significant for having at least reaffirmed Runyambo's place on the map.

The treatment of Runyambo is an apt illustration of the "standard joke that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy" (Chomsky 1977:190)<sup>2</sup>. The Banyambo have always regarded their language as distinct from that of the Bahaya of Buhaya (Hayaland). But the advent of German and, later, British colonialists set the stage for the characterization of Runyambo as a Ruhaya dialect. Both Buhaya (Muleba, and Bukoba rural and urban, districts; 1988 population census: 665,412) and Karagwe were incorporated into an administrative entity called Bukoba, with headquarters at Bukoba town, on the shores of Lake Victoria. (Bukoba is now the regional capital of Kagera Region, which besides the districts already mentioned, also includes Ngara and Biharamulo districts). Alongside the colonial administration, the Christian missionaries established their first stations in Buhaya, learnt Ruhaya, translated the Bible, and built schools and health centers<sup>3</sup>. From there they moved into Karagwe and proceeded to preach and teach in Ruhaya<sup>4</sup> (cf Sundkler 1980).

In purely linguistic terms, Ruhaya, Runyambo, Runyankore, and Ruciga (Nurse's Rutara group) could be regarded as dialects of the same language. The intercomprehension rate among these tongues ranges between 75% and 85% (International Encyclopedia of Linguistics 1992; Ladefoged et al. 1968:69)<sup>5</sup>. But as the "standard joke" above suggests, such criteria are usually irrelevant or, at best, subsidiary when important decisions have to be made. It is conceivable that if the Rutara group were to be consolidated under one political order, a single standard language for the political entity could be developed/imposed. Guthrie's (1948) classification reflects the political reality by placing Runyankore and Ruciga in group 10 (with Luganda) because they are in Uganda, while Runyambo and Ruhaya, being on the other side of the border in Tanzania (then Tanganyika) are placed in group 20. Nor can Heine's genetic classification justify, in linguistic terms, the suppression of Runyambo except on the basis of the political dominance of Ruhaya during the past one hundred years, and/or on the basis of the numerical dominance of the speakers of Ruhaya - which reinforces the point: they can raise a bigger army and navy! Fortunately, in the sphere of language policy there has not been much room for fighting since both Runyambo and Ruhaya are subordinate to the national language, Kiswahili. All primary school instruction is conducted in Kiswahili and all materials for the adult literacy campaign of the 1970s were in Kiswahili. But unfortunately, this has also meant that both Ruhaya and

Runyambo, like all other ethnic languages of Tanzania, cannot hope to develop a literary tradition of their own, and will remain in the shadow of Kiswahili<sup>6</sup>.

## 1.2 Linguistic Profile of Runyambo

In this section I only represent information that I consider sufficient for the reader to understand the subsequent data and discussion. No attempt is made to present a comprehensive grammar of Runyambo. For detailed discussion of various aspects of the language reference should be made to the following works on Runyambo and its sister languages: Bickmore 1989,1992; Buckley 1990; Byarushengo et al.1977; Hubbard 1993; Hyman & Byarushengo 1984; Rubanza 1988; Rugemalira 1990, 1991a&b, 1992, 1993a; Taylor 1959, 1985.

### 1.2.1 Phonological sketch

The consonant and vowel inventories are shown below in (101) and (102) respectively.

(101)	stops	nasals	fricatives	approximants
	p b	m	f v	w
	t d	n	s z	r
	c j	ñ		y
	k g			
				h

(102) i    u  
       e    o    ei  
       a

The palatal nasal /ñ/ will be orthographically represented as -ny- in this study. Vowel length is distinctive in the monophthongs. The inventory includes one diphthong /ei/ (as in omuséija 'man'; kubéiha 'tell lies').

Important alternations include the following:

i) h -> p/N\_\_ e.g. omuti guhângo 'big tree'

enju mpângo 'big house'

ii) r -> d/N\_\_ e.g. kurúma 'to bite'; kundúma 'to bite me'

iii) N -> N $\alpha$ place/ \_\_C $\alpha$ place i.e. a nasal consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant e.g. [eŋkura mpâ:ŋgo] 'big rhino'.

iv) A high front vowel /i/ which is not phonetically distinct from /i/ brings about significant consonant alternations (Bourquin 1955, Hyman 1991). The vowel is incarnate in the 'agentive' and the 'perfective tense' morphemes (103), and in the causative morpheme (see chapter four).

(103) a) kwíta      omwís;              beisíre  
           'kill'      'killer'              'they killed'

b)	kurira	omuriz <sub>i</sub>	bariz <sub>i</sub> re
	'cry'	'cry baby'	'they cried'

In (103) /t,r/ → /s,z/ before /i/.

v) A more general alternation consists in the palatalization of velar consonants before the front vowels, as illustrated in (104).

(104) a)	kuruka	omuruc <sub>i</sub>	baruc <sub>i</sub> re
	'to weave'	'weaver'	'they weaved'
b)	kuh <sub>i</sub> iga	omuh <sub>i</sub> ij <sub>i</sub>	bah <sub>i</sub> ij <sub>i</sub> re
	'to hunt'	'hunter'	'they hunted'
c)	kut <sub>e</sub> eka	kut <sub>e</sub> écera	bateec <sub>i</sub> re
	'to cook'	'cook for'	'they cooked'
d)	kut <sub>e</sub> ga	kut <sub>e</sub> jera	batej <sub>i</sub> re
	'to shave'	'shave for'	'they shaved'

In (104) both front vowels (including /i/) palatalize a preceding velar consonant. This is a fairly distinguishing characteristic of Runyambo (in contrast with Runyankore and Ruhaya), although even within Runyambo there are some dialectal and lexical variations). In general speakers in the eastern half of Karagwe are less likely to palatalize than speakers in the western half.



vi) Compensatory vowel lengthening is associated with glide formation (e.g. [kwóosa] from ku-ós-a 'to skip a day'; [kubyáara] from \*ku-bí+ar-a 'to plant'), and nasal-consonant clusters (e.g. [kubi:ŋga] 'chase') (cf Hubbard 1993). In this study the vowel length in these environments will be taken for granted and will not be marked in the orthography. Only lexically long vowels are represented by a double spell-out.

vii) Only high tone is marked (e.g. kukóma 'to tie'). Otherwise tone is low by default. Only where vowel length is derived, and therefore unmarked in the orthography, is falling tone marked (e.g. kuhênda 'to break').

### 1.2.2 Nominal morphology

The nominal class prefixes are shown in Table 1.1.

---

Class	Prefix	subject	object	example	gloss
1	o-mu-	a-	-mu-	omukázi	woman
2	a-ba-	ba-	-ba-	abakázi	women
3	o-mu-	gu-	-gu-	omuti	tree
4	e-mi-	e-	-ji-	emiti	trees
5	e-ri-	ri-	-ri-	eríino	tooth
	i-	ri-	-ri-	ihuri	egg
6	a-ma-	ga-	-ga-	amahuri	eggs
7	e-ci-	ci-	-ci-	ecicére	frog
8	e-bi-	bi-	-bi-	ebicére	frogs
9	e-(N)-	e-	-ji-	embúzi	goat
10	e-(N)-	e-	-zi-	embúzi	goats
11	o-ru-	ru-	-ru-	orúhu	skin
12	a-ka-	ka-	-ka-	akakázi	small woman
13	o-tu-	tu-	-tu-	otukázi	small women
14	o-bu-	bu-	-bu-	obugúfu	shortness
15	o-ku-	ku-	-ku-	okuguru	leg
16	a-ha-	ha-	-ha-	aharúhu	on the skin
17	o-ku-	ha-	-ha-	.kúnu	here
18	o-mu-	ha-	-ha-	omumiti	among trees
	Person	Sing/Plur		Sing/Plur	
	1	N-/tu-		-N-/tu-	
	2	o-/mu-		-ku-/ba-	
	3	a-/ba-		-mu-/ba-	

---

TABLE 1.1: Nominal class prefixes

Note that the augment or initial vowel consists of only the mid and low vowels (o,e,a), and these can only cooccur with the high and low vowels (u,i,a) respectively in the class prefix proper (cf vowel harmony in the verb stem below). Class 17 survives only in the following forms: kúnu/kúnúúya 'here', kúriya 'there', oku 'this way', and okwo 'that way'. The other locative prefixes (classes 16 & 18) can attach to any nominal without displacing the original prefix on that nominal. As will be shown later (chapter three), these prefixes are related to the locative enclitics on the verb.

### 1.2.3 Verb morphology

The nucleus of the verb complex is the root, to which various prefixes and suffixes may be attached. In the Appendix all verbs are listed with the ku- prefix, arguably a class 15 nominal prefix. The root, the ku- prefix, and the final vowel -a, together constitute the infinitive form of the verb (e.g. ku-som-a 'to read'). The simple imperative form drops the prefix and adds a high tone (e.g. sóma 'read!'). The final vowel is -e in the following cases:

i) Perfective and yesterday tenses:

(105) a) ba -som -ír -e 'they read' (yesterday)

they-read-PSY-FV

b) bá -á -som -;r-e 'they have already read'

they-PF-read-PF-FV

Both the yesterday past (-í-r-) and the perfective (-á-.-;r-) require the final vowel -e.

ii) Certain combinations of imperative mood and pronominal prefix:

(106) a) ci-sóm -e 'read it'

it-read-FV

b) ba -rek-é ba -sóm -e 'let them read'

them-let-FV they-read-FV

iii) Certain combinations of tense and negation:

(107) ti -ba -raa-sóm -e 'they won't read'

NEG-they-FUT-read-FV

Combining the -raa- future tense and the negative requires the final vowel -e.

Besides the -a, -e, and -;r-e suffixes, Runyambo has one more inflectional suffix -ag-, shown in (108).

(108) ti -tú-ka -cí-som -ág -a

NEG-we-PST-it-read-ever-FV 'we have never read it'

The -ag- suffix always cooccurs with negation and with the -ka- past tense, as shown in (108) i.e. it always needs them, but they don't need it.

There exists a large group of verb suffixes in Bantu languages which, following Guthrie (1962), are generally called extensions, implying that they extend the meaning of the verb they are attached to. Traditionally they are regarded as derivational suffixes, in contrast with the tense and mood suffixes discussed above, which are regarded as being inflectional. I will return to a consideration of the identification and relative productivity of the extensions in section 1.3. Here we need to note that there exists in Runyambo, as in many eastern Bantu languages, a vowel harmony rule between the root and the extension. Consider (109).

- (109) a) -guma -gum-ir-a -gum-is-a  
 b) -gamba -gamb-ir-a -gamb-is-a  
 c) -bíika -bíic-ir-a -bíic-is-a  
 d) -kóma -kóm-er-a -kóm-es-a  
 e) -reeba -reeb-er-a -reeb-es-a

The relevant feature in (109) is height. The suffix vowel is mid when the root vowel is mid; it is high elsewhere (cf Rugemalira 1990 for an underspecification theory account). However, as Table 1.2 shows, the CV roots as a group display

a different pattern that does not conform to the letter of this rule.

---

Gloss	Infinitive Root	-ir-	-is-
die	kúf(w)a	-fú-	-f(w)éera -f(w)íisa
fall	kugwa	-gu-	-gweera -gwiisa
cut	kúcwa	-cú-	-cwéera -cwiisa
eat	kúrya	-rí-	-ríira -ríisa
go	kuja	-ji-	-jiira -jiisa
burn	kúsyá	-hǐ-	-híira -híisa
give	kúha	-hé-	-héera -héisa
put	kúta	-té-	-téera -téisa
grind	kusa	-se-	-seera -seisa
defecate	kunia	-ne-	-neera -neisa
be	kúba	-bé-	-béera -béisa
dawn	kúca	-cé-	-céera -céisa
drink	kúnywa	-nyó-	-nywéera -nywéisa
exhaust	kúhwa	-hó-	-hwéera -hwéisa

---

TABLE 1.2: Suffix vowel harmony in CV roots

The table shows that in CV roots the vowel of the causative (-is-) suffix is always /i/, whereas in the

applicative (-ir-) the vowel is /i/ if the root has /i/, and /e/ elsewhere. The passive follows the applicative pattern (see Katamba 1984 for the Luganda pattern).

One more pattern should be noted. It involves the reversive extension -ur-, shown in (110).

- (110) a) -cín-g-ur-a            open  
       b) -bár-ur-a            burst  
       c) -gút-ur-a            snap  
       d) -tér-ur-a            remove from hearth  
       e) -gom-or-a            fatten

The vowel in the reversive extension is /o/ after a root /o/, and /u/ elsewhere.

### 1.3 The Challenge of the Verb Extensions

#### 1.3.1 Identifying the extensions

It is generally believed that the majority of Proto-Bantu verb roots had a -CVC- structure, except a few which had a -CV- structure (cf Guthrie 1967-71, Schadeberg n.d.). According to this view, complex verb roots in current languages were formed via a process of suffixation using suffixes with a -VC- structure. Several of these derivational suffixes have since ceased to be productive and the roots to which they are attached do not occur alone, or if they do

occur, the meaning of root + suffix is not the sum of the parts. For illustration, consider the root *-han-* 'censure, rebuke', and the various extensions that can attach to it in Table 1.3 (for glossing details see the Appendix).

---

Stem	A	C	P	R	S
1 <i>-han-a</i> 'censure'	+	+	+	+	-
2 <i>-han+am-a</i> 'climb'	+	+	+	+	+
3 <i>-han+ik-a</i> 'hang'	+	+	+	+	-
4 <i>-han+uur-a</i> 'discuss'	+	+	+	-	+
5 <i>-han+ur-a</i> 'unhang'	+	+	+	+	+

---

TABLE 1.3: Productive and non-productive verb extensions

Table 1.3 is centered around the root *-han-* in row 1. There are two patterns of suffixation on the root. On the horizontal pattern the applicative (A), causative (C), passive (P), reciprocal (R) and stative (S) derivations are fairly regular and predictable in meaning. The vertical pattern, involving the *-am-*, *-ik-*, *-uur-*, and *-ur-* extensions, is unpredictable. Each of the derivations on the vertical pattern (2-5) also participates in the horizontal pattern in turn. But the derivations on the horizontal pattern cannot participate in the vertical one (e.g. *\*han-ir-am-a*).



There are two gaps in the stative column, and one gap in the reciprocal column. As for the meaning of the derivations, only two are non-compositional, namely (4C) -hanuza 'marvel' and (4S) -hanuka '(of a rare, unexpected event) happen'. There is a discernible semantic relationship between -hana 'censure' and -hanuura 'discuss, decide, set rules'. There is also a relationship between -hanama 'climb' and -hanika 'hang'. And, of course, the reversive relationship between -hanika 'hang' and -hanura 'bring down' is readily available. This is reflected in the Appendix where -hanura is listed under -hanika, whereas all the others are given independent entries. Yet this is slightly problematic because, strictly speaking, the reversive of -hanika should be \*-hanikura. Furthermore, although the reversive does have the -ur- and -uur- variants shown in rows 4 and 5 on the Table (cf chapter five), by listing -hanuura separately in the lexicon we are giving the inaccurate impression that it has no relation to -hana. And yet it does not seem appropriate to posit the existence of a separate extension -uur-.

The problem with forms like -am-, -ik-, and -uur- in Table 1.3 consists in their lack of a systematic semantic relationship to a verb root and the consequent lack of productivity. Two other examples of non-productive extensions are shown in (112).

- (112) a) -by-âr-a 'plant' (\*-bí-)
- b) -síg-ar-a 'remain' (-síg-a 'leave behind')
- c) -rag-ar-a 'fall' (-rag-a 'bequeath,  
bid farewell)
- d) -tag-at-a 'warm up' (\*-tag-)
- e) -fúmb-at-a 'embrace' (\*fúmb-)
- e) -kúr-at-a 'follow' (-kúr-a 'grow')

The -ar- and -at- extensions in (112) may be identified and isolated from roots which may or may not exist in the current language. On the basis of historical reconstruction it may be possible to arrive at a probable semantic pattern underlying the verb stems. But from the perspective of synchronic grammar, these extensions are essentially frozen onto their roots, and they do not offer much that is of interest to grammatical theory. For this reason they will not be considered any further in this study. Occasionally they pop up in the Appendix and they are coded as X, for "Other".

### 1.3.2 Productive extensions and predicate structure

The decision to focus on five extensions (applicative, causative, passive, reciprocal, stative) in this study is based on their high degree of productivity and on the fact

that these five can enhance our understanding of predicate structure.

Productivity is understood in two senses here. The first sense is compositional determinacy (Shepardson 1986), i.e. the extent to which the whole root plus extension derivation is the sum of its parts semantically as well. The second sense involves the extent to which a particular extension can be attached to any verb root. On the basis of Table 1.3 alone, only the applicative and passive have a 100% productivity while each of the other three extensions has less than perfect productivity. As already noted, the reversive is morphologically problematic but the semantic transparency available with some forms places the extension somewhere in between the frozen -am-, -ik-, -ta-, -ar-, and the productive A, C, P, R, S.

The study of the five productive extensions has always presented a challenge to lexicographers of Bantu languages. The problem is whether to treat the derived items as independent entries and provide full glosses, or to treat them as fully predictable derivations which do not even need to be mentioned in the lexicon. For illustration consider the treatment of nyamaa 'be silent' in three Kiswahili dictionaries.

Johnson (1939) lists and glosses under this entry four related derivations - 'prepositional' nyamalia, 'causative' nyamaza, 'prepositional' nyamazia, and 'double causative'

nyamazisha. But even this fairly detailed dictionary does not attempt to show cooccurrences such as C+A nyamazishia, C+R nyamazishana, A+R nyamaziana, C+P nyamazishwa.

Kamusi (1981) only lists under the entry the extensions which may be attached to nyamaa. These are the applicative, stative, causative, and passive. It is not clear to me whether the applicative derivation that may thus be formed (nyamalia) is equivalent to Johnson's nyamazia. I do not know what nyamalika and nyamawa are supposed to mean. And nyamaza could erroneously be given a causative interpretation especially since nyamazisha is not mentioned. Clearly this dictionary lacks some essential details besides being too permissive about the regularity of the extension system.

Perrot (1965) has two entries together - nyamaa and nyamaza. In addition, a separate entry, nyamazisha, is also given. No attempt is made to indicate the existence of a relationship between this latter entry and the other two.

Even though the choices made by a particular lexicographer usually reflect other considerations, viz. target audience, available resources, and the nature of the product, the theoretical problem always looms in the background. But for a linguist in search of the ideal lexicon, these dictionaries leave a lot to be desired. Thus Shepardson (1986) faults even Kamusi (1981) for listing "these suffixes under each verb stem as if they were non-productive" (p.36). He maintains that all five suffixes "are

potentially acceptable with each and every Swahili verb stem" (p.79), and that the "failure to achieve 100% 'predictability' is not because of any formal constraint on the SPARC suffixes" (p.170).

But in contradiction to Shepardson, this study will seek to show that there are indeed formal constraints on these extensions. Ever since Guthrie (1962) classified the extensions into transitivizers (+0), detransitivizers (-0), and neutral extensions (=0), various studies have repeatedly shown these extensions as effecting significant changes in predicate structures (see Scotton 1967a,b and Khamisi 1985 on Kiswahili, Satyo 1985 on Xhosa, and Machobane 1989 on Sesotho). The applicative and causative are transitivizers, while the rest are detransitivizers. Two basic questions keep coming up, albeit indirectly, in these studies:

i) Is there a limit on the number of arguments per verb? What is it and why? This question is related to the issues of suffix cooccurrence, ordering and repetition.

ii) What are the principles by which arguments are differentiated? This is the question underlying the notions of grammatical relations, thematic roles, and external vs internal argument.

Only Machobane (1989) attempts to give an explicit answer to the first question by proposing a principle stating that "the maximum number of internal arguments that a verb

can take is two" (p.129). But as the term "internal argument" itself demonstrates, the first question is inextricably linked to the second, and this study will propose a theory of argument differentiation for the analysis of these verb extensions.

#### 1.4 Materials and Methods

The data base for this study is contained in the Appendix. It consists of a lexicon of 530 Runyambo verb stems together with their extended derivations. The lexicon was compiled on the basis of the author's native-speaker knowledge, with valuable assistance from Leah Rugemalira, also a native speaker. Although every effort was made to list every probable derivation, with each extension individually and in combination with others, I have no illusions regarding the completeness of this lexicon as far as the 530 verbs are concerned. There are two kinds of limitations. The first is simple oversight and is potentially rectifiable without much controversy. But the second type of limitation is controversial because it concerns the delicate distinction between the possible and the plausible in verb extension semantics. It is directly related to the discussion on extension productivity above.

Shepardson (1986) criticizes Kamusi (1981) editors for placing "unnecessary constraints on the communicative potential of the language."

For instance, they say that *mez-*, 'swallow', has no reciprocal, apparently due the unlikelihood of two animate agents actually swallowing one another. In natural language, likelihood of occurrence has nothing to do with reality. The issue is not how likely it is that *mezan-*, 'swallow each other', can occur, but whether it is a possible utterance in some conceivable situation, and of course, it is, just as its translation is in English. (p.79)

While Shepardson has a good point about the futility of trying to imagine every context of usage for every root+extension derivation, he underestimates the formidable problem of distinguishing the regular and productive derivations from lexicalized forms which must be listed since they are unpredictable. It should be noted too, that a derivation may have both regular and lexical aspects. Dictionaries usually try to offer some guidance through Shepardson's acknowledged "myriad of semantic and pragmatic variables" instead of giving the impression that anything is possible. By excluding derivations of the "swallow each other" type, my lexicon is thus comparable to the common dictionaries; but it clearly goes further, particularly in persevering to record probable multiple combinations. In any case the exclusion should have no effect on the conclusions of this study, especially the conclusion that, given the nature of each of the extensions, certain derivations are indeed impossible, not just "improbable", as Shepardson (1986:167) maintains.

The relatively large data base, and the decision to publish it have their methodological significance. Whiteley (1966:47) cautions that "this is an area in which even the native speaker's intuition may prove an unreliable guide". Scotton (1967a:150) notes "a fair amount of disagreement as to whether or not many of the extended forms cited are operative for the general speaker of Swahili". Given this potential skepticism, and the potential for cross-linguistic variation, it is important that the data on which the conclusions are based be readily available. Even more important, given the possible variations from one verb to the next, it is important that we base our conclusions on a study of 500 verbs rather than on the analysis of only a handful of verbs.

The rest of this dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter two spells out the theoretical framework of the whole study. In order to answer the question about the number of possible arguments posed above, it avoids an analysis in terms of theories that represent predicate structure on four levels (grammatical relations, thematic roles, cases, and arguments) and instead, proposes a two-level theory of predicate structure (argument structure and lexical semantic structure).

Chapters three and four treat the two extensions (the applicative and causative) that expand predicate structure. It is argued that the distinction between them reflects the



only thematic role distinction that should count in the analysis of the verb extensions, viz. the distinction between actor and nonactor. The actor is a causative role, while the nonactor is an applicative role.

Chapter five deals with the three extensions (reciprocal, stative, and passive) that contract predicate structure. The central theme is that these extensions are organized around the binary distinction between actor and nonactor thematic roles, suggesting that the analysis of the verb extensions does not need a more elaborate inventory of thematic roles beyond this binary scheme.

Chapter six shows that the extension combinations are highly constrained by the general requirement that arguments be distinguishable from each other. It is this requirement that finds reflection in restrictions on extension repetition and cooccurrence.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1 Although there were a number of immigrants during the sixties from Rwanda and Bukoba, this figure may still be taken as a reliable estimate of the speakers of Runyambo. The Tanzania census does not investigate linguistic or ethnic identity.

2 The larger context of this quote includes these questions and statements:

What is the "Chinese language"? Why is "Chinese" called a language and the Romance languages, different languages? The reasons are political, not linguistic. On purely linguistic grounds, there would be no reason to say that Cantonese and Mandarin are dialects of one language while Italian and French are different languages. Furthermore, what makes French a single language? I suppose fifty years ago neighboring villages could be found which spoke dialects of French sufficiently different so that mutual intelligibility was limited ...

Questions of language are basically questions of power, the kind of exercise of power that created the system of nation-states as in Europe. (Chomsky 1977:190-91)

3 Missionary work in Buhaya was quite successful: the first African cardinal, Laurian Rugambwa, and a former president of the Lutheran World Federation, the late Bishop Josiah Kibira, came from Buhaya.

4 One of the enduring traces of Ruhaya influence in Karagwe is the spelling of some mission station names which reflects Ruhaya rather than Runyambo pronunciation:

Runyambo	Ruhaya	Spelling
[kéiso]	[káifo]	Kaisho
[rwambeizi]	[rwambaizi]	Rwambaizi
[neisózi]	[naijózi]	Nyaishozi

5 "In fact ... Runyankore, Rukiga, Runyoro, Rutooro, and Rutagwenda are all so similar that they might be regarded

simply as dialects of the one language (which might, following a suggestion by Mr Mosha, be called Rutara, since it is in the area of the former Kitara Kingdom)" (Ladefoged et al. 1968:69).

6 In the religious sphere, Karagwe was separated from the Catholic diocese of Bukoba (Buhaya) in the late 1950s to form a new diocese of Rulenge which also includes the districts of Ngara and Biharamulo. The Lutherans too got their own Karagwe diocese in the late 1970s. Economically the tensions of a center-periphery relationship between Karagwe and Buhaya were particularly intense during the 1980s as the peasants of Karagwe sought to establish a separate marketing cooperative union under their own control.

## CHAPTER TWO

## A GRAMMAR OF ARGUMENT DIFFERENTIATION

## 2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analytical framework for the whole study. The first section (2.1) critically reviews a subtheory of Lexical Functional Grammar, namely the theory of linking or lexical mapping, as well as the status of grammatical functions and thematic roles. Section 2.2 sidesteps the problems arising out of linking theory by proposing a theory that seeks to represent predicate structure on two levels - argument structure (AS) and lexical semantic structure (LSS). Section 2.3 examines the various means of argument differentiation across languages and it is suggested that Bantu linguistic structure displays certain peculiarities which have the overall effect of limiting the number of things one can talk about within the structure of a single clause.

## 2.1 On Grammatical Relations and Thematic Roles

The study of Bantu verb extensions is closely tied to the study of verb valency, grammatical relations, and thematic roles (cf Guthrie 1962, Scotton 1967a, 1967b, Kimenyi 1980, Khamisi 1985, Satyo 1985, Rubanza 1986, Machobane 1989). In current linguistic theory up to four levels of representation are employed in order to capture the link between the valency of a verb and the syntactic and semantic realization of that valency. These levels are shown

Table 2.1<sup>1</sup>.

---

Grammatical Relations:	subject, object ...
Thematic Roles	: agent, patient ...
Cases	: nominative, accusative ...
Arguments	: x, y, ...

---

TABLE 2.1: Levels of representation of predicate structure

The theory of Government and Binding (Chomsky 1981:43) makes use of all four levels of representation: the theta-criterion states "that every  $\theta$ -role determined obligatorily in the D-structure must be filled by some argument with the appropriate GF [grammatical function], and that each argument must fill exactly one  $\theta$ -role as determined by its GF". Non-thematic GFs do not occupy argument positions and are represented at S-structure rather than at D-structure. Like GFs, which are configurationally determined via dominance and precedence, "case is assigned to NPs by virtue of the configurations in which they appear" (p.49). The content of the theory consists in spelling out the mechanisms for the appropriate linking of the various elements of all four levels<sup>2</sup>. Note that, from a particular perspective, there is a significant amount of redundancy: both GFs and cases are configurationally determined, and theta roles are assigned to

arguments. In addition, the proper determination of theta roles relies on GF information (p.42-43).

Lexical Functional Grammar does not posit a level of abstract case, choosing instead to record morphological case features in the functional structure like any other feature (e.g. person, number). For the remaining three levels, LFG has developed an elaborate sub-theory of lexical mapping or linking to articulate the relationship among them. How, for instance, is it determined that argument *x* is assigned the agent role and the subject function? In the next sub-section (2.1.1) I sketch the linking theory of LFG and offer an appraisal. The choice of LFG for critique is not merely a consequence of my linguistic upbringing. It is also based on the fact that the theory has the most detailed linking component.

#### 2.1.1 Lexical mapping theory (LMT)

It appears to me that early LFG had a very good grasp of the real problem for natural language analysis, viz. the mapping of predicate arguments onto the phrases of a construction. As Bresnan & Kaplan (1982) pointed out, this is a problem because there is a many-to-many relation between argument types and phrase types, and also because there are variations in the forms of the phrases (NPs, PPs, affixes, clitics) that realize arguments across the languages of the world. In this early phase, LFG consisted of two basic

components of the theory - functional structure, with undefinable grammatical functions, and constituent structure, which presented the surface realization of f-structure (cf. Bresnan (ed) 1982; Horrocks 1987). Successive elaboration of f-structure over the years has enriched this component immensely and resulted in a complete subtheory of linking, called lexical mapping theory, even though it may be argued that the basic notion of mapping was always implicit in the theory.

LMT consists of a set of principles for linking predicate arguments to semantic roles, and for linking the latter to grammatical functions (relations). This sub-theory of LFG originated from the desire to incorporate semantic information in the theory of grammatical functions.

The theory consists of three basic principles (Alsina 1990, Mchombo 1991, Alsina & Mchombo 1993). The first is the ordering of semantic roles within the argument structure of every predicate. This ordering corresponds to a universal hierarchy of semantic roles, represented in linear order in (201), so that the further to the left a semantic role is the more prominent (higher) it is.

(201) agent>beneficiary>goal>instrument>patient>locative

The second principle consists of morpho-lexical operations which alter argument structures by adding or suppressing roles. For instance, the applicative morpheme adds a new semantic role to a predicate, while the passive

suppresses the highest role. The third principle is the assignment of grammatical functions to semantic roles according to the intrinsic properties of the semantic roles as well as their relative position on the universal hierarchy in (201). A crucial assumption here is that grammatical functions are decomposable into two primitive features +/-r(estricted) and +/-o(bjective). Alsina (1990) defines these as follows: "Intuitively the restrictedness of a grammatical function refers to whether it can only be linked to a specific set of thematic roles [+r] or whether it can be associated with any thematic role [-r]; objective [+o] functions are those which are selected by transitive categories of predicators (verb and preposition) and which cannot appear with intransitive categories". This decomposition yields four syntactic functions:

(202) [-r,-o]: SUBJECT            [+r,-o]: OBLIQUE THEME  
          [-r,+o]: OBJECT            [+r,+o]: THEMATIC OBJECT

Each argument structure position is assigned two of these features depending on the intrinsic properties of the semantic role (intrinsic classification) and according to the role's position relative to other roles (default classification). Arguments are intrinsically classified [-o] unless they are patient-like in which case they may be classified [-r] or [+o]. Two constraints apply: the first is the Suppression constraint which stipulates that only syntactically unmarked arguments may undergo suppression



(i.e. only those classified [-r] or [-o]). The second constraint is the Intrinsic Classification constraint which states that the intrinsic classification [-r] can be assigned at most once in any given argument structure. This constraint, according to Bresnan & Moshi (1990), constitutes the parameter of variation which distinguishes asymmetrical languages (where objects are unequal) from symmetrical languages (where objects are equal). Symmetrical languages, according to this theory, lack this Asymmetric Object Parameter (AOP).

Three problems arise from this theory. First it will be noted that the AOP construct is a grudging admission of the possibility of two direct objects in a construction. Indeed it is a statement of an exception to the LFG principle of "function-argument biuniqueness which requires that a unique function be assigned to each argument that is grammatically interpreted (i.e has some surface syntactic realization), and that a unique argument be assigned to each function that is associated with an argument" (Horrocks 1987:235)<sup>3</sup>. By this principle it is impossible to have more than one instance of a grammatical function or a thematic role. The AOP construct relaxes this constraint somewhat<sup>4</sup>. In determining whether or not a particular language violates the biuniqueness principle the problem boils down to a consideration of the nature of the mechanisms for identifying grammatical functions and thematic roles, a question that I will return to shortly.

The second problem in LMT is the absence of a mechanism for properly ordering and exhaustively assigning all of a verb's arguments to thematic roles. The absence of such a mechanism leads to the breakdown of the theory. Consider a case like (203) where a transitive verb *kúnywa* 'drink' undergoes the morpholexical operations of the causative and the applicative, adding two arguments in this way.

(203) *Kató a - ka - tu - nywe - is - ez - á omwáná amáte*  
*Káto he -PST - us -drink - C - A -FV child milk*  
 'Káto made the child drink milk for us'

The crucial question is: what role is to be assigned to each of the four noun phrases in (203)? Even if it is assumed that the lexical entry for the verb specifies the agent (drinker) and patient (drink) roles, the two new arguments are still unassigned. There is no automatic procedure to apply here because each of the causative and applicative extensions may license a variety of roles (see chapters 3 & 4). For the sake of argument here, let us assume that the applicative can license three role types *p*, *q*, and *r*, while the causative can license two, *s* and *t*. LMT lacks a mechanism that will specify which of the two additional arguments in (203) is to be assigned which applicative role out of the three possibilities, as well as which argument will be assigned which causative role out of the two possibilities. As already indicated, only one reading is acceptable: 'he made the child drink the milk for us' not \*'he made us drink the milk for

the child<sup>5</sup>.

Now this is not a minor shortcoming that can be patched up. It is a more basic problem caused by the elevation of arbitrary, albeit convenient, descriptive labels (see my own choices in chapters 3 & 4) to a level of objective categories uniquely identifiable across verbs, theories, and languages. As I make use of my own arbitrary labels for descriptive convenience in the presentation of the data in the rest of this study, I will show that the LMT problem is essentially a problem of overgeneralization partly rooted in a theoretical commitment to autonomous syntax. Suffice it to say that there are no grounds on which to base a standard inventory of semantic roles, let alone a hierarchy of such roles<sup>6</sup>.

The third problem for LMT concerns the status of the features [r] and [o]. According to LMT, an unrestricted [-r] grammatical function is one that can be associated with any semantic role, while a restricted [+r] function can only be associated with a limited set of semantic roles. So the subject function is unrestricted since it can be linked to any role on the semantic hierarchy, from the agent at the top of the hierarchy, to the locative at the bottom. Note though, in connection with the discussion of thematic roles above, that if the role inventory is arbitrary and far from fixed, we may include roles such as reason and manner, that the subject cannot be linked to, in which case it may be considered restricted.

While the [r] feature is a classification of the grammatical functions, the [o] feature appears to be a classification of the semantic roles. Objective roles are those that are typically complements of predicators. The agent is the prototype [-o] role.

However the LMT literature is not clear about the status of these feature constructs. It appears as if grammatical functions are being defined in terms of semantic roles, while the semantic roles themselves are also being defined in terms of grammatical functions (e.g. "patient is intrinsically classified [-r], capturing the fact that it alternates between the functions of subject and object" (Alsina 1990:3)). What is in no doubt is that the limit of four grammatical functions (subject, object, thematic object, and oblique theme) is determined by the fact that there are only two features [r] and [o], each of which has two values, plus and minus. Incidentally, this limit of four grammatical functions may be a reflection of some empirical facts about language (some languages at least). But its significance in LMT depends on the status of the grammatical function categories of subject, object etc. Unfortunately, as has already been observed, grammatical functions and semantic roles are inextricably linked in this theory - which is not accidental since each of the four levels in Table 2.1 is indeed, in some neutral sense, a representation of grammatical relations: in grammar these are relations among the NPs as mediated by the verb; in the real world these are

relations among the participants in the action described by the verb. As such there is no independent mechanism for linking the level of grammatical functions to the level of semantic roles. (Recall the redundancy noted earlier in the GB conception of these levels.)

In effect the problem concerns the status of grammatical functions, and an appeal has to be made to the "traditional" or "standard" tests of objecthood (Bresnan & Moshi 1990), an issue that is discussed in the next sub-section.

#### 2.1.2 Problems in defining grammatical functions

Unlike Transformational Grammar and its heir, GB theory, where grammatical relations are defined in terms of the constituent structure notions of dominance and precedence<sup>7</sup> (Chomsky 1965, 1981), early LFG (Bresnan 1982) followed the lead of Relational Grammar (Perlmutter & Postal 1974) in regarding grammatical relations as primitive, undefinable notions. It is only recently that LFG theorists have moved towards the position that regards grammatical relations as decomposable entities (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989, Bresnan & Moshi 1990, Alsina & Mchombo 1990a&b, 1993, Alsina 1990, Mchombo 1991) and embraced the notion of syntactic tests or criteria for objecthood, reminiscent of Keenan's (1976) cluster concept of subject based on a "subject properties list". Yet attempting to define supposedly universal grammatical relations in this way is inherently problematic<sup>8</sup>. Criticizing Keenan's prototype definition of subject, Johnson

(1977:347) stated:

The relative interpretation runs into the following serious problem. If an NP merely needs more properties than any other NP in its clause to be e.g., a b[asic] SUBJ, then the definition would allow the case in which SUBJs in a language J are defined by a subset S of the SPL [subject properties list] and SUBJs of some distinct language M are defined by another subset T of the SPL, where S and T are disjoint. That is, totally different criteria could be used in the definition of SUBJ in J and M ... But one of [Keenan's] main assumptions is that "if we use different criteria to identify subjects in different Ls then 'subject' is simply not a universal category..."

Johnson's criticism is vindicated by several studies, including those by people who believe in grammatical relations. In Bantu the issue has usually revolved around the relative status of multiple 'objects' - whether realized as postverbal NPs, or as pronominal prefixes on the verb, or some combination of both as in (203) above. Bantuists generally rely on three tests for objecthood:

- i) Word order - which of the NPs is closer (adjacent) to the verb;
- ii) Agreement - which of the NPs is marked on the verb by an affix;
- iii) Subjectivization - which of the NPs can become subject of the passive construction.

Hyman & Duranti (1982) make use of the three tests for objecthood but they note that "not only do the actual criteria for object status vary from one Bantu language to the next, but so do the strategies or factors influencing which arguments will acquire these criteria" (p.233). So even

though they take the category 'object' for granted, they inadvertently show that it cannot be defined, even in Bantu alone.

In Rugemalira (1991a, 1993a) it was shown that while the word order test works well in Runyambo, usually placing the human NP closer to the verb than the non-human NP, this test cannot be used in Kiswahili where order is irrelevant and agreement is more important. In addition, the agreement test in Runyambo gave results that conflicted with the subjectivization test. Up to three potential<sup>9</sup> postverbal NPs can be marked on the verb, but not all of them can become 'subjects' of the passive construction.

Van Valin (1991) discusses similar problems for a properties (tests, criteria) approach towards subject in Icelandic. He presents examples "in which the coding properties [nominative case and verb agreement] either do not fall on the NP with the behavioral properties [raising] or are lacking altogether in the clause" (p.146).

Hudson (1991) believes that grammatical relations are basic to linguistic analysis. He then proceeds to select ten criteria for identifying objects in English. His tests are (where X is the NP being tested for objecthood, p.347):

- i) X passivizes easily
- ii) X extracts easily
- iii) X can follow a particle
- iv) X can be moved by Heavy NP shift
- v) X is accusative in a true case system
- vi) X must be subcategorized for
- vii) X has same semantic role as some monotransitive  
objects
- viii) X is normally non-human
- ix) Verb + X may constitute an idiom
- x) X is extractee of infinitival

In a construction of the type Ann gave Fred a book, Hudson picks 'a book' as the ordinary object and Fred is regarded as some sort of adjunct. Note that the Bantu tests would pick Fred as the primary (unrestricted) object. This was essentially the point of Johnson's (1977) critique of Keenan (1976): 'Object' cannot be regarded as a universal category if we use different criteria to identify it in different languages. Hudson (1991) indeed illustrates the opposite of his declared thesis, an opposite that Baker (1988) states very well: 'Subject' and 'object' "cannot be fundamental notions of the theory ... Thus whether one calls a certain phrase a subject or an object often depends more on what linguistic processes one is interested in at the time than on any deep property of language" (p.431)<sup>10</sup>.

Bhat's (1991) analysis of Kannada and Manipuri,



languages spoken in India, argues that grammatical relations are neither necessary nor universal. While such notions may be convenient in the description of "languages like English, which jointly encode semantic and pragmatic relations", in other languages "such abstract entities are completely unhelpful", and it is the distinct semantic and pragmatic factors that have more relevance (p.31).

To recapitulate: the basic problem with the linking theory of LFG is that it seeks to provide a set of principles for linking entities whose existence needs to be independently established in the first place. Neither grammatical relation categories like subject and object, nor thematic role categories like agent and patient can be regarded as linguistic primitives. As with the other theories that posit such categories as basic for linguistic analysis, the goal of the enterprise has become the determination of the mechanisms for linking the various abstract levels.

In the next section I will excuse myself from these concerns and instead propose a simpler, two-level theory which can help us focus attention on the mechanisms of external realization rather than on internal linking. It is different from the other theories in two respects. First, it is based on the assumption that given the mapping problem discussed above, the analyst's task consists in determining the means available in a language and in natural language generally, for constraining the number of possible mapping

solutions. In other words, the question to be answered is what are the means for argument differentiation in natural language. Second, as a consequence of the focus on the mapping/realization problem, only two levels will be utilized and no linking between them will be required<sup>11</sup>.

## 2.2 Predicate Structure

The theory of predicate structure being proposed here posits the existence of two levels of representation, viz. argument structure and lexical semantic structure.

The level of argument structure specifies the number of arguments that the verb can take (i.e. valency). The pertinent notion of argument here is that of a syntactic position or slot which needs to be filled by the linguistic expressions that realize a verb's participant roles. As such 'argument' and 'argument position' are interchangeable. The significant information available in the argument structure concerns the total number of arguments that the verb licenses. For instance, the argument structure of the verb give consists of three argument positions, while that of laugh has only one.

There are various ways across the world's languages in which the number of arguments may be increased or decreased. The best known valency increasing process is causativisation, found in various languages, e.g Turkish, Tagalog, Ewenki (Tungusic, Siberia), Malayalam, Nahuatl (cf. Comrie 1976, Mohanan 1982, Tuggy 1988). The Bantu verb

extensions that increase arguments are the applicative and the causative, discussed in chapters 3 and 4 respectively. The valency decreaseers are the passive, stative, and the reciprocal, all discussed in chapter 5. A major problem tackled in this study concerns the limits, if any, that are imposed on these processes of transitivization and detransitivization.

Lexical semantic structure provides, among other idiosyncrasies, information concerning the participant roles required by the verb, and in this way partly describes the meaning of the action denoted by the verb. These participant roles are best represented in terms specific to each verb or to groups of closely related verbs. The lexical semantic structure (LSS) of the verb 'give', for instance, states that the verb requires a 'giver', a 'recipient' and a 'gift'.

The predicate structure for the verb 'give' may be represented as in (204).

(204)

PREDICATE:	give
ARGUMENT STRUCTURE (AS):	3
LEXICAL SEMANTIC STRUCTURE (LSS):	'giver', [gift], [recipient]

In (204) the argument structure specifies the number of arguments permitted for the verb, whereas the lexical

semantic structure specifies the participant roles. The brackets around two of the roles indicate that the linguistic expressions that realize these roles are omissible under certain contexts (e.g. 'he gave [the foundation] one hundred dollars' - omissible recipient; 'I already gave' i.e. contributed - omissible gift and recipient). Although the number of participant roles may be equal to the number of argument positions, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the two levels. First, there are argument positions of some verbs which cannot be assigned any semantic content in the form of a participant role, e.g. the sole argument of weather verbs in some languages ('it rained'), or one of the arguments of 'seem' ('it seems that you like my argument'). Second, in Bantu languages, it is possible to increase the number of arguments without simultaneously increasing the number of participant roles. This is precisely the case with the "subjective" interpretation of the applicative and causative discussed in chapters three (section 3.2.2) and four (section 4.2.3) respectively. Third, as the discussion of the reciprocal in chapter five will show, it is possible to reduce the number of arguments while holding constant the number of participant roles.

Still, there is a requirement that every participant role in the lexical semantic structure be realized in a licensed argument position, and it is thus appropriate to speak of 'argument differentiation' as a shorthand for the process of keeping track of the expressions that realize a

verb's participant roles and fill particular syntactic slots.<sup>13</sup> In other words, there cannot be more participant roles than the number of argument positions in which the roles are to be realized. Apart from this unidirectional matching requirement, there is no universal principle specifying the linking of particular participant roles to certain argument positions.

### 2.3 Linguistic Mapping and Argument Differentiation

Grimshaw (1990) contends that equating argument structure with the number of argument positions related by a predicate makes the construct of limited interest. She goes on to propose a prominence theory of argument structure according to which argument structure is not merely a set of arguments, but "a structured representation over which prominence relations are defined." Information regarding prominence is available from the LSS of the predicate (not to be confused with my LSS above, which lists participant roles in verb specific labels), via the thematic hierarchy. Similarly Alsina (1993) maintains that in addition to information about the number of arguments, the arguments are ordered according to the thematic hierarchy, although thematic information is not included in argument structure.

Grimshaw's and Alsina's prominence theories, which necessitate the enrichment of argument structure, are

motivated by the need to determine the assignment of grammatical relations in a construction. In an earlier section I claimed that there is no basis for positing a level of grammatical relations (subject, object ...) or a level of a hierarchical and finite inventory of thematic roles (agent, patient ...). Prominence is dictated by the need to link the various levels of representation (see Table 2.1). But I have suggested that in order to examine the various mechanisms by which languages solve the mapping problem our concern needs to shift away from this multifarious representation. Such a move puts the real problem in stark relief.

Consider a construction in which the three phrases - a boy, a girl, and a teacher - realize the three arguments of 'give'. Since all three NPs here can be mapped onto any of the participant roles of the verb, there are six possible ways to do the mapping as shown in (205).

(205)	giver		recipient	gift
i)	a boy	gave	a girl	a teacher
ii)	a boy	gave	a teacher	a girl
iii)	a girl	gave	a boy	a teacher
iv)	a girl	gave	a teacher	a boy
v)	a teacher	gave	a boy	a girl
vi)	a teacher	gave	a girl	a boy

It will be noted that the rules of English stipulate that in a simple, active, declarative sentence, the NP linked to the giver argument must appear before the verb, while the other two appear after the verb. Of these two the recipient NP must precede the gift<sup>12</sup>. Any rearrangement requires concomitant changes in the morphosyntax of some NPs (e.g. to recipient, by giver) and/or of the verb (passive). In effect, the chief resource for argument differentiation in English and many configurational languages is word order. Yet there are variations, even within this group of languages, regarding the ways in which ordering is put to use, as well as the limits imposed on it. Irish, for instance, places all arguments after the verb, as shown in (206) (cf. Rugemalira 1993b).

- (206) a) thug an rí an teach mór don bhuachaill  
           gave the king the house big to boy  
           'the king gave the big house to the boy'  
           'the king gave the boy the big house'
- b) \*thug an rí an teach mór an buachaill
- c) \*thug an rí an buachaill an teach mór (\*dative  
           shift)
- d) \*thug an rí don bhuachaill an teach mór

The argument differentiation rules for Irish require the giver argument to be placed immediately after the verb, followed by the gift, and then the recipient, which is marked with a preposition; without marking the recipient with a

preposition the construction is not acceptable (206b); there is no dative shift version analogous to the English case (206c), and even with the preposition the ordering must not be altered (206d).

Now there are languages that do not make any significant use of the ordering strategy - the so-called nonconfigurational languages like Warlpiri (Hale 1983) and Malayalam (Mohanani 1982). Consider the Malayalam example in (207), glossed as 'the child saw the elephant' (Mohanani 1982:508).

(207)

- a) kutti            aanaye            kantu  
       child-nom   elephant-acc   saw
- b)    aanaye kutti kantu
- c)    aanaye kantu kutti
- d)    kantu aanaye kutti
- e)    kantu kutti aanaye
- f)    kutti kantu aanaye    .

There are six word order possibilities in (207) just as in the English example (205) above. But in the Malayalam example word order does not serve the argument differentiation function - in all six arrangements, the child is the 'seer' and the elephant is the 'thing seen', thanks to the case marking.

In some languages ordering serves a different purpose from that of other configurational languages. According to



Bhat (1991), sentence initial position in Kannada is reserved for the topic. In other words, ordering marks a pragmatic relation rather than a grammatical relation, and semantic (role) relations are morphologically marked by case<sup>14</sup>. In general, languages that have a reduced or no role for the ordering strategy usually have extensive nominal morphology (case system) which provides alternative means for differentiating the arguments.

In Bantu languages the syntactic ordering strategy interacts with the semantic features of animacy, person and number (Rugemalira 1991a, 1993a), and as such the autonomous syntax thesis (viz. that the rules of syntax "don't refer to elements of the physical world" (Chomsky 1982:114)), cannot form part of the analytical framework<sup>15</sup>. In addition there is a variety of restrictions on various components of the grammar of these languages so that in the final analysis there is a limited number of things that one can talk about within a single clause. Most of the discussion in this study concerns the restrictions within the verb extension system (distinctions, repetition, cooccurrence and ordering), but other restrictions considered include those on the forms of realization of arguments (marked and unmarked NPs, pronominal affixes, and clitics), omissibility of constituents, and the distinction between arguments and adjuncts.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1 Terminological variations in this area abound, but the differences in content are more apparent than real. Grammatical relations and grammatical functions are interchangeable. Government and Binding theorists prefer theta roles or  $\theta$ -roles over thematic or semantic roles, the latter terms being more easily identified with LFG. Essentially the same notions are involved as those of Fillmore's (1968) cases or Starosta's (1988) case roles. But while these may overlap with morphological cases in case marking languages, GB's abstract case is a more general notion set up as a level of representation independent of theta roles.

2 For recent treatments of these issues see Baker (1991) on configurationality and case, and Emonds (1991) on theta role assignment.

3 Note that here the level of argument structure is synonymous with that of thematic roles.

4 See Jackendoff's (1987) discussion of, and counterexamples to, the biuniqueness interpretation of the Theta Criterion of GB theory.

5 See Rugemalira (1991a,1993a) and the subsequent chapters below for a discussion of the limits imposed on argument realization types. In this particular example, only the first person pronominal prefix, but not the second or third, can

realize the "beneficiary" argument and give the egocentric interpretation of the whole event.

i) a -ka - ku -nywe -is -ez - á omwáná amáte

he -PST -you -drink- C - A - FV child milk

\*'He made you drink the milk for the child'

'He really made the child drink the milk'

'He made the child drink a lot of milk'

ii) \*a- ka - ba - nywe -is-ez-á omwáná amáte

he-PST-you/them-drink -C -A -FV child milk

'He made you/them drink the milk for the child'

'He made the child drink the milk for you/them'

Note that although i) is well-formed with the second person singular pronominal prefix, no additional participant role is added, and only the "subjective role" interpretation is available (see chapter 3). This interpretation is not available when the second/third person plural pronominal prefix is used, making ii) unacceptable. In short, then, there are language specific restrictions on the types of expressions (NPs, pronominals, etc.) which can instantiate certain participant roles, thereby facilitating argument differentiation and giving the correct interpretation for a construction. These restrictions defy both the autonomous syntax thesis and any attempt to set up universal linking principles.

6 See the various role inventories and definitions of each role in Fillmore (1968), Jackendoff (1987), Starosta (1988), and a review of the problems of role identification in Dowty (1991). For an anti-thematic role thesis see Ravin (1990).

7 Chomsky (1965:124) took precedence (or linear order) seriously and dismissed the proposal that the elements on the right of the arrow in phrase structure rules be represented as a set rather than as a string. He maintained that strings convey more information "since they not only define an abstract system of grammatical relations but also assign an abstract underlying order to the elements." In subsequent work special rules had to be devised to derive the surface order of elements in non-SVO and non-configurational languages. For instance, Chomsky (1981:129) takes the position that, for Japanese, the assignment of grammatical functions is random, "which is to say that order is irrelevant." More recently Jackendoff (1990) has argued against a proposal (Larson 1990) to eliminate linear order in the analysis of double complement constructions, maintaining that such a proposal is too constrained because it relies only on dominance relations.

8 Among the early skeptics of the grammatical relations orthodoxy within the generativist tradition, Fillmore (1968:17) "suggested that there are good reasons for questioning the deep structure validity of the traditional

division between subject and predicate, a division assumed by some to underlie the basic form of all sentences in all languages. The position I take seems to be in agreement with that of Tesnière (1959, pp.103-105) who holds that the subject/predicate division is an importation into linguistic theory from formal logic of a concept which is not supported by the facts of language and, furthermore, that the division actually obscures the many structural parallels between 'subjects' and 'objects'.

9 The prestem pronominal affix cannot appear if the postverbal NP is present.

10 Compare the Bantu and Hudson tests above with Chung's (1976) tests for objecthood in Bahasa Indonesia: passive, reflexive, object preposing, control of equi, and relative clause formation.

11 In this regard Construction Grammar (CG) is different from GB and LFG in the amount of concern with the forms of realization (instantiation) of the various arguments. This is reflected in the detailed specifications for each *grammatical construction*. Like in GB and LFG, the linking problem in CG essentially consists in determining the connection between grammatical functions and semantic roles. But unlike these other theories, CG does not regard grammatical functions as universals of language, although they are considered to be essential in the grammar of languages like English (cf Fillmore & Kay 1993).

12 Williams (1981) proposes that this be indicated by underlining the giver. Fillmore & Kay (1993) set such a participant role apart in bold face as the "Distinguished Argument".

13 For purposes of economy of expression I make use of such terms as "omissible role" and "omissible argument". Omissibility concerns the possibility of leaving a particular role unrealized by any linguistic expression (cf. "null instantiation" in Construction Grammar). Although LFG regards this as "unspecified object deletion", in this study 'deletion' is reserved for the detransitivizing processes of the reciprocal, stative, and passive extensions, whereby the predicate structure is reconstituted by, at the very least, the reduction of the number of argument positions.

14 Consider these examples from Bhat (1991:12):

i) hari rajuvannu hogalida  
 Hari-nom Raju-acc praised  
 'Hari praised Raju'

ii) rajuvannu hari hogalida  
 Raju-acc Hari-nom praised  
 'Raju was praised by Hari'

"The topic is Hari in (i) and Raju in (ii); this pragmatic difference is represented in these sentences by simply changing the order of the two arguments; their case markers

remain unchanged and the verb also remains unchanged".

15     Hawkinson & Hyman (1974) discuss animacy, person and number phenomena as representing "the means by which semantic and pragmatic considerations undermine the absolute power of a grammar". Foley & Van Valin (1985:287) show how "the information status of NPs [may be] determined by inherent properties of their referents, the most significant of which properties is being one of the immediate speech act participants: the speaker or the addressee", which translates into first and second person pronouns/affixes in the languages of the world.

.

CHAPTER THREE  
THE APPLICATIVE

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a descriptive account of the applicative extension. Section 3.1 discusses the form of the applicative as well as the various terms that have been used in the literature in connection with this extension. Section 3.2 presents the thematic roles available with the applicative, while section 3.3 presents the morphosyntactic and semantic patterns associated with the locative role. Section 3.4 takes up the analytical framework proposed in chapter two and argues that the applicative extension is essentially a transitivizer.

3.1 Form and Terminology

The applied or applicative extension has been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu as \**id* (cf. Meinhof 1899, in Schadeberg n.d.:31; Guthrie 1967-71: CB4, CS2188; CB1 p.89). Other terms that have been used include "directive" and "instrumental" (Guthrie 1962:106)<sup>1</sup>, "objective", "prepositional", and "relative" (Doke 1935:52-53). According to Trithart (1983:1), "'Applied affix' is the general linguistic term for a verb affix which allows the non-subject arguments of the verb to be increased", especially when the affix in question "occurs with two or more distinct semantic



relations", as is the case with the Bantu verb extensions, instead of only one, as is the case in nominal case marking systems (e.g. dative marker - recipient NP; accusative marker - patient NP; benefactive marker - benefactive NP). Schadeberg (n.d.:31), however, maintains that "the universally much better known term 'dative' has been circumvented by Bantuists, probably to avoid confusion with (Indoeuropean) nominal case marking".

Trithart's position does indeed blur the distinction between the verbal morphology of the Bantu affix and the nominal morphology of much of the "semantic relations" notions. But by asserting that "dative" is a "better known term", Schadeberg too seems to draw even closer parallels between Bantu verbal affixation and the nominal case marking systems in other languages. It may be that Bantuists promoted/coined the term "applicative" as suggested by Schadeberg and that this term subsequently acquired the general linguistic usage suggested by Trithart.<sup>2</sup> Ashton et al. (1954:330) suggest that the "applied form ... directs or extends the action of the simple form" to some other object/participant. Alsina (1990:35) states that the "applicative morpheme is a predicate which applies the action of the predicate with which it combines to a new participant, which is benefitted, utilized, involved as a location, etc." Whatever the etiology, the terms "applied" and "applicative" have become standard, used interchangeably, in referring to the *-ir-* extension (cf. inter alia, Khamisi 1985, Baker

1988, Rubanza 1988, Hyman 1990, Bresnan & Moshi 1990, Alsina & Mchombo 1990). In this connection Baker's (1989) reference to the Kinyarwanda **-ho** locative clitic as an applicative should be considered erroneous. The clitic originates from class 16 of the nominal class prefix system and to incorporate it into the verbal extension system would be highly confusing. Consider (301-303).

(301) (aha-ntébe) a - ka - t - a -hó ecitabo  
 L - chair he-PST - put -FV -LC book  
 '(on the chair) he put a book there'

(302) a - ka - hunj- ir- á omu- nju  
 he- PST - flee -A -FV L - house  
 'he fled into the house'

(303) (enju) a- ka - ji - hunj-ir- á - mu  
 house he-PST - it - flee-A - FV- LC  
 '(the house) he fled into it'

Note that in (301) the locative clitic (LC) **-ho** takes the place of the omissible locative complement 'chair', and that unlike the applicative in (302) and (303) the locative clitic in (301) and (303) occurs after the final vowel. It falls outside the domain of the verb stem which ends with the final vowel (FV). It is thus a clitic and very different from the verb extensions which are suffixes par excellence.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore in (303) the applicative cooccurs with the locative clitic.

### 3.2 Applicative Thematic Roles

In this section I will give a detailed description of the various semantic effects that can be achieved by using the applicative. This description will be cast in terms of the thematic (or semantic) roles licensed by the suffix. Recall the discussion in chapter two regarding the problems related to the identification and definitions of the individual roles. In this section these problems will largely be ignored for the purposes of clarity of exposition. But a later section (3.4) will return to the argument that the analysis of the extensions, and probably general linguistic theory as well, does not need a conventional inventory of thematic roles.

#### 3.2.1 Beneficiary role

This is the role most often cited in connection with the applicative extension. Three closely related senses are distinguishable. The first, do something for the benefit of, is illustrated in (304).

(304)        gur-ír- á **abantú**<sup>4</sup> enyama  
               buy-A -FV people     meat    'buy meat for people'

The NP *abantu* 'people' is licensed by the applicative and carries the beneficiary role.

The second sense of the beneficiary role, do something on behalf of, is illustrated in (305).

- (305)        *n -síij-ir-á omwáná amajúta*  
               me-smear-A-FV child oil  
               'smear oil on the child for me'

The intended reading is conceivable in a context like this: I am in a hurry dressing up to catch the bus. The child is not ready and I ask someone to smear (apply) oil on him/her. In granting my request this person is doing me a favor. Essentially then this sense is a slight variation of the benefit sense. In many instances constructions are ambiguous, as (306) & (307) show.

- (306)        *handíic -ir - á omukéikurú ebarúha*  
               write - A - FV old woman letter  
               (i) 'write a letter to the old woman'  
               (ii) 'write a letter on behalf of the old woman'
- (307)        *twar-ir-á omukéikurú améizi*  
               carry-A-FV old woman water  
               (i) 'carry water to the old woman'  
               (ii) 'carry water for the old woman'

It should be noted that in both (306) & (307) the new role in the first reading is sometimes referred to as a 'recipient' or a 'goal' (Bresnan & Moshi 1990, Alsina & Mchombo 1990, Grimshaw 1990, Emanatian 1991).

A note of caution on the semantics of 'beneficiary' is in order. "Benefit of" is not to be taken literally. In (306), for instance, the letter could be an eviction notice to the old woman, and this can hardly be to her benefit. But as long as the context provides no clue to the contrary, conventional interpretation tends towards the literal benefit sense. Otherwise a third sense, do something to the detriment of, is identified. Although the term "maleficiary" is sometimes used (Mchombo 1992)<sup>5</sup> this need not be conceived as a distinct role from the beneficiary, but as one of the available senses of the beneficiary. Consider (308)-(311).

(308) reet -er- á **omuséijá** abasúma  
 bring-A -FV man thieves  
 'bring thieves to the detriment of the man'

(309) it -ir -á **abantú** emipango  
 kill-A -FV people plans  
 'kill people's plans'  
 i.e. kill plans to the detriment of the people who  
 made them.

(310) ba - ka-~~mw~~ - it -ir- á omwâna  
 they-PST-her-kill-A -FV child  
 'they killed her child'  
 i.e. they killed the child to the detriment of its  
 mother.

(311) ba - ka-n - som - er - á ebarúha  
 they-PST-me-read - A -FV letter  
 i) 'they read a letter to me' (benefit/behalf senses)  
 ii) 'they read my letter' (disapproval implied:  
 detriment sense).

In (308) the detriment sense hinges on the negative connotations associated with the NP abasúma 'thieves'. By contrast the detriment sense in (309) and (310) largely derives from the the verb 'kill' (killing is bad). Kimenyi (1980:45) assigned a 'possessor' role to cases like (309) & (310). The possessive relation essentially serves to underscore the intensity with which the possessor suffers from the detrimental action. When neither the verb nor the original NP provides sufficient cause for a detriment interpretation as in (311) the neutral/normal reading is the benefit/behalf sense (311i). But the wider sentential as well as extralinguistic context may still signal a detriment sense (311ii).

## 3.2.2 Subjective role

There is no equivalent notion in the conventional role inventories to what is termed the "subjective role" here, and illustrated in (312-317). In all these examples the extension creates a new argument position for the verb, but it does not provide an extra participant role to fill the position. The type of constituents that supply the relevant interpretations is limited to the reflexive, and the first and second person pronominal affixes.

(312) (a) a - ka- rwâr - a  
 he-PST-fall ill-FV 'he fell ill'

(b) a - ké-é - rwar -ir- a  
 he-PST-RF-fall ill-A- FV 'he fell ill' (sympathy)

(313) (a) a - ká-f(u)- a  
 he-PST-die - FV 'he died'

(b) a - ké- é-f(w)e- er-a  
 he-PST-RF-die - A -FV 'he died' (sympathy)

The applicative in (312) & (313) cooccurs with and licenses the reflexive affix. Although both the extended verb and the unextended one are given the same gloss, there is an important difference in nuance describable as a sympathetic point of view; hence the term "subjective" (cf Kimenyi 1992).

Here the applied construction, together with the reflexive morpheme, express the feelings of the speaker.

- (314) (a) a - ka- som- á ecitabo  
 he-PST-read-FV book 'he read a book'
- (b) a - ke-~~e~~ -som -er - á ecitabo  
 he-PST-RF-read -A -FV book  
 'he read a book' (approval/disapproval)

The point of view in (314a) is affectively neutral. With the applicative and the reflexive, (314b) could express approval in the context whereby the reader of the book, instead of participating in a quarrel, went away to read a book quietly. It could be disapproving if instead of lending a hand in a difficult task, the reader went away to read a book.

- (315) (a) ba - ka- mu - téer - a  
 they-PST-him - hit -FV 'they hit him'
- (b) ba - ka- mu - n - téer- er- a  
 they -PST- him-me -hit - A -FV  
 'they gave him a good beating' (satisfaction/glee)
- (316) (a) tu- ka- nyw - á amáárwa  
 we-PST-drink-FV beer 'we drank beer'



- (b) tu- ka- **ku**- nyw - er- á amáárwa  
 we-PST-you- drink- A- FV beer  
 'we really drank a lot of beer' (satisfaction)

The contrasts in (315) & (316) again illustrate the intensity of feeling that the applicative construction together with the first and second person pronominal affixes help convey - a feeling that may be stated thus: 'the action was done to my satisfaction'. Without the applicative there is only a plain statement of fact with no indication of how the speaker feels about it.

As already noted this usage is fairly idiomatic, being available only when the applicative cooccurs with the reflexive affix (312-314) or with the first or second person affixes (315-316), but not with any other affix or NP, as (317) shows.

- (317) tu- ka- **mu**- nyw -er - á amáárwa  
 we-PST-her -drink-A -FV beer  
 'we drank her beer' (beneficiary)

Since the new argument introduced by the applicative in (317) is not realized by a reflexive or a first or second person pronominal, only the beneficiary interpretation is available, but not the subjective interpretation.

## 3.2.3 Motive role

Motive NPs licensed by the applicative have been given a variety of labels including reason/cause, and purpose/goal. Trithart (1983:158) defines purpose/goal as "the NP which an action was performed to obtain or accomplish", and a cause/reason as "one which precipitated the action of the verb". This is a rather delicate distinction which at times seems to hinge on tense contrasts: reason/cause if past, and purpose/goal if in the future (cf Satyo 1985:180f). The possibilities available in Runyambo are shown in (318-322) while (323) provides a comparison with the beneficiary role.

- (318) a - ka- mu - jum - ir- á **obusúma**  
 he-PST-her -scold- A -FV stealing  
 'he scolded her for stealing' (reason/cause)
- (319) a - ka- mu - jum - ir- á-**ci**  
 he-PST-her -scold- A -FV-what  
 'why did he scold her' (reason/cause)
- (320) ba - ka- rwan -ir- á **embúzi**  
 they-PST-fight -A -FV goat  
 'they fought over the goat' (reason/cause)
- (321) kor - er- á **ensimbi**  
 work- A -FV money  
 'work for money' (purpose/goal)

(322)      ba - ka-rwan - ir- á    **obuhúuru**  
               they-PST-fight -A -FV    independence  
               'they fought for independence'    (purpose/goal)

(323)      kor - er- á      **omukáma**  
               work - A - FV    king  
               'work for the king'                            (beneficiary)

In (318-320) *obusúma* 'stealing', *-ci* 'what/why', and *embúzi* 'goat' generally fit Trithart's characterization as NPs "which precipitated the action of the verb". Similarly *ensimbi* 'money' and *obuhúuru* 'independence' in (321-322) are characterizable as NPs "which the action was performed to obtain". But two observations are pertinent here. First, the distinction between purpose/goal vs reason/cause cannot be definite; there is no evidence, in the structure of the language, to support such a distinction. Rather the distinction is dependent on the extralinguistic context. The role assignments in (320) and (322), for instance, assume that the goat was there to be the cause of the fighting while independence was not there and people had to fight (struggle) to obtain it. Yet we could imagine a context in which the people had to fight in order to merit/win the goat, in which case this would be a goal. Second, as the minimal pair (321) and (323) shows, the assignment of roles relies to a large

extent on information regarding the animacy of the relevant referents (see chapter two).

### 3.2.4 Locative role

The use of the applicative to license a locative role is illustrated in (324).

- (324)        zaar        - ir- á    **omu- nju**  
               give birth- A - FV    L - house  
               'give birth in a house'

Note that the applicative cooccurs with the locative noun class prefix. As will be shown below, this is the general pattern but by no means the only one with respect to locative complements.

### 3.2.5 Durative role

The applicative may license a durative role, as shown in (325).

- (325)        mer        - ér- á    **ebiró bísatu**  
               sprout- A - FV    days three 'sprout in three days'<sup>6</sup>

The complement in (325) must be an amount of time, not a point in time like "yesterday" or "in the morning" which do not need the applicative as (326) shows.

- (326) bi -ka - mer - a ijwéeri  
 they-PST-sprout-FV day before yesterday  
 'they sprouted the day before yesterday'

### 3.2.6 Neutral role

The applicative cooccurs with two fixed expressions *busa* 'nothing' and *címo* 'one' in an idiomatic construction, as shown in (327-330).

- (327) a - ka -kor - er- á **busa**  
 he-PST -work- A -FV nothing  
 'he worked for nothing'
- (328) a - ka - ci - reeb - er- á **busa**  
 he-PST - it - look- A -FV nothing  
 'he looked at it for free'
- (329) a - ka - jend- er- a **címo**  
 he- PST- go - A -FV one  
 'he went away for good' (i.e. with no intention of coming back)
- (330) a - ka- nyw - er- á **címo**  
 he-PST-drink- A - FV one  
 'he drank even more' (i.e. with no intention of wanting to stop)

While (327) seems to be close to the motive role in the sense that the hoped for goal did not materialize, the rest are more difficult to fit in. I will refer to this usage as the "neutral role" and set it apart from the other idiomatic pattern ("subjective role" of section 3.2.2) which requires a different set of constituents and has a more easily classified semantic import, viz. viewpoint. In the case of the "neutral role" the range of interpretation is much narrower and more closely associated with the two expressions busa and cimo. The general sense in (327-328) may be characterized as 'the action was accomplished without reward/cost'; the sense in (329-330) is roughly 'the action was accomplished with no prospects of reversal'. It is no coincidence that the expressions busa and cimo are not only inanimate, but they are also abstract, lacking the quality of concrete embodiment<sup>7</sup>, which is an important dimension in the assignment of the traditional thematic roles.

### 3.3 Locative Patterns

In this section special consideration of the locative role is in order because of the morphosyntactic and semantic patterns available to this particular interpretation but not to any other interpretation discussed in 3.2 above.

#### 3.3.1 Morphosyntactic patterns

The morphosyntactic patterns in question are primarily illustrated in (331-333).

- (331) (a) gamb - ir - á omu- nju  
 speak - A - FV L - house 'speak in the house'
- (b) \*gamb -á omu-nju
- (332) (a) a - ka - mu -sang- á omu - nju  
 he- PST- her -find-FV L -house  
 'he found her in the house'
- (b) \*a - ka - mu - sanj - ir - á omu - nju
- (333) (a) biik - á omu- nju  
 store-FV L - house  
 'store (something) in the house'
- (b) biic -ir- á omu-nju  
 store-A - FV L - house  
 'store (something) when in the house'

The issue in (331-333) involves the use or non-use of the applicative to license a locative role. The pattern in (331), i.e. +A, is the most common: as Table 3.1 shows, in the 530-verb sample, over 71% were found to require the applicative in order to take a locative complement. Six per cent of the verbs belong to the pattern in (332), i.e. -A, in prohibiting the applicative before a locative complement. Twenty per cent of the verbs can access either pattern, +A and -A, as shown in (333), and the choice will usually have semantic significance. There is a fourth pattern involving 16 verbs

(3%) whereby the applicative and the locative prefix are in complementary distribution, as (334) shows.

- (334) (a) sitam- á aha-ntébe  
 sit - FV L - chair 'sit on a chair'
- (b) sitam- ir - á **ontébe**  
 sit - A - FV chair 'sit on a chair'

The choice between the applicative and the locative prefix in (334), i.e. -A or -L, does not carry any significant semantic contrast.

Table 3.1 gives a summary of the patterns.

Group	affixes	pattern name	no. of verbs	%
1	+A +L	+A	378	71
2	+A +L	+A	108	20
	-A +L	-A		
3	-A +L	-A	28	6
4	-A +L	-A	16	3
	+A -L	-L		
		Total	530	100

TABLE 3.1: Morphosyntactic patterns in applied locatives



Note that pattern -L is more significant than the table suggests: in Runyambo, place names are never marked with the locative prefix. With respect to the marking of locative NPs, some Bantu languages e.g. Kiswahili & Gitonga, use the suffix **-ni**, whereas other languages e.g. Runyambo and Kinyarwanda, use the locative prefixes **ha-**, **ku-**, **mu-**, and **i-** corresponding to classes 16, 17, 18 and 24 of the noun class prefix system respectively (see footnote 3). But Kiswahili is like Runyambo in not marking place names, whereas Gitonga follows the Kinyarwanda pattern and marks place names (Kapinga 1983; Kimenyi 1980; Lanham 1955).

Group 2, 3, and 4 verbs are listed alphabetically in Tables 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4, respectively. All other verbs found in the Appendix but not listed in these tables belong to group 1.

.

---

kwānga	refuse	kwaka	burn
kwara	make bed	kubanza	start
kubáza	ask (question)	kubíika	store
kubinga	chase	kubóha	tie
kubúuza	ask (question)	kucáara	visit
kucukura	search	kucumba	cook
kucuncumura	jerk	kucúngura	redeem
kúcwa	cut	kucwéra	spit
kweba	forget	kweya	sweep
kúfa	die	kufukunkura	empty
kufúmura	pierce	kufúnda	be narrow
kufura	wash (clothes)	kugarama	lie on back
kugarura	bring back	kugesá	harvest
kuguruka	jump	kuhanama	climb
kuhandiika	write	kuhanika	hang
kuheeka	carry	kuhíiga	search/hunt
kuhinda	rouse	kuhunga	flee
kúhwa	be finished	kwiba	steal
kwibika	emerge/dip	kwiha	remove
kwihura	serve food	kwíjura	fill up (intr)
kwimuka	rise	kujábika	emerge/dip
kujuba	fish	kukóma	tie
kukómba	lick	kukómera	sow
kukónora	pull off	kukurura	pull
kukúura	uproot	kumara	finish
kumera	sprout	kumurika	shine/flash
kununka	sniff/stink	kunyejera	ascend
kunyorura	pull	kúnywa	drink
kwombeka	build	kupácira	load
kupágasa	work for a wage	kurába	pass
kuragara	drop (intrans)	kuráhuka	hurry
kuréga	catch water	kureka	leave alone
kurenga	measure	kurênga	go over
kuronda	search	kuruga	exit

kúrya	eat	kusáaga	exceed
kusaaruura	harvest	kusaba	ask/request
kusára	cut	kuséenya	fetch firewood
kusemba	wrap	kusereka	hide
kusíga	leave behind	kusígisa	stir
kusíndika	push	kusoma	read
kusohora	exit	kusômba	fetch repeatedly
kusoroma	harvest	kusoroora	separate
kusuka	pour	kusútura	lift
kusuuma	descend	kuswêra	marry
kúsyá	burn (intrans)	kúta	put
kutáha	scoop	kutadama	sit astride
kutânga	forbid;be first	kutéeka	cook
kutéera	hit	kutéma	cut
kutemba	ascend	kutíganda	fetch materials
kutiiza	borrow/lend	kutobera	sink
kutórorá	kidnap/take away	kutúma	send
kutwânga	pound	kutwéija	press charges
kutyâza	sharpen	kuzínga	fold
kuzira	avoid	kuzoora	bring out

---

TABLE 3.2: Group two verbs

---

kwaya	plunder/take	kubúgana	meet
kwereera	float	kwēma	start
kuheima	gather materials	kwikara	stay
kúja	go	kukúrata	follow
kunága	lose; throw away	kwōna	destroy crops
kuráara	spend night; (of fire) go out		
kurambira	stretch out	kurunda	heap
kusagara	accompany	kusaka	fetch food
kusanga	find	kusénjeera	buy beer
kusiiba	spend time	kusoora	annihilate
kutaaha	go home/enter	kutéékama	perch
kuterebura	slip off (trans)	kutimba	dig
kutuuma	heap	kutúura	stay/live
kutwára	carry	kuziha	swim
kuziika	bury		

---

TABLE 3.3: Group three verbs

---

kubúnga	wander	kubyāma	lie (down)
kucáara	visit	kugoba	reach/arrive
kugwa	fall	kuhika	reach/arrive
kwija	come	kwinama	bend
kujenda	go	kunia	defecate
kunyáara	urinate	kurárama	look up
kuseesa	spill	kusítama	sit
kutánaka	vomit	kutóonya	drip

---

TABLE 3.4: Group four verbs

## 3.3.2 Semantic patterns

## (i) Spatial locative:

What may be called a spatial locative sense consists in locating the action expressed by the verb (335c), or locating a particular participant in the event, in some space (335a,b; 337c). This space could be a specific site of the whole event (336a,b), or the starting point, i.e. source (337a), or the ending point, i.e. destination, of a particular participant (336c, 337b). The specific details about the location of the various participants in the event can only be supplied by the context - crucially the specific verb semantics as well as the nature of the complements and the relationships among these complements in the real world.

(335) (a) háát - ir- á **omu-nyungu**

peel - A -FV L - pot

'peel into the pot' (destination of bananas)

(b) háát - ir - á **aha - rutaro**

peel - A - FV L - tray

'peel onto the tray'

(destination of peels or bananas)

(c) háát - ir - á **omu - nju**

peel - A - FV L - house

'peel in the house' (site of whole event)

- (336) (a) Y kwít - ir - a X **omu - nju**  
 Y kill - A - FV X L - house  
 'Y kill X in the house' (site of Y & X or X)
- (b) Y kwét - er -a X **omu - nju**  
 Y call - A - FV X L - house  
 'Y call X in the house' (site of Y & X or Y)
- (c) Y kujer- er- á **omu- nyanja**  
 Y flow - A - FV L - sea  
 'Y flow into the sea' (destination of Y)
- (337) (a) Y kwih - a X omu- nju  
 Y remove- FV X L - house  
 'Y remove X from the house' (source of Y & X or X)
- (b) Y kutwar - a X omu - nju  
 Y carry - FV X L - house  
 'Y carry X into the house' (destination of Y & X)
- (c) Y kut- á X aha- mútwe  
 Y put -FV X L - head  
 'Y put X on the head' (site of X)

The spatial locative is the most common sense of the locative role in that most verbs can be construed to carry this meaning or have only this meaning. As (335) shows, for

most verbs (group 1), this sense is obtained with the applicative. For a few verbs (group 3), this sense is available without using the applicative (cf.337).

Extralinguistic context is a crucial factor in the interpretation. In (335), for instance, nothing in the morphosyntax of this group one verb decrees the particular semantic interpretations suggested. Whereas (335a & b) pick out particular participants for locating, in (335c) it is the whole event, including the peeler, the bananas, and the peels, that gets located in the house. But it is our knowledge of the world which rules out the interpretation which would put the peeler in the pot in (335a), or on the tray in (335b). With the group 1 verbs in (336) the morphosyntax can be construed in different ways: in (a) the site of Y may be left unspecified while in (b) it is the site of X that may be left unspecified. Similarly the destination sense in (c) is part of the meaning of the verb *kujera* 'flow'. The three verbs in (337) show that it is possible to obtain source, destination and site interpretations without using the applicative<sup>8</sup>. Again there is considerable room for construal allowed by the semantics of the verbs *kwiha* 'remove' and *kutwāra* 'carry'. If in (337a) Y was in the house with X, then this is a location of the whole event; but if Y was not in the house (consider suitcase) then only the site of X (source) is being specified. In (337b), however, the verb *kutwāra* 'carry' is understood to imply that both Y (the carrier) and X (the carried) cannot end up in different

destinations, but "site of X" is also possible (consider suitcase again). The verb *kuta* 'put' in (337c) is understood to specify the site of X.

(ii) Temporal locative:

The most frequent sense obtained with the group 2 verbs consists in a contrast between the spatial locative sense for the -A pattern, and the expression of a broader temporal context of the whole event for +A. Consider (341-342).

(341) (a) *garám* - á *omu-nju*  
 lie on back-FV L - house  
 'lie on the back in the house'  
 (site:spatial locative)

(b) *garám* - ir- á ***omu-nju***  
 lie on back - A - FV L - house  
 'lie on the back when in the house'  
 (temporal locative)

(342) (a) *biik* - a X *omu-nju*  
 store - FV X L - house  
 'store X in the house' (site: spatial locative)

(b) *biic* - ir - á X ***omu-nju***  
 store - A - FV X L - house  
 'store X when in the house' (temporal locative)



The difference between (a) and (b) in (341) & (342) may be captured by saying that (a) is a response to a "where" question while (b) is a response to a "when" question. In the latter case the response does not make reference to conventional time units but to stages relative to the event in question. The temporal location may encompass the period leading up to the specific action, or the period after that action. The connotations may be something like: as early as the time he was in the house he was lying on his back/had stored X; or, not until he got to the house did he lie on his back/store X.<sup>9</sup> Most verbs in group 2 basically subcategorize for a spatial locative, but they may take the applicative which is then construed as licensing a temporal locative. In effect the verbs in group three are those that cannot be construed as taking a temporal locative complement.

(iii) Participant locative vs event locative:

Some verbs in group 2 make use of the morphosyntactic contrasts available to signal a contrast between locating a particular participant and locating the whole event as shown in (343-344).

(343) (a) teek - á omu- nyungu  
 cook -FV L - pot  
 'cook in the pot' (site of a participant)

(b) teec - er- á omu-nju  
 cook - A - FV L -house  
 'cook in the house' (locating whole event)

(344) (a) semb - á omu - rubabi  
 wrap - FV L - leaf  
 'wrap in a leaf' (site of a participant)

(b) semb - ér- á omu - nju  
 wrap - A - FV L - house  
 'wrap in the house' (locating whole event)

Without the applicative (343a & 344a) the locative complement is interpreted as the site of a specific participant in the event. The applicative (343b & 344b) serves to bring in a different locative complement that is the site of the whole event.

(iv) Source vs destination:

Some 11 verbs in group 2 make use of the applicative to license a new locative complement that is interpreted as the destination of a participant, by displacing the original locative complement - a source<sup>10</sup> - which is part of the verb's lexical semantic structure. This is illustrated in (345).

(345) (a) furuk - á omu - nju  
 move - FV L - house  
 'move from the house' (source)

- (b) furuc-ir - á omu- nju  
 move - A - FV L - house  
 'move into the house' (destination)

A verb like -fúruka 'move' in (345) is subcategorized for an omissible source locative and the applicative has the effect of licensing a destination locative in the position of the source, not in addition to it. The other verbs with this property are listed in Table 3.5, and are called "displacing verbs".

---

kubinga	chase	kujuba <sup>a</sup>	fish
kugesá <sup>b</sup>	harvest	kuhákuura	collect honey
kúhwa	be finished	kumara <sup>c</sup>	finish
kusoroma	harvest	kutáha	scoop
kutórorá	kidnap/take away	kuyoora	scoop

---

Examples:

- a kujubá omunyanja 'fish from lake'  
 kujubirá omucitúkuru 'fish (and put catch) into basket'
- b kugesá omundimiro 'harvest from field'  
 kugeserá omucitúkuru 'harvest into basket'
- c kumará amáarwá omunkáaye 'deplete/finish beer out of gourd'  
 kumarirá amáarwá omunkáaye 'fill all beer into gourd'

TABLE 3.5: Displacing verbs

The senses just discussed are the most salient semantic patterns in applied locatives, but there are other minor semantic effects associated with the contrast between the extended and the unextended verb. In a few cases (e.g. kukóma 'tie', kuhíiga 'search', kurába 'pass', kuséenya 'collect firewood', kukóra 'work') there is no semantic difference between the extended and the unextended verb with respect to accommodating a locative complement. In a few others there are semantic differences that are specific to each verb, and these need not detain us here.

### 3.3.3 Semantic groups of verbs

One possible line of enquiry into the nature of the morphosyntactic and semantic patterns available with locative complements is to investigate the relationship, if any, between semantic classes of verbs and the patterns. For instance, it is possible to set up a class of "cooking verbs" that fit example (343) above. These verbs would include kucumba 'cook', kugóya 'cook', kukárange 'fry', kusígisa 'stir'. Similarly a class of "ascent/descent" verbs, all of them in Group 2, would include kunyejera 'ascend', kutemba 'ascend', kuhanama 'climb', kuragara 'drop', kusuuma 'descend'. Such classes may be suggestive of what to expect of a related vocabulary item but they can be helpful only to the extent that the class is definable with any precision. It is doubtful, however, that a semantic explanation of the

facts is possible<sup>11</sup>. In other words, the question is, what is a "cooking verb" or a "descent/ascent verb" and how does this class differ from the other verb classes in terms of the morphosyntactic and semantic patterns it participates in? Consider examples (343) & (344) above again. If we set up a class of "cooking verbs" for (343), shall we also set up a class of "wrapping verbs" for (344)?

This issue is significant because of the attempts that have been made in the past to set up a class of motion verbs and to analyse the locative patterns in these terms. Trithart (1983:160f) cites several examples to back up the claim that "the most widely described locative applied affix is the **verb of motion + goal locative** context". She notes, however, that there are several locative or motion contexts which may not involve a verb of motion. She suggests that the locative notion "to" or "toward" is the basic proto-Bantu locative use, but realizing the inconsistencies in the various locative uses across Bantu languages and within single languages, Trithart concludes that other factors, neither lexical nor syntactic, but related to discourse context (e.g. 'dramatic import', 'new information') influence the appearance of the applied affix (p172).

Schadeberg (n.d.:32) is more sanguine about the "verbs of motion" as a class. He maintains that "with these verbs the locative use is especially frequent for obvious reasons" although he does not state those reasons. He goes on to claim that

The unextended verbs of motion indicate a movement either with or without implying a direction relative to the initial position of the movement. For example, the Ganda verb *dduk-* should be glossed as 'run off, run away from'. A locative expression accompanying such a verb specifies the place where the action starts. But, movements occur in space, and if they are linear then the need may arise to specify the terminal point. The starting point[, ] usually understood in such situations, [...] can be left unmentioned. The use of the applicative extension in such circumstances signals that the locative expression does not refer to the primary place of the action.

Emanatian (1991:304) suggests that in interpreting the 'applicative object' it is possible to generalize over semantic classes of verbs and maintains that "motion verbs - and not cognition verbs or existential verbs - take goal applicative objects".

The basic intuition that these scholars seek to capture is that if a verb already encodes the idea of movement as in "come", "go", and "run", then the applicative will be dispensed with since it is the marker of movement in other verbs. But even while assuming the correctness of the assertion that the applicative is a marker of movement, the problem is whether it is possible to make a precise characterization of the notion "motion verb". The difficulty inherent in such an enterprise is visible in Trithart's (1983:160) attempt: "the verbs of motion are primarily 'leave' or 'come'; non-motion verbs are 'eat' or 'drink'". But was Trithart unaware of the fact that eating and drinking involve the movement of something from outside the body into the body normally via the mouth? Indeed it is possible to construe at least one participant in the event described by

any verb as potentially mobile, and in this sense all verbs are potentially motion verbs. Consider (346 -347).

(346) (a) Y kugarama omu -nju  
'Y lie on the back in the house'

(b) Y kugaram -ir -a omu-muhânda  
'Y lie on the back when on the way'

(347) (a) Y kwaka omu -nju  
'Y burn in the house'

(b) Y kwac -ir - a omu -nju  
'Y burn when in the house'

In (346a) Y lies on his back in the house (spatial locative). In (346b), however, Y is perhaps travelling in a truck and lies on his back at some point on the way. Similarly in (347a) the fire burns in the house (spatial locative), whereas in (347b) there is an understanding that since fire does not make itself burn (does not light itself), some other participant Z was responsible for starting the fire and moving with it to or from the house (temporal locative). It could be that Z was trying to start the fire when he was outside the house but finally succeeded when he got into the house. Or it could be that Z did start the fire when he was in the house and then moved out of the house with it. The

important consideration is that at one point in time the fire was not in the house. In (348) the examples in (346b) and (347b) are reproduced with the "underlying" participants in the glosses.

(348) (a) Y ku-garam-ir-a omu-muhānda

'Y lie on the back [in the truck] when on the way'

(b) Y kw-ac-ir-a omu-nju

'Y (fire) burn when [Z still was/finally got with it] in the house'

The participants that are construed as being in motion in (348) (the truck and Z) cannot be represented in the construction but they are indispensable for the interpretation of the sentences. And since there is at least one participant that is in motion, the two verbs, kugarama 'lie on the back' and kwaka 'burn', should be classified as motion verbs. But by this criterion any verb is potentially a motion verb. From this perspective the notion of "motion verb" may be even less useful than narrow notions like "cooking verb" and "ascent/descent verb"! Two points need to be noted here. First, at least for Runyambo, there is no useful definition of a semantic class of "motion verbs". Second, whatever provisional definition one adopts for such a class, there are no generalisations to be made with respect to the semantic patterns discussed in section 3.3.2, or the



morphosyntactic patterns presented in section 3.3.1. In general, then, such classifications as "motion verb" or "cooking verb" do not facilitate the analysis of the applicative extension.

#### 3.4 Argument structure and argument differentiation

In this section I will argue that the applicative creates an extra argument position for the host verb, and that we do not need the elaborate and hierarchical thematic role inventory in analysing it. This will set the stage for the argument, to be developed in chapter four (section 4.3.3), that the search for the "basic meaning" of the applicative is misdirected.

According to LFG theory, the applicative extension is a lexical item with its own argument structure which it fuses into the argument structure of the verb to which it is suffixed. In this way the applicative adds a new thematic role to the thematic structure of the verb, below the highest role (cf Bresnan & Moshi 1990). This accommodates the observation that the applicative does not introduce an agent. In addition, the thematic hierarchy restricts the types of thematic roles that the applicative can introduce in any thematic structure:

with verbs whose highest thematic role can only be interpreted as a patient, the only possible applied argument is a locative, as it is the only thematic role lower than the patient, which is the case with verbs of involuntary motion like..fall.. (Alsina 1990:36)

The data in (349-350) make this hierarchy-based analysis difficult to sustain.

(349)      Yesu a - ka- fe -er- á **abantu**  
 Jesus he - PST-die -A -FV people  
 (patient)                              (beneficiary)  
 'Jesus died for the people'<sup>12</sup>

(350)      enjúra e - ka- gw -er - á **abarimi**  
 rain it-PST- fall- A -FV farmers  
 (theme)                                      (beneficiary)  
 'rain fell for the farmers'

In both (349) & (350) the applicative introduces a beneficiary in a structure that already has a patient/theme role. This casts doubt on the appropriateness of the conventional thematic role hierarchies. As was demonstrated in section 3.2 above, the applicative argument is amenable to a wide range of interpretations, but these interpretations are always made within a given linguistic and extralinguistic context. What is invariable is the fact that the applicative creates one more argument position for the verb it attaches to. Accordingly the crucial function of the applicative should appropriately be characterized as increasing a verb's valence by fusing its argument slot into the argument structure of the host verb. Consider (351-152).

- (351) (a) Kató a - ka-biik - á ensimbí (omu - mufuko)  
 kato he-PST-store-FV money ( L - pocket)  
 'Kato stored the money in the pocket'
- (b) Kató a -ka -biic-ir- a **Kakúru** ensimbí (omu-mufuko)  
 Káto he-PST-store-A-FV kakúru money (L- pocket)  
 Káto stored money for Kákúru (in the pocket)'
- (c) Kató a -ka - biic -ir- á ensimbí **omu-muhânda**  
 káto he-PST- store-A -FV money L -path  
 'Káto stored the money when on the path'
- (d)\*Kató a-ka-biic-ir-á ensimbí omu-mufukó **omu-muhânda**
- (e)kubiika 'store':Y, X, [Z]+ -ir:**B**->kubiícira:Y, X, [Z],**B**

The verb kubiika 'store' is a group 2 verb that takes an omissible participant locative without requiring the applicative (351a). The applicative may be used to license a beneficiary (351b), or a temporal locative (351c), but not both a participant locative and a temporal locative (351d). In (351e) this is summarized by representing kubiika 'store' as a verb that has three argument positions one of which is omissible; this argument structure fuses with that of the applicative, which has one argument position, to produce an argument structure with four positions. Note that the omissible fourth constituent will only be available if no other constituent instantiates a locative role (cf 351b vs

351d)<sup>13</sup>. In other words no two positions can be assigned a similar role. This is essentially the same restriction expressed as the Theta Criterion of GB and the Function-Argument Biuniqueness Principle of LFG (Chomsky 1981, Horrocks 1987). But note that in (352) biuniqueness has been violated.

- (352) (a) Kató a- ka- t - á ecitabó aha- ntébe  
 Káto he-PST-put-FV book L - chair  
 'Káto put a book on the chair'
- (b) \*Kató (ecitabo) a -ka -ci-te -er-á **omu-muhânda**  
 Káto (book) he-PST-it-put- A-FV L -path  
 'Kato put it (the book) when on the path'
- (c) Kató (ecitabo) a-ka -ci-te-er- á **abajenyí** aha-ntébe  
 Káto (book) he-PST-it-put-A-FV guests L -chair  
 'Káto put it (the book) on the chair for the guests'
- (d) \*Kató (ecitabó) (aha-ntébe) a-ka -ci-te -er- a-hó  
 Káto (book) (L -chair) he-PST-it-put-A -FV-LC  
**omu-muhânda**  
 L - path  
 'Káto put it (the book) there (on the chair) when on  
 the path'
- (e) \*Kató (ecitabo) a - ka - ci - te - er - á  
 aha- ntébé **omu -muhânda**

(f) kúta 'put': Y, X, Z + -ir:**B** -> kutéera:Y, X, Z, **B**

Kúta 'put' is a group 2 verb with a non-omissible participant locative<sup>14</sup> (352a vs 352b; chair cannot be omitted). The applicative may be used to license a beneficiary (352c) or a temporal locative (352d), in which case the participant locative must be replaced by a locative clitic and cannot appear in postverbal position (352e). In (352f) kúta 'put' is represented as a verb with three argument positions which are increased to four by fusing with the applicative position.

The representations in (351e) and (352f) are unordered sets of variables with no meaning attached to them; the random and non-alphabetical arrangement is deliberate. The brackets on Z signal the omissibility of one constituent. As already noted, argument structure contains the crucial information regarding the number of arguments or positions available to the predicate. The information concerning what roles and phrase types can fill these slots is contained in the lexical semantic structure. Therefore there is nothing to distinguish the argument structure of kúta 'put' from that of kúha 'give'. Both have three positions in their argument structures. But the semantic structure specifies that kúta 'put' requires a 'putter' (agent), a 'puttee' (theme) and a site (locative), while kúha 'give' requires a 'giver' (agent), a 'gift' (theme), and a 'recipient' (beneficiary).

Both (351) and (352) show that as the number of arguments increases, the restrictions on what forms (expressions) can fill those argument positions become more and more strict (specific). This continues up to a point where there are no options left, i.e. no more means for realizing and differentiating arguments. But as (352) clearly shows, it is not proper to formulate such restrictions in terms of biuniqueness, since in this example, there are indeed two locative arguments in the same predicate structure. These arguments are distinguished by their forms of realization: one is a locative clitic (LC), and the other is a locative NP. Still, it is important to note that it is not mere morphological similarity of the complements in (351d) and (352e) that disqualifies these constructions. For it is possible to have two morphologically similar constituents, one filling an argument position, and the other being a mere adjunct, as (353) shows.

(353) (a) a - ka - bar- á ensimbí omu - círo (adjunct)  
 he-PST -count-FV money L -night  
 'he counted money at night'

(b) \*a- ka- bar- á ensimbí omu - nju (argument)  
 he-PST-count-FV money L -house  
 'he counted money in the house'

(c) \*a - ka- bar- ir - á ensimbí **omu- círo**  
 he- PST-count-A - FV money L - night  
 'he counted money at night'

(d) a -ka - bar -ir- á ensimbí **omu-njú** (omu-círo)  
 he-PST-count-A -FV money L -house (L -night)  
 'he counted the money in the house (at night)'

Kubara 'count' is a group 1 verb which requires the applicative to license a locative complement. Without the applicative it is only possible to add a time adjunct to the sentence (353a), but not a locative argument (353b). With the applicative, the extra third argument position cannot be filled by a time adjunct (353c), but may be filled by a locative argument (353d). Note that the morphology of omunju 'in the house' is similar to that of omucíro 'in the night', which raises a question that is worth considering at this point, concerning the type of constituents that can fill argument positions. This is a particularly important question because of the role that has been given to matters of form, in the literature, in drawing the distinction between argument and adjunct.

According to Alsina (1992,1993) "obliques are always and only the expression of adjuncts", which are "optional by definition". By "obliques" is meant marked NPs (prepositional phrases and case-marked nouns), which in Runyambo consists of the L-marked NPs. It has already been shown that a full

unmarked NP, a pronominal prefix (i.e. a prestem affix, cf.305), an NP marked with the locative prefix (324 ), and a locative clitic alone (301) or in conjunction with a pronominal prefix (302), can fill an argument position. But not all NPs marked with the locative prefix can fill an argument position, as (353c-d) show. A distinction needs to be made within L-marked NPs.

---

omucíro	at night
aharwakána	on Thursday i.e. on the fourth day
omumwáka	in the year
omumwézi	in the month
omwihángwe	in the day(time)
omukaséese	in the morning
omucanda	in the dry season

---

TABLE 3.6: Time expressions (adjuncts)



---

omunju	in the house
omumwírima	in the dark
omunsi	in the country
ahansi	below/down/on the ground
omumwézi	on the moon
aheiguru	above/high
aharubaju	on the side

---

TABLE 3.7: Spatial expressions (arguments)

Table 3.6 shows the L-marked NPs that cannot fill argument positions but can only appear as adjuncts. These are time expressions which include day and night and divisions thereof, days of the week, months, years, and seasons. Table 3.7 gives spatial expressions and it is this type of constituents that fill argument positions. This distinction is made in semantic terms and recalls the thematic role labels that were discussed in section 3.2.5 and 3.3.2. The durative role can only be realized by expressions of duration, and these need not be L-marked NPs (325). The temporal locative role can be realized by spatial expressions of the type in Table 3.7, as well as place names. The latter are never L-marked in Runyambo. In sum, only L-marked NPs expressing points or periods in time<sup>15</sup> cannot fill argument positions and cannot be assigned participant roles. This in effect means that there is a definable but very small class

of linguistic elements that function as adjuncts in Runyambo, and that, contrary to Alsina's position, not all obliques function as adjuncts. This situation may be contrasted with that of languages like English where the same linguistic phrase may be an argument in one construction (e.g. he lives in Paris), but an adjunct in another construction (e.g. he died in Paris).

A final question concerning the distinction between arguments and adjuncts revolves around the cooccurrence of adjuncts. Cooccurrence is generally considered a distinctive feature for adjuncts on the basis of facts from languages like English (e.g. he wrote a poem on a piece of paper in English with a red pen). But cooccurrence is also possible with arguments as long as these multiple realizations are construed as filling one argument position, as shown in (354-356).

(354) (a) a- ka -gamb-ir- á **omu-nju** aha-rwakaná omu-ciro  
 he-PST-speak-A-FV L -house L -Thursday L-night  
 'he spoke in the house on Thursday at night'

(b) a -ka-gamb-ir- á **omu-nju** omu-ciró aha-rwakána

(355) (a) a -ka -gamb -ir- á **omu-mótoká omu-ngudo**  
 he-PST-speak-A -FV L -car L -road  
 'he spoke in the car on the road'

(b) a -ka - gamb-ir-á **omu-ngudó omu-mótoka**  
 'he spoke on the road in the car'

- (356) a -ka-gamb -ir-á **abáaná abarúmuná abakázi**  
 he-PST-speak-A-FV children brothers wives  
 'he spoke to clansmen, brothers, wives'.

Two adjuncts can appear in either order (354). Similarly in (355) the two locative complements can appear in either order, filling one argument position in the same way that the noun phrases in (356) fill one argument position. The condition that each cooccurring phrase be construed as filling the same position also applies to adjuncts even though it is not usually acknowledged, the assumption being that there are no adjunct slots to speak of, that adjuncts are obtained free of charge as it were. Note though that each cooccurring adjunct, as is the case with arguments, has to be self-sufficient in the sense that it cannot be interpreted as being dependent on a previous or following adjunct. It may thus be appropriate to posit the existence of a single adjunct slot in the clause.

### 3.5 Summary

The applicative increases, by one, the argument positions of the verb with which it is fused. The variety of thematic roles that may be assigned to this argument position include beneficiary, subjective, motive, locative, temporal, and the neutral role. The various senses of the locative are realized via a number of morphosyntactic patterns which

involve the use or non-use of the applicative. These senses involve such distinctions as locating the action in space or in time, locating the whole event or a participant in the event, and designating the source or the destination of a participant. It has been shown that the number of argument positions for each verb is strictly enforced but that it is possible to have two instances of the same thematic role in a given predicate structure. And finally it was shown that there is only a small class of time expressions and manner adverbs that may be added to a construction as adjuncts but which cannot fill argument positions. All other marked and unmarked NPs may be assigned roles and fill argument positions.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1 Note that for Guthrie (1962:104f) there are three different affixes - applicative, directive, and instrumental - which happen to have the same shape: "a different function must always be recognized as a sign of a different extension"

2 Tuggy (1988) shows that one morpheme in Nahuatl performs 'applicative' and 'causative' functions. In the spirit of the Trithart account this morpheme should be called 'applicative'. Perhaps the distinction between causatives and applicatives is warranted in Bantu where these are marked by two distinct extensions. But even in this case there is the

possibility that the two extensions are historically descended from a single suffix (cf Trihart 1983:97), and as will be argued here, causative and applicative extensions perform the same syntactic function, viz. expanding the argument structure of a verb.

3 The clitic *-mu* originates from class 18 of the nominal class prefix system (see Trihart 1977 for a description of comparable facts in Ruhaya). A third locative clitic *-yo*, is associated with the class 17 nominal class prefix in Runyambo. But it appears to have originated from the *i-*locative prefix found in a few languages (e.g. Kinyarwanda, cf. Kimenyi 1980) and variously assigned to a class 19, 24, or 25 (cf Gregoire 1975).

4 Henceforth all NPs and pronominal prefixes licensed by the applicative and the causative will be in bold face.

5 Indeed Mchombo (1992) proposes a hierarchy in which his 'malefactive' role is almost at the bottom while the beneficiary is only second from the top:

agent>beneficiary>goal/experiencer>instrument>patient/theme>  
 locative>malefactive>circumstantial

6 No applicative is involved in constructions equivalent to English 'V for x hours'

7 See Cherry (1992) for a discussion of concepts of animacy and embodiment and how they are represented in language.

8 It is worth noting though that source interpretations are typically obtained without the applicative.

9 Kimenyi 1980:37 described the contrast in terms of old vs new information: "The semantic difference between a [without the -ir- suffix] and the b sentences with the suffix -ir- is that in the former everything is new, whereas in the latter everything except the locative NP is old information. The -ir- suffix is always used in sentences which answer questions that ask where the action took place". While the new vs old information could be an appropriate characterization, Kimenyi's last sentence in this quote must be an oversight. For it is in the a versions that the where question (as well as who and what) arises, while the b versions answer the when question.

10 Schadeberg (n.d.) has suggested that such verbs should be glossed with the appropriate English preposition to indicate the direction of movement, e.g. kufúruka 'move from'.

11 See Fillmore (1986:98) on the limitations of semantic classification: "There are certain semantic groupings of

predicates that allow the two kinds of complement omission [indefinite omissible and definite omissible], but a genuine semantic explanation does not appear to be forthcoming"

12 See comparable data in Chichewa (Alsina & Mchombo 1990b:501)

13 See the discussion on causee omission in the next chapter.

14 Other verbs with non-omissible participant locatives include kwêma 'commence', kwiha 'remove', kuja 'go', kuruga 'leave', kutaaha 'enter', kurába 'pass', kusanga 'find'/'come upon'

15 To this we may add the adverbs bwangu 'quickly', mpóra 'slowly', bwémi 'upright', kúbi 'badly', kurunji 'nicely', and the clitic -je 'nicely'.

CHAPTER FOUR  
THE CAUSATIVE

4.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the other transitivizing suffix, the causative. Section 4.1 discusses the various forms of the extension and their distribution in Runyambo. The semantic roles associated with the extension are presented in section 4.2. In section 4.3 it is argued that the causative extension is a valency increaser distinguishable from the applicative by the fact that it licenses an actor while the applicative licenses a nonactor role. The conclusion in section 4.4 states that this distinction provides a basis for an analytical framework that makes use of only these two thematic macro-roles in stating grammatical generalizations, instead of the detailed and hierarchical semantic role inventories in various current theories.

4.1 Forms of the Causative Extension

Like many other Bantu languages, Runyambo has two forms of what is generally called the causative extension, viz. -;- and -is;- . Schadeberg (n.d:27f) provides an excellent summary of the "conflicting historical explanations [that] have been offered to account for the complex present distribution of the causative suffixes". The controversy has usually revolved around the question of whether we should reconstruct one causative extension or two for Proto-Bantu, and the related



question of which of the two forms is older. By focussing on the patterns of distribution, Bastin's (1986) detailed and extensive investigation has provided strong support for the reconstruction of two suffixes, even if the shape of the reconstructions themselves remains uncertain:

...l'usage des suffixes \*;c; et \*; était en première lieu déterminé par le contexte formel en protobantou. Le suffixe polyphone était obligatoire après voyelle tandis qu'après consonne le suffixe monophone était utilisé de manière régulière. (p.130)

[The use of the suffixes \*;c; and \*; was in the first place determined by the formal context in Proto-Bantu. The polyphonic suffix was obligatory after a vowel whereas after a consonant the monophonic suffix was used in a regular manner.]

This complementary distribution is illustrated in Table 4.1 where only the -is;- causative is available, and in Table 4.2 with verbs that appear to have -;- as the primary causative suffix.

---

kugwa 'fall'	kugwisa	'cause to fall'
kúcwá 'cut'	kucwísa	'cause to cut'
kuja 'go'	kujiisa	'cause to go'
kusa 'grind'	kuseisa	'cause to grind'
kúca 'dawn'	kucéisa	'cause to dawn'

---

TABLE 4.1: -is;- causative in CV roots

As Table 4.1 shows, the .CV roots take the -is;- causative only (see Table 1.2 in chapter one for a complete list of the CV roots and their causative and applicative

derivations).

<b>Basic stem</b>	<b>-i- derivation</b>	<b>-is;- derivation</b>
kutaaha	kutaasya	kutaahisa
enter	take in	go home by means of
kwaka	kwaaca	kwaacisa
be aflame	set aflame	burn in some manner
kwōga	kwōja	kwójesa
wash (intr)	wash (tr)	cause to wash
kwita	kwisa	kwítisa
kill/catch	cause to kill	cause to catch
kwenda	kwenza	kwendesa
like/want	demand	cause to like
kukúra	kukúza	n.a
grow	raise	
kurába	kurábya	kurábisa
pass/be fruitful.	cause to pass	cause to be fruitful
kuguma	kugumya	kugumisa
be hard	make firm (character)	make hard (substance)

TABLE 4.2: -i- and -is;- causatives in C-final roots

The consonant-final roots in Table 4.2 take the -i- causative. With the exception of r-final roots, they may also take the -is;- causative, in which case there will usually be

a different sense, so that the two derivations are not synonymous.<sup>1</sup> This means that the complementary distribution is perfect only in the case of r-final roots. The question that arises here is what factors led to the blurring of this complementarity. It appears that the basic factor was the loss of distinctiveness among the various forms as a result of the consonant alternations initiated by the -;- causative. These final-consonant alternations are shown in Table 4.2 above: h -> sy; k -> c; g -> j; t -> s; r/d -> z; b -> by; m -> my. The resulting blurring of the distinctiveness is best illustrated with the Kiswahili data in Table 4.3. The claim here is that this development affected all the Bantu languages at some early stage in their development.

<b>Basic stem</b>	<b>-j- derivation</b>	<b>-isj- derivation</b>
1 pita pass	pisha give way	pitisha cause to pass
pika cook	*pisha -	pikisha cause to cook
piga hit	*pisha -	pigisha cause to hit
2 pata get	pasha cause to get (news)	patisha cause to get
paka smear	*pasha -	pakisha cause to smear
3 oga wash (intr)	osha wash (tr)	ogesha cause to wash
oka bake	*osha -	okesha cause to bake
ota dream/sprout	*osha -	otesha cause to dream/sprout
4 waka be aflame	washa set aflame	*wakisha -
anguka fall	angusha cause to fall	*angukisha -

TABLE 4.3: Selective use of -j- in Kiswahili

As Table 4.3 shows, in Kiswahili, the consonant alternations brought about by *-j-* are: *k,g,t* → *ʃ*. But because of the potential mergers, the use of *-j-* is selective. In the first three groups of verbs in the table the use of *-j-* after */k/*, */g/* and */t/* is blocked whenever this would result in a merger and create confusion. In the fourth group there are no minimal pairs (*\*wata*, *\*waga*; *\*anguta*, *\*anguga*) that would be the source of confusion, and so the *-j-* forms are available, but not the *-isj-* forms. In short then, it may be concluded that it was the need to avoid the potential confusion arising from the consonant mergers initiated by *-j-* that worked in favor of the *-isj-* causative: since this form of the suffix did not induce any of these consonant alternations *-isj-* could be relied upon to preserve the requisite distinctiveness. In this way *-isj-* acquired a measure of regularity and productivity not previously available to it.

Recall from Table 4.2 that the *-j-* causative has the effect, roughly, of palatalizing and/or spirantizing the preceding consonant. Now what would happen to roots ending in the "new consonants" which did not exist in Proto-Bantu<sup>2</sup> and which appear to have been by-products of the consonant alternation process? Table 4.4 shows that the potential conflict, again, was resolved by regularizing the *-isj-* causative.

---

<b>Basic stem</b>	<b>-is<sub>i</sub>- derivation</b>
kugaya 'snub'	kugayisa 'cause to snub'
kugóya 'cook'	kugóyesa 'cause to cook'
kucâncá 'get busy'	kucâncisa 'cause to get busy'
kumâncá 'wander'	kumâncisa 'cause to wander'
kubeija 'carve'	kubeijesa 'cause to carve'
kwija 'come'	kwizisa 'cause to come'
kusígisa 'stir'	kusígisisa 'cause to stir'
kuhéesa 'forge'	kuhéésesa 'cause to forge'
kubáza 'ask' (question)	kubázisa 'cause to ask'
kubúza 'ask' (question)	kubúzisa 'cause to ask'
kuzaana 'play'	kuzaanisa 'cause to play'
kutiina 'fear'	kutiínisa 'cause to fear'
kufúnya 'fold'	kufúnyisa 'cause to fold'
kunyúunya 'suck'	kunyúunyisa 'cause to suck'

---

TABLE 4.4: -is<sub>i</sub>- causative in "new consonants"

The derived or "new consonants" /y, c, j, z/ and /s/, as well as the dental and palatal nasals /n/ and /ñ/<sup>3</sup>, can only take the -is<sub>i</sub>- causative. It should be noted here that we are not committed to the view that every occurrence of the "new consonants" is to be traced to the consonant alternation process initiated by -i-. The important point here is that the expanded consonant inventory, whatever the source of that expansion was, disturbed the existing equilibrium and made it difficult for consonant alternation to be maintained in its original form.

In short, the net result of the selective use of -i- in

order to preserve relevant distinctions is that the -is;- causative has become the regular and productive form of the causative while the -;- causative is more idiosyncratic and more likely to be encountered in archaic senses. Still, compared to the more idiosyncratic and restricted occurrence of the -;- causative in some languages (such as Kiswahili), in Runyambo this form is still fairly widespread. Table 4.5 summarizes the relevant data.

---

Suffix form	Number of verbs
-is;- only	216
-;- only	194 <sup>a</sup>
Both -;- and -is;-	28
Total	438

---

<sup>a</sup> 37 of these verbs do not have r/d as final consonant, which means that there are 28+37 =65 -;- causative forms without a /z/ ending in the sample

TABLE 4.5: Distribution of -;- and -is;- causative forms

In the verb sample there are altogether 438 verbs that take the causative extension. Of these, 216 (i.e. 49.3%) take -is;- only, while 194 (i.e. 44.3%) take -;- . The vast majority of this latter group (157) have /r/ as the final consonant. Only 28 verbs (i.e. 6.4%) take both forms of the extension.

The surface form of the long causative in most cases is -is- or -es- and will be represented in this way in most of

the examples here. But there is sufficient evidence to show the presence of a superclose front vowel -i- (cf Trithart 1977). Runyambo has two such pieces of evidence in this regard. The first involves the appearance of the passive suffix after the causative as shown in (401).

- (401) a) bón - es-;- a -> bónesa 'cause to see'  
 b) bón - u - a -> bónwa 'be seen'  
 c) bón - es -;- - u - a -> bónesibwa 'be caused to see'  
                                     \*bóneswa, \*bónesiwa

The superclose vowel in (401a) is deleted before the final vowel. In (401b) the passive extension -u- turns into a glide before the final vowel. When the passive cooccurs with the causative as in (401c), the consonant /b/ is inserted before the passive in order to break up the three-vowel sequence, and as a result, the superclose vowel is preserved. Note that this vowel is not subject to vowel harmony.

The second piece of evidence is presented in (402) which shows that the applicative extension -ir-/-er- appears between the two parts of the causative -is-;-.

- (402) a) bón-es-er-;-a -> bóneseza 'cause to see for'  
                                     (\*bónesera)  
 b) many-is-ir-;-a -> manyísiza 'cause to know for,  
                                     i.e. inform for' (\*manyisira).



The derived forms in (402) show that there is a superclose vowel that mutates the consonant in the applicative (r → z) and support the position that the long form of the causative suffix is composite and discontinuous. For the purposes of this discussion, however, I will ignore the details of the underlying forms and only include the superclose vowel in the examples when it actually appears in the surface forms. The consequence of this is that in giving a morpheme by morpheme gloss, the history of the mutated consonants such as the /z/ in (402) above will not be pursued.

#### 4.2 Causative Thematic Roles

The causative suffix is associated with two broad thematic roles, viz. the causee and the instrument roles. In addition an attitudinal interpretation, dubbed the 'subjective role' is also available.

##### 4.2.1 Causee role

There are two closely related senses of the causee, manipulatee and helpee (comitative), as illustrated in (403-405).

(403) som - és - a **Namará** ecitabo

read- C -FV Namara book

a) 'make Namara read a book'

b) 'help Namara read a book' i.e. read with her

- (404) kom - es - á **Namará** énku  
 tie - C - FV Namára firewood  
 a) 'make Namára tie firewood'  
 b) 'help Namára tie firewood' i.e. tie with her

- (405) ri - is - á **abajenyi**  
 eat- C - FV guests  
 a) 'cause the guests to eat' i.e. feed them  
 b) 'help the guests to eat' i.e. eat with them

The (a) interpretations in (403-405) illustrate the manipulatee sense in which the participant in question carries out the action described by the verb under some kind of control or instigation from another participant who does not take part in the said action. The (b) interpretations however illustrate the helpee sense in which both the causee and the causer take part in the action of the verb together. Note though that even in the case of the manipulatee sense the amount of control attributable to the causer may vary with the verb or with the noun phrase filling the actual position. For instance in (405a) the sense involves making it possible for guests to eat i.e. setting them up for a meal. If instead of abajenyi 'guests', we had abáana 'children', it would also be possible to construe a situation in which someone physically puts food in their mouths. As (405a) stands we are assuming the guests are adults who do not need

to be physically/force fed.

The semantics of individual verbs may not allow the distinction between manipulatee and helpee senses to be made. This is illustrated in (406-408).

(406) caaz - á **abajenyi**  
 visit+C-FV guests  
 'take the guests around'

(407) koroz - á **omurwéire**  
 cough+C-FV patient  
 'make a patient cough'

(408) yeg -es -á **omwána**  
 learn-C-FV child  
 'teach a child'

Only the helpee sense is available in (406), while in (407-408) only the manipulatee sense is available.

#### 4.2.2 Instrument role

The various senses of the instrument role viz. tool, means, and manner, are illustrated in (409-413).

(409) nywe -is -á **oruséce**  
 drink-C- FV straw  
 'drink with a straw' (tool)

- (410) háát - is -á **omúsyo**  
 peel - C -FV knife  
 'peel with a knife' (tool)

The causative in (409) and (410) licenses arguments (straw and knife) that are interpreted as tools.

- (411) jenz - á **amaguru**  
 go+C -FV legs  
 'go on foot' (means)

- (412) somb -es -á **egári**  
 carry-C -FV bicycle  
 'carry by bicycle' (means)

In (411)-(412) the arguments licensed by the causative (amaguru and egári) are interpreted as means.

- (413)a) gamb -is -á **eciníga**  
 speak-C -FV anger  
 'speak with anger' (manner)

- b) vuj - is - á **amáni**  
 ride- C - FV force  
 'ride with force' (manner)

The arguments licensed by the causative in (413) are interpreted as the manner sense of the instrument role. In general these labels are dependent on the nature of the entity to which the noun phrase filling the position in question refers. As such the distinctions among the senses in (409)-(413) are of little consequence.

#### 4.2.3 Subjective role

As with the applicative, the causative extension too can license an argument position without a substantive participant role to go with it. This is what is called the subjective role because it signals the speaker's attitude or point of view. This is illustrated in (414).

(414) a - ka- ● - som - es- á ecitabo  
 she-PST-RF -read - C - FV book  
 'she pretended to read a book'

The argument position created by the causative extension in (414) must be filled by the reflexive affix. The semantic effect is to express the speaker's disapproval of the actor's behavior - pretending to read a book instead of attending to some other pertinent issue.

The foregoing discussion has shown, once more, the role of construal in the interpretation of the various senses of the causee and instrument roles. In the next subsection I

will show that even the distinction between causee and instrument has no specific linguistic marking, but that it is dependent on the meaning of the verb as well as the meanings of the constituents that realize particular participant roles.

#### 4.2.4 Causee vs instrument

The causative suffix introduces one argument that is interpreted as causee or as instrument. There is no possibility of there being in the same predicate structure both a causee and an instrument. As such there is no basis, in the morphology of the verb, for a distinction between causee and instrument. What is required is a mechanism for identifying the constituent realizing the 'causative role' in any construction. The examples in (415)-(417) show that the mechanism relies on the semantics of the verb as well as the semantics of the individual constituents that realize the verb's participant roles.

- (415) a) a - ka - mu - kom - es - á é<sup>h</sup>ku  
 he-PST - her - tie - C - FV firewood  
 'he made her tie the firewood'
- b) a - ka - mu - kom - es - á omuguha  
 he-PST -her - tie - C -FV rope  
 'he tied her with a rope'  
 \*'he made her tie a rope'

In (415a) -mu- 'her' is assigned the causee role on the understanding that enku 'firewood' is the thing that is tied (theme), a role required by the semantic structure of the basic verb kóma 'tie'. But in (415b) omuguha 'rope' is assigned the instrument role (the thing with which you tie), which leaves -mu- 'her' as the theme (the person tied).

(416) a) a - ka - mu - tem - es- á omuti  
 he-PST - her- cut - C - FV tree  
 'he made/helped her cut a tree'  
 \*'he cut her with a tree'

b) a - ka - mu - tem - es- á ecísyo  
 he-PST - her- cut - C - FV machete  
 'he cut her with a machete'  
 \*'he made her cut a machete'

The interpretations in (416) are based on the understanding that omuti 'tree' is the thing that is cut (theme), not the thing with which one cuts (instrument), while ecísyo 'machete' is understood as the thing with which one cuts (instrument), not the thing that is cut.

(417) a) a - ka - handiic - is -á ebarúha  
 he-PST - write - C -FV letter  
 'he had [someone] write a letter' (causee omission)

- b) a -ka - handiic - is - á ekaráamu  
 he-PST- write - C -FV pen  
 'he wrote with a pen'  
 \*'he had someone write a pen'

An example of causee omission<sup>4</sup> is given in (417a): a letter is something you write (theme), not something you write with (instrument). In (417b) we have an instance of theme omission (unspecified object deletion in LFG, or indefinite null instantiation in Construction Grammar): a pen is not the theme (something you write), but the instrument.

To recapitulate: the distinction between causee and instrument is not linguistically marked in the same way as, for instance, locatives are distinguished from non-locatives (see chapter three), or the way applicative roles are distinguished from causative roles. In the next section I dwell on the latter distinction and argue that it provides the basis for a theory that recognises only two thematic roles.

### 4.3 Argument Structure and Argument Differentiation

#### 4.3.1 Valency increaser

Like the applicative, the causative extension increases the valency of a verb by creating one extra slot in the verb's argument structure. This is illustrated in (418)-



(420) .

(418) a) Kató a- ka -gw - á [omu- méizi]  
 Káto he- PST-fall-FV L - water  
 'Káto fell in the water'

b) Kató a- ka- gw -is -á omutí [omu- méizi]  
 Káto he-PST-fall-C -FV tree L - water  
 'Káto felled the tree into the water'

c) kugwa 'fall': Y, [Z]+ -is-: T -> kugwisa: Y, [Z],T

The verb kugwa 'fall' has two argument positions one of which is omissible (418a). Recall from Table 3.4 (chapter 3) that this is one of the verbs on which the applicative alternates with the locative prefix when a locative complement is involved. Without the applicative the locative complement is omissible; with the applicative, the bare noun phrase must fill the slot. The causative in (418b) creates a third argument position. The representation in (418c) states that the two arguments of the verb fuse with the argument of the causative extension to form a structure with three arguments.

(419) a) a - ka- beij - á obwâto  
 he-PST- carve-FV canoe'  
 'he carved a canoe'

b) a - ka - beij - es -á **omwáná** obwáto  
 he-PST - carve- C -FV child canoe  
 'he made the child carve a canoe'

c) kubeija 'carve':Y, X + -es-: T -> kubeijesa: Y, X, T

The verb kubeija 'carve' has two arguments, both of which are non-omissible (419a). A third argument is added to this argument structure by the causative (419b). This is represented in (419c) which shows that the two arguments of the base verb fuse with the causative argument to form a three-place argument structure.

(420) a) a -ka -hend -á omwáná [omugōngo]  
 he-PST-break-FV child back  
 'he broke the child's back'

b) a -ka - henz -á omwáná **emirimo**  
 he-PST-break+C -FV child work  
 'he broke the child with work'

c) a - ka - m - penz - á omwáná [omugōngo]  
 he-PST - me-break+C-FV child back  
 'he made me break the child's back'

- d) \*a- ka - henz - á omwáná omugóngó **emirimo**  
 he-PST- break+C-FV child back work  
 'he broke the child's back with work'

- e) kuhênda 'break':Y,X,[Z]+ -j-:T -> kuhênza:Y,X,[Z],T

The verb kuhênda 'break' has three arguments, one of which is omissible (420a). Only a body part (an inalienable part of one of the other two participants)<sup>5</sup> can fill this position, although other verbs with omissible arguments e.g. kutéeka 'cook' (see example 428 below), kúrya 'eat', kufura 'wash (clothes)', take constituents other than the body part type. Non-omissible arguments can be increased by means of the causative (420b). If the omissible argument has been filled this valency increase is possible only under restricted conditions: the fourth argument can only be a first person pronominal prefix (420c), but not a postverbal noun phrase (420d). The representation in (420e) states that the three-place argument structure of this verb can be expanded to four thanks to the causative.

As an example of an argument structure in which all four arguments are non-omissible consider (421).

- (421) a) a -ka - siig -á omwáná ebyondo  
 he-PST-smear-FV child mud  
 'he smeared the child with mud'

- b) a - ka- bi - mu - siij -is- á **eciníga**  
 he-PST- it - her- smear-C - FV anger  
 'he smeared it on her with anger'

- c) kusiiga 'smear':Y,X,Z + -is-:T -> kusiijisa:Y,X,Z,T

Kusiiga 'smear' is a verb with three non-omissible arguments. The causative (421b) adds a fourth argument. These arguments may be realized by a combination of noun phrases and pronominal prefixes: the significance of striking an appropriate mix of these forms, as well as the relative ordering of the noun phrases on one hand, and of the prefixes on the other, are discussed in detail in Rugemalira (1991a, 1993a) as the means by which arguments are kept distinct. The representation in (421c) states that the argument structure of this verb may be expanded to contain up to four positions.

Again, as is the case with the applicative, when all possibilities and restrictions are considered, there appears to be a limit on the number of distinct participants that can be mentioned in one clause. So far clauses appear to allow up to four such participants. In the next subsection I will seek to determine whether omissible constituents have any effect of relaxing this constraint.

## 4.3.2 Causee omission

The fact that the causee role may be unrealized in some cases has already been mentioned. This is illustrated in (422)-(423).

(422) a - ka- son -es -á omwênda  
 he-PST- sew -C -FV dress  
 'he made [someone] sew a dress'  
 (i.e. he had a dress made)

(423) a - ka- se -is - á ebicóori  
 he-PST-grind- C -FV maize  
 'he had [someone] grind the maize'  
 (i.e. he had the maize milled)

In both (422) and (423) the causative licenses an argument that is nevertheless not realized in the construction. An examination of the verb sample brought up some thirty-seven verbs, out of 530, that are amenable to causee omission. These are listed in Table 4.6.

---

kubánjura	cultivate	kubeija	carve
kubíika	store	kucúgura	have diarrhoea
kucumba	cook	kucúuka	be weaned
kwêga	learn	kwêra	be clean/abundant
kwereera	float	kúfa	die
kufunga	lock	kugaba	fill breasts
kugaga	go bad	kúha	give
kúsyá	be cooked	kuhóma	plaster
kwíma	deny	kujúga	pay dowry
kujúma	insult	kujwa	flow/shine
kunógoora	mould	kwôma	dry
kwônka	suck	kupima	measure
kurába	blossom	kurima	cultivate
kuruka	weave	kúrya	eat
kusára	cut	kusa	grind
kusínda	be drunk	kusoma	read
kusona	sew	kutâmba	treat
kutéeka	cook	kutéera	hit
kutumba	increase		

---

TABLE 4.6: Causee omission verbs

As Table 4.6 shows, causee omission verbs include verbs with more than one argument (transitives) as well as verbs with only one argument (intransitives). Two examples of the

latter are provided in (424)-(425).

- (424) a) abantu ba - sind -a  
 people they-be drunk-FV  
 'people get drunk'
- b) amaarwá ga - sínz -a  
 beer it -be drunk+C-FV  
 'beer causes [people] to be drunk'
- (425) a) omwénda gu - kó - om - a  
 dress it -PST -dry -FV  
 'the dress dried'
- b) omusana gw- om - és -a  
 sunshine it- dry- C -FV  
 'The sunshine causes [things] to dry'

The single argument verbs kusinda 'be drunk' and kwōma 'dry' in (424) and (425) are expanded into two-place verbs by means of the causative, but the second argument in these constructions is omitted. In this respect Runyambo may be different from a language like Turkish where all causatives derived from transitive verbs, but not causatives from intransitive verbs, allow causee omission (Orgun, personal communication). Alsina (1992) reports that in Chichewa too only causatives derived from transitive verbs (some of them

in fact) "allow the causee to alternate between an object and an oblique expression", which in Alsina's theory translates into the possibility of leaving the causee unrealized. It seems to me, however, that even in Chichewa and other Bantu languages, causee omission is a lexical property of certain causative verbs (irrespective of the transitivity of the basic stem) as suggested in Table 4.6. In Runyambo, of course, we cannot treat causee omission as a variant of the oblique causee - the *par*-phrase in French (Zubizarreta 1985) or the *kwa*-phrase in Chichewa (Alsina 1992) - since there is no such construction as oblique causee in this language<sup>6</sup>. And there is even less motivation for what Alsina (1992) calls a "passive analysis" (cf. Kayne 1975, Baker 1988, Alsina 1992). Such an analysis assumes "that passive morphology was effectively absorbed into the causative morphology" (Baker 1988:487). The discussion in chapter six, on the cooccurrence of the causative and passive extensions, will show that absorption of one extension by another, leaving no morphophonological traces, does not exist in the language. As Baker acknowledges, a passive analysis is adopted on the basis of a passive-like gloss (see alternate glosses for examples (422) and (423) above): "the causee appears either in a passive-like *by*-phrase or not at all (as an implicit argument)" (Baker 1988:487).

The predicate structures of causee omission verbs are like those of other verbs with omissible arguments (see examples 351 and 420). In the case of causee omission, the



omissible argument is part of the predicate structure of the extended verb, whereas in the other cases the omissible argument is part of the predicate structure of the unextended verb. But in all cases an argument may or may not be realized (instantiated) by any linguistic constituent. If it is not realized, this may be because the identity of the participant is understood and recoverable from the context (definite omissible) or because it is unknown and/or irrelevant (indefinite omissible) (cf. Fillmore 1986:96).

One might be led to believe that if a constituent realizing a particular participant role has been omitted, then this should create room for the realization of other participant roles on which information is desirable. But omissibility does not create such room. Consider (426).

(426) a) a -ka -sar -á omwáná [isóce] [aha-mútwe]

he-PST-cut-FV child hair L -head

'he cut the child's hair from the head'

b) a - ka-saz - á **omwáná**/omwáná isóce

he-PST-cut+C-FV child hair

i) 'he made the child cut the hair'

ii) 'he had [someone] cut the child's hair'

c) \*a- ka- saz - á omwáná isóce **akásyo**

he-PST- cut+C -FV child hair razor

\*'he had [someone] cut the child's hair with a razor'

- d) (akasyó) a-ka-~~ka~~- saz - á omwáná [isócé] [aha-mútwe]  
 (razor)he-PST-it-cut+C-FV child hair L- head  
 '(the razor) he cut the child's hair from the head  
 with it'

Kusára 'cut' can appear with up to four arguments, only two of which are non-omissible. The body part and the locative complement are omissible (426a). Two readings are possible in (426b), one involving omwána 'child' as causee (hence the bold face), and the other involving causee omission (no bold face). The basic point illustrated in (426c) is that it is not possible to omit the causee and at the same time fill the slot with an instrument. The other problem with this construction concerns the piling up of postverbal unmarked noun phrases even if we were to read akásyo 'razor' as the sole causative argument (i.e. instrument). Three unmarked NPs after the verb stretch the system too far. Instead (426d) provides an appropriate mix of argument realization types - marked and unmarked noun phrases, and prefixes. In addition it shows that it is possible to have a construction with up to five arguments. Still it is important to note the highly restricted nature of these arguments: the causative argument is topicalized and realized as a prefix (i.e. this is old information). Of the two omissible arguments, one must be a body part, and the other must be a participant locative, not an event locative (cf chapter 3). And we must keep in mind

the fact that the causative creates only one argument position.

Now if the causative and the applicative can create one argument position each, would a combination of the two extensions expand the argument structure of *kusára* 'cut' any further given the restrictions on argument realization types shown here? Whatever the answer to this question, again, it does seem that there exists a limit on the expandability of argument structures. Further discussion of this question must wait until the final chapter (see section 6.3).

A question that is of immediate relevance here concerns the limits (if any) that are imposed on the omissibility of arguments in any one construction. Without any such limits, a verb like *kutéeka* 'cook' with two omissible arguments - the stuff being cooked ('patient/theme') and the container of that stuff (participant locative) - could be causativized and placed in a construction where only one argument was realized (after causee omission). However, as (427) shows, this is not a well-formed construction (see also Alsina 1992, example 14).

(427) \*a - ka - tééc- es - a

he -PST - cook -C -FV

'he had [someone] cook [something ] [in some container]'

The causative verb in (427) has four argument positions, one of which is a creation of the causative extension. Only one of these arguments is actually realized, and the other three

are omitted, which makes the construction ill-formed. As already mentioned, omissibility has to do with pragmatic considerations of whether a participant is known in the context or unknown and irrelevant. In this particular case if the omitted arguments were known in the context they would have to be realized as pronominal ('object') prefixes, and in this sense topicalized. As such the construction in (427) lacks a pragmatic motivation: why create a fourth argument position when three of them are unknown? For the unextended verb can handle up to three arguments very well. Note that if at least one more of the arguments in (427) is realized, the construction will be acceptable as (428) shows.

- (428) a) a - ka - teec - es-á abáana  
 he-PST - cook - C -FV children  
 'he made the children cook'
- b) a - ka - teec - es-á ebitooce  
 he- PST- cook - C -FV bananas  
 'he made [someone] cook bananas'
- c) a - ka - teec - es-á omu-nyungú yanje  
 he-PST - cook - C -FV L -pot my  
 'he made [someone] cook [something] in my pot'

The acceptability of (428) suggests that a four-place argument structure must have at least two of these arguments

realized. Two-place argument structures such as that of *kwómesa* 'cause to dry' in (425) must have at least one argument realized, and this would appear to be the lower limit. More generally, these constructions show that besides the restrictions on argument realization types, there is a restriction on the omissibility of arguments, and that this restriction is sensitive to the number of arguments in any one argument structure.

The notion of a lower limit on the omissibility of arguments is related to that of a lower limit on the number of arguments in any argument structure. The conception of predicate structure proposed in chapter two requires that a verb have at least one argument position, even if that position is not matched by a participant role, i.e. it has no semantic content. This is a familiar condition of predication theory. It is expressed as the 'subject requirement' of the Extended Projection Principle of GB, the 'Subject Condition' of LFG, and the 'Subject Principle' of Construction Grammar (cf. Horrocks 1987, Bresnan & Moshi 1990, Fillmore & Kay 1993). If we set aside the grammatical relations terminology in these formulations, then our notion of a lower limit on the number of arguments can be better appreciated: by definition, a verb must have at least one argument position. From this perspective, the verbal status of Portuguese *chove* 'its raining', would be shaky (cf. Fillmore & Kay 1993:8.22). In general, "weather verbs" in languages like Portuguese, may be regarded as, at best, defective verbs.

The discussion on the detransitivizing extensions in chapter five, as well as the discussion on cooccurrence in chapter six, will show that these devices for contracting argument structures cannot bring about the equivalent of verbal suicide by stripping the verb of all its argument positions. But before that we need to consider the nature of the distinction between the two transitivising extensions, the causative and the applicative, which have been the subject of discussion in this and the previous chapter.

#### 4.3.3 Distinguishing causative from applicative

If both the causative and the applicative are transitivizers, how are the two extensions distinct? In order to appreciate the difference between them it is important to emphasize their similarity<sup>7</sup>. The first step in this direction is to abandon the 'higher cause'/'biclausal' analysis of the Bantu causative extension (cf. Jones 1971, Vitale 1981, Baker 1988, Li 1990, Alsina 1992). In many respects this analysis is a legacy of a linguistic theory based on the sentence, and the English sentence at that. In this tradition (Chomsky 1957, 1965) the sentence became the basic unit of analysis. The theory sought to determine the rules for distinguishing grammatical from ungrammatical sentences, and to formalize the relationships between sentences. Among the most engaging sentence relations were those of active vs passive (Chomsky 1957), dative shift vs non-dative shift (Fillmore 1965), causative vs non-causative (Fodor 1970, Shibatani 1976).

In arguing for a lexical theory, Mchombo (1978, 1980) maintained that there could not be a syntactic rule of dative shift since in Chichewa, and Bantu generally, only the morphological process of the applicative suffix existed, without a counterpart prepositional version available in languages like English. In a similar vein it could be argued that, in Runyambo at least<sup>8</sup>, we cannot posit, á la Baker (1988:149), a biclausal "analysis in which a lexical item undergoes syntactic movement to combine with another lexical item in its structure". For in Runyambo only the morphological causative is available, but not the periphrastic causative. Such an argument, however, plays in the hands of the biclausal analysts by foregoing an effort to present a general analysis of the Bantu causative extension, and by putting undue emphasis on a fact of the syntax of English and related languages. The fact that the English glosses of the examples above are biclausal does not warrant the imputation of biclausal structures on the Runyambo constructions.

It should be noted that in spite of the theoretical differences between the syntactic approach of Baker (1988) and the lexical approach of Alsina (1992), in both cases the representations of the causative extension are essentially notational variants. Alsina (1992) "proposes to analyze causative morphemes in many languages as three-place predicates in which the causer (or agent) acts on an individual, the patient, in bringing about an event, of

which this individual is itself an argument". Baker's (1988) focus is on the movement of the root verb to combine with the causative affix, while Alsina speaks of the fusion of two thematic roles into one "fused argument". But in both theories the underlying assumption is identical to that behind the attempt to derive "kill" from "cause to die", namely "that word-to-phrase synonymies [even across languages] can ... be handled as instances of syntactic relations..." (Fodor 1970:430-31; also see Shibatani 1976).

Fodor's "three reasons" for rejecting the assumption are based on the differential behavior of 'kill' and 'cause to die' with respect to :

- (i) do so substitution - 'kill' allows only one antecedent, whereas 'cause to die' allows two;
- (ii) time adverbials - 'kill' allows only one adverbial of time, while 'cause to die' allows two (one indicating the time of the patient's death, the other indicating the time of the agent's causing activity);
- (iii) instrumental adverbs - 'kill' allows only one noun phrase to control the subject of a modifying instrumental adverb, whereas 'cause to die' allows two noun phrases to alternately control that subject.

From this Fodor concludes that 'kill' should not be analysed as being derived from 'cause to die'.

Fodor's arguments were developed against the Generative Semantics analysis of English lexical causatives. Today, probably no linguist takes the Generative Semantics analysis



seriously. Yet the biclausal analysis of Bantu causative verbs is essentially that of Generative Semantics, the only difference being that now the synonymy is traced across languages thus: English 'cause' = Chichewa -its-; 'cause to cook' = 'phikitsa'. The biclausal analysis of 'cause to cook' is, in this way, extended to 'phikitsa'. I do not think this attempt to cast Chichewa, and Bantu generally, in the English mould is justified. I will instead propose an analysis of the Runyambo causative extension that seeks to advance "less typologically parochial concepts"<sup>9</sup> related to the nature of argument structure (cf. Bresnan & Moshi 1990).

The position being advanced here is that there is no 'causative sentence' any more than there is an 'applicative sentence'. In (418), for instance, sentence (b) is not derived from sentence (a). Rather, as (418c) shows, the extended or causative verb kugwisa is derived from the unextended or non-causative verb kugwa 'fall'. It is at this level of predicate composition that the distinction between causative and applicative has to be delineated by analysing the distinctions available within lexical semantic structures. This requires a redrawing of the lines of thematic role analysis.

The roles that can be assigned to arguments licensed by the causative in Runyambo and some other Bantu languages e.g. Luganda (Ashton et al. 1954), Ruhaya (Trithart 1977), Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980), and Cishona (Hawkinson & Hyman 1974), are causee and instrument. Any other participant role

that is not part of the lexical semantic structure of the basic verb can only be assigned by the applicative (cf Chapter 3). In a number of Bantu languages, e.g. Luhya (Kanyoro 1983), Kichaga (Bresnan & Moshi 1990), Kiswahili (Khamisi 1985), Chichewa (Alsina & Mchombo 1990), and Kuria (Gould 1987), this division of labor between causative and applicative is more clearcut: the causative licenses a causee role, while the applicative licenses all other roles including the instrument. This is fairly strong linguistic evidence in support of the hypothesis that, in Runyambo and Bantu generally, the relevant grammatical generalizations can be adequately captured by means of only a binary distinction in thematic roles, viz. actor vs nonactor.

The position I will advance here is comparable to Dowty's (1991), who uses the terms "agent proto-role" and "patient proto-role" and suggests that "role types are simply not discrete categories at all, but rather are cluster concepts", and "that arguments may have different degrees of membership in a role type". In these terms the causative extension licenses a proto-agent i.e. an actor, while the applicative licenses a proto-patient, i.e. a nonactor.<sup>10</sup>

The cluster concept of thematic roles entails a level of indeterminacy in assigning participants between the two proto-roles. This indeterminacy is illustrated very well in the cross-linguistic variations with regard to the classification of what is traditionally referred to as the instrument role. In Jackendoff's (1987:401) conceptual

structures view of thematic roles, "instrument is not a new primitive role but an intermediary between Actor and Patient..." Weighing instruments against Dowty's (1991) "preliminary list of entailments" for proto-agents shows how languages can reach different results: instruments lack volitional involvement and sentience; but they cause events/changes, move, and exist independently of the event named by the verb. Languages that mark instruments with the applicative, thus classifying them with proto-patients, appear to disqualify instruments from the class of proto-agents on account of lacking the first two entailments. And languages that mark instruments with the causative, thus classifying them as proto-agents, apparently give more weight to the last three qualities.

Even within individual languages there is linguistic evidence of this indeterminacy in assigning participants to one or the other of the proto-roles. In Runyambo, for instance, it is possible to use either the causative or the applicative to license an argument that may be interpreted as an instrument (and therefore a proto-agent) or as a locative (and therefore a proto-patient). This is illustrated in (429).

- (429) a) a - ka - nywe -is- á    **onkáaye**  
           he-PST -drink -C - FV gourd  
           'he drank from a gourd'

- b) a - ka - nywe -er- á **omu-nkáaye**  
 he-PST -drink -A -FV L - gourd  
 'he drank from a gourd'

In (429a) the container of the drink is licensed by the causative while in (429b) it is licensed by the applicative and marked with the locative prefix. Yet, as the gloss indicates, there are no semantic differences between the two constructions.

Recall that in the argument differentiation framework adopted here, the predicate structure identifies the participant roles specific to each verb. Thus the lexical semantic structure of the verb 'give' specifies a giver, recipient, and gift. But the lexical semantic structure of the transitivity suffixes, the applicative and the causative, is presented in terms of these thematic proto-roles, as (430) shows.

- (430) a) -is- ; Argument Structure: 1  
 Lexical Semantic Structure: [actor]  
 b) -ir- ; Argument Structure: 1  
 Lexical Semantic Structure: [nonactor]

Compared to the predicate structure of the normal verbs, the lexical semantic structure of the transitivers in (430) is highly underspecified, giving just enough information to

distinguish the causative from the applicative, and indicating by means of brackets, the possibility of increasing the arguments without increasing the number of participant roles (cf. 'subjective role' above). These thematic protoroles are the concepts that enable us to make syntactic and semantic generalizations across verbs and languages. It is in these terms that the morpholexical operations performed by the verb extensions under discussion in this study are to be analysed.

Given the representations in (430) it follows that the search for the "basic meaning" of the applicative does not make much sense. The nonactor thematic role label is not only too broad, but it is also a negative label, including any participant role that is not an actor. In the search for the "basic meaning" of the applicative, the tendency has usually been to adopt narrower terms. Thus Trithart (1983) picks "beneficiary", Schadeberg (n.d.) picks "locative", and Emanatian (1991) settles for "recipient". But as I have argued, such terms are best regarded as being descriptive of the participant roles of specific verbs or groups of verbs. The assignment of these role labels is partly dependent on the verbs, and partly dependent on the complements. As such there is no justification for choosing any one of these labels as representing the "basic meaning" of a verbal extension. Such a stance compromises the level of generality demanded of the analysis of the verbal extensions.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

The causative, like the applicative increases the valency of the verb by fusing its single argument into the verb's argument structure. The two extensions are in complementary distribution: the causative licenses an actor while the applicative licenses a nonactor. This binary division suggests, that at least for the purposes of analysing the transitivity extensions, it is not necessary to set up an elaborate inventory of semantic roles, let alone to posit a hierarchy of such roles. In the next chapter I will show that this binary scheme may be extended to the analysis of the detransitivizing suffixes as well.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1 Givon (1976:336) has expressed this "economy principle in the lexicon" thus: "Basically, what is involved is the contention that there are no real synonyms in a language, but only various degrees of partial synonymy. When the speaker is faced with a potential synonymy as a result of a derivation, borrowing, or semantic change, one of several things may happen: a) one of the items changes in meaning; b) one of the items becomes obsolete (i.e. gets relegated to an 'archaic dialect level'); c) one of the items becomes identified with another stylistic, social, educational, age, or geographic dialect; d) in the case of a lexical derivation

rule, the rule skips that particular item whose derivation would have brought about synonymy."

2 Meeussen's (1967:83) consonant reconstructions for Proto-Bantu are:

m	n	ñ	
b	d	j	g
p	t	c	k

"Instead of /c/ one might just as well use the symbol /s/; likewise, /z/ or /y/ instead of /j/, and /l/ instead of /d/".

3 There are frozen forms, e.g. from Kiswahili, showing that  $n \rightarrow \tilde{n}/\_i$ : ona 'see' onya 'warn', onyesha 'show'; pona 'recover', ponya 'cure'. Runyambo has only bóna 'see', bónyabonya 'inflict hardship' i.e. cause to see hardship, torture. The -is- derivation is bónesa 'cause to see'.

4 Causee omission has been documented for a number of the Bantu languages including Kongo (Bentley 1887:663), Chibemba (Givon 1976:338), Kimeru (Hodges 1977:121, 133, 135), Lingala (Guthrie 1935:23), and Kiswahili (Scotton 1967a, b).

5 See Hyman (1977) on body part syntax.

6 The Chichewa and French 'oblique causee' constructions are illustrated in (i) and (ii) respectively.

- (i) Nungu i -na-phík-íts-a maŋgu kwá kádzidzi  
 porcupine it-PR-cook- C -FV pumpkins to owl  
 'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by owl'

(Alsina 1992:518)

(ii) L'architecte a faire tracer le plan méticuleusement **par son associé**

'The architect made design the plan carefully by his partner' (Zubizarreta 1985:262)

The kwa-phrase in (i) and the par-phrase in (ii) may be omitted. There is no Runyambo construction similar to these.

7 On the diachronic basis of the relationship between causative and applicative, Trithart (1983:97) states that "it seems likely that causative and applied extensions of similar phonological shape did, in fact, exist for Proto-Bantu, although no Bantu causative extension has previously been reconstructed with this form [-l-]".

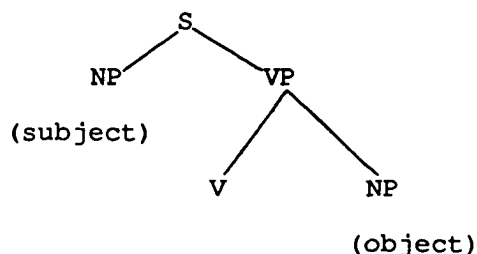
8 Periphrastic (analytical) causative constructions are available in some Bantu languages such as Chichewa (Baker 1988) and Kiswahili (Vitale 1981, Rugemalira 1986). Note though that in both cases the verb of the matrix clause (chititsa in Chichewa, and fanya in Kiswahili) is a derivation with the causative extension, which raises the interesting question of which construction is prior to which.

9 The issue concerning the influence of particular languages in the formulation of supposedly universal linguistic principles is not to be taken lightly. It raises



fundamental questions, not only about linguistic methodology and theory, but also about the "production of knowledge" in general. Baker (1991), for instance, seeks to show "that it is correct to attribute configurational representations to Mohawk" similar to those posited for English in (i).

(i)



The author goes on to accuse some researchers of being "motivated by a kind of positivism and a desire to avoid forcing the structure of English onto other languages ... From this perspective, the null hypothesis is that (i) is not valid, and one asks whether there are facts that force one to posit (i). Other researchers are motivated by the assumption that the underlying structure of languages should be as similar as possible in order to account for the fact that any language can be learned without explicit training. From this perspective, the null hypothesis is that (i) is valid, and one asks whether there are facts which force one to abandon (i)." In other words, the agenda is about the validity or otherwise of (i), not the validity of some other representation, say, for the sake of argument, a flat structure (e.g. Mohanan's 1982 Flat Structure Hypothesis). The burden of proof is on the dissenter, and since positivism should be ruled out, as Baker seems to suggest, there is no

way that (i) can be proved not valid - for it is always possible to posit some abstract property that will make every recalcitrant piece of data fall in place. Briefly, even if we accept "the assumption that the underlying structure of all languages should be as similar as possible", why should this structure be assumed to be that posited for English, and not that of Mohawk?.

10 This binary scheme is comparable to that of Role and Reference Grammar (Foley & Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1993) where the terms 'actor' and 'undergoer' are used. Note, however, that in the analysis sketched in the present study, I do not attempt to present actor and nonactor as part of an array of levels that have to be linked via a variety of mechanisms, as is the case in RRG (cf. figure (i)).

---

SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS: Pivot	Other core arguments
SEMANTIC MACROROLES: Actor	Undergoer
THEMATIC RELATIONS: agt-effector-experiencer-loc-theme-pat	
LOGICAL STRUCTURE: argument positions	

---

Figure (i): Levels of representation of predicate structure  
(from Van Valin 1993:84)

RRG regards the "thematic relations" as not "independently meaningful... Their primary function resides in their role in the algorithm which links syntactic and semantic

representations" (Van Valin 1993:43). By contrast, in the current study, the participant roles of the lexical semantic structure (cf. (204) in chapter two) are conceived as expressions of an individual verb's meaning while the macro-roles (actor and nonactor) capture the syntactic and semantic generalizations about verbs in general.

CHAPTER FIVE  
DETRANSITIVIZING EXTENSIONS

### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the facts about the three extensions that decrease the number of a verb's arguments. The reciprocal extension is discussed in section 5.1, the stative in section 5.2, and the passive in section 5.3. I argue that the syntactic and semantic requirements of these extensions demonstrate the appropriateness of the actor vs nonactor distinction.

### 5.1 The Reciprocal

#### 5.1.1 Forms of the reciprocal extension

Runyambo has two forms of the reciprocal extension, the productive *-angan-* and the frozen *-an<sup>1</sup>*. The latter is found on a small number of verb stems whose roots may or may not currently exist independently in the language as the examples in (501)-(502) show.

- |       |    |                    |                   |
|-------|----|--------------------|-------------------|
| (501) | a) | <i>-bag+an-a</i>   | share, divide up  |
|       | b) | <i>-búg+an-a</i>   | meet              |
|       | c) | <i>-bweij+an-a</i> | be lonely         |
|       | d) | <i>-éga+an-a</i>   | deny              |
|       | e) | <i>-fuka+an-a</i>  | wrestle, struggle |
|       | f) | <i>-fút+an-a</i>   | chew              |

- |       |              |                                   |
|-------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
|       | g) -hak+an-a | argue                             |
|       | h) -ing+an-a | be equal                          |
|       | i) -rw+an-a  | fight                             |
|       | j) -tá+an-a  | separate (intr)                   |
| (502) | a) -tông-a   | demand payment                    |
|       | -tóng-an-a   | quarrel                           |
|       | b) -tond-a   | create                            |
|       | -tond-an-a   | discriminate against (by origins) |
|       | c) -nyw-a    | drink                             |
|       | -nyw-ân-a    | become friends                    |
|       | d) -jend-a   | go, walk                          |
|       | -jend-an-a   | go together                       |

The examples in (501) show all ten verb stems (from the verb sample) that exist only with the -an- suffix and which, judging from their meanings, appear to have some connection with the reciprocal extension. In (502) however, the basic root exists independently of the suffix; with the suffix a special meaning that cannot be deduced from the basic root, is created. Note that the root in (502d) is not even transitive. In the verb sample there are 21 formations of the type in (502).

Occasionally a long vowel appears in this frozen form as (503) shows.

- (503) a) -rag-a                bid farewell, bequeath  
           -rag-aan-a            agree on some appointment
- b) -sang-a                find, come upon  
           -sang-aan-a            get together, convene

In spite of the vowel length, the meanings of the derivations in (503) are still transparent enough to warrant our recognizing the suffix as being related to the -an- suffix.

The regular and productive form, -angan-, can be attached to most transitive verb roots, provided the derivation makes sense. This is illustrated in (504).

- (504) a) -nob-angan-a        hate each other  
       b) -jun-angan-a        help each other

Here and subsequently, I gloss this regular derivation using the same gloss for the root verb. Frozen or lexicalized reciprocal formations will appear with a gloss other than this standard 'V each other'.

There are verbs that have both the frozen formation with -an- and the regular derivation with -angan-, as (505) illustrates.

- (505) a) -reeb-a            look  
           -reeb-an-a        keep in touch  
           -reeb-angan-a    look at each other
- b) -kwât-a            hold/touch/sieze  
           -kwât-an-a        be related; stick together;  
                               own together  
           -kwât-angan-a    hold/sieze each other
- c) -rás-a             throw/shoot  
           -rás-an-a         fight, struggle  
           -rás-angan-a     shoot/throw at each other

In (505) the -an- derivation has specialized or lexicalized meanings while the -angan- derivation carries the standard reciprocal 'V each other' meaning. This distinction between -an- formations and -angan- formations has crucial implications for the claims that have been made on the basis of languages where only one form of the suffix (-an-) exists and it is difficult to separate lexicalized forms from regular derivations of the reciprocal. Contrary to the evidence that both R+C and C+R ordering is possible in some Bantu languages (cf. Khamisi 1985, Alsina 1990, Hyman & Mchombo 1992) it does appear that a tendency to have a fixed C+R sequence exists in different Bantu languages (see chapter six).

## 5.1.2 Syntax and semantics of the reciprocal

The standard reciprocal construction requires a plurality of participants that are simultaneously actors and nonactors (undergoers), which is a classical violation of LFG's Function-Argument Biuniqueness (see section 2.1.1 for a discussion of this principle). This is illustrated in (506).

(506) a) abakázi ba - ka-reeb-angan-a  
 women they-PST-look- R - FV  
 'the women looked at each other'

b) Namará na Neema ba -ka- kwat-angan-á emikóno  
 Namára and Neema they-PST-hold- R- FV arms  
 'Namára and Neema held each other's arms'

The required cluster of participants may be realized by a plural NP, as in (506a), or by its subtype, a coordinate NP, as in (506b).

Note that the -an- derivations also partake of the same constructions as those in (506), but may in addition separate the participant cluster and allow the part after the conjunction to occur post-verbally.



(507) a) Namará na Neema ba -kwat-án-a  
           N and N       they-hold-R-FV  
           'N and N are related'

b) Namará a -kwat-an-a na Neema  
           N       she-hold-R -FV and Neema  
           'N is related to N'

In (507a) both NPs are marked on the verb by the plural pronominal prefix. But in (507b) only the preverbal noun phrase is marked on the verb, while the second noun phrase, together with its coordinating conjunction, occurs after the verb.

The semantics of the standard reciprocal construction (506) inherently place restrictions on possible derivations and constructions. This is due to the fact that reciprocity involves a 'golden rule' (do unto others what you would like them to do to you) or a tit-for-tat situation (depending on the circumstances) and thus requires a measure of symmetry or equality amongst the participants in the event described by the verb, such that in a two-argument verb, each of two NPs should occur equally well in either participant role. But the linguistic system is generally organized in such a way as to maximize asymmetry (inequality) among the participants. This is evident in two sub-systems.

First, the lexical semantic structure (LSS) of the verb sub-system specifies the different participant roles that are

crucial for argument differentiation, and this is the spirit of the Function-Argument Biuniqueness Principle and the Theta Criterion. But reciprocalization, by suppressing one argument position, forces two participant roles to be realized in one argument position. This is represented in (508).

(508)	PRED:	kukwâta 'hold' + angan	->	kukwâtangana
	AS:	2	- ->	1
	LSS:	holder, holdee	∅ ->	holder, holdee

The representation in (508) states that the verb *kukwâta* 'hold' consists of two argument positions and two participant roles - a holder and a holdee (for simplicity ignore the omissible argument position that must be filled by an inalienable part, cf. example (506b) above). The extension *-angan-* has a negative specification for argument positions, meaning that it suppresses one position from the verb to which it attaches<sup>2</sup>. The LSS is null, meaning that there is no change in the LSS of the host verb. The derivation is left with one argument position and two participant roles<sup>3</sup>. This means that each of the participants must also have relevant qualities of the other, i.e. capable of realizing either role. In this way potential reciprocal derivations of many verbs are ruled out as semantically odd (e.g. *\*-nywángana* 'drink each other').

Second, the noun class sub-system organizes the linguistic elements that realize the participant roles into

sets of more or less equal members apparently on the basis of semantic features (see chapter one). Reciprocalization essentially involves NPs belonging to the same class. If they belong to different classes, they will be of the singular/plural pair (e.g. 1&2, 3&4, etc.). Gender conflict rules out reciprocal constructions involving constituents belonging to semantically different sets. This is illustrated in (509).

- 509) abantu na enjóka \*ba/\*zi/?bi-ka -nob-angan-a  
 people and snakes they -PST-hate -R -FV  
 'people and snakes hated each other'

Abantu 'people' (class 2) and enjóka 'snakes' (class 10) do not have a common pronominal prefix with which to be marked on the verb. One occasionally, but rarely, hears the class 8 prefix -bi- (for 'things') used to resolve gender conflicts like these. A more reliable strategy is to avoid unequal conjuncts, particularly human and non-human noun phrases. Accordingly, the Runyambo rendering of the English gloss in (509) would avoid use of the reciprocal, preferring the equivalent of "people hated snakes and snakes hated people" (cf Givon 1970, 1972; Corbett & Mtenje 1987). What manifests itself as gender conflict is, of course, a reflection of the basic classification of the entities in the different classes as unequal, a classification that serves argument differentiation. The conflict is a manifestation of two

tendencies: reciprocalization attempts to create some symmetry in the linguistic system, but the effort is undermined by the asymmetrical classification system in the nouns.

In general, then, the restrictions on reciprocalization have their basis in the asymmetrical organization of the linguistic system.

### 5.1.3 Comparison with the reflexive

The reflexive morpheme deserves special mention here because there have been attempts to unify it with the reciprocal extension. For instance, Khamisi (1985) treats the reflexive affix, along with the reciprocal, as an instance of case subtraction i.e. detransitivization.

The reflexive morpheme is an invariant pronominal prefix -e-, and, in this way, is different from the verb extensions<sup>4</sup>. Consider (510).

(510) Neema a - ka- é - tem -a  
       N she-PST- RF- cut -FV  
       'Neema cut herself'

Like the reciprocal, the reflexive must be attached to a verb with more than one argument (transitive verb). such as kutéma 'cut' in (510). Reflexivization however does not reduce the number of argument positions (or case relations á la Khamisi): the reflexive affix itself occupies one of the

minimum two positions that must be filled. In other words, reflexivization does not modify predicate structure in any way. Rather the reflexive morpheme is, like the personal pronoun prefixes (especially the first person pronoun), an argument realization type. What is special about it is that it indicates that the two participant roles bound by it have one referent in the world.

#### 5.1.4 Summary

The regular reciprocal extension derives reciprocal verbs. It is a detransitivizer that reduces the number of a predicate's arguments by one and in this way requires the matching of one argument position with two participant roles.

## 5.2 The Stative

### 5.2.1 Forms and terminology

The forms that I will call the stative extension (following Ashton 1944, Scotton 1967a, Khamisi 1985, Mchombo 1992) display some variation and a measure of confusion, but the names are even more varied. The forms in question are presented in (511-514). In (511) are presented all ten *-ik-/-ek-* derivations found in the verb sample.

- |          |                      |                                   |
|----------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (511) a) | <i>-bón-ek-a</i>     | 'be visible/available/seen/found' |
|          | b) <i>-hénd-ek-a</i> | 'break' (intr)                    |
|          | c) <i>-som-ek-a</i>  | 'be legible'                      |

- d) -sees-ek-a            'spill' (intr)
- e) -cw-ék-a            'become extinct'
- f) -át-ik-a            'be shattered'
- g) -báás-ik-a          'be possible'
- h) -kwát-ik-a          'be available'
- i) -many-ik-a          'be known/famous'
- j) -ragar-ik-a          'fall/scatter'

The vowel in the extension participates in the usual height harmony. This is the extension that has been referred to by a wide variety of labels including neuter, stative, intransitive, neuter(neutro)-passive, quasi-passive, neuter-stative, metastatic-potential (cf. Satyo 1985:159, Schadeberg n.d.:141). Other languages with severe limitations on the productivity of -ik- have been noted in the literature<sup>5</sup>. But there are many languages where -ik- is a very productive extension, even if not on the same level as the other extensions under discussion here (e.g. Kiswahili).

The foregoing extension must not be confused with the homophonous and totally unproductive "impositive" extension (Schadeberg's term) illustrated in (512).

- (512) a) -tánd+ik-a          'start'
- b) -éj+ek-a            'put something leaning'
- c) -rób+ek-a          'soak'

All examples in (512) are transitive and the roots do not currently exist independently in the language<sup>6</sup>

In this study I will depart from conventional practice and treat the -uk-/-ok- derivations illustrated in (513-514) as statives similar to those in (511).

(513) a)	-cīnga	-cīng-ur-a	-cīng-uk-a
	'close'	'open' (trans)	'open' (intr)
b)	-céba	-céb-ur-a	-céb-uk-a
	'mash'	'cut into pieces'	'splinter' (intrans)
c)	-	-hem-ur-a	-hem-uk-a
		'disgrace'	'be ashamed'

The traditional "reversive" -ur-/-uk- pair is shown in (513a), but no such "reversive" interpretation is available in (513b). Similarly in (513c) there is no root verb on which a reversive interpretation can be based. But common to all three examples is the fact that the -uk- detransitivizes the -ur-formation. There are 84 (16%) such derivations in the verb sample (not counting -uk- forms that are independent entries or that appear in other suffix combinations). While recognizing the common syntactic and semantic properties of -uk-/-ok- and -ik-/-ek-, certain morphophonological peculiarities of -uk-/-ok- deserve mention. First, as (513) shows, the -uk-/-ok- form is not added to the -ur-/-or- form (\*-cīng-ur-uk-a). Second, note that the -uk- formations display their own vowel harmony pattern (with -ur-) different

from the height harmony of -ik-/-ek- and the other extensions (see chapter one). Third, there are more -ur- stems that do not have corresponding -uk-/-ok- stems than the other way round (see Appendix). And finally, reduplicated forms exist for -ur-/or- but not for -uk-/-ok-. Consider (514)<sup>7</sup>.

(514) a)	-kóma	-kóm-ooror-a	-kóm-oorok-a
	'tie'	'untie'	'become untied'
b)	-téga	-tég-uurur-a	-tég-uuruk-a
	'trap'	'untrap'	'become untrapped'
c)	-hóma	-hóm-oor-a	-hóm-ook-a
	'plaster'	'unplaster'	'become unplastered'

The examples in (514) show that reduplication involves the doubling of -ur-/or- and the initial vowel of the suffix (514a-b), or only the vowel (514c). But the -uk-/-ok- extension does not participate in this morphological alternation, which reinforces the position that, syntactically, this extension is simply a detransitivizer that applies to given -ur-/or- formations<sup>8</sup>.

### 5.2.2 Syntax and semantics of the stative

The syntactic pattern for the stative extension is exemplified in (515).



(515) a) a - ka - bón-á izóoba

he-PST - see-FV sun

'he saw the sun'

b) izóoba li- ka- bón-ek-a

sun it-PST -see-S -FV

'the sun was visible'

The stative extension in (515b) has modified the predicate structure of -bóna 'see' by deleting one argument position and one participant role. The result is a one-argument predicate -bóneka. This is shown in the predicate structure representation in (516).

(516) PRED: kubóna 'see' + ek -> kubóneka  
 AS: 2 - -> 1  
 LSS: actor, nonactor -actor -> nonactor

In this representation the verb kubóna 'see' loses one argument position when it combines with the stative extension which has a negative specification for argument structure. In addition, the verb loses the actor thematic role, leaving only the nonactor in the LSS.

It was earlier argued (chapter four) that linguistic theory need only set up a binary set of thematic roles viz. actor and nonactor (cf. Foley and Van Valin's actor and undergoer; Dowty's proto-agent and proto-patient). These

facts about the syntax and semantics of the stative extension provide additional evidence that this binary system is well-grounded in the structure of language. Mchombo (1992) argues from the same facts for a theory that recognizes a detailed and hierarchical inventory of thematic roles. He notes that "the stative is restricted to applying to configurations with agent and patient/theme in the thematic structure, such that it eliminates the agent, making the patient/theme the sole and highest expressed role...". Now for such an inventory of thematic roles to be established beyond reasonable doubt, we need to determine the basis on which the stative extension would choose to operate on constructions with agent and patient only, excluding all other role combinations e.g. agent and beneficiary, patient and locative, etc. The hypothesis of a binary distinction in thematic roles preempts the search for such a justification by subsuming all those minor thematic roles into the two macro- or proto-roles.

The stative extension then removes the actor role and leaves only the nonactor<sup>9</sup>. The resulting construction is amenable to two interpretations, traditionally referred to as "stative" and "potential"<sup>10</sup>. As the gloss for *kubóneka* 'be visible/available/seen/found' amply shows, these senses need not be mutually exclusive (cf Schadeberg n.d:43, Scotton 1967a:110-111). The appropriate semantic interpretation may be determined by each specific verb. For instance *kusomeka* 'be legible' has only the potential sense, while *kumanyika* 'be known/famous' has only the stative sense. In other

instances the tense/aspect may determine the appropriate reading as Schadeberg notes:

A general tendency exists to express the "potential" and "state" connotations with different tenses, the first of these with "present" or "habitual", and the second with "perfective" of [sic] "past". In negative sentences, too, the "potential" interpretation is by far the most natural one. (p.43)

### 5.2.3 Summary

The stative extension is a detransitivizer that decreases the number of a verb's arguments by one and removes the actor role from the lexical semantic structure.

## 5.3 The Passive

### 5.3.1 Forms and distribution of the passive extension

The shape of the passive extension in Runyambo is a virtually invariant -w-, reconstructed as \*-u- (Guthrie 1970:217 CB4). Only in two other environments does a consonant /b/ precede this glide. These are i) after CV roots (517), and ii) after causative -j-, which includes frozen forms such as (518a), as well as productive forms such as (518b).

- (517) a) -rya 'eat' -ríibwa 'be eaten'  
 b) -sa 'grind' -seebwa 'be ground'

- (518) a) -héesa : -héésibwa (from \*-héet-j-u-a) : -héeswa  
 'forge' 'be forged' 'be forged'  
 b) -bónesibwa (-bón-es+j-u-a) 'be caused to see'

In (517) the consonant /b/ is inserted after the root-final vowel, and before passive -u-. The final consonant of the root in (518a) is considered to be a product of the -;- alternation process (t -> s; see chapters 1&4 above), but the root -hées- is so frozen that some speakers allow -héeswa as the passive (implying the absence of -;- and the originality of /s/)<sup>11</sup>. In (518b) we have a genuine passive of a causative derivation. In both cases the /b/ is inserted to break up the vowel sequence<sup>12</sup>.

The passive extension is quite regular: in the 530-verb sample, 318 (60%) accept the passive extension (without counting cooccurrences with other extensions).

### 5.3.2 Syntax and semantics of the passive

The passive extension derives passive verbs, but in the overwhelming majority of cases, this has no effect on the predicate structure, in the sense that the number of arguments remains unchanged. As such the only significant effect is to rearrange the order of the participant roles, as (519) shows.

(519) a) omwáná a -ka -kom-á enjóka  
 child he-PST-tie-FV snake  
 'the child tied a snake'

- b) enjóká e -ka- kom-w-á omwána  
 snake it-PST-tie-P-FV child  
 'the snake was tied by the child'

In both the active (519a) and passive (519b) versions, both arguments are obligatory. The difference lies in the order of the arguments. The active form requires that the actor (the participant doing the tying) occur in preverbal position, while the passive form requires this actor in post-verbal position, and the nonactor in preverbal position. Preverbal position for the actor is incompatible with the passive form of the verb, as (520) shows.

- (520) a) omwáná enjóká a - ka - ji - kóm-a  
 child snake he-PST - it - tie-FV  
 'the snake, the child tied it'

- b) \*omwáná enjóká e -ka -mu -kóm-w-a  
 child snake it-PST-him-tie-P-FV

In (520) the positions of the NPs omwána 'child' and enjóká 'snake' are interchangeable, but their pronominal forms on the verb cannot be so tampered with. Even if the actor is unknown and/or irrelevant, the passive form cannot be used. Instead the impersonal construction with the third person plural pronominal is used. This is illustrated in (521).

- (521) a) \*enjóka e-ka-kóm-w-a 'the snake was tied'  
 b) enjóka ba -ka -ji-kóm-a 'the snake was tied'  
 snake they-PST-it-tie-FV

Without the actor argument, (521a) is not acceptable (cf.519b). The pronominal form -ba- stands in for the required actor argument and covers up the speakers ignorance or reluctance to state the identity of the actor (521b).

In short then, for the vast majority of Runyambo verbs that behave like kukóma 'tie', the passive extension derives a passive verb whose predicate structure requires that the actor occur in postverbal position<sup>13</sup>. In this respect the Runyambo passive is an information-packaging device that assigns prominence to a nonactor argument (Keenan 1985, Foley & Van Valin 1985). The argumenthood of the actor (after losing prominence) varies across and within languages and may be indeterminate. This is why Grimshaw (1990) sets up the intermediate notion of "argument adjuncts" which "like arguments and unlike adjuncts, are regulated by relationship to an a[rgument]-structure, yet like adjuncts and unlike arguments, they do not satisfy a-structure positions" p.107. I will disagree with Grimshaw on this point and maintain that, at least for Runyambo, there is no need for this hybrid notion (argument adjunct), which, by the definition of arguments as obligatory and adjuncts as optional, would be contradictory.

The significant difference regarding the status of the actor argument in Runyambo is provided by a small class of verbs that justifies the inclusion of the passive among detransitivizing suffixes. These verbs fall into two groups, and in each case one argument is deleted.

The first group consists of fourteen passive forms which are more or less frozen with a meaning of their own. Their argument structures may contain an omissible argument and a non-omissible one as illustrated in (522).

(522) a) amate ga-ke - eb -á [abáana]  
 milk it-PST-forget-FV children  
 'the milk was forgotten [by the children]'

b) abáana ba -ke - eb -w-á [amáte]  
 children they-PST-forget-P-FV  
 'the children forgot [the milk]'

The verb in (522) is a bit peculiar because it does not conform to a direct morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (cf. French: *ma mère me manque* 'I miss my mother')<sup>14</sup>. This appears to be a reflection of the difficulty of imposing an actor/nonactor dichotomy on the verb's participant roles. Its LSS requires the sentient participant capable of forgetting to appear in postverbal position where it is optional (522a), while the thing that is forgotten occurs in preverbal position. The passive (522b) reverses this ordering, but omissibility

remains a property of the argument occurring in postverbal position. The relevant point here is that, unlike the majority of verbs already discussed, this verb's passive derivation need not have two arguments. Passive verbs with a similar property are listed in (523).

- (523) a) kugeitwa                    be wed (in church)  
 b) kusíngwa                    be defeated, lose  
 c) kuswêrwa                    be married (of a woman)  
 d) kuténdekwa                be ordained/consecrated (of clergy)  
 e) kuzáarwa                    be born

The remaining eight passive derivations have two senses each. In each case one of the senses requires only one argument as illustrated in (524).

- (524) a) abáána ba - ka-rem -w-á ecisísi  
 children they-PST-beat-P-FV calabash  
 'the children were overwhelmed by the calabash'
- b) abáána ba - ka - rem-w-a  
 children they-PST -beat-P-FV  
 'the children got tired'

The verb kurema 'beat, be too much, be beyond capacities of' does have a regular passive derivation that requires two arguments (524a). But the derivation also has a special sense that does not allow two arguments (524b). Table 5.1 summarizes the relevant information in this group of verbs.



---

<b>Basic stem</b>	<b>2-arg. passive</b>	<b>1-arg. passive</b>
-báza	-bázibwa	bázibwa
ask/question	be asked	be examined (catechism)
-bátiza	n.a. <sup>a</sup>	-bátizibwa
baptize		be baptized
-cûnda	-cûndwa	-cûndwa
shake	be shaken	be tormented
-goba	-gobwa (ho) <sup>b</sup>	-gobwa
reach; suffice	be reached	be satisfied (each getting their share)
-hika	-hikwa (ho) <sup>b</sup>	-hikwa
reach; suffice	be reached	be satisfied
-rema	-remwa	-remwa
beat	be beaten	be tired
-rúma	-rúmwa	-rúmwa
bite	be bitten	be in labor
-sanga	-sangwa (mu) <sup>b</sup>	sángwa! <sup>c</sup>
find/come upon	be found	be found home

---

## Notes:

<sup>a</sup> This is a loan word with only one passive sense.

<sup>b</sup> Verbs with non-omissible locative arguments take a locative clitic when the locative NP is preposed (see chapter three).

<sup>c</sup> This is a formulaic guest's response to a host's nyejéra 'come in/welcome'.

TABLE 5.1: Passives with variable argument structure requirements.

The second group of verbs in which the passive functions as a detransitivizer is more difficult to determine. This is because the detransitivizing effect comes as a result of a combination of the passive with tense/aspect, and possibly, intonation. This combination produces a "stative" sense of the verb<sup>15</sup>. This may be achieved by combining the today past (TP) tense with an interrogative intonation.

(525) a) embúzi zá -á -kóm-w-a?  
 goats they-TP-tie-P-FV  
 'have the goats been tied'?

b) \*embúzi zi -ka -kóm-w-a?  
 goats they-PST-tie-P-FV

In (525a) the today past tense and the question intonation make it possible for the passive derivation to express a stative sense, thus dropping the actor argument. With a different tense in (525b), the construction is not acceptable without the actor argument.

The present and habitual tenses can also express the stative sense with the appropriate passive derivations. Consider (526-527).

(526) a) endwára ne-e -tâmb-w-a  
 disease PR-it-cure-P-FV  
 'the disease is curable'

b) \*endwára e -ka -tâmb-w-a  
 disease it-PST-cure-P-FV

(527) a) obutúzi bu -ríib-w-a  
 mushrooms they-eat -P-FV  
 'mushrooms are edible'

b) \*obutúzi bu -ka -ríib-w-a  
 mushrooms they-PST-eat -P-FV

The present tense is illustrated in (526a) while the habitual tense, with no overt morphological marking, is illustrated in (527a). Again any other tense is unacceptable without the actor argument (526b, 527b).

It does not seem possible, however, to make any significant generalization about the use of tense with the passive derivations to express a stative sense. It is not clear how many verbs are amenable to such formations. Attempts to determine this are hampered by the fact that no single tense is consistent in expressing a stative sense across verbs. For instance, the today past tense cannot salvage (526b) and the present tense cannot redeem (525b). In

addition, as (525) suggests, pragmatic considerations associated with intonation complicate the situation.

### 5.3.3 Summary

The detransitivizing function of the passive extension is severely restricted, being available in only a small fraction of verbs, some of which require the combination of the extension with an appropriate tense and/or intonation. In this respect we may represent the passive as we did the stative above, even though the actor/nonactor distinction is rather dubious here.

(528) PRED: kurema 'beat' + w       -> kuremwa 'be tired'  
 AS:       2                   -       ->    1  
 LSS:     actor,nonactor   -actor ->   nonactor

The representation in (528) is meant to show the similarity of the stative extension and the passive extension only in those few cases where the passive functions as a detransitivizer. Like the stative, in such cases the passive has a negative specification for argument structure, and it deletes the actor role. This similarity, however, is more significant because it may shed light on the root cause of the restrictions imposed on the passive as detransitivizer. It is possible that, at least in Runyambo, the passive has moved away from the detransitivizing function because of the existence of the stative. For most verbs, the passive is a

prominence assigner that rearranges the participant roles - in the typical case, by putting the actor in postverbal position, and the nonactor in preverbal position.

#### 5.4 Conclusion

Of the three Runyambo extensions considered in this chapter, the stative represents the best case of a detransitivizer by getting rid of one of the two original argument positions and participant roles. The resulting stative verb is truly intransitive, with no actor role. As we shall see in the next chapter, this absence of an actor will constrain the range of extension combinations that the stative can participate in.

The reciprocal gets rid of an argument position but retains the participant roles in the LSS. This imposes the restriction of a measure of parity (or symmetry) on the participant roles that must share an argument position: they must share some qualities of an actor. Beyond this, any other participant role with its argument position - whether new or original (relative to the reciprocalization process) - is not affected. This means that reciprocal verbs may be left with more than one argument, and in this sense need not be intransitive. Reciprocalization only decreases the number of arguments by one.

The passive, even when it does not detransitivize a verb, modifies the syntactic specifications in the LSS by

requiring a nonactor to occur in preverbal position. In the appropriate context (verb, tense), the actor may also be removed together with its argument position.

In chapter four it was argued that the distinction between the causative and the applicative extensions is rooted in the binary distinction between thematic roles viz. actor vs nonactor. This discussion of the detransitivizing extensions, especially the stative and the passive, again clearly demonstrates how basic this thematic scheme is. In Runyambo, and in Bantu generally, the stative extension can only apply to predicate structures with two arguments, actor and nonactor. Similarly, in Runyambo and many Bantu languages, the passivization process can only involve two specific arguments, even if the host predicate structure has more than two arguments (cf. Rugemalira 1991a).

Although the reciprocal is designed to blur the distinction between actor and nonactor (since it requires some parity between them), this extension too works on the basis of this binary distinction: even in verbs with more than two arguments, there are only two specific arguments that can participate in reciprocalization.

In short, whatever the number of argument positions in a predicate structure, and whatever the participant roles (which are represented in verb-specific labels), the processes of increasing and decreasing arguments, implemented via the verb extensions, appear to support a basic thematic role distinction between actor and nonactor.

So far the discussion has focussed on the properties of individual extensions. These syntactic/semantic properties of the individual extensions in themselves impose restrictions on the repetition and cooccurrence of the extensions. The number and type of extensions that can occur on any one verb root conform to the general properties of predicate structures. The ordering of the extensions, however, may be conditioned by morphophonology. The next chapter will tackle these issues.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1 Generally in Bantu -an- is the more widely attested form, while -angan- appears to be restricted to only a few zones (cf Schadeberg n.d.). In Ciyao -angan- is the frozen form (Whiteley 1966).

2 Noting Guthrie's (1962) indecisiveness regarding the status of the reciprocal extension as a detransitivizer or as a pronominal that replaces "the direct object of the simplex radical", Mchombo & Ngunga (1992) see the need to devise additional arguments (beyond showing its difference from pronominals and its similarity to other verb extensions) to prove that it is a detransitivizer. But it seems to me that this is an unnecessary burden imposed by the 'each other' gloss and the theory of anaphors built around it by

generative grammar (cf Chomsky 1981, Brame 1981, Lebeaux 1983, Heim, Lasnik & May 1991).

3 This provides additional motivation for a dual representation of predicate structure - argument structure and lexical semantic structure (see chapter two).

4 Mchombo (1993) shows that the "reflexive and the reciprocal in Chichewa have different distributional properties": the former is a syntactic argument bound to the subject, while the latter is a morpholexical element that changes argument structures. It is maintained that even within English generative grammar the identification of the reflexive and reciprocal (each other) as the variety of NPs governed by principles of bound anaphora is relatively recent, and that this identification "has not only led to misanalyses but is also openly contradicted by the facts about Bantu languages. As such not only do the two have to be kept separate, but they must also be included, and dealt with, within different components of the grammar". (See also Mchombo 1991.)

5 Schadeberg (n.d) mentions Mfinu (B83), Herero (R31), Mongo (C61), Kongo-Ntanda (H16g), Mbunda (K15) and Dciriku (K33).



6 Only six formations that can be related to independently existing roots were found in the verb sample:

-arika 'set up fruit to ripen'; seclude a bride; (from -ara 'make the bed')

-íjika 'cause to seek shelter from rain' (trans); (from -íga 'make rain')

-rúmika 'cup/bleed (trans); (from -rúma 'bite')

-sibika 'tie/tether'; (from -siba 'lock up')

-tóneka 'arouse pain from a wound'; (?from -tóna 'announce the arrival of a surprise')

-tumbika 'soak' (trans); (from -tumba 'increase' (intrans))

In the appendix the "impositive" formations like those in (512) are generally listed as independent entries.

7 Schadeberg (n.d:69) calls -uk- the "separative" extension and notes that "its syntactic characteristics are similar to the neutro-passive" (i.e. -ik-). He also maintains that "in most present-day languages productivity is from \*-ud- to \*-uk- rather than the other way round". Whiteley (1966:39) too groups -uk-/-ok- with -ik-/-ek-.

8 In languages where the -ik-/-ek- form is more productive, it is possible for such formations to coexist with -uk-/-ok- formations, as this Swahili example shows:

-fung-a 'close'; -fung-ik-a 'be closable'

-fug-u-a 'open'; -fung-uk-a 'be openable/open'

9 Verb roots with three non-omissible arguments like -ha 'give' do not have stative derivations.

10 Khamisi (1985) uses this distinction to set up two homophonous extensions, the stative and the potential.

11 Determining whether a root-final consonant is historically a product of the -j- mutating process or not can be tricky as the example in (i) shows.

(i) a) -bátiza 'baptize'

b) -bátizibwa 'be baptized' (??-bátir-j-u-a)

c) -bátiriza 'baptize for/at' (??-bátir-ir-j-a)

The passive (ib) and the applicative (ic) treat the final consonant of the root -z- as if it were a product of the familiar r -> z alternation before -j-; but we know that the verb is a loan from English, and the -z- is original. There is no root \*-bátir- in the language.

12 But see a different position by Schadeberg (n.d.) who reconstructs a short form \*-u- and a long form \*-ibu- of the passive extension in Proto-Bantu.

13 Even verbs with three non-omissible arguments (e.g. kúha 'give') have only one passive version (cf Rugemalira 1991a).

14 Other verbs with a similar property include kutáma 'disgust'/'displease', kurema 'beat'/'overwhelm', kubúra 'lack'/'disappear'.

15 cf. English:

- i) The glass was broken by Peter (PROCESS)
- ii) (We realized that) the glass was broken (STATE)

.

## CHAPTER SIX

### COOCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS

#### 6.0 Introduction

Whiteley (1966:47) maintains that "In theory each of the single extensions may combine with any other in any order, but in practice there are a number of restrictions on this... However, even when such restrictions are accounted for, there are vastly more forms possible than have as yet been recorded". In this chapter I will argue that such a "theory" is invariably wrong and that besides what Whiteley considers to be mere practical restrictions (e.g. passive must be final), there are ordering and cooccurrence restrictions that must be considered to be part and parcel of an adequate theory for analysing the extensions. It will be shown that when these latter restrictions are considered, the number of possible forms is much smaller than Whiteley has speculated, and that this is a desirable result for a theory of argument differentiation.

Section 6.1 discusses the impossibility of repeating an extension. In 6.2 I discuss cooccurrence and ordering restrictions involving two or more extensions. The significance of these restrictions within the system of mutually reinforcing mechanisms for minimizing mapping options is discussed in section 6.3.

### 6.1 Extension Repetition

There exists a strong restriction against repeating an extension anywhere in the derivation. This means that there are no derivations with the extension sequences in (601).

- (601) a) \*AA<sup>1</sup> , \*CC, \*SS, \*PP, \*RR  
 b) \*ACA, \*CAC, \*PAP, \*SAS, \*RAR etc.

Following MacWhinney and Menn (1984), the restriction in (601) has been attributed to the Repeated Morph Constraint (RMC) by Hyman and Mchombo (1992). Note though that, in the case of Chichewa, it is possible to repeat an extension when a different extension intervenes, i.e. some sequences in (601b) are permitted in Chichewa. According to MacWhinney and Menn the RMC is a "weak morphological universal... which tends to prohibit sequences of phonologically identical morphs" (p.529). This is because "repetition creates some inconvenience for language processing" (p.519). As I will demonstrate presently, phonological considerations play a role in extension combinations. But I want to argue that the restriction on suffix repetition is not a phonological restriction, and thus not a case of the RMC. Rather this is a basic constraint on the size (number of argument slots) and (lexical semantic) content of predicate structures.

If the restriction were merely phonological, we would not expect the language to tolerate its large scale violation within the same suffix system. Consider (602).

- (602) a) kwíra 'grow dark'    kwírira 'grow dark at'  
 b) kuseesa 'spill'    kuseesesa 'cause to spill'  
 c) kuinga 'chase'    kuingangana 'chase each other'

The verbs in (602) are illustrative of a large number of roots with endings that are phonologically identical to the applicative (602a), the causative (602b), and the reciprocal (602c) extensions. The similarity is only partial in the case of (602c), but the -ir-/-er- cases (602a) are particularly numerous. Yet there is no attempt to delete or to avoid these forms.

In addition, the Intensive and Reversive extensions have forms that duplicate segments, as (603) shows.

- (603) a) kujenda 'go'    kujenderera 'progress'  
 b) kúca 'dawn'    kucéérererwa 'be late'  
 c) kurira 'cry'    kuririirira 'inconvenience with too  
   much crying'  
 d) kukóma 'tie'    kukómeerera 'pack up'  
   kukómoorora 'untie'

The intensive forms in (603a-d) as well as the reversive form in (603d) show that a particular sequence of segments can be repeated two or three times, even when part of the root shares in this similarity.

Note that the Appendix does have a few derivations entered under the A+A code (kucúricirira 'cover for', from kucúrika 'tilt', kucúricira 'cover'; kurecerera 'cease at', from kureka 'let alone', kurecera 'cease'; kutwéijerera 'press charges for', from kutwéija 'press charges', kutwéijera 'press charges against'). Essentially these forms are of the same type as (602a) where the root contains a form similar to the applicative extension, the only difference being that the A derivation in these three cases carries a special sense which is amenable to independent applicativization. In other cases where this special sense seems to have no relationship to the original root, I have given such a derivation a separate entry (e.g. kukómera 'sow', independent of kukóma 'tie'; kunájira 'sleep', independent of kunága 'throw'). With the three A+A derivations there is sufficient semantic transparency to warrant the lexicographic decision to list them under their supposed roots. That these forms exist is quite revealing. From all this I conclude that there is no phonological restriction on sequences of identical elements and that the restriction on extension repetition must be sought elsewhere.

Recall from chapter four, that the distinction between causative and applicative reflects the binary distinction between actor and nonactor thematic roles. Now if the repetition of any of these transitivizers was allowed, this would seriously undermine the system of argument differentiation which is partly based on the inequality

between causative and applicative arguments. Indeed the repetition prohibition is quite problematic for an analysis that utilizes a detailed inventory of thematic roles. If an inventory such as (201) above had a basis in linguistic structure, it would be reasonable to expect multiple occurrences of, say, the A extension, each such occurrence licensing a distinct role from among the possibilities allowed (beneficiary, locative, etc. cf. chapter three). But, as (604) shows, this is not possible.

(604) a) \*a - ka - **tu** - zaar -ir -ir- a omwáná **omunju**  
 she- PST- us -deliver-A -A -FV child in house  
 'she gave birth to a child for us in the house'

b) a - ka - **tu** - zaar -ir - á omwána  
 she-PST - us -deliver-A - FV child  
 'she gave birth to a child for us'

c) a - ka - zaar - ir- á **omunju**  
 she-PST- deliver-A -FV in house  
 'she gave birth in the house'

The unacceptable double applicative is illustrated in (604a); the first A licenses the beneficiary (-tu- 'us'), while the second A licenses the locative (omunju 'in the house'). In contrast the acceptable constructions in (604b,c) show that only one applicative suffix per verb is possible and that



this may license one and, in our terms, the only applicative thematic role - the nonactor<sup>2</sup>.

Similarly the C extension can occur only once, and will license the actor role. Consider (605).

- (605) a) \*ba -ka -ji- baaj -is -is-á **omwáná omúsyó**  
 they-PST-it-slaughter- C - C-FV child knife  
 'they made the child slaughter it with a knife'
- b) ba -ka -ji- baaj -is- á **omúsyó**  
 they-PST-it-slaughter-C - FV knife  
 'they slaughtered it with a knife'
- c) ba -ka -**mu** - baaj -is - á enkóko  
 they-PST-him-slaughter-C -FV chicken  
 'they made/helped him slaughter the chicken'

As (605a) shows, the C extension cannot be doubled in order to allow two extra arguments (causee and instrument)<sup>3</sup>. Rather only one causative argument can be added to any predicate structure (605b,c).

As with the transitivizing extensions, the prohibition against repeating the detransitivizers conforms to the binary thematic organization of the verb extension system. Recall from chapter five, that both the stative and the passive target the actor thematic role. Once this role is removed from the predicate structure (or, in the case of the passives

of most verbs, deprived of prominence) then the process cannot be repeated since the requisite environment is no longer present. In the case of the reciprocal, which in effect blurs the distinction between actor and nonactor and requires participants that can simultaneously fit both thematic roles, repetition would extend this blurring effect even further, implicating more participant roles, and in this way undermining the argument differentiation scheme. Consider (606).

- (606)      a) X verb Y Z  
              b) X & Y verb+ -angan- Z  
              c) \*X & Y and Z verb+ -angan- + -angan-

A double reciprocal would require a construction with at least three arguments to start with, as shown in (606a: e.g. X reetera 'bring for' Y Z). The first reciprocalization would reduce the number of argument positions to two (606b:e.g. X & Y reeterangana 'bring for each other' Z). The second reciprocalization would further reduce the argument positions to one only. Now this one argument slot would have to be shared by three participant roles. These participants would have to have some common qualities (some degree of equality). The prohibition against double reciprocals then indicates that such a predicate cannot exist because its arguments would be indistinguishable from each other (606c)<sup>4</sup>.

In short, then, the prohibition against the repetition of extensions is not a morphophonological restriction, but a predicate structure constraint that preserves the asymmetrical argument differentiation scheme.

## 6.2 Extension Cooccurrence and Ordering

If there were no restrictions at all, there would be 325 different ways of selecting and arranging the five extensions under consideration, assuming that in any one derivation each suffix occurs only once. As the Appendix makes clear, however, the actual number of arrangements possible is much smaller. It has been argued that a different order implies a different meaning (cf Guthrie 1962, Satyo 1985, Baker 1985, 1988, Alsina 1990, Hyman & Mchombo 1992). In this section I will argue that the significance of variable verb suffix ordering has been overestimated. I will present evidence that accommodates both an "analytic, 'bead-stringing' model" and a "holistic template-matching view of affixation" (MacWhinney & Menn 1984:529), thus undermining the significance of ordering. I will then argue that in most cases, it is the content of the combinations (cooccurrence), rather than their order, that is of significance to predicate structure.

### 6.2.1 Phonological conditioning

It has been noted in several Bantu languages that the "single vowel suffixes", the passive -u- and causative -i-,

are placed at the end<sup>5</sup>. As a result of this phonological requirement, combinations of the A extension with either the C or P are very instructive. Since the \*PA sequence is ruled out the AP sequence is amenable to two interpretations, as (607) shows.

(607) a) a - ka - ji- kom -er-w- a Kakúru  
 she-PST - it- tie -A -P-FV Kakúru  
 'she was tied it for by Kakúru'

b) a - ka - rem - er-w- á omunju  
 she-PST - beat- A -P-FV in house  
 'she got exhausted in the house'

The sequence in (607a) follows the scope interpretation (tie for + passive). But in (607b) the order is the opposite of what is expected from the scope interpretation (be exhausted + applicative)<sup>6</sup>.

Similarly the AC sequence (where C=-;-) has two interpretations, just as the CA sequence (where C=-is-) has two interpretations (for the distribution of -;- and -is- refer to chapter four). Consider (608).

(608) a) a - ka- mu- kor - ez-á egári (ez <- er-;-)  
 she-PST-him-repair-A+C-FV bicycle  
 'she had the bicycle repaired for him'

- b) a - ka- tu - son - es -ez - á emyênda  
 she-PST- us - sew - C -A -FV dresses  
 'she had dresses made for us'

The glosses in (608) include two scope interpretations: 'cause to V-for' (causative of applicative) and 'on behalf of, cause to V' (applicative of causative). This means that the ordering of A and C is phonologically conditioned, and that it has no syntactic/semantic significance.

Combinations of causative and passive always have the P last, as (609) shows.

- (609) a) serikári e -ka - rez -á abaatani omwána  
 government it-PST-raise+C-FV neighbors child  
 'government made neighbors raise the child'
- b) abaatani (omwána) ba - ka-mu -rez -;-bw-a serikári  
 neighbors child they-PST-him-raise-C-P-FV government  
 'neighbors were caused by govt to raise him'
- c) \*omwána (abaatani) a-ka-ba -rez -;-bw-a serikári  
 child neighbors he-PST-they-raise-C-P-FV government  
 '?the child was caused to be raised by them  
 (neighbors) by govt.'

The causative allows a third argument in the predicate structure of rera 'raise' (609a). As expected, the passive of the causative in (609b) has the passive extension after the causative extension. There is no possibility of a PC sequence (\*rerwesa). As (609c) shows, a second passive version is not available in Runyambo, and even its purported English gloss is suspect to me<sup>7</sup>. In this sense, the prohibition against the PC sequence is not merely phonological, but is also based on predicate structure constraints (see the discussion on \*PR and \*PS in section 6.2.4 below).

#### 6.2.2 Morphologically fixed sequences

Now, consider non-phonologically determined fixed sequences. The CR sequence, at least in Runyambo, is the productive possibility, whereas RC sequences exist only in frozen reciprocals. As (610) shows, the CR sequence is amenable to two interpretations.

- (610) ba - ka - kom -es -angan- á éнку/omuguha  
 they-PST- tie -C - R -FV firewood/rope  
 'they caused/helped each other to tie firewood'  
 'they caused the rope to tie each other, i.e. they  
 tied each other with a rope'

The variable glosses in (610) are not matched by variable extension order. This makes me skeptical of the analytical and comparative (to English) approach for the CR/RC

combination (recall the discussion on biclausal analysis in chapter four). Hyman & Mchombo (1992) represent the sequences as in (611).

- (611) a) RC: [[[mang]an]its] 'cause to tie each other'  
 b) CR: [[[mang]its]an] 'cause each other to tie'

But in spite of the considerable confusion that often arises in the discussion of these arrangements and their English glosses, it appears that a bracketed (hierarchical) representation for the R and C combination is not appropriate, at least in Runyambo. Rather an unbracketed string (a flat structure), shown in (612), is all that is needed.

- (612) CR: -kóm-es-angan-

What (612) suggests is that there is no structure to dictate the interpretation. It argues for a holistic perspective whereby the full array of the suffixes in the derivation is scanned before an appropriate interpretation is made. In support of this view, note that there is no productive RC (\*-angan-is-) sequence in Runyambo. Instead all RC sequences are based on frozen reciprocals, illustrated in (613) (refer to the earlier examples in (501) and (502)).

- (613) a) bag+an-is-a            divide up (trans)  
       b) rw+an-is-a            attack; cause to fight  
       c) tóng-an-is-a        pick a quarrel with (\*cause to  
    demand payment from each other)  
       d) nyw-án-is-a        cause to become friends (\*cause to  
    drink each other)

In (613), whether or not the root exists independently of the -an- suffix, the causative transitivizes the frozen reciprocal<sup>8</sup>. An examination of the Appendix will show that there are no causatives of productive -angan- reciprocal derivations (see footnote 1 for -angan- forms carrying an intensive meaning and amenable to causativization).

### 6.2.3 Variable order

Only the AR/RA combination exhibits a truly variable sequencing, and, in this sense requires an analytical step-by-step approach. Consider (614).

- (614) a) ba -ka -bon -angan-ir-á omunju  
           they-PST-see - R -A -FV in house  
           'they saw each other when in the house'
- b) ba - ka - bon - er-angan- á enju  
           they-PST - see - A - R -FV house  
           'they saw/found a house for each other'



In (614) the order of the extensions determines the way in which they are interpreted, i.e. their scope: (614a) is an applicative of a reciprocal, while (614b) is a reciprocal of an applicative.

#### 6.2.4 Predicate structure constraints

Finally, all the remaining suffix combinations are constrained by predicate structure to occur in only one sequence (SA/\*AS), or not to occur at all (615).

(615) \*SP, \*RP, \*SR/\*RS, \*CS/\*SC

Each of the combinations in (615), except that of causative and stative, involves two detransitivizers, each of which targets the actor. When one of the extensions has applied, the next cannot apply because the requisite environment has been destroyed by the first extension (bleeding). After the stative has removed the actor, the passive has no actor to target for removal or whose prominence is to be taken away; and the reciprocal has no other participant role to bind to the nonactor. And after the reciprocal has applied, binding two participant roles into one argument position, even when a third role exists, passive cannot apply since this third role cannot be assigned the requisite prominence in the first place. This is illustrated in (616).

(616) a) abáana ba -ka -siig -angan-á amajúta  
 children they-PST-smear- R -FV oil  
 'the children smeared oil on each other'

b) \*amajúta ga-ka -siig -angan-w- á abáana  
 oil it-PST-smear - R -P-FV children  
 'the oil was smeared on each other by the children'

Note that even without the reciprocal, a verb with three arguments like *siiga* 'smear' in (616) allows only one passive version which assigns prominence to the other human/animate participant, but never to the inanimate one. In (616a) the reciprocal has already bound the two animate participants into one argument position. Since the passive targets the actor for removal or demotion to non-prominence, the process of passivization should fail in (616b) on account of there being a composite argument with actor and nonactor properties simultaneously<sup>9</sup>. Of course, if a third participant role does not exist, then passivization cannot even be attempted since there is no candidate to assign prominence to.

Similarly after the R extension, the stative should not apply because of the inseparable actor/nonactor argument created by reciprocalization. Recall that the S extension targets the actor for removal.

This analysis of the non-occurrence of the \*SP, \*RP, \*RS and \*SR sequences is also pertinent to the \*PR and \*PS sequences which violate the phonological requirement that the

passive be placed last. It is certainly the case that, irrespective of ordering considerations, detransitivizing extensions do not cooccur. In particular, the requirements of the R extension are irreconcilable with those of the S and P extensions. While the R wants to bind actor and nonactor to each other, the S and P want the two roles to remain separate, with the nonactor in a prominent position and the actor actually eliminated or, at least, in a non-prominent position.

The \*CS/\*SC combination is prohibited because, simply put, it involves a useless playing around with the same thematic role, viz. the actor. The causative adds the actor, while the stative removes the actor. Since the stative applies to structures with two arguments only, this disqualifies the majority of causative structures, which have three arguments because they are based on transitive verbs. But even causative constructions with two arguments like *gwisa* 'cause to fall' cannot be stativized since all that is needed in order to remove the actor is to get rid of the causative extension. Conversely, stative constructions like *hendeka* 'break', which must have one argument, cannot be causativized since all that is needed in order to introduce an actor is to get rid of the stative extension.

The only combination remaining in this choice of two extensions is that involving the applicative and the stative. It is the only combination which allows one sequence (SA) AND whose prohibition of the other sequence (\*AS) can be solely

described as a predicate structure constraint. Some combinations do not occur in either sequence at all; others occur in one sequence, but can be regarded as being restricted by phonological requirements as well as predicate structure constraints; and one (CR/\*RC) can be regarded as being morphologically fixed.

Recall that the stative applies to two-argument structures only. We assume that only those verbs that can take the S extension on their own, can be expected to allow the AS sequence. But note that if a two-place predicate structure takes the applicative, it will have three arguments, and therefore be automatically disqualified from taking the stative. On the other hand, if a predicate structure has lost the actor argument via the stative extension, it can happily be expanded by the applicative and take another nonactor argument (SA). There may be restrictions on this added argument for purposes of distinguishing it from the other arguments. Hence the observation that this new argument must be a "locative" or a "reason" role (Mchombo 1992). But these restrictions on the interpretation of the A participant role in SA constructions do not, contrary to Mchombo's position, require that we posit a thematic hierarchy. If the A cannot introduce a "beneficiary" after the S has applied, this is because the said "beneficiary" role by definition implies the presence of an actor ("agent") who carries out the action for the benefit of, or on behalf of, the "beneficiary". Hence the observation

that the "beneficiary", and any role introduced by the A, cannot be the highest role at the point of its introduction. Because there is no actor, as a result of the S, there cannot be a "beneficiary". In short, there is no basis here for a further fragmentation of the nonactor macro-role.

#### 6.2.5 Summary

The foregoing discussion has dealt with the nature of the restrictions on combinations of two extensions. Table 6.1 is a summary of that discussion.

SEQUENCE	NATURE OF RESTRICTION	REMARKS
1 *AA,*CC *RR,*SS *PP	Pred.Structure	Non-cooccurring
2 CA,AC	Phonology	Fixed order; two interpretations for each sequence
3 AP,*PA	Phonology	Fixed order; two interpretations for one sequence
4 CP,*PC	Phonology & Pred. Structure	Fixed order; causee omission option for some verbs has effect of second interpretation
5 CR,*RC	Morphology	Fixed order; two interpretations for one sequence; ignore frozen RC forms
6 AR,RA	Sem. scope	Variable order; analysable
7 *SP/*PS *RP/*PR *SR/*RS	Pred.structure Phonology	Non-cooccurring detransitivizers
8 *CS/*SC	Pred.structure	Non-cooccurring
9 SA/*AS	Pred.structure	One order,one interpretation

TABLE 6.1: Cooccurrence and ordering restrictions:choice of two extensions

Two observations are in order. First, if we ignore the three rows (1, 7, & 8) where the combinations do not occur, we are left with four rows displaying a fixed order (2, 3, 4, & 5) as against two (6, & 9) where variable sequencing is significant. But since only one of the sequences in row 9 is acceptable, this means that only two arrangements, out of the 25 possible, actually make use of the ordering option for semantic effect. Overall only eight arrangements can occur. This is certainly not what Baker's (1985) "Mirror Principle" would lead us to expect<sup>10</sup>.

Second, whatever the nature of the restriction on permissible combinations and sequences, the overall effect is to minimize the options, NOT to maximize them. Hence the use of one fixed sequence to achieve two interpretations in rows 2, 3, 5, and possibly 4. Also where variable sequencing is phonologically permissible, the interpretation may be kept constant (cf. row 2; Chichewa PA=AP (Hyman & Mchombo 1992); Xhosa, see footnote 10). This holistic, non-analytical tendency has reached its extreme level in frozen forms where each form has to be learnt separately. This is not an insignificant aspect of the verb extensions (see Appendix), but it tends to be downgraded whenever we focus on the productive aspect. With this in mind we should not be surprised if Bantu lexicographers continue to list all verb suffixes and their derivations in contradiction to Shepardson's (1986) suggestion.

### 6.2.6 Combining three extensions

Permissible combinations involving three or more extensions will be extremely rare since they can only be based on what is permissible in Table 6.1. As Table 6.2 shows, only four arrangements are all that is possible when three extensions are selected.

---

SEQUENCE	EXAMPLE
.....	
1	CAR son-es-ez-angan-a 'cause to sew for each other'
	ACR búr-iz-angan-a 'cause to disappear for each other'
	nój-ez-angan-a 'crush thoroughly for each other'
.....	
2	CAP son-es-ezi-bw-a 'cause to be sewn for'
	ACP nój-ezi-bw-a 'cause to be crushed for'
.....	
3	*CRA bón-es-angan-ir-a ?'cause to see each other at'
4	*SAR bón-ec-er-angan-a ?'become visible to e.o.'
5	*SAC bón-ec-ez-a 'cause to be visible at'
6	*RAC bón-angan-iz-a ?'cause to see each other at'

---

TABLE 6.2: Cooccurrence and ordering restrictions: choice of three extensions

Table 6.2 lists only those sequences that on the basis of Table 6.1 contain no prohibited sequences of two



extensions. Only four of the possible eight arrangements are acceptable. In fact, however, the variation in ordering is insignificant since the CA/AC variation is phonologically determined. The sequences in rows 4,5, and 6 seem to suggest that, even if another extension intervenes to break up a prohibited sequence of two, there is still no chance for the combination with three extensions - a position that reinforces the holistic perspective. Furthermore it is significant that only one arrangement of the three extensions C, A, and R should be acceptable (cf rows 1,3, and 6). As the question marks on the glosses indicate, it is not even certain what the interpretations should be and whether there should be any difference between the CRA and the RAC sequences. These facts clearly reinforce the holistic perspective by according significance to the content of the combination and attaching little or no significance to variable ordering.

As it happens the most felicitous three-extension combinations involve the two transitivizers and the reciprocal (cf row 1). And given the restrictive nature of the reciprocal, there is not much room for maneuver in interpreting such forms. Consider (617).

(617) a) ba -ka -son-es-ez-angan-á emyênda  
 they-PST-sew-C -A -R - FV dresses  
 'for each other they had dresses sewn'

- b) \*a - ka -son-es-ez-angan-á abáána emyênda  
 he-PST -sew-C -A -R -FV children dresses  
 'he had the children sew dresses for each other'

The verb *sona* 'sew' in (617) allows causee omission. In (617a) the composite argument created by reciprocalization is *-ba-* 'they'. But in (617b) *abáana* 'children' cannot be interpreted as a composite argument since there is no predicate structure that could sustain such an interpretation. I will demonstrate this step by step:

(618) a)

X son - es- ez -a Y emyênda : Causee omission; 3 args max.

sew - C - A -FV

'X cause [someone] to sew dresses for Y'

b)

X & Y son-es-ez-angan-a emyênda: Causee omission and

sew-C -A -R -FV reciproc.; 2 args max.

'for each other X & Y cause [someone] to sew dresses'

Clearly a construction like (617b) is not possible. As (618) shows, there cannot exist a sufficient number of arguments with the appropriate properties to give the interpretation 'X cause Y<sub>j</sub> to Verb (Z) for each other<sub>j</sub>'. Note from Table 6.2 that the examples in row 1 consist of verbs with a maximum of three non-omissible arguments after the

applicative and causative have expanded the structures (618a). After reciprocalization, only two non-omissible arguments should be available (618b). It was noted in chapter four that, as the number of arguments in a predicate structure increases, so do the restrictions on the respective arguments, all this for the purpose of argument differentiation. In a construction with four non-omissible arguments, one of the arguments must be a first person pronominal affix (see example (203) and footnote 5 in chapter two). Now reciprocalization will require that this first person pronominal affix be interpreted as the composite argument (actor and nonactor). As (619) shows, this is problematic.

(619) a) ?tu - ka- tem-es-ez-angan- á omuséijá emiti  
 we -PST- cut-C -A -R -FV man trees  
 'we<sub>j</sub> made the man cut trees for each other<sub>j</sub>'

b) \*a -ka -tu-tem-es-ez-angan- á emiti  
 he-PST-us-cut-C -A -R -FV trees  
 'he made us<sub>j</sub> cut trees for each other<sub>j</sub>'

Although there is uncertainty on the acceptability of (619a), its restricted nature is not in doubt: no form other than -tu- 'us' can realize the composite argument obtained after reciprocalization. The unacceptability of (619b), on the other hand, is in conformity with the tendency to minimize

the options: in a reciprocal construction, the composite argument, which must be a plural form, must occupy the neutral actor position before the tense marker.

Finally the combination of causative, applicative and passive is also equally restricted to predicate structures with at most three non-omissible arguments. This is illustrated with a causee omission verb in (620).

(620) a) (omwénda) a -ka -gu-son-es-ezi-bw- a Káto  
 dress she-PST-it-sew-C -A+C-P -FV Káto  
 'for her Káto had it (the dress) sewn'

b) \*omwénda gu-ka -mu -son-es-ezi-bw- a Káto  
 dress it-PST-her-sew-C -A -P -FV Káto  
 'the dress was caused to be sewn for her by Káto'  
 i.e. it was Káto who had the dress sewn for her.

As already discussed, the actor (Káto) is required in (620a), and the causee is omissible. But there is only one passive version, and (620b) which assigns prominence to the other argument is not acceptable. Indeed this is the only option since constructions that must have four arguments cannot be passivized. Consider (621).

(621) Kató a -ka -ba -tu-bon-es-ez-á ensimbi  
 Káto he-PST-them-us-see-C -A -FV money  
 'for us Káto made them obtain money'

For best results (621) has the appropriate mix of noun phrases and pronominal prefixes. In (622) I show that no attempt to assign prominence to any of the three other arguments via passivization can succeed.

- (622) a) \*(ensimbi) tu-ka -zi-ba - bon-es-ezi-bw-a Káto  
           money     we-PST-it-them-see-C -A -P-FV Káto  
           'we were made to obtain it (the money) for them by  
                   Káto'
- b) \*(ensimbi) ba -ka -zi-tu-bon-es-ezi-bw-a Káto  
           money     they-PST-it-us-see-C -A -P-FV Káto  
           'they were made to obtain it (the money) for us by  
                   Káto'
- c) \*ensimbi zi-ka -ba -tu-bon-es-ezi-bw-a Káto  
           money     it-PST-them-us-see-A - P -FV Káto  
           'the money was made to be obtained by them for us  
                   by Káto'

In all three attempts to use the passive to assign prominence to a different argument in the construction is not acceptable. In general, the examples in (619) and (622) appear to indicate that it is not possible to reciprocalize or passivize a structure with four non-omissible arguments.

Considering the limited number of arrangements available in Table 6.2 it should be apparent that three extensions is the limit of possibilities on any single verb root. Any combination of four would have to repeat a causative or an applicative, or force a cooccurrence of detransitivizers - all of which options are prohibited. In this connection Satyo's (1985) observation is pertinent:

Combinations occur freely ... up to three in a sequence with regular semantic predictability ... Combinations involving four, five and (rarely) six tend to be less predictable in meaning, ... [showing] a gentle curve towards lexicalization in their development (p.298).

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it should be added that combinations of three extensions showing regular semantic predictability are considerably constrained, at least in Runyambo. But even across the various Bantu languages, after the variations in phonological restrictions have been considered, it does appear that predicate structure constraints alone severely cut down the number of possible combinations.

### 6.3 Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated that the means for expanding predicate structures have inbuilt restrictions which are part and parcel of the mechanisms for argument differentiation. The transitivizers, the applicative and causative extensions, can cooccur, but neither can be repeated. Consequently the maximum number of new arguments

possible in any predicate structure must be two. For instance, in a one-argument verb like *imuka* 'rise' the maximum number of arguments after applicativization and causativization is three - X *imuciza* Y Z 'X caused Y to rise for Z'. For a verb with four arguments the upper limit will be six. Consider (623).

(623) a -ka -**ka-n** -sar-iz - á omwáná [isócé] [ahamútwe]  
 he-PST-it-me-cut-A+C-FV child hair on head  
 X Y Z B T M  
 'he cut the child's hair on the head with it for me'

The predicate structure for the unextended verb *sára* 'cut' accommodates up to four arguments (cf. example (426a) above). Two of these arguments are omissible. In (623) this structure has been expanded to accommodate two more arguments by means of the A and C extensions. At this point the structure has reached the limit of expandability since neither A nor C can be repeated. And the restricted nature of the arguments cannot be overemphasized. Two of the arguments (Y and Z) are realized as pronominal affixes, one of which (Z) must be a first person affix<sup>11</sup>. Of the two omissible arguments, one must be an inalienable part (T) and the other a participant locative (M). Considering the severity of these restrictions, it appears that such structures must be very rare indeed. In the entire verb sample I have not found a verb that can beat *sára* 'cut' with regard to the number of arguments it can be

made to accommodate. Yet it is not the number six that is of significance. Rather what (623) illustrates so well is that the requirement that arguments be distinguishable from each other is the basis of all these restrictions. It appears that, for any language, the greater the number and types of resources for argument differentiation, the greater the possibility of obtaining predicate structures with multiple arguments, and ultimately, the more things that can be talked about within the confines of a single clause. For instance, in English it is possible to hang many things around a single verb by using the many prepositions which, in addition, may be repeated. The constituents so formed will appear as adjuncts in the clause. In Runyambo, however, similar things can only be incorporated into the structure of the verb by means of the transitivizing extensions which, moreover, cannot be repeated. As was argued in chapter three, the items added in this way need to be regarded as arguments.

Since I went out of my way to test the limits in (623), it should be pointed out that argument differentiation demands that the number of arguments in any predicate structure be kept to the necessary minimum. If one predicate structure rather than two must be employed, then the most likely arguments to get early discharge will be the omissible ones. This is why it was claimed, rather tentatively, in Rugemalira (1992), that the highest number of arguments possible for any predicate structure is four<sup>12</sup>. That appears to be true only when omissible arguments are ignored. So



consider the verb kúha 'give' which has three non-omissible arguments.

(624) a) Kató a - ka - m- pe - er -á abááná amáte  
 Káto he-PST -me-give- A -FV children milk  
 'Káto gave the children milk for me'

b) Kató a- ka- m- pe - is- á abááná amáte  
 Káto he-PST-me-give- C -FV children milk  
 'Káto made me give the children milk'

c) \*Kató a -ka - ku -m - pe - is-ez- á abááná amáte  
 Káto he-PST- you-me-give- C -A -FV children milk  
 1                    2    3                                    4            5  
 i) 'Káto made you give the children milk for me'  
 ii) 'Káto made you give me milk for the children'  
 iii) 'Káto made me give you milk for the children'  
 iv) 'Káto made me give the children milk for you'  
 v) 'Káto made the children give me milk for you'  
 vi) 'Káto made the children give you milk for me'

As (624) shows, the argument structure of kúha 'give', can accommodate at most one more argument, by means of the applicative (624a) or the causative (624b), thereby becoming a four-argument structure. Although the resource for adding another argument exists, viz. cooccurrence of the applicative and causative extensions, the resulting structure, under all six imaginable interpretations is not acceptable (624c). This

suggests that non-omissible arguments cannot exceed an upper limit of four. Note that kúha 'give' is not a causee omission verb. In a sense, the unacceptability of (624c) is based on the fact that the resources for constraining the number of possible mappings are overstretched by the number of arguments available.

Similar complexities are involved in the reciprocalization of four-argument constructions. Consider (625).

- (625) a) a - ka- n-tem -es-ez-á omuséíjǎ emiti  
 she-PST-me-cut -C- A -FV man trees  
 'for me she made the man cut trees'
- b) ?tu-ka-tem-es-ez-angan-á omuséíjǎ emiti  
 we-PST-cut-C -A - R - FV man trees  
 'for each other we made the man cut trees'  
 ?i) cause-cut for each of us  
 ?ii) cause-cut for us and himself
- c) \*ba -ka -n -tem-es-ez-angan-á emiti  
 they-PST-me-cut- C-A - R -FV trees  
 'for each other they made me cut trees'
- d) \*mu -ka -n -tem-es-ez-angan-á emiti  
 you(pl.)-PST-me-cut-C- A - R - FV trees  
 'for each other you made me cut trees'

It will be recalled that the reciprocalization of a four-argument structure like (625a) will produce a structure with a maximum of three arguments (625b-d). And also recall that the mapping options have already been reduced by the restriction that the composite argument be realized in initial ('subject') position. Even then we are left with at least two different interpretations, (i) and (ii), in each of the three constructions that can be formed out of (625a). The first person pronominal affix in (625b) seems to help the chances of acceptability for the construction. But on the whole, the intended meanings in all three reciprocal constructions cannot be expressed within the confines of a single clause. The general point deserves restatement: predicate structures with four non-omissible arguments cannot be expanded or contracted without violating the general requirement that arguments be distinguishable from each other.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1 The Intensive (I) extension (-irir-, see example 603 and the appendix) should not be regarded as a double applicative (AA), as Johnson (1939) (who called it a "double prepositional") and Satyo (1985:231) do. The Intensive extension usually derives a new lexical item with the meaning "keep V-ing", although in a number of cases such a relationship is too remote to be of much significance. The peculiarity of the intensive lies in the fact that it has no

common form across Bantu languages, and that rather than being a fixed form, it is a semantic notion that assumes various forms. In Runyambo the chief form is like a double A, but other forms include I+C, R (cf kugumangana 'become hard'; kwómangana 'become really dry', kutémangana 'fight'), and a variety of other forms included in the Appendix under the X (Other) category. In Chichewa, on the other hand, the chief form is similar to the C extension with the addition of a high tone, but this is doubled if another suffix follows (cf Hyman & Mchombo 1992). In Xhosa the intensive meaning may be expressed with forms that are similar to a double A or a double C (cf Satyo 1985:231).

2 Hyman & Mchombo (1992) have an example that apparently contradicts this position:

mang-ir-an-ir-an- 'tie for each other at (a place)'

This example is problematic because it is not presented in a sentence context, which makes it difficult to evaluate its acceptability together with all the arguments licensed. Sam Mchombo (personal communication) considers the examples in (i) and (ii) to have a very low "likelihood of occurrence" (hence the question mark; see also note 3 below).

- (i) ? a -na -zond-er-an-ir-an-a njoka ku-ulaya  
 they-PST-hate-A -R -A -R -FV snakes in-Europe  
 'they hated snakes for each other in Europe'

(ii) ? a -na -ph -er-an-ir-an-a njoka ku-ulaya  
 they-PST-kill-A -R -A -R -FV snakes in-Europe  
 'they killed snakes for each other in Europe'

Mchombo's judgements represent one type of two typical responses researchers get from native speakers with respect to marginal structures on which important theoretical claims seem to hinge. Charles Fillmore (personal communication), in connection with the possibility of doubling the Japanese causative suffix sase, notes that the responses are "No, that is not Japanese" and "I can see what you mean (but I would not say that)". The analytical framework proposed in this study follows the first type of response. Mchombo's theoretical position, however, follows the second type of response. There are two aspects to Mchombo's theoretical position which favor the plausibility of suffix doubling. The first aspect concerns the relevance of the competence/performance distinction. It is claimed that the rules of the language do not prohibit sentences (i) and (ii) above (and those in note 3 below, with double causative extensions), but that performance factors related to memory and processing mechanisms are the source of the trouble. Second, given the importance attached to a detailed (and hierarchical) inventory of thematic roles in LFG, it follows that a double applicative construction, licensing a beneficiary and a locative, should be acceptable.

3 Baker (1988:370) has the following Chichewa examples with two causative suffixes but he rates their grammaticality questionable:

i) ?Asilikali a - na - vin - its-its-a atsikana kwa kaidi  
 soldiers they-PST-dance- C -C -FV girls to prisoners  
 'The soldiers made the prisoners make the girls dance'

ii) ?Mkango u -na -meny-ets-ets-a mbuzi kwa anyani  
 lion it-PST-hit -C -C -FV goat to baboons  
 'The lion made someone make the baboons hit the goats'

4 Note that Hyman & Mchombo's (1992) examples that have a repeated -an- suffix do not involve a double reciprocalization, but are instances of an ordering requirement that "-an- must be spelled out a second time when added to a base that has an applicative in it". See also Satyo (1985:232-3) on Xhosa where both A and C require double spellout of -an-.

5 "...un suffixe monophone -y- ou -w- tend à être représenté après tout autre suffixe" ["a monophone suffix -y- or -w- tends to be represented after all other suffixes] (Meeussen 1959:58). Hyman (1990) notes that in several languages this tendency applies despite scope considerations, and despite the fact that the causative form has been lexicalized and the non-causative does not occur alone. In

Runyambo, for instance, the applicative forms of verbs with frozen causatives show non-occurring root forms:

báza 'ask', báriza 'ask for' (from \*bár-ir-;-a)

búuza 'ask', búúrizá 'ask for' (from \*búú-ir-;-a)

banza 'start', bandiza 'start for' (from \*band-ir-;-a)

But see chapter five, footnote 11, for the possibility of overgeneralization to environments without any frozen causative.

In Kiswahili the A is a vowel, which leads to the unavailability of the A+C sequence (cf Khamisi 1985).

6 In Chichewa where the phonological restriction does not apply because the passive extension -idw- is not a vowel, both AP and PA sequences are allowed, with AP amenable to both scope interpretations (cf Hyman & Mchombo 1992).

7 See the discussion on causee omission in chapter four.

8 Khamisi (1985, example 78b) uses the causative (patanisha 'reconcile') of a frozen form (pat-an-a 'agree'; \*'get each other') to show that the R+C sequence is productively available. This must be an oversight on the author's part since in a different context (example 68) he does note that pig-an-w-a '(e.g. of war) be fought', from pig-a 'hit', is formed on a frozen reciprocal, and that therefore the R+P sequence is not a productive possibility.

Satyo (1985:237,247) gives two examples of the R+C sequence which appear to me to be frozen and quite comparable to the Runyambo examples in (613a,b):

-hlukanisa 'cause to separate'

-khandanisa 'cause to hit each other'

The example sentence reinforces this view:

índoda ikhandánisa ámatye ngómatshíni

'the man maikes the stones grind each other by means of a machine'

Note that in this Xhosa sentence khandanisa is glossed as 'make/cause to grind each other', not as 'cause to hit each other', an indication that there may be a special sense associated with this derivation. In addition Satyo (1985:250) contains some evidence of R doubling in Xhosa RC combinations: -bonanisana 'cause to see each other'. Satyo notes "a very high frequency of occurrence of combinations of extensions in which -is- is the initial component of a string" p.243.

I have a suspicion that a similar situation holds in Chichewa: a reexamination of the examples used by Alsina (1990) (meny-an-its-a 'cause to hit each other'), and by Hyman and Mchombo (1992) (mang-an-its-a 'cause to tie each other'), might reveal a frozen aspect in their meanings. Sam Mchombo (personal communication) notes that he is inclined to double the R in the RC combination, obtaining RCR. The significant point to be noted is that even though there is neither a phonological nor a predicate structure constraint



against the RC/CR combination, it appears that there is a strong tendency in various languages to allow only one of the two possible sequences to appear productively.

9 It is not clear to me whether languages which allow a second passive version allow the RP sequence.

10 "More generally, it has often been observed that the order of affixes on the verb corresponds to the semantic scope of those affixes, with outermost affixes interpreted as superordinated predicates ... This strict parallelism between the order of the morphemes on the verb and the way that the form is interpreted is an example of what Baker (1985a) calls the MIRROR PRINCIPLE effect, where the morphology "reflects" the syntax in a perspicuous way" (Baker 1988:373).

Satyo (1985:282) makes a similar claim in his analysis of Xhosa verb extensions but fails to demonstrate the validity of that claim: "The manoeuvring of these extensions in a sequence has the associated change in communicative value. In other words, the order that one selects in a combination reflects appropriately the manner in which an idea is conceptualised." Indeed the author seems to be unaware of statements in the same chapter to the effect that sequencing is irrelevant (that PA=AP; RP=PR; PC=CP):

(iii) /-w-/ + /-el-/

Example:

-bhal-w-él- 'be written for'

This combination is rather restricted in its occurrence. It is used alternatively or interchangeably with its reverse /-el-+-w-/ without any semantic changes or differences. In this behaviour, it resembles the combinations /-an-/+/w-/ and /-w-/+/an-/ mentioned above...

(iv) /-w-/+/is-/

This combination is interchangeable with /-is-/+/w/.

(Satyo 1985:245)

Apparently the phonological requirement to place the passive at the end does not hold in Xhosa.

11 In Kirimi the second 'object' prefix slot can only be available if it is filled by the first person affix (Hualde 1989). In Runyambo it is the third slot that must be filled by the first person affix. Note in this connection, that Machobane's (1989) GB framework forces her to adopt a peculiar position. By her "Internal Argument Principal" (IAP), "the maximum number of internal arguments that a verb can take is two". So a construction with three NPs as internal arguments is not acceptable. But if one of the NPs is replaced by a pronominal affix, the construction is acceptable. Machobane adopts the admittedly problematic position that three cases have been assigned, but has to maintain that the affix is not an argument because this would violate the IAP (pp.139-44).

12 See also the discussion in chapter two about the upper limit on possible grammatical functions in LFG. Similarly

descriptions of other Bantu languages within a grammatical relations framework show an upper limit of four grammatical relations (cf. *inter alia* Byarushengo et al. 1977 on Ruhaya, Satyo 1985 on Xhosa, and Machobane 1989 on Sesotho).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alsina, Alex. 1990. Where is the mirror principle. Stanford University. ms.
- Alsina, Alex. 1992. On the argument structure of causatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23.4:517-555.
- Alsina, Alex. 1993. Predicate composition; a theory of syntactic function alternation. Doctoral dissertation. Stanford University.
- Alsina, Alex, & Sam Mchombo. 1990a. Object asymmetries in Chichewa. Stanford University and UC Berkeley. ms.
- Alsina, Alex, & Sam Mchombo. 1990b. The syntax of applicatives in Chichewa; problems for a theta theoretic asymmetry. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 8.4:493-506.
- Alsina, Alex, & Sam Mchombo. 1991. Object extraction and the accessibility of thematic information. *BLS* 17:15-29.
- Alsina, Alex, & Sam Mchombo. 1993. Object asymmetries and the Chichewa applicative construction. In S. Mchombo (ed). *Theoretical aspects of Bantu grammar*. Stanford: CSLI.
- Ashton, E.O. 1944. *Swahili grammar*. London: Longmans.
- Ashton, E.O., E.M.K Mulira, E.G.M. Ndawula, & A.N. Tucker. 1954. *A Luganda grammar*. London: Longmans.
- Baker, Mark. 1985. The mirror principle and morphosyntactic explanation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16:373-416.
- Baker, Mark. 1988. *Incorporation; a theory of grammatical function changing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Baker, Mark. 1989. On locative applicative constructions. McGill University.ms.
- Baker, Mark. 1991. On subject/object non-asymmetries in Mohawk. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9:53-576.
- Barreteau, Daniel, & Yvonne Bastin. 1978. Les langues bantoues. (map). In D. Barreteau (ed.). *Inventaire des études linguistiques sur les pays d'Afrique noire d'expression française et sur Madagascar*. Paris:CILF.

- Bastin, Yvonne. 1978. Les langues bantoues. In D. Barreteau (ed). *Inventaire des études linguistiques sur les pays d'Afrique noire d'expression française et sur Madagascar*. Paris: CILF.
- Bastin, Yvonne. 1986. Les suffixes causatifs dans les langues bantoues. *Africana Linguistica* X:55-145.
- Bentley, W.H. 1887. *Dictionary and grammar of the Kongo language*. London: Trubner.
- Bhat, D.N. 1991. *Grammatical relations; the evidence against their necessity and universality*. London: Routledge.
- Bickmore, Lee S. 1989. Kinyambo prosody. Doctoral dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles.
- Bickmore, Lee S. 1992. Multiple phonemic stress levels in Kinyambo. *Phonology* 9.2:155-198.
- Bourquin, W. 1955. Notes on the "close vowels" in Bantu. *African Studies* 14.2:49-62.
- Brame, Michael. 1981. The general theory of binding and fusion. *Linguistic Analysis* 7.3:277-325.
- Brame, Michael. 1983. Bound anaphora is not a relation between NPs; evidence for local word grammar (without trees). *Linguistic Analysis* 11.2:139-166.
- Bresnan, Joan (ed). 1982. *The mental representation of grammatical relations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bresnan, Joan, & Ronald Kaplan. 1982. Introduction; grammars as mental representations of language. In Bresnan (ed). *The mental representation of grammatical relations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bresnan, Joan, & Sam Mchombo. 1987. Topic, Pronoun, and agreement in Chichewa. *Language* 63.4:741-782.
- Bresnan, Joan, & Lioba Moshi. 1990. Object asymmetries in comparative Bantu syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:147-185.
- Bryan, M.A. 1959. *The Bantu languages of Africa*. London: OUP.
- Buckley, Gene. 1990. A sketch of Lunyambo Tone. University of California, Berkeley. ms.

- Byarushengo, Ernest R., Alessandro Duranti, & Larry Hyman. (eds). 1977. *Haya grammatical structure*. Scopil 6. Los Angeles: University of Southern California.
- Cherry, John. 1992. Animism in thought and language. Doctoral dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic structures*. The Hague:Mouton.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1977. *Language and responsibility*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1982. *The generative enterprise; a discussion with Riny Huybregts and Henk van Riemsdijk*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chung, Sandra. 1976. An object-creating rule in Bahasa Indonesia. *Linguistic Inquiry* 7:41-87.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. The syntax of causative constructions; cross-language similarities and divergences. In M. Shibatani (ed). *The grammar of causative constructions. Syntax and semantics* 6. New York: Academic Press.
- Corbett, Greville G. & Alfred D Mtenje. 1987. Gender agreement in Chichewa. *Studies in African Linguistics* 18.1:1-38.
- Cory, H. n.d. *Historia ya wilaya Bukoba/History of the Bukoba district*. Mwanza: Lake Printing Works.
- Doke, Clement M. 1935. *Bantu linguistic terminology*. London: Longman.
- Dowty, David. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67.3:547-619.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 1979. Object clitic pronouns in Bantu and the topicality hierarchy. *Studies in African Linguistics* 10.1:31-45.

- Emanatian, Michele. 1991. Grammatical polysemy; the systematicity of multiple meanings in grammar. Doctoral dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.
- Emonds, J.E. 1991. Subcategorization and syntax-based theta-role assignment. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9:369-429.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1965. *Indirect object constructions in English and the ordering of transformations*. The Hague:Mouton.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1968. The case for case. In Bach & Harms (eds). *Universals in linguistic theory*. New York:Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1977. The case for case reopened. In P.Cole & J. Sadock (eds). *Syntax and semantics 8; grammatical relations*. New York: Academic Press.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1986. Pragmatically controlled zero anaphora. *BLS* 12:95-107.
- Fillmore, Charles J. & Paul Kay. 1993. Construction grammar coursebook. University of California, Berkeley. ms.
- Fodor, J.A. 1970. Three reasons for not deriving "kill" from "cause to die". *Linguistic Inquiry* 1:429-438.
- Foley, William & Robert Van Valin. 1984. *Functional syntax and universal grammar*. London:CUP.
- Foley, William & Robert Van Valin. 1985. Information packaging in the clause. In T. Shopen (ed). *Language typology and syntactic description, vol.1; clause structure*. Cambridge, England:CUP.
- Givon, Talmy. 1970. The resolution of gender conflicts in Bantu conjunction: when syntax and semantics clash. *CLS* 6:250-261.
- Givon, Talmy. 1972. Studies in Chibemba and Bantu grammar. *Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 3*.
- Givon, Talmy. 1976. Some constraints on Bantu causativization. In M. Shibatani (ed). *op.cit. The grammar of causative constructions. Syntax and semantics 6*. New York:Academic Press.

- Gould, Laurie. 1987. Evidence of ambiguous targets in Kuria advancement strategies. In D. Odden (ed). *Current approaches to African linguistics*, vol.4. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Gregoire, Claire. 1975. *Les locatifs en Bantou*. Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, no. 83.
- Grimshaw, Jane. 1990. *Argument structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Guthrie, Malcolm. 1935. *Lingala grammar and dictionary*. Conceil Protestant du Congo.
- Guthrie, Malcolm. 1948. *The classification of the Bantu languages*. London: OUP.
- Guthrie, Malcolm. 1962. The status of radical extensions in Bantu languages. *Journal of African Languages* 1:3. Reprinted in Guthrie, M. 1970. *Collected papers in Bantu linguistics*. London: Gregg International Publishers.
- Guthrie, Malcolm. 1967-71. *Comparative Bantu*, vols 1-4. Farnborough, England: Gregg International Publishers.
- Hale, Ken. 1983. Warlpiri and the grammar of non-configurational languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 1.1:5-47.
- Halle, M., Joan Bresnan, & George Miller (eds). 1978. *Linguistic theory and psychological reality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hawkinson, Anne, & Larry Hyman. 1974. Hierarchies of natural topic in Shona. *Studies in African Linguistics* 5.2:147-170.
- Heim, I., H. Lasnik, & R. May. 1991. Reciprocity and plurality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22.1:62-101.
- Heine, Bernd. 1972. Zur genetischen Gliederung der Bantusprachen. *Afrika und Übersee* 56:164-185.
- Hodges, K.S. 1977. Object relations in Kimeru causatives. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 6.2:108-141.
- Horrocks, Geoffrey. 1987. *Generative grammar*. London: Longman.



- Hualde J. 1989. Double object constructions in Kirimi. In P. Newman & R. Botne (eds). *Current approaches to African linguistics*, vol.5. Dordrecht, Holland: Foris.
- Hubbard, Kathleen. 1993. Mapping phonological structure to phonetic timing; moras and duration in two Bantu languages. *BLS* 19 (in press).
- Hudson, Richard. 1991. Double objects, grammatical relations and proto-roles. *Working papers in linguistics* 3. University College London.
- Hyman, Larry. 1977. The syntax of body parts. In Byarushengo et al. *Haya grammatical structure*. Scopil 6. Los Angeles: University of Southern California.
- Hyman, Larry. 1990. Conceptual issues in the comparative study of the Bantu verb stem. Paper presented at the 21st Annual Conference on African Linguistics. University of Georgia, Athens. April 11-15, 1990.
- Hyman, Larry. 1991. Cyclic phonology and morphology in Cibemba. University of California, Berkeley. ms.
- Hyman, Larry, & Alessandro Duranti. 1982. On the object relation in Bantu. In P. Hopper & S. Thompson (eds). *Syntax and semantics 15; studies in transitivity*. New York: Academic Press.
- Hyman, Larry, & Ernest R. Byarushengo. 1984. A model of Haya tonology. In G.N. Clements and J. Goldsmith (eds). *Autosegmental studies in Bantu tone*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Hyman, Larry, & Sam Mchombo. 1992. Morphotactic constraints in the Chichewa verb stem. *BLS* 18 (in press). *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. 1992. New York: OUP.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1983. *Semantics and cognition*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1987. The status of thematic relations in linguistic theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18:369-411.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1990. On Larson's treatment of the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:427-456.

- Johnson, D.E. 1977. On Keenan's definition of "subject of".  
*Linguistic Inquiry* 8:673-692.
- Johnson, Frederick. 1939. *A standard Swahili-English dictionary*. Nairobi:OUP.
- Jones, Beatrice. 1971. In favour of higher cause. *Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 2*:19-45.
- Katoke, Israel. 1970. *The making of the Karagwe kingdom*. Historical Association of Tanzania Paper no.8. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- Katoke, Israel. 1975. *The Karagwe kingdom; a history of the Abanyambo of north-west Tanzania c.1400-1915*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu*. 1981. Dar es Salaam: Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili/Oxford University Press.
- Kanyoro, R.A. 1983. *Unity and diversity; a linguistic survey of the Abaluhya of western Kenya*. Wien: Veroffentlichungen der Institute fur Afrikanistik und Egyptologie der universtat Wien.
- Kapinga, M.C. (ed). 1983. *Sarufi maumbo ya Kiswahili sanifu*. Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili. Chuo Kikuu cha Dar-es-Salaam.
- Katamba, Francis. 1984. Vowel harmony in Luganda. *Journal of Linguistics* 20.2:257-275.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1975. *French syntax; the transformational cycle*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Keenan, Edward L. 1976. Towards a universal definition of 'subject'. In C. Li (ed). *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- Keenan, Edward. 1985. Passsive in the world's languages. In T.Shopen (ed). *Language typology and syntactic description, vol.1; clause structure*. Cambridge, England: CUP.
- Khamisi, Abdu M. 1985. Swahili verb derivation. Doctoral dissertation. University of Hawaii.
- Kimenyi, Alexandre. 1980. *A relational grammar of Kinyarwanda*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Kimenyi, Alexandre. 1992. The Bantu-Japanese connection: subjectivity and objectivity in Japanese and Kinyarwanda. Paper presented at the 23rd Annual Conference on African Linguistics. Michigan State University. March 26-29, 1992.
- Ladefoged, Peter, Ruth Glick, & Clive Criper. 1972. *Language in Uganda*. London:OUP.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1987 *Foundations of cognitive grammar, vol.1; theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.
- Lanham, L.W. 1955. *A study of Gitonga of Inhambane*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Larson, Richard K. 1990. Double objects revisited: reply to Jackendoff. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:589-632.
- Lebeaux, D. 1983. A distributional difference between reciprocals and reflexives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 14.4:723-730.
- Li, Yafei, 1990, X<sup>0</sup>-binding and verb incorporation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21.3:399-426.
- Machobane, Malilo M. 1989. Some restrictions on the Sesotho transitivizing morphemes. Doctoral dissertation. McGill University.
- MacWhinney, Brian & Lise Menn. 1984. The repeated morph constraint; toward an explanation. *Language* 60.3:519-541.
- Mchombo, Samuel A. 1978. A critical appraisal of the place of derivational morphology within transformational grammar, considered with primary reference to Chichewa and Swahili. Doctoral dissertation. University of London.
- Mchombo, Samuel A. 1980. Dative and passive; an argument for a surface grammar. *Linguistic Analysis* 6.2:97-113.
- Mchombo, Samuel A. 1991. Reciprocalization in Chichewa; a lexical account. *Linguistic Analysis* 21.1:3-22.

- Mchombo, Samuel A. 1992. *Statives in Chichewa and the relevance of thematic information*. University of California, Berkeley. ms.
- Mchombo, Samuel A. 1993. On the binding of the reflexive and the reciprocal in Chichewa. In S. Mchombo (ed). *Theoretical aspects of Bantu grammar*. Stanford: CSLI.
- Mchombo, Sam A. & Armindo Ngunga. 1992. The syntax and semantics of the reciprocal construction in Ciyao. University of California, Berkeley. ms.
- Meinhof, Carl. 1899. *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*. Leipzig:F.A Brockhaus. Reprint. Berlin:Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen). 1910. English translation; *Introduction to the phonology of the Bantu languages*. By N.J.Van Warmelo. 1932.
- Meeussen, A.E. 1959. *Essai de grammaire rundi*. Tervuren: Annales du Musée Royal de l'Afrique Cetrale.
- Meeussen, A.E. 1967. Bantu grammatical reconstructions. Tervuren: *Annales due Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale*. Serie 8, Science Humaines, No. 61:81-121.
- Miller, George. 1956. The magical number seven, plus or minus two; some limits on our capacity for processing information. *Psychological Review* 63.2:81-97.
- Mohanan, K.P. 1982. Grammatical relations and clause structure in Malayalam. In Bresnan (ed). *The mental representation of grammatical relations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Nurse, Derek. 1979. *Classification of the Chaga dialects*. Helmut Buske Verlag Hamburg.
- Perlmutter, David, & Paul Postal. 1974. Lectures on relational grammar. LSA Linguistic Institute, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Perrot, D.V. 1965. *Swahili dictionary*. Teach Yourself Books. Dunton Green, England: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Ravin, Y. 1990. *Lexical semantics without thematic roles*. Oxford: OUP.

- Rubanza, Yunus I. 1988. Linear order in Haya verbal morphology; theoretical implications. Doctoral dissertation. Michigan State University.
- Rudzka-Ostyn, Brygida (ed). 1988. *Topics in cognitive linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Rugemalira, Josephat M. 1986. Causative constructions in Swahili. M.A. dissertation. University of Lancaster.
- Rugemalira, Josephat M. 1990. Vowel harmony in Runyambo. University of California, Berkeley. ms.
- Rugemalira, Josephat M. 1991a. What is a symmetrical language? Multiple object constructions in Bantu. *BLS* 17S:200-209.
- Rugemalira, Josephat M. 1991b. -Ire; imbrication and consonant mutation. University of California, Berkeley. ms.
- Rugemalira, Josephat M. 1992. Cooccurrence restrictions on Runyambo verb extensions. Paper presented at the 23rd Annual Conference on African Linguistics. Michigan State University. 26-29 March, 1992.
- Rugemalira, Josephat M. 1993a. Bantu multiple "object" constructions. *Linguistic Analysis* 23 (in press).
- Rugemalira, Josephat M. 1993b. Argument differentiation in Irish. *Working Papers in Linguistics, vol.1; Irish*. pp.129-163. University of California, Berkeley.
- Satyo, Sizwe. 1985. Topics in Xhosa verbal extension. Doctoral dissertation. University of South Africa.
- Schadeberg, Thilo. n.d. Word formation. University of Leiden ms.
- Scotton, Carol M. 1967a. Aspects of the Swahili extended verb system with special reference to some deep structure syntactic and semantic restrictions. Doctoral dissertation. University of Wisconsin.
- Scotton, Carol M. 1967b. Semantic and syntactic subcategorization in Swahili causative verb shapes. *Journal of African Languages* 6.3:249-267.

- Shepardson, Keneth N. 1986. Productivity and the Swahili lexicon. Doctoral dissertation. Indiana University.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi (ed). 1976. *The grammar of causative constructions. Syntax and semantics 6*. New York:Academic Press.
- Shopen, Timothy (ed). 1985. *Language typology and syntactic description, vol.1; clause structure*. Cambridge, England:CUP.
- Sproat, Richard. 1992. *Morphology and computation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Starosta, S. 1988. *The case for lexibase; an outline of lexibase grammatical theory*. London: Pinter.
- Sundkler, Bengt. 1980. *Bara Bukoba; church and community in Tanzania*. London: C. Hurst & Company.
- Tanzania Sensa; 1988 preliminary census report*. Dar-es-Salaam:Bureau of Statistics; Ministry of Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning.
- Taylor, Charles. 1959. *A simplified Runyankore/Rukiga-English and English-Runyankore/Rukiga dictionary*. Kampala: East African Literature Bureau.
- Taylor, Charles. 1985. *Nkore-Kiga*. London: Croom Helm.
- Tesnière, Lucien. 1959. *Éléments de syntaxe structurale*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Trithart, Mary L. 1977. Causatives and instrumentals. In Byarushengo et al. (eds). *Haya grammatical structure*. Scopil 6. Los Angeles:University of Southern California.
- Trithart, Mary L. 1983. *The applied affix and transitivity; a historical study in Bantu*. Doctoral dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles.
- Tuggy, David. 1988. Nahuatl causative/applicatives in cognitive grammar. In Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn, (ed). *Topics in cognitive linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Van Valin, Robert. 1991. Another look at Icelandic case marking and grammatical relations. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 6*:145-194.

- Van Valin, Robert. 1993. A synopsis of role and reference grammar. In R. Van Valin (ed). *Advances in role and reference grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Vitale, Anthony. 1981. *Swahili syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Webster, J.B. 1979. *Chronology, migration and drought in interlacustrine Africa*. London: Longman & Dalhousie University Press.
- Whiteley, Wilfred. 1966. *A study of Yao sentences*. London: OUP
- Williams, Edwin. 1981. Argument structure and morphology. *Linguistic Review* 1:81-114.
- Zubizarreta, Maria L. 1985. The relation between morphophonology and morphosyntax; the case of Romance causatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16.2:247-289.

## APPENDIX

## LEXICON OF RUNYAMBO EXTENDED VERBS

## KEY:

A - applicative            C - causative  
 D - double stem          I - intensive  
 P - passive                R - reciprocal  
 S - stative                V - reversive  
 X - other

**kwagura** scratch

A- **kwagurira** scratch for  
 C- **kwaguxa** cause to scratch  
 P- **kwagurwa** be scratched  
 R- **kwagurangana** scratch each other  
 A+P- **kwagurirwa** be scratched something  
 C+R- **kwaguzangana** cause to scratch each other

**kwaka** shine, (of fire)give flame, (of car)start; deprive of

A- **kwacira** give flame/start at; deprive of for  
 C- **kwaca** cause to give flame/start  
 - **kwacisa** be caused to deprive of/to be deprived of  
 R- **kwakangana** deprive each other of  
 P- **kwakwa** be deprived of  
 I- **kwaciira** receive

**kwambuka** cross (water)

A- **kwambucira** cross at  
 C- **kwambuca** take across  
 P- **kwambukwa** be crossed  
 C+A- **kwambuciza** take across for/at  
 C+R- **kwambucangana** take each other across

**kwana** - (of banana tree) give fruit; (of grasshoppers) chirp

A- **kwanira** give fruit at  
 C- **kwanisa** cause to give fruit  
 I- **kwaniira** groan

**kwanga** refuse, dislike

A- **kwánjira** refuse for/at  
 C- **kwánjisa** cause to refuse/dislike  
 R- **kwángana** (of wife) temporarily go away from husband  
 - **kwángangana** dislike each other  
 P- **kwángwa** be disliked  
 I- **kwánjirira** refuse for, withhold help  
 A+R- **kwánjirangana** refuse at each other  
 A+P- **kwánjirwa** be refused at  
 C+R- **kwánjisangana** cause each other to refuse something  
 C+P- **kwánjisibwa** be caused to refuse/dislike  
 R+A- **kwánganira** (of wife) go to (place) away from husband  
 - **kwánganganira** dislike each other at



R+C- **kwánganisa** cause to go away from husband

**kwara** make a bed, spread out (a sheet)

A- **kwarira** make a bed for; spread out (esp. grass) on floor

C- **kwaza** cause to make bed

P- **kwarwa** (of bed) be made

X- **kwarika** cover bananas to ripen; keep a bride secluded

V- **kwarura** bring a bride out of seclusion

- **kwaruura** uncover

I- **kwariirira** spread out grass on floor

A+R- **kwarirangana** make bed for each other

A+P- **kwarirwa** be made a bed for

**kwása** chop, split

A- **kwásiza** chop for/at

C- **kwásisa** cause to chop

P- **kwásibwa** be chopped

X- **kwásama** open one's mouth

X+V- **kwásamura** open someone's mouth

**kwáta** crack, shatter

A- **kwátira** crack for/at

C- **kwátisa** cause to crack

S- **kwátika** crack (intr.)

P- **kwátwa** be cracked

A+R- **kwátirangana** crack for each other

A+P- **kwátirwa** be cracked for

C+R- **kwátisangana** cause each other to crack

C+P- **kwátisibwa** be caused to crack

S+A- **kwáticira** crack at

**kwaya** plunder, take away everything

A- **kwayira** plunder for

C- **kwayisa** cause to plunder

P- **kwaywa** be plundered

A+P- **kwayirwa** be plundered for

**kúba** be

A- **kubéera** be for; help

C- **kubéisa** cause to be

A+P- **kubéerwa** be fortunate; be helped

A+R- **kubéerangana** help each other

**kubáaga** slaughter

A- **kubáájira** slaughter for/at

C- **kubáájisa** cause to slaughter

P- **kubáagwa** be slaughtered

A+R- **kubáájirangana** slaughter for each other

C+R- **kubáájisangana** cause each other to slaughter

**kubáasa** be able, be strong enough to

A- **kubáásiza** stand up to someone for

P- **kubáásibwa** be decisively challenged/stopped

S- **kubáásika** be possible

R- **kubáásangana** cope with each other

**kubába** (of certain plants & insects) prick

A- **kubábira** prick for/at

C- **kubábisa** cause to prick

P- **kubábwa** be pricked

R- **kubábangana** prick each other

V- **kubábura** scorch; spank

S- **kubábuka** be scorched

I- **kubábiirira** scorch; cause to feel itchy

C+A- **kubábisiza** cause to prick for

C+R- **kubábisangana** prick each other with

V+A- **kubáburira** scorch for/at; spank for/at

V+R- **kubáburangana** spank each other

V+P- **kubáburwa** be scorched; be spanked

**kubagana** share, divide up

A- **kubaganira** share at, divide up for

C- **kubaganisa** divide up

P- **kubaganwa** be shared

S- **kubaganuka** come apart

V- **kubaganura** cause to come apart

C+A- **kubaganisiza** divide up for

**kubánjura** clear the ground before sowing

A- **kubánjurira** clear the ground for

C- **kubánjuza** cause to clear the ground

P- **kubánjurwa** be cleared

A+R- **kubánjurirangana** clear the ground for each other

C+P- **kubánjuzibwa** be caused to clear the ground

**kubanza** do first, start

A- **kubandiza** start for/at

C- **kubanzisa** cause to start

P- **kubanzibwa** be started

A+R- **kubandixangana** start for each other

**kubara** count

A- **kubarira** count for; estimate

C- **kubara** cause to count

P- **kubarwa** be counted

R- **kubarangana** count each other

V- **kubaruura** tell a tale

I- **kubariirira** estimate

A+C- **kubariza** cause to count/ be counted for

A+P- **kubarirwa** be counted for

A+R- **kubarirangana** count for each other

C+P- **kubazibwa** be caused to count

C+R- **kubazangana** cause each other to count

**kubárura** burst (trans)

A- **kubárurira** burst for

C- **kubáruza** cause to burst

S- **kubáruka** burst (intr)

A+R- **kubárurirangana** burst for each other  
 C+R- **kubáruzangana** cause each other to burst  
 S+A- **kubárucira** burst at

**kubáza** ask, inquire, examine  
 A- **kubárizi** inquire for/at  
 C- **kubázisa** cause to inquire  
 P- **kubázibwa** be asked/examined  
 R- **kubázangana** ask each other  
 I- **kubáriiriza** be too inquisitive  
 A+R- **kubárizangana** inquire for each other

**kubaziira** sew  
 A- **kubaziirira** sew for/at  
 C- **kubaziiza** cause to sew  
 P- **kubaziirwa** be sewn  
 C+R- **kubaziizangana** cause each other to sew

**kubátiza** baptize  
 A- **kubátiriza** baptize for/at  
 P- **kubátizibwa** be baptized  
 R- **kubátizangana** baptize each other  
 A+R- **kubátirizangana** baptize for each other,  
 baptize each other at

**kubéiha** tell lies, deceive  
 A- **kubéihera** deceive for/at  
 C- **kubéihesa** cause to tell lies  
 P- **kubéihwa** be deceived  
 R- **kubéihangana** deceive each other  
 I- **kubéiherera** accuse unjustly  
 D- **kubéihabeiha** persuade, coax gently/by deception  
 A+P- **kubéiherwa** be deceived at  
 A+R- **kubéiherangana** deceive for each other  
 R+A- **kubéihanganira** deceive each other at  
 I+P- **kubéihererwa** be accused unjustly  
 I+R- **kubéihererangana** accuse each other unjustly

**kubeija** carve, do carpentry  
 A- **kubeijera** carve for/at  
 C- **kubeijesa** cause to carve  
 P- **kubeijwa** be carved  
 A+C- **kubeijesera** cause to carve for  
 A+P- **kubeijerwa** be carved something  
 C+P- **kubeijesibwa** be caused to carve

**kubiika** store, put away  
 A- **kubiícira** store for  
 C- **kubiícisa** cause to store, entrust with  
 - **kubiíca** entrust with  
 P- **kubiíkwa** be stored  
 I+C- **kubiíciriza** be fond of storing things  
 A+P- **kubiícirwa** be stored something

**kubika** bring news of death of  
 A- **kubicira** bring news of death of someone to  
 A+R- **kubicirangana** bring news of death to each other

**kubinga** drive away, chase  
 A- **kubinjira** chase for/at/into  
 C- **kubinjisa** cause to chase  
 P- **kubingwa** be chased  
 R- **kubingangana** chase each other  
 A+P- **kubinjirwa** be chased something  
 A+R- **kubinjirangana** chase for each other  
 R+A- **kubinganganira** chase each other at

**kubira** foam & overflow  
 A- **kubirira** foam at  
 C- **kubiza** cause to foam

**kubóha** bind  
 A- **kubóhera** bind for/at  
 C- **kubóhesa** cause to bind  
 P- **kubóhwa** be bound  
 R- **kubóhangana** bind each other  
 V- **kubóhoorora** unbind  
 S- **kubóhooroka** become unbound  
 I- **kubóheerera** bind severely  
 A+P- **kubóherwa** be bound for/at  
 A+R- **kubóherangana** bind for each other, bind e.o. at  
 C+P- **kubóhesibwa** be cause to bind  
 C+R- **kubóhesangana** cause each other to bind  
 V+C- **kubóhooroka** cause to unbind  
 V+P- **kubóhoororwa** be unbound  
 S+A- **kubóhoorocera** become unbound at

**kubóna** see  
 A- **kubónera** see for/at  
 C- **kubónesa** cause to see  
 P- **kubónwa** be seen  
 R- **kubónangana** see each other; meet  
 S- **kubóneka** be visible, be available  
 D- **kubónabona** suffer  
 A+P- **kubónerwa** be found something  
 A+R- **kubónerangana** see/find for each other  
 S+A- **kubónecera** be visible at  
 C+A- **kubóneseza** cause to see for  
 C+P- **kubónesibwa** be caused to see  
 C+R- **kubónesangana** cause each other to see  
 R+A- **kubónanganira** see each other at  
 R+C- **kubónanganisa** cause to meet  
 D+A- **kubónabonera** suffer at  
 D+C- **kubónabonesa** cause to suffer  
 - **kubónyabonya** cause to suffer

**kubóya** be a bully  
 A- **kubóyera** bully, be a bully at

C- **kubóyesa** cause to be a bully  
 A+P- **kubóyerwa** be bullied  
 C+P- **kubóyesibwa** be caused to be a bully

**kubúgana** meet  
 A- **kubúganira** meet for  
 C- **kubúganisa** cause to meet  
 P- **kubúganwa** be met  
 R- **kubúgangana** meet/encounter each other

**kubúmba** mould  
 A- **kubúmbira** mould for/at  
 C- **kubúmbisa** cause to mould  
 P- **kubúmbwa** be moulded  
 A+P- **kubúmbirwa** be moulded something  
 A+R- **kubúmbirangana** mould for each other  
 C+A- **kubúmbisiza** cause to mould for  
 C+R- **kubúmbisangana** cause each other mould

**kubúnga** wander off idly, visit  
 A- **kubúnjira** wander idly for/ to  
 C- **kubúnjisa** cause to wander idly  
 - **kubúnja** cause to wander; peddle  
 X- **kubúnguza** make frequent and idle visits  
 C+P- **kubúnjibwa** be caused to wander

**kubunga** treat fracture medically  
 A- **kubunjira** treat for/at  
 C- **kubunjisa** cause grain, wood etc. to be bored into by  
 insects  
 P- **kubungwa** be treated; (of grain, wood) be bored into by  
 insects

**kubúra** be lost, disappear, be lacking  
 A- **kubúrira** disappear at/into  
 C- **kubúza** lose, cause to disappear  
 P- **kubúrwa** lack something  
 D+C- **kubúzabuza** (also **kubúrabuza**) bewilder, pester with  
 too many demands  
 D+A+P- **kubúraburirwa** suffer, be bewildered

**kubúza** ask, inquire  
 A- **kubúúrizira** inquire for/at  
 C- **kubúúzisa** cause to inquire  
 P- **kubúúzibwa** be asked  
 R- **kubúúzangana** ask each other  
 I- **kubúúririza** be too inquisitive  
 A+R- **kubúúrizangana** inquire for each other, ask e.o. at

**kubwéigora** bark  
 A- **kubwéigorera** bark at  
 C- **kubwéigoza** cause to bark  
 C+P- **kubwéigozibwa** be caused to bark  
 C+R- **kubwéigozangana** cause each other to bark

**kubweijana** be lonely  
 A- **kubweijanira** be lonely at  
 C- **kubweijanisa** cause to be lonely  
 C+P- **kubweijanisibwa** be caused to be lonely

**kubyama** lie down, go to bed  
 A- **kubyamira** lie on  
 C- **kubyanya** put to bed  
 - **kubyamisa** cause to go to bed  
 X- **kubyamisiriza** lure into sleep  
 A+P- **kubyamirwa** be laid on  
 A+R- **kubyamirana** (of many) lie helplessly  
 e.g. the sick, fallen trees

**kubyara** plant  
 A- **kubyarira** plant for  
 C- **kubyaza** cause to plant  
 P- **kubyarwa** be planted  
 A+P- **kubyarirwa** be planted something  
 C+P- **kubyazibwa** be caused to plant

**kúca** dawn  
 A- **kucéera** dawn while at  
 C- **kucéisa** cause to dawn; pass a sleepless night; greet,  
 wish good day  
 C+A- **kucéiseza** greet for (also: **kukéiseza**)  
 I+P- **kucéerererwa** be late (i.e. be thoroughly dawned upon  
 by the day)  
 I+C- **kucéerereza** cause to be late  
 I+C+P **kucéererezibwa** be caused to be late

**kucáara** go for a walk, visit  
 A- **kucáarira** go for a walk to, visit a person/place  
 C- **kucáaza** take someone for a walk/visit  
 D- **kucáaracaara** walk about  
 A+C- **kucáariza** take someone around for  
 A+P- **kucáarirwa** be visited  
 A+R- **kucáarirangana** visit each other  
 C+P- **kucáazibwa** be taken around  
 C+R- **kucáazangana** take each other around

**kucéba** mash  
 A- **kucébera** mash at; examine, check on  
 C- **kucébesa** cause to mash  
 P- **kucébwa** be mashed  
 S- **kucébuka** splinter into pieces  
 V- **kucébura** cut into pieces  
 D- **kucébaseba** pound/cut into many little pieces  
 A+P- **kucéberwa** be mashed something, be mashed at;  
 be examined  
 A+R- **kucéberangana** mash for e.o.; check on each other  
 S+A- **kucébucira** splinter into pieces at  
 V+A- **kucéburira** cut into pieces for/at

V+A+R- **kucéburirangana** cut into pieces for each other

**kucéncura** sift

A- **kucéncurira** sift for/at

C- **kucéncuza** cause to sift

P- **kucéncurwa** be sifted

S- **kucéncuka** be siftable

A+P- **kucéncurirwa** be sifted something, be sifted at

A+R- **kucéncurirangana** sift for each other

**kucéneña** filter

A- **kucéneñera** filter for/into

C- **kucéneñesa** cause to filter

P- **kucéneñwa** be filtered

S- **kucéneñuka** trickle through a filter

X- **kucéneñeka** suck blood out of body

X- **kucéneñuza** squeeze the last drops through the filter

A+P- **kucéneñerwa** be filtered something, be filtered at

A+R- **kucéneñerangana** filter for each other

C+P- **kucéneñesibwa** be caused to filter

C+R- **kucéneñesangana** cause each other to filter

S+A- **kucéneñucira** trickle through a filter at/into

**kucínga** shut, close

A- **kucínjira** shut for, obstruct view

C- **kucínjisa** cause to shut

P- **kucíngwa** be shut

V- **kucíngura** open

S- **kucínguka** open (intransitive)

C+A- **kucínjisiza** cause to be shut for

A+P- **kucínjirwa** be shut something, be obstructed in view

A+R- **kucínjirana** shut in/out

- **kucínjirangana** obstruct each other's view

C+P- **kucínjisibwa** be caused to shut

C+R- **kucínjisangana** cause each other to shut

V+A- **kucíngurira** open for

V+C- **kucínguza** cause to open

V+P- **kucíngurwa** be opened

S+A- **kucíngucira** open at

**kucíra** recover, escape danger; exceed

A- **kucírira** recover at/for

C- **kucíza** cause to recover; exceed with

P- **kucírwa** be exceeded

R- **kucírana** be unequal

I- **kucíriirira** escape very narrowly from danger

A+C- **kucíriza** cause to recover for/at

C+R- **kucízangana** be unequal with respect to

**kucúgura** have diarrhoea

A- **kucúgurira** have diarrhoea on/at

C- **kucúguza** cause to have diarrhoea

P- **kucúgurwa** be ....

**kucukura** search intensively

A- **kucukurira** search for

C- **kucukuza** cause to search

P- **kucukurwa** be searched

A+R- **kucukurirangana** search(dig out) for each other

A+C- **kucukuzangana** cause to search(dig out) for each other

**kucumba** cook

A- **kucumbira** cook for

C- **kucumbisa** cause to cook

P- **kucumbwa** be cooked

I- **kucumbirira** care for someone by providing good meals

A+P- **kucumbirwa** be cooked something, be cooked at

A+R- **kucumbirangana** cook for each other

C+A- **kucumbisiza** cause to be cooked something

C+P- **kucumbisibwa** be caused to cook

C+R- **kucumbisangana** cause each other to cook

**kucúmbajira** limp

A- **kucúmbajirira** limp at

C- **kucúmbajiza** cause to limp

C+P- **kucúmbajizibwa** be caused to limp

C+R- **kucúmbajizangana** cause each other to limp

**kucúmita** spear, pierce

A- **kucúmitira** spear for; cut down some young banana trees

C- **kucúmisisa** cause to spear

P- **kucúmitwa** be speared

R- **kucúmitangana** spear each other

A+P- **kucúmitirwa** be speared something, be speared at

A+R- **kucúmitirangana** spear for each other

C+P- **kucúmisibwa** be caused to spear

C+R- **kucúmisangana** cause each other to spear

R+A- **kucúmitangnira** spear each other at

**kucuncumura** jerk

A- **kucuncumurira** jerk for/at

C- **kucuncumuza** cause to jerk

P- **kucuncumurwa** be jerked

R- **kucuncumurangana** jerk each other

S- **kucuncumuka** be jerked

A+P- **kucuncumurirwa** be jerked something, be jerked at

A+R- **kucuncumurirangana** jerk for each other

C+P- **kucuncumuzibwa** be caused to jerk

C+R- **kucuncumuzangana** cause each other to jerk

**kucúnda** shake, churn (butter)

A- **kucúndira** shake for/at

C- **kucúnda** cause to shake; torment

P- **kucúndwa** be shaken; be tormented

X- **kucúndagura** shake repeatedly

A+P- **kucúndirwa** be shaken something, be shaken at

A+R- **kucúndirangana** shake for each other

C+P- **kucúnzibwa** be caused to shake; be tormented



C+R- **kucúnzangana** cause each other to shake;  
torment each other  
X+S- **kucúndagurika** shake (intransitive)

**kucúngura** redeem

A- **kucúngurira** redeem for/at  
C- **kucúngusa** redeem with  
P- **kucúngurwa** be redeemed  
R- **kucúngurangana** redeem each other  
A+P- **kucúngurirwa** be redeemed something, be redeemed at  
A+R- **kucúngurirangana** redeem for each other  
C+R- **kucúnguzangana** cause each other to redeem

**kucúra** wail

A- **kucúririra** wail for/at  
C- **kucúza** cause to wail (e.g. by mentioning name of deceased)  
A+P- **kucúrirwa** be mourned  
A+R- **kucúrirangana** mourn for each other  
C+P- **kucúzibwa** be caused to wail  
C+R- **kucúzangana** cause each other to wail

**kucúreera** be quiet, be humble

A- **kucúreerera** quieten at  
C- **kucúreera** quieten  
C+A- **kucúreereza** quieten for  
C+P- **kucúreezibwa** be caused to quieten  
C+R- **kucúreexangana** quieten each other

**kucúrika** tilt, turn upside down

A- **kucúricira** tilt for/at; cover  
P- **kucúrikwa** be tilted  
V- **kucúruura** turn upside up  
A+A- **kucúricirira** cover for/at  
A+P- **kucúricirwa** be covered

**kucúrizira** whistle

A- **kucúriririza** whistle at  
C- **kucúrizisa** cause to whistle  
P- **kucúrizwa** be whistled

**kucúuka** be weaned

A- **kucúucira** be weaned at  
C- **kucúuca** wean  
V- **kucúúkura** wean  
C+A- **kucúúciza** wean in (duration)  
V+A- **kucúúkurira** wean for, wean in (duration)  
V+P- **kucúúkurwa** be weaned

**kúcwa** disown; cut up

A- **kucwóra** disown at; cut up for/at;  
C- **kucwisa** cause to cut up  
P- **kucwébwa** be cut up  
S- **kucwéka** become extinct  
A+R- **kucwérangana** cut up for each other

C+P- **kucwísibwa** be caused to disown/cut up  
 S+A- **kucwécera** meet e.g. a visitor on the way  
 S+I- **kucwécerera** be completely destroyed  
 S+R+C- **kucwékanisa** cross (e.g. a road)

**kucwéra** spit

A- **kucwérera** spit for (reason)  
 C- **kucwéza** cause to spit  
 P- **kucwérwa** be spat  
 R- **kucwérangana** spit on each other  
 X- **kucwéraguzibwa** spit often  
 C+R- **kucwézangana** cause each other to spit

**kweba** be forgotten

A- **kwebera** be forgotten at  
 C- **kwebesa** cause to forget  
 P- **kwebwa** forget  
 R- **kwebangana** forget each other  
 A+P- **kwebberwa** forget (while) at  
 C+R- **kwebesangana** cause each other to forget  
 C+I- **kwebesereza** distract

**kwébembera** be in front, lead

A- **kwébemberera** lead for  
 C- **kwébembeza** put in front  
 P- **kwébemberwa** be preceded by, be led

**kwéfuza** regret, be remorseful

A- **kwéfuuriza** regret at

**kwéga** learn

A- **kwéjera** learn at, learn for(e.g. a profession)  
 C- **kwégesa** teach  
 P- **kwéywa** be learnt  
 C+P- **kwégesibwa** be taught  
 C+R- **kwégesangana** teach each other  
 C+I- **kwégesereza** teach in order to convert, coach regarding  
 what to say

**kwégaana** deny

A- **kwéganira** deny at

**kwégama** lean

A- **kwégamira** lean against  
 C- **kwégamya** cause to lean against  
 A+P- **kwégamirwa** be leaned upon

**kwéganya** feel lazy/not up to the task/unwilling  
 to tackle a task

A- **kwéganyira** feel self pity, be considerate of  
 one's energies

I- **kwéganyiirira** feel lazy

X- **kuganyira** feel pity/consideration for

X+A- **kuganyirira** pity for/at

X+P- **kuganyirwa** be pitied  
 X+R- **kuganyirangana** feel pity for each other

**kwějeka** put leaning  
 A- **kwějecera** put leaning for  
 C- **kwějecesa** cause to put leaning  
 P- **kwějekwa** be put leaning  
 R- **kwějekangana** put each other leaning  
 A+P- **kwějecerwa** be put something leaning  
 A+R- **kwějecerangana** put leaning for each other

**kwéhanga** dare foolishly (i.e. against ability)  
 A- **kwéhanjira** dare at (place)  
 R- **kwéhangaana** muster one's energies  
 X- **kwéhangamurira** attempt the impossible

**kwějiza** pretend  
 A- **kwějiriza** pretend on someone

**kwékomya** make sure of future recognition, recognize  
 A- **kwékomeza** reconize at

**kwéma** start from; (of animals) be on heat, conceive  
 A- **kwémera** conceive at  
 C- **kwéma** (of male animals) serve

**kwémera** withstand, endure; provide support  
 A- **kwémerera** provide support for  
 R- **kwémerangana** endure each other  
 P- **kwémerwa** be endured; be supported  
 I- **kwémeerera** stand up  
 I+C- **kwémeerera** erect, cause to stand up  
 I+C+P **kwémeererebwa** be caused to stand up

**kwenda** like, want  
 A- **kwendera** like for/at, wish for  
 C- **kwenza** demand  
 P- **kwendwa** be liked  
 R- **kwendangana** like each other  
 A+C- **kwendeza** demand for/at  
 A+P- **kwenderwa** be liked at  
 A+R- **kwenderangana** wish for each other  
 C+R- **kwezangana** demand from each other  
 R+A- **kwendanganira** like each other at

**kwéra** (of crop) ripen, be abundant; be clean, be white  
 A- **kwénera** ripen for/at; be clean (while) at; testify to  
 someone's innocence  
 C- **kwéza** have a good crop; clean satisfactorily  
 X- **kwérurukana** be whitish, lose original color  
 A+C- **kwéreza** have a good crop for/at  
 A+R- **kwérerangana** testify to each other's innocence  
 C+P- **kwézibwa** be produced in abundance; be cleaned

**kwereera** float

C- **kwereeza** cause to float, hold high

C+P- **kwereezibwa** be caused to float

**kwerura** winnow

A- **kwerurira** winnow for/at

C- **kweruza** cause to winnow

P- **kwerurwa** be winnowed

A+P- **kwerurirwa** be winnowed something

A+R- **kwerurirangana** winnow for each other

C+P- **kweruzibwa** be caused to winnow

C+R- **kweruzangana** cause each other to winnow

**kwésiga** trust

A- **kwésijira** trust for/at

R- **kwésigangana** trust each other

P- **kwésigwa** be trusted

**kwésiza** be quiet

A- **kwéziriza** be quiet at

**kwéta** call

A- **kwétera** call for/ (while) at

C- **kwétesa** cause to call

P- **kwétwa** be called

R- **kwétangana** call each other

X- **kwétabuka** respond (vocally) to a call

I- **kwéterera** give same name as someone else; keep calling animals to follow

A+P- **kwéterwa** be called for/at

A+R- **kwéterangana** call for each other

C+P- **kwétesibwa** be caused to call

I+C- **kwétereza** call repeatedly (so pester)

**kwétenga** desire, long for

A- **kwétenjera** desire at, wish for

C- **kwétenjesa** cause to desire

P- **kwétengwa** be desired

**kwétonda** introduce oneself; be careful, concentrate

A- **kwétondera** introduce self to/at; be careful at

**kwévuga** recite poetry

A- **kwévujira** recite poetry for/at

C- **kwévujisa** cause to recite poetry

P- **kwévugwa** (of poetry) be recited

**kweya** sweep up

A- **kweyera** sweep up for/into

C- **kweyesa** cause to sweep up

P- **kweywa** be swept up

A+P- **kweyerwa** be cleaned a place

A+R- **kweyerangana** sweep up for each other

C+A- **kweyeseza** cause to sweep up for

C+R- **kweyexangana** cause each other to sweep up

**kwéyayaamura** yawn

A- **kwéyayaamurira** yawn at

C- **kwéyayaamuza** yawn in (manner)

**kúfa** die; break down, go bad(esp. beer)

A- **kuféera** die for/at

C- **kufiisa** fail to make good beer, (of animals) lose young to death

X- **kuféerecerera** be completely destroyed

A+P- **kuféerwa** lose a relative to death

**kufoora** change colour (transitive)

A- **kufoorera** change colour for/at

C- **kufooza** cause to change colour

P- **kufoorwa** be changed in colour

S- **kufooka** change colour(intransitive)

A+C- **kufoozeza** cause to change colour for

A+P- **kufoorerwa** be changed colour for

A+R- **kufoorerangana** change colour for each other

C+P- **kufoozibwa** be caused to change colour

S+A- **kufocera** change colour at

**kufuka** be cold; blow the nose

A- **kufucira** be cold at; blow the nose at

C- **kufucisa** cause to blow the nose

**kufukaana** wrestle

A- **kufukaanira** wrestle for/at

C- **kufukaanisa** cause to wrestle

**kufukunkura** empty out

A- **kufukunkurira** empty into

C- **kufukunkuza** cause to empty out

P- **kufukunkurwa** be emptied out

S- **kufukunkuka** empty out (intransitive)

A+P- **kufukunkurirwa** be emptied something

A+R- **kufukunkurirangana** empty out for each other

C+P- **kufukunkuzibwa** be caused to empty out

**kufúbata** embrace

A- **kufúbatira** embrace for/at

C- **kufúbasa** cause to embrace

P- **kufúbatwa** be embraced

R- **kufúbatana** embrace each other

A+P- **kufúbatirwa** be embraced for/at

C+R- **kufúbatanisa** cause to embrace each other

R+A- **kufúbatanira** embrace each other at

**kufúmura** pierce

A- **kufúmurira** pierce for/at

C- **kufúmuza** cause to pierce

P- **kufúmurwa** be pierced

R- **kufúmurangana** pierce each other  
 S- **kufúmuka** be pierced  
 D- **kufúmafumura** pierce repeatedly  
 A+P- **kufúmurirwa** be pierced something  
 A+R- **kufúmurirangana** pierce for each other  
 C+A- **kufúmuriza** cause to pierce for/at  
 C+P- **kufúmuzibwa** be caused to pierce  
 S+A- **kufúmucira** be pierced at  
 D+P- **kufúmafumurwa** be pierced repeatedly  
 D+S- **kufúmafumuka** be pierced repeatedly

**kufúna** gain, profit  
 A- **kufúnira** gain for/at  
 C- **kufúnisa** cause to gain

**kufúnda** be narrow, fail to fit  
 A- **kufúndira** be narrow at  
 C- **kufúnza** cause to be narrow; reduce distance/job ahead  
 P- **kufúndwa** be unable to fit into a dress  
 V- **kufúnduura** open (remove lid, stopper)  
 S- **kufúnduuka** open (intr)  
 V+A- **kufúnduurira** open for/at  
 V+C- **kufúnduuzwa** cause to open  
 V+P- **kufúnduurwa** be opened  
 S+A- **kufúnduucira** become open at  
 V+A+R- **kufúnduurirangana** open for each other  
 V+C+R- **kufúnduuzangana** cause each other to open

**kufúndicira** cover  
 A- **kufúndicirira** cover for/at  
 C- **kufúndiciza** cause to cover  
 P- **kufúndicirwa** be covered  
 R- **kufúndicirangana** cover each other  
 A+P- **kufúndicirirwa** be covered at  
 A+R- **kufúndicirirangana** cover for each other  
 C+R- **kufúndicizangana** cause each other to cover

**kufunga** imprison, lock  
 A- **kufunjira** imprison for/at  
 C- **kufunjisa** cause to imprison/be imprisoned  
 P- **kufungwa** be imprisoned  
 V- **kufungura** dilute  
 - **kufungurura** unlock, let out of prison  
 S- **kufunguka** be diluted  
 - **kufunguruka** be unlocked  
 A+P- **kufunjirwa** be imprisoned for/at  
 A+R- **kufunjirangana** imprison for each other  
 C+A- **kufunjisiza** cause to be imprisoned for  
 C+R- **kufunjisangana** cause each other to  
 imprison/be imprisoned  
 S+A- **kufungucira** be diluted at  
 V+A- **kufungurira** dilute for/at  
 V+C- **kufunguza** cause to dilute  
 V+P- **kufungurwa** be diluted

V+P- **kufungururwa** be set free  
 V+C+A- **kufunguriza** cause to be diluted something

**kufúnya** fold, prepare a body for burial; drive (cattle)  
 A- **kufúnyira** fold for/at; drive for  
 C- **kufúnyisa** cause to fold; cause to drive  
 X- **kufúnyanyaza** be wrinkled  
 D- **kufúnyafunya** crumple  
 P- **kufúnywa** be folded, be driven  
 A+P- **kufúnyirwa** be folded something, be driven cattle  
 A+R- **kufúnyirangana** fold for each other; drive for e.o.  
 C+P- **kufúnyisibwa** be caused to fold; be caused to drive  
 C+R- **kufúnyisangana** cause each other to fold;  
 cause e.o. to drive  
 X+A- **kufúnyanyarira** be wrinkled at  
 X+C- **kufúnyanyaza** cause to be wrinkled  
 D+A- **kufúnyafunyira** crumple for/at  
 D+C- **kufúnyafunyisa** cause to crumple  
 X+A+C- **kufúnyanyariza** cause to be wrinkled for

**kufura** wash clothes  
 A- **kufurira** wash for/at  
 C- **kufuza** cause to wash  
 P- **kufurwa** be washed  
 A+C- **kufuriza** cause to be washed clothes, wash with for  
 A+P- **kufurirwa** be washed clothes  
 A+R- **kufurirangana** wash for each other  
 C+P- **kufuzibwa** be caused to wash  
 C+R- **kufuzangana** cause each other to wash

**kufúrura** move ( esp.house and goods)  
 A- **kufúrurira** move for/to  
 C- **kufúruza** cause to move  
 P- **kufúrurwa** be moved  
 R- **kufúrurangana** cause each other to move  
 S- **kufúruka** move (intransitive)  
 A+P- **kufúrurirwa** be moved to  
 A+R- **kufúrurirangana** move each other to  
 C+R- **kufúruruzangana** cause each other to move  
 S+A- **kufúrurucira** move to, settle at

**kufútana** chew  
 A- **kufútanira** chew for/at  
 C- **kufútanisa** cause to chew  
 P- **kufútanwa** be chewed  
 A+P- **kufútanirwa** be chewed something, be chewed at  
 A+R- **kufútanirangana** chew for each other  
 C+R- **kufútanisangana** cause each other to chew

**kufuuba** (in marriage) be very jealous; spray  
 A- **kufuuhira** be jealous to; spray onto  
 C- **kufuuhisa** cause to be jealous; cause to spray  
 A+P- **kufuuhirwa** be victim of jealousy; be sprayed onto

A+R- **kufuuhirangana** be jealous to each other; spray onto e.o

**kufuuta** crush, squeeze juice

A- **kufuutira** crush for/at

C- **kufuutisa** cause to crush

P- **kufuutwa** be crushed

A+P- **kufuutirwa** be crushed something

A+R- **kufuutirangana** crush for each other

C+R- **kufuusangana** cause each other to crush

**kugaaniira** converse

A- **kugaaniirira** narrate to,tell; converse at

C- **kugaaniiza** cause to converse; tease

A+C- **kugaaniiriza** tease for

A+P- **kugaaniirirwa** be told

C+P- **kugaaniizibwa** be caused to converse; be teased

**kugaaya** whimper

A- **kugaayira** whimper at

C- **kugaayisa** cause to whimper

**kugaba** distribute, give away; (of milk) fill mother's breasts

A- **kugabira** give to/at

C- **kugabisa** cause to give away; cause to have  
milk in breasts

P- **kugabwa** be given away

V- **kugabura** divide amongst

A+P- **kugabirwa** be given something

A+R- **kugabirangana** give to each other

V+A- **kugaburira** give food(esp. to a child)

V+C- **kugabuza** cause to divide amongst

V+P- **kugaburwa** be divided up

V+A+P- **kugaburirwa** be fed; be given one's share

**kugaga** (of food) go bad

A- **kugajira** go bad at

C- **kugajisa** cause to go bad

C+P- **kugajisibwa** be caused to go bad

**kugamba** speak, denounce

A- **kugambira** speak to, tell; denounce at

C- **kugambisa** cause to speak

P- **kugambwa** be said, be denounced

R- **kugambangana** denounce each other

I- **kugambirira** speak to on behalf of, tell for;  
speak one's mind

X- **kwegambisiriza** hint, speak indirectly

A+P- **kugambirwa** be told

A+R- **kugambirana** confer together.

C+P- **kugambisibwa** speak nonsense; speak indiscreetly

R+A- **kugambanganira** denounce each other at

**kugana** tell stories

A- **kuganira** tell stories to/at



C- **kuganisa** cause to tell stories  
 P- **kuganwa** be told  
 A+P- **kuganirwa** be told stories  
 A+R- **kuganirangana** tell each other stories  
 C+P- **kuganisibwa** be caused to tell stories  
 C+R- **kuganisangana** cause each other to tell stories

**kugangabura** split, crack  
 A- **kugangaburira** split for  
 C- **kugangabuza** cause to split  
 P- **kugangaburwa** be split  
 A+R- **kugangaburirangana** split for each other  
 C+R- **kugangabuzangana** cause each other to split

**kugarama** lie on one's back; be flat  
 A- **kugaramira** lie on back for/at  
 C- **kugaramya** cause to lie on the back; make flat  
 A+C- **kugaramiza** cause to lie on back for/at

**kugarura** bring back  
 A- **kugarurira** give back to, stop at; forgive  
 C- **kugaruza** cause to bring back  
 P- **kugarurwa** be brought back  
 R- **kugarurangana** bring each other back  
 S- **kugaruka** return  
 S+A- **kugarucira** return while at, stop at  
 S+P- **kugarukwa** be repeated; be returned to  
 A+P- **kugarurirwa** be given back something; be forgiven  
 A+R- **kugarurirangana** give back to each other; forgive e.o.  
 R+A- **kugarurangana** stop each other at

**kugaya** scorn, despise  
 A- **kugayira** despise for/at  
 C- **kugayisa** cause to despise  
 P- **kugaywa** be despised  
 R- **kugayangana** despise each other  
 A+P- **kugayirwa** be despised at  
 A+R- **kugayirangana** despise for each other  
 C+R- **kugayisangana** cause each other to despise

**kugeita** marry in church  
 A- **kugeitera** marry in church for/at  
 C- **kugeitesa** cause to marry in church  
 P- **kugeitwa** be married in church  
 A+P- **kugeiterwa** be married in church for/at

**kugesera** harvest (esp. millet, sorghum)  
 A- **kugesera** harvest for/into  
 C- **kugesesa** cause to harvest  
 P- **kugesibwa** be harvested  
 A+C- **kugeseza** cause to harvest for  
 A+R- **kugeserangana** harvest for each other

**kugoba** reach, be complete

A- **kugobera** reach in (time); reach and camp at  
 C- **kugobya** cause to reach, deliver; cause to be complete;  
 defraud  
 P- **kugobwa** be reached, be sufficiently covered by supplies  
 R- **kugobangana** reach each other; get together  
 A+C- **kugobeza** defraud (transitive)  
 A+P- **kugoberwa** be reached(esp. by trouble), be one's turn  
 C+I- **kugobesereza** complete full amount

**kugomora** fatten  
 A- **kugomorera** fatten for/at  
 P- **kugomorwa** be fattened  
 R- **kugomorangana** fatten each other  
 S- **kugomoka** grow fat  
 S+A- **kugomocera** grow fat at

**kugona** snore  
 A- **kugonera** snore at  
 C- **kugonesa** cause to snore  
 C+P- **kugonesibwa** be caused to snore

**kugonda** give in  
 A- **kugondera** give in at  
 C- **kugondesa** cause to give in  
 X- **kugondeka** bend (transitive)  
 - **kugondama** be bent  
 X+A- **kugondecera** bend for/at  
 X+P- **kugondekwa** be bent

**kugorora** straighten, iron; reconcile  
 A- **kugororera** straighten for/at  
 C- **kugoroza** cause to straighten; oversleep, wake up late  
 P- **kugororwa** be straightened; be reconciled  
 R- **kugororangana** straighten each other  
 S- **kugororoka** be straight  
 A+R- **kugororerangana** straighten for each other;  
 reconcile for each other  
 S+A- **kugororocera** become straight while at

**kugóya** cook sorghum meal  
 A- **kugóyera** cook for/at  
 C- **kugóyesa** cause to cook  
 P- **kugóywa** be cooked  
 A+P- **kugóyerwa** be cooked something, be cooked at  
 A+R- **kugóyerangana** cook for each other  
 C+P- **kugóyesibwa** be caused to cook  
 C+R- **kugóyesangana** cause each other to cook

**kuguguna** gnaw  
 A- **kugugunira** gnaw for/at  
 C- **kugugunisa** cause to gnaw  
 P- **kugugunwa** be gnawed  
 A+P- **kugugunirwa** be gnawed something, be gnawed at  
 A+R- **kugugunirangana** gnaw for each other

C+P- **kugugunisibwa** be caused to gnaw  
 C+R- **kugugunisangana** cause each other to gnaw

**kuguma** remain, continue; be hard (solids), be difficult,  
 be well (healthy)

A- **kugumira** remain for; be hard for/at  
 C- **kugumya** keep to self, retain; **gumyá omutima** have  
 courage, persevere  
 - **kugumisa** harden, encourage  
 R- **kugumangana** become hard  
 A+P- **kugumirwa** have difficulty  
 C+A- **kugumisiza** harden for, encourage for  
 C+P- **kugumisibwa** be hardened; be confirmed in the faith  
 C+I- **kugumisiriza** encourage, give heart  
 R+C- **kugumanganisa** cause to become hard

**kugura** buy

A- **kugurira** buy for/at  
 C- **kuguza** cause to buy, sell  
 P- **kugurwa** be bought  
 A+C- **kuguriza** sell for/at  
 A+P- **kugurirwa** be bought something  
 A+R- **kugurirangana** buy for each other  
 C+P- **kuguzibwa** be sold something  
 C+R- **kuguzangana** cause each other to buy, sell to e.o.  
 A+C+R- **kugurizangana** sell for each other

**kuguruka** jump, skip

A- **kugurucira** jump for/at  
 C- **kuguruca** cause to jump, toss up  
 P- **kugurukwa** be jumped  
 R- **kugurukangana** jump each other  
 D- **kuguraguruka** jump about in excitement  
 A+C- **kuguruciza** jump about  
 C+P- **kugurucibwa** be caused to jump  
 C+R- **kugurucangana** cause each other to jump

**kugútura** snap, cut

A- **kugúturira** cut for/at  
 C- **kugútuza** cause to cut  
 P- **kugúturwa** be cut  
 S- **kugútuka** snap, be cut  
 D- **kugútagutura** cut into many pieces  
 A+P- **kugúturirwa** be cut something  
 A+R- **kugúturirangana** cut for each other  
 C+P- **kugútuzibwa** be caused to cut  
 C+R- **kugútuzangana** cause each other to cut  
 D+S- **kugútagutuka** be cut into many pieces  
 S+A- **kugútucira** snap at

**kugwa** fall, fail

A- **kugwera** fall on; waylay  
 C- **kugwisa** cause to fall  
 P- **kugwebwaho** be fallen on

I- **kugwerera** stagger  
 A+P- **kugwerwa** be hit by something falling; be waylaid  
 A+R- **kugwerangana** fall on each other; waylay each other  
 C+A- **kugwisiza** cause to fall for  
 I+R- **kugwererana** stagger  
 C+A+R- **kugwisizangana** cause to fall for each other

**kugweigoora** strip sisal  
 A- **kugweigoorera** strip sisal for/at  
 C- **kugweigoora** cause to strip sisal  
 P- **kugweigoorwa** (of sisal) be stripped  
 A+C- **kugweigooreza** cause to be stripped sisal  
 A+P- **kugweigoorerwa** be stripped sisal  
 A+R- **kugweigoorerangana** strip sisal for each other  
 C+P- **kugweigoozibwa** be caused to strip sisal  
 C+R- **kugweigoozangana** cause each other to strip sisal

**kúha** give  
 A- **kuhéera** give for/at  
 C- **kuhéisa** cause to give, cause to be given; praise  
 P- **kuhéebwa** be given something  
 A+R- **kuhéerangana** give to each other at  
 C+I- **kuhéiserera** praise intensively  
 C+R- **kuhéisangana** praise each other  
 A+C- **kuhééreza** give, hand to, serve  
 A+C+R- **kuhéérezangana** give to each other

**kuhaata** peel  
 A- **kuhaatira** peel for/at  
 C- **kuhaatisa** cause to peel  
 P- **kuhaatwa** be peeled  
 D- **kuhaatahaata** peel fast  
 A+P- **kuhaatirwa** be peeled something, be peeled at  
 C+P- **kuhaasibwa** be caused to peel  
 C+R- **kuhaasangana/haatisangana** cause each other to peel

**kuhaba** lose one's way  
 A- **kuhabira** lose one's way into/while at  
 C- **kuhabya** cause to lose way .  
 - **kuhabisa** cause to lose way, mislead  
 S- **kuhabuka** (of god) manifest self  
 V- **kuhabura** advise, direct  
 C+P- **kuhabisibwa** be caused to lose way  
 C+R- **kuhabisangana** mislead each other  
 S+A- **kuhabucira** (of god) manifest self to/at  
 V+A- **kuhaburira** advise for/at; steer(vehicle)  
 V+C- **kuhabuza** inquire about way, seek (esp. medical) advice

**kuhakana** dispute  
 A- **kuhakanira** dispute about/at  
 C- **kuhakanisa** contradict  
 P- **kuhakanwa** (of an argument) be disputed  
 A+P- **kuhakanirwa** be disputed about  
 C+A- **kuhakanisiza** contradict for/at

C+P- **kuhakanisibwa** be contradicted

**kuhákuura** draw out (esp. honey from hive)

A- **kuhákuurira** draw out for/at

C- **kuhákuuza** cause to draw out

P- **kuhákuurwa** be drawn out

A+R- **kuhákuurirangana** draw out for each other

A+P- **kuhákuurirwa** be drawn something (esp. honey)

C+P- **kuhákuuzibwa** be caused to draw out

C+R- **kuhákuuzangana** cause each other to draw out

**kuháma** take root, be fixed firmly; gain strength

A- **kuhámira** gain strength at

C- **kuhámya** hold firmly

- **kuhámissa** hold firmly

**kuhamba** assault (esp. a woman); be scarce

A- **kuhambira** assault at

C- **kuhambisa** cause to assault

P- **kuhambwa** be assaulted

R- **kuhambangana** assault each other;

have a habit of assaulting

A+P- **kuhambirwa** be assaulted at

**kuhana** censure, rebuke

A- **kuhanira** rebuke for/at

C- **kuhanisa** cause to rebuke

P- **kuhanwa** be rebuked

R- **kuhanangana** rebuke each other

A+P- **kuhanirwa** be rebuked at

A+R- **kuhanirangana** rebuke for each other

**kuhanama** climb

A- **kuhanamira** climb for

C- **kuhanamisa** cause to climb

P- **kuhanamwa** be climbed

R- **kuhanamangana** climb each other

S- **kuhanamuka** climb down

A+P- **kuhanamirwa** be climbed for

A+R- **kuhanamirangana** climb for each other

C+P- **kuhanamisibwa** be caused to climb

C+R- **kuhanamisangana** cause each other to climb

**kuhandiika** write, register

A- **kuhandicira** write for/at

C- **kuhandicisa** cause to write

P- **kuhandiikwa** be written

A+P- **kuhandiicirwa** be written something (e.g. a letter),  
be written at

C+A- **kuhandicisiza** cause to be written something

**kuhanga** create; be in fashion;

**kuhangá améiso** gaze at/look to

A- **kuhanjira** create at

C- **kuhanjisa** say/use something frequently  
 P- **kuhangwa** be created  
 S- **kuhanguka** (of first rain) come  
 V- **kuhangura** enable a barren woman to have a child  
   - **kuhangurura** put out of fashion  
 C+R- **kuhanjisangana** refer to each other frequently  
 V+S- **kuhanguruka** go out of fashion  
 V+P- **kuhangururwa** be put out of fashion  
 V+S+A- **kuhangurucira** go out of fashion at

**kuhanga** be noon  
 A- **kuhanjira** be noon while at  
 A+P **kuhanjirwa** have noon come upon

**kuhanguha** grow fat  
 A- **kuhanguhira** grow fat at  
 C- **kuhanguhya** cause to grow fat  
 C+P- **kuhanguhibwa** be caused to grow fat

**kuhanika** hang up  
 A- **kuhanicira** hang up for/at  
 C- **kuhanicisa** cause to hang up  
 P- **kuhanikwa** be hang up  
 S- **kuhanuka** come down  
 V- **kuhanura** take down  
 A+P- **kuhanicirwa** be hung something  
 A+R- **kuhanicirangana** hang up for each other  
 V+A- **kuhanurira** take down for/at  
 V+C- **kuhanuza** cause to take down  
 V+P- **kuhanurwa** be taken down  
 V+A+P- **kuhanurirwa** be taken down something  
 V+C+R- **kuhanuzangana** cause each other to take down  
 V+A+R- **kuhanurirangana** take down for each other

**kuhanuura** discuss, decide  
 A- **kuhanuurira** advise  
 C- **kuhanuuzwa** express surprise  
   (reflexive: **kwéhanuuzwa** seek advice)  
 P- **kuhanuurwa** be decided/resolved  
 S- **kuhanuuka** do something for the first time  
 A+R- **kuhanuurirangana** advise each other

**kuhára** scrape  
 A- **kuhárrira** scrape for  
 C- **kuhára** cause to scrape  
 P- **kuhárrwa** be scraped  
 X- **kuháragata** scrape  
 A+R- **kuhárrirangana** scrape for each other  
 C+P- **kuhárribwa** be caused to scrape

**kuhaya** threaten (intransitive)  
 A- **kuhayira** threaten  
 C- **kuhayisa** cause to threaten  
 A+P- **kuhayirwa** be threatened

A+R- **kuhayirangana** threaten each other

**kuheeka** carry (usually on the back);  
(of maize plant) form a cob

A- **kuheecera** carry for/at; form the cob in (time)

C- **kuheecesa** cause to carry

P- **kuheekwa** be carried

R- **kuheekangana** carry each other

S- **kuheekuka** come off the back

V- **kuheekura** take off the back

- **kuheekurura** take off the back

V+S- **kuheekuruka** come off the back

A+P- **kuheecerwa** be carried something, be carried at

A+R- **kuheecerangana** carry for each other

C+A- **kuheeceseza** cause to carry for

R+A- **kuheekanganira** carry each other at

V+A- **kuheekururira** take off the back for/at

V+S+A- **kuheekurucira** come off the back at

**kuhéesa** forge( as a metal smith)

A- **kuhééseza** forge for/at

- **kuhéésera** forge for/at

C- **kuhéésesa** cause to forge

P- **kuhééswa** be forged

- **kuhéésibwa** be forged

A+R- **kuhéésezangana** forge for each other

C+R- **kuhéésesangana** cause each other to forge

**kuheheera** be cool, be soft/moist;

have a 'frog' in one's throat

A- **kuheheerera** be soft at

C- **kuheheeza** cause to be soft

C+P- **kuheheezibwa** be caused to be soft

**kuhéijera** groan

A- **kuhéijerera** groan at

C- **kuhéijeza** cause to groan

C+P- **kuhéijezibwa** be caused to groan

C+R- **kuhéijezangana** cause each other to groan

**kuheima** (of bees) gather materials for making honey

A- **kuheimerera** gather for

C- **kuheimesa** cause to gather

A+P- **kuheimerwa** be gathered something

A+R- **kuheimerangana** gather for each other

C+R- **kuheimesangana** cause each other to gather

C+P- **kuheimesibwa** be caused to gather

**kuhémba** light (a fire)

A- **kuhémbera** light for

C- **kuhémbesa** cause to light

P- **kuhémbwa** be lit

I- **kuhémberera** put moral pressure on

A+P- **kuhémberwa** be lit a fire

A+R- **kuhémberangana** light for each other  
 C+A- **kuhémbezeza** cause to be lit a fire  
 C+P- **kuhémbesibwa** be caused to light  
 C+R- **kuhémbesangana** cause each other to light

**kuhemura** disgrace  
 A- **kuhemurira** disgrace for/at  
 P- **kuhemurwa** be disgraced  
 R- **kuhemurangana** disgrace each other  
 S- **kuhemuka** be ashamed  
 S+A- **kuhemucira** be ashamed at

**kuhênda** break; overburden  
 A- **kuhêndera** break for/at  
 C- **kuhêntza** cause to break; overburden with  
 P- **kuhêndwa** be broken, be overburdened  
 R- **kuhêndengana** break each other; overburden each other  
 S- **kuhêndeka** break (intrans); toil  
 D- **kuhêndahenda** break quickly; break into many pieces  
 A+P- **kuhênderwa** be broken something  
 A+R- **kuhênderangana** break for each other  
 C+P- **kuhênsibwa** be caused to break; be overburdened with  
 C+R- **kuhênzangana** cause each other to break; overburden each other with  
 S+A- **kuhêndecera** break at; toil for/at

**kuhêra** be gone for too long  
 A- **kuhêrera** be gone at, esp. in **akahereráhi** what became of him?  
 C- **kuhêza** finish, complete  
 I- **kuhêreera** be near  
 S- **kuhêreka** entrust  
 I+C- **kuhêreeza** put near  
 I+R- **kuhêreerana** be near each other  
 I+S- **kuhêreeruka** be last, see last  
 S+A- **kuhêrecera** see off  
 S+P- **kuhêrekwa** be entrusted with  
 I+R+C- **kuhêreeranisa** put near each other

**kuhiga** jostle, make an opening; move (trans)  
 A- **kuhijira** jostle for/at  
 C- **kuhijisa** cause to jostle  
 P- **kuhigwa** be jostled  
 D- **kuhigahiga** jostle, make an opening  
 A+C- **kuhijiza** make room for, give way  
 C+R- **kuhijizangana** give way to each other

**kuhijika** squeeze in small space; be intolerant, persecute  
 A- **kuhijicira** fix in place, support  
 P- **kuhijikwa** be squeezed  
 R- **kuhijikangana** persecute each other  
 S- **kuhiguka** fall over  
 V- **kuhigura** knock over  
 A+C- **kuhijiciza** cause to support



S+A- **kuhigucira** fall over at  
 V+A- **kuhigurira** knock over for/at

**kuhiiga** hunt; look for  
 A- **kuhiijira** hunt for/at; look for/at  
 C- **kuhiijisa** cause to hunt  
 P- **kuhiigwa** be hunted  
 R- **kuhiigangana** hunt each other  
 A+P- **kuhiijirwa** be hunted something  
 A+R- **kuhiijirangana** hunt for each other  
 C+R- **kuhiijisangana** cause each other to hunt  
 I+C- **kuhiijiriza** search intensively

**kuhiika** (of rain) threaten to fall  
 A- **kuhiicira** threaten at  
 I+C- **kuhiiciriza** threaten seriously

**kuhika** arrive, reach; amount to, be sufficient  
 A- **kuhicira** arrive and camp at, reach  
 C- **kuhica** cause to arrive, fulfil amount  
 P- **kuhikwa** be reached; be satisfied, be fully covered  
 R- **kuhikaana** be together and in harmony  
 I+C- **kuhiciiriza** fulfil amount  
 A+P- **kuhicirwa** be reached  
 R+C- **kuhikaanisa** put together

**kuhinda** thunder; rouse from sleep  
 A- **kuhindira** thunder at; rouse for/at  
 C- **kuhinza** cause to thunder  
 P- **kuhindwa** be roused  
 S- **kuhinduka** change, turn (round); turn against  
 V- **kuhindura** change, turn (transitive)  
 X- **kuhindagana** rush, stampede  
 D+S- **kuhindahinduka** be changeable  
 D+V- **kuhindahindura** turn repeatedly  
 S+R- **kuhindukana** turn against each other  
 V+P- **kuhindurwa** be turned  
 V+R- **kuhindurangana** turn each other  
 V+A+C- **kuhinduriza** change for the worse (in health)

**kuhingura** go past  
 A- **kuhingurira** go past something while at  
 C- **kuhinguzwa** cause to go past  
 P- **kuhingurwa** be passed  
 C+R- **kuhinguzana** cause each other to go past  
 C+P- **kuhinguzibwa** be caused to go past

**kuhinya** fold,  
 A- **kuhinyira** fold for/at  
 C- **kuhinyisa** cause to fold  
 P- **kuhinywa** be folded  
 D- **kuhinyahinya** crumple  
 I- **kuhinyirira** fold up trousers/shirt sleeves  
 A+R- **kuhinyirangana** fold for each other

C+R- **kuhinyisangana** cause each other to fold  
 I+C- **kuhinyiriza** fold up trousers/shirt sleeves

**kuhóma** plaster

A- **kuhómera** plaster for  
 C- **kuhómesa** cause to plaster  
 P- **kuhómwa** be plastered  
 S- **kuhómooka** become unplastered; (of plaster) fall off  
 V- **kuhómoora** unplaster  
 I- **kuhómeerera** seal a crack esp. of a leaking container  
 A+P- **kuhómerwa** be plastered something  
 A+R- **kuhómerangana** plaster for each other  
 C+P- **kuhómesibwa** be caused to plaster  
 C+R- **kuhómesangana** cause each other to plaster  
 V+A- **kuhómoorera** unplaster for  
 V+P- **kuhómoorwa** be unplastered  
 V+A+R- **kuhómoorerangana** unplaster for each other

**kuhóra** cool; lend

A- **kuhórera** cool at; lend at  
 C- **kuhóza** cause to cool; plead a case; (Reflexive:kwéhoza borrow)  
 P- **kuhórwa** be lent  
 R- **kuhórangana** lend to each other  
 C+C- **kuhózesa** cause to plead a case, cause to answer charges  
 C+P- **kuhózibwa** (of a case) be pleaded/argued  
 I+C- **kuhóreereza** soothe, calm (trans)  
 C+R- **kuhózesangana** cause each other to answer charges

**kuhunga** flee

A- **kuhunjira** flee at/to; doze  
 C- **kuhunjisa** cause to flee  
 P- **kuhungwa** be fled  
 S- **kuhunguka** visit on the way  
 V- **kuhungura** inherit a wife  
 S+A- **kuhungucira** visit on the way at  
 V+A- **kuhungurira** inherit wife at

**kuhúra** lose appetite during pregnancy, dislike

A- **kuhúrira** lose appetite at; hear, obey  
 P- **kuhúrwa** be disliked (by a pregnant person)  
 I- **kuhúriiriza** listen attentively  
 A+C- **kuhúrizira** hear with; have hearsay  
 A+P- **kuhúrirwa** be heard, be obeyed

**kúhwa** end, be no longer there, be exhausted

A- **kuhwéra** end at  
 C- **kuhwéisa** go dry (esp. cow's milk), diminish (esp. food)  
 X- **kuhwérecerera** be completely destroyed, be annihilated  
 I- **kuhwérerera** wear out (e.g. a pencil)

**kuhwéza** be clear (with light), see clearly; be intelligent

A- **kuhwézeza** light up for; be intelligent at  
 C- **kuhwézesa** light up with

**kwiba** steal

- A- **kwibira** steal for
- C- **kwibisa** cause to steal; accuse of stealing
- P- **kwibwa** be stolen
- R- **kwibangana** steal from each other
- A+P- **kwibirwa** be stolen something
- A+R- **kwibirangana** steal for each other
- C+P- **kwibisibwa** be caused to steal
- C+R- **kwibisangana** cause each other to steal;  
accuse each other of stealing

**kwibika** dip, soak

- A- **kwibicira** dip for
- C- **kwibicisa** cause to dip
- P- **kwibikwa** be dipped
- R- **kwibikangana** dip each other
- X- **kwibira** sink, dive
- A+P- **kwibicirwa** be dipped something
- A+R- **kwibicirangana** dip for each other
- C+R- **kwibicisangana** cause each other to dip
- X+A- **kwibirira** sink while at
- X+C- **kwibiza** cause to sink

**kwica** rest; breathe

- A- **kwiciza** rest at; breathe at
- C- **kwicisa** cause to breathe
- I+C- **kwiciriza** agree, respond in affirmation

**kwiga** make rain

- A- **kwijira** make rain for/at
- C- **kwijisa** cause to make rain
- P- **kwigwa** (of rain) be made
- X- **kwigama** shelter from rain
- **kwijika** (of rain) cause to seek shelter
- A+P- **kwijirwa** be made rain
- A+R- **kwijirangana** make rain for each other
- C+R- **kwijisangana** cause each other to make rain

**kwigura** open

- A- **kwigurira** open for
- C- **kwiguza** cause to open
- P- **kwigurwa** be opened
- S- **kwiguka** open (intr)
- X- **kwigara** close, seal
- A+P- **kwigurirwa** be let in
- A+R- **kwigurirangana** open for each other
- C+P- **kwiguzibwa** be caused to open
- C+R- **kwiguzangana** cause each other to open

**kwiha** remove

- A- **kwihipira** remove for
- C- **kwihipisa** cause to remove
- P- **kwihipwa** be removed

I- **kwihirira** start from, arise from  
 A+P- **kwihirwa** be removed something

**kwihura** serve food

A- **kwihurira** serve food to/at  
 C- **kwihuza** cause to serve food  
 P- **kwihurwa** (of food) be served  
 S- **kwihuka** 'get off the hook'  
 A+P- **kwihurirwa** be served food  
 A+R- **kwihurirangana** served each other food  
 C+P- **kwihezibwa** be caused to serve food  
 C+R- **kwehezangana** cause each other to serve food

**kwija** come

A- **kwizira** come towards  
 C- **kwizisa** cause to come  
 A+P- **kwizirwa** be approached

**kwijuka** recall

A- **kwijucira** recall while at  
 C- **kwijuca** cause to recall, remind  
 P- **kwijukwa** be recalled, be remembered  
 I- **kwijuciriza** keep recalling a past experience  
 C+R- **kwijucangana** remind each other

**kwijura** (of container) be filled; (of substance)  
 fill a container

A- **kwijurira** be filled at  
 C- **kwijuza** fill  
 P- **kwijurwa**(mu) be filled  
 V- **kwijurura** diminish (from fullness) (trans)  
 X- **kwijururuka** dwindle, diminish (from fullness) (intr)  
 A+C- **kwijuriza** fill up  
 V+P- **kwijururwa** (of container) be unfilled

**kwikara** stay

A- **kwikarira** stay for; fell in wrestling  
 C- **kwikaza** cause to stay, stay with  
 P- **kwikarwamu** be stayed in  
 A+P- **kwikarirwa** be felled  
 A+R- **kwikarirangana** fell each other  
 C+P- **kwikazibwa** be caused to stay  
 C+R- **kwikazangana** keep each other company

**kwima** withhold, refuse

A- **kwimira** withhold for/at  
 C- **kwimisa** cause to withhold, cause to be refused something  
 P- **kwimwa** be refused something  
 R- **kwimangana** refuse each other something  
 C+P- **kwimisisibwa** be caused to be refused something  
 C+R- **kwimisangana** cause each other to withhold

**kwimuka** rise

A- **kwimucira** rise for/at

C- **kwimuca** raise, rouse  
 A+C- **kwimuciza** raise/rouse for/at  
 A+R- **kwimucirangana** rise for each other  
 C+P- **kwimucibwa** be raised, be roused  
 C+R- **kwimucangana** raise/rouse each other  
 A+C+R- **kwimucizangana** raise/rouse for each other

**kwinama** bow down, be bent  
 A- **kwinamira** bow to/at, bend towards  
 C- **kwinamisa** cause to bow, bend  
 - **kwinamya** bend, cause to bow  
 P- **kwinamwáho** be bent over  
 S- **kwinamuka** go uphill, lift one's head  
 V- **kwinamura** raise, take uphill  
 I- **kwinamirira** (Reflexive: **kuyéinamirira** be bowed down in  
 grief/thought  
 A+P- **kwinamirwa** be bowed to  
 A+R- **kwinamirangana** bow to each other  
 C+R- **kwinamisangana** cause each other to bow  
 - **kwinamyangana** cause each other to bow  
 C+P- **kwinamisibwa** be caused to bow/bend  
 S+A- **kwinamucira** go uphill at  
 V+A- **kwinamurira** raise for/at, take uphill for  
 V+P- **kwinamurwa** be raised, be taken uphill  
 V+R- **kwinamurangana** raise each other, take each other uphill

**kwingana** be equal  
 A- **kwinganira** be equal at  
 C- **kwinganisa** compare, equalize  
 C+A- **kwinganisiza** compare for/at, equalize for/at  
 C+P- **kwinganisibwa** be equalized

**kwira** grow dark (at sunset)  
 A- **kwirira** grow dark while at  
 C- **kwiza** cause to grow dark  
 I+C- **kwiririza** cause to delay until nightfall  
 C+P- **kwizibwa** be caused to grow dark  
 I+C+P- **kwiririzibwa** be delayed until nightfall

**kwirira** move nearer/farther  
 A- **kwiririra** move nearer to  
 C- **kwiririza** cause to be nearer/farther  
 P- **kwiririrwa** be approached  
 R- **kwiririrangana** move closer to each other

**kwiruka** run  
 A- **kwirucira** run towards/for/at  
 C- **kwiruca** cause to run, chase  
 P- **kwirukwa** be run; be deserted  
 A+P- **kwirucirwa** be run to/for/in  
 A+C- **kwiruciza** cause to run for  
 C+R- **kwirucangana** cause each other to run

**kwita** kill, spoil, treat badly

A- **kwitira** kill for/at; spoil for/at  
 C- **kwisa** cause to kill  
 - **kwitisa** cause to kill  
 P- **kwitwa** be killed  
 R- **kwitana** kill each other, struggle, compete  
 - **kwitangana** kill each other  
 D- **kwiteita** obscure esp. by change of topic  
 A+P- **kwitirwa** be killed something  
 A+R- **kwitirangana** kill for each other  
 C+R- **kwitisangana** cause each other to kill  
 - **kwisangana** cause each other to kill, kill each other with  
 R+A- **kwitanira** kill each other for, struggle for  
 - **kwitanganira** kill each other at  
 R+C- **kwitanisa** cause to struggle

**kuja** go

A- **kujiira** go for  
 C- **kujiisa** cause to go  
 P- **kujiibwa** be gone to  
 C+R- **kujiisangana** cause each other to go

**kujábika** dip

A- **kujábicira** dip for/at  
 V- **kujábu(u)ra** take out of a pot  
 P- **kujábikwa** be dipped  
 V+A- **kujábu(u)rira** take out of a pot for

**kujánjaba** nurse

A- **kujánjabira** nurse for/at  
 C- **kujánjabisa** cause to nurse  
 P- **kujánjabwa** be nursed  
 R- **kujánjabangana** nurse each other  
 A+P- **kujánjabirwa** be nursed someone, be nursed at  
 A+R- **kujánjabirangana** nurse for each other

**kujenda** go, walk

A- **kujendera** go for/at  
 C- **kujenza** cause to go  
 - **kujendesa** cause to go  
 D- **kujendajenda** go for a walk, stroll, travel about  
 P- **kujendwa** be walked  
 R- **kujendana** go together  
 I- **kujenderera** progress, go on; do purposely  
 A+P- **kujendesibwa** be caused to go  
 - **kujenzibwa** be caused to go  
 A+R- **kujenderana** go together with (of mixture or bundle)  
 C+A- **kujendeseza** cause to go for  
 I+C- **kujendereza** cause to progress  
 I+C+P- **kujenderezibwa** be caused to progress

**kujera** flow; measure

A- **kujerera** flow for/at/into  
 C- **kujeza** cause to flow; try

I- **kujereera** supervise  
 A+P- **kujererwa** be approached by something flowing  
 C+P- **kujezibwa** be caused to flow

**kujigeija** bear the firstborn  
 A- **kujigeijera** bear firstborn for/at  
 P- **kujigeijwa** be born first

**kujuba** fish  
 A- **kujubira** fish for/at  
 C- **kujubisa** cause to fish  
 P- **kujubwa** be fished  
 S- **kujubuka** be diluted  
 V- **kujubura** dilute; permit  
 A+P- **kujubirwa** be fished something  
 A+R- **kujubirangana** fish for each other  
 C+P- **kujubisibwa** be caused to fish  
 C+R- **kujubisangana** cause each other to fish  
 S+A- **kujubucira** be diluted at  
 V+A- **kujuburira** dilute for; permit for  
 V+R- **kujuburangana** permit each other  
 V+A+R- **kujuburirangana** dilute for each other;  
 permit for each other

**kujúga** pay dowry; (esp. goats) howl  
 A- **kujújira** pay dowry to; howl at  
 C- **kujújisa** cause to pay dowry; cause to howl  
 P- **kujúgwa** (of wife) be paid dowry for  
 A+P- **kujújirwa** be paid dowry  
 A+R- **kujújirangana** pay dowry to each other  
 C+R- **kujújisangana** cause each other to pay dowry

**kujúma** insult, scold  
 A- **kujúmira** insult for/at  
 C- **kujúmisa** cause to insult, cause to be insulted/scolded  
 P- **kujúmwa** be insulted  
 R- **kujúmangana** insult each other; have a habit of  
 insulting others  
 C+R- **kujúmisangana** cause each other to be insulted  
 R+A- **kujúmanganira** insult each other at

**kujumbika** bake in the ashes  
 A- **kujumbicira** bake for  
 C- **kujumbicisa** cause to bake  
 P- **kujumbikwa** be baked  
 V- **kujumbura** remove from the ashes; force out of hiding  
 S- **kujumbuka** emerge out of hiding  
 A+P- **kujumbicirwa** be baked something  
 A+R- **kujumbicirangana** bake for each other  
 C+R- **kujumbicisangana** cause each other to bake

**kujumeera** (of cattle) cry  
 A- **kujumeerera** cry at  
 C- **kujumeeza** cause to cry

kujuna help

A- kujunira help for/at

C- kujunisa cause to help

P- kujunwa be helped

R- kujunangana help each other

A+P- kujunirwa be helped at

A+R- kujunirangana help for each other

C+R- kujunisangana cause each other to help

kujunda rot

A- kujundira rot at

C- kujunza cause to rot

C+P- kujunzibwa be caused to rot

kujungwa squeeze banana juice

A- kujunjira squeeze for/at

C- kujunjisa cause to squeeze

P- kujungwa be squeezed

I- kujunjiirira tread severely

A+P- kujunjirwa be squeezed banana juice, be squeezed at

A+R- kujunjirangana squeeze for each other

C+R- kujunjisangana cause each other to squeeze

kujúra be homesick, miss

A- kujúrira be homesick at; testify

C- kujúza cause to be homesick

P- kujúrwa be missed

A+C- kujúriza call as a witness

A+P- kujúrirwa be given favorable testimony

A+R- kujúrirangana testify for each other

A+C+R- kujúrizangana call each other as witness

kujúura undress, take off clothes

A- kujúúrirwa undress for/at

C- kujúúza cause to undress

P- kujúúurwa be undressed, ( of clothes) be taken off

R- kujúúrangana undress each other

S- kujúúka get off

A+R- kujúúrirangana undress for each other

C+R- kujúúzangana cause each other to undress

S+A- kujúúúrcira get off at

kujwa (sun) shine; (juice) flow

A- kujwera shine for/at; flow for/at

C- kujwisa cause to shine, have sunshine; cause to flow

A+P- kujwerwa be flowed onto

C+A- kujwisiza cause to flow for

C+P- kujwisibwa be caused to shine; be caused to flow

I+R- kujwererana flow profusely, bleed profusely

kujwára wear, put on

A- kujwárira wear for/at

C- kujwáza cause to wear



P- **kujwárwa** be worn  
 X- **kujwéka** dress, clothe  
 C+R- **kujwázangana** cause each other to wear  
 X+A- **kujwécera** dress/clothe for/at  
 X+P- **kujwékwa** be dressed/clothed  
 X+R- **kujwékangana** dress/clothe each other

**kukába** faint, die  
 A- **kukábira** faint at  
 C- **kukábya** cause to faint  
 I- **kukábirira** faint for

**kukága** detect by smell  
 A- **kukájira** smell for/at  
 C- **kukájisa** cause to smell  
 P- **kukágwa** be detected by smell  
 R- **kukágangana** detect each other by smell  
 A+P- **kukájirwa** be smelled something  
 A+R- **kukájirangana** smell for each other

**kukáma** milk  
 A- **kukámira** milk for/at  
 C- **kukámisa** cause to milk  
 P- **kukámwa** be milked  
 D- **kukámakama** (of clothes) be half dry  
 S- **kukámuuka** (e.g. water) be squeezed out, drip  
 V- **kukámuura** squeeze out (liquids), press (wet items)  
 A+P- **kukámirwa** be milked something, be milked at  
 A+R- **kukámirangana** milk for each other  
 C+P- **kukámisibwa** be caused to milk  
 C+R- **kukámisangana** cause each other to milk  
 S+A- **kukámuucira** drip at  
 V+A- **kukámuurira** squeeze out/press for/at  
 V+C- **kukámuuza** cause to squeeze out/press  
 V+P- **kukámuurwa** be squeezed/pressed  
 V+A+P- **kukámuurirwa** be squeezed/pressed something  
 V+A+R- **kukámuurirangana** squeeze/press for each other  
 V+C+P- **kukámuuzibwa** be caused to squeeze/press  
 V+C+R- **kukámuuzangana** cause each other to squeeze/press

**kukambura** pull down (house)  
 A- **kukamburira** pull down for  
 C- **kukambuza** cause to pull down  
 P- **kukamburwa** be pulled down  
 S- **kukambuka** fall to ruin/disrepair  
 D- **kukambakambura** pull down violently  
 A+P- **kukamburirwa** be pulled down (a house)  
 A+R- **kukamburirangana** pull down for each other  
 C+P- **kukambuzibwa** be caused to pull down  
 C+R- **kukambuzangana** cause each other to pull down  
 S+A- **kukambucira** fall to ruin in (duration)

**kukána** insult with tongue click  
 A- **kukánira** insult for/at

C- **kukánisa** cause to insult  
 P- **kukánwa** be insulted  
 R- **kukánangana** insult each other  
 A+R- **kukánirangana** insult for each other

**kukanda** massage; (of a field) grow bushy  
 A- **kukandira** massage for/at  
 C- **kukandisa** cause to grow bushy  
 P- **kukandwa** be massaged  
 R- **kukandangana** massage each other  
 V- **kukanduura** clear a bushy place  
 V+A- **kukanduurira** clear for  
 V+C- **kukanduuzza** cause to clear

**kukánga** startle  
 A- **kukánjira** startle for/at  
 C- **kukánjisa** frighten with  
 P- **kukángwa** be startled  
 X- **kukángaza** be restless  
 X- **kukángarana** be startled (intransitive)

**kukánika** repair, fix (i.e.do work of a mechanic)  
 A- **kukánicira** repair for/at  
 C- **kukánicisa** cause to repair  
 P- **kukánikwa** be repaired  
 A+P- **kukánicirwa** be repaired something  
 A+R- **kukánicirangana** repair for each other  
 C+R- **kukánicisangana** cause each other to repair

**kukánjura** chew  
 A- **kukánjurira** chew for/at  
 C- **kukánjuza** cause to chew  
 P- **kukánjurwa** be chewed  
 A+P- **kukánjurirwa** be chewed something  
 C+R- **kukánjuzangana** cause each other to chew

**kukéikura** (of women) grow old  
 A- **kukéikurira** grow old at  
 C- **kukéikuza** cause to grow old

**kukóókoota** be shrivelled, be dwarfed  
 A- **kukóókootera** be shrivelled at  
 C- **kukóókoosa** cause to be shrivelled  
 S- **kukóókootoka** be shrivelled (used as a curse)

**kukóma** tie, imprison  
 A- **kukómera** tie for/at  
 C- **kukómesa** cause to tie  
 - **kukómya** blink  
 P- **kukómwa** be tied  
 R- **kukómangana** tie each other  
 S- **kukómooroka** become untied/loose  
 V- **kukómoorora** untie, loosen  
 I- **kukómeerera** pack up

D- **kukómakoma** tie quickly  
 A+P- **kukómerwa** be tied something  
 A+R- **kukómerangana** tie for each other  
     - **kukómerana** tie together(in one bundle); lock inside  
 C+A- **kukómeseza** cause to tie for  
 C+P- **kukómesibwa** be caused to tie  
 C+R- **kukómesangana** cause each other to tie  
 S+A- **kukómoorocera** become loose at  
 V+A- **kukómoororera** untie for/at  
 V+C- **kukómooroza** cause to untie  
 V+P- **kukómoororwa** be untied  
 V+R- **kukómoororangana** untie each other  
 V+A+P- **kukómoororerwa** be untied something

**kukómaga** beat barkcloth

A- **kukómajira** beat barkcloth for/at  
 C- **kukómajisa** cause to beat barkcloth  
 P- **kukómagwa** (of barkcloth) be beaten  
 A+P- **kukómajirwa** be beaten barkcloth  
 A+R- **kukómajirangana** beat barkcloth for each other

**kukómba** lick up

A- **kukómbera** lick up for/at  
 C- **kukómbesa** cause to lick up  
 P- **kukómbwa** be licked up  
 A+P- **kukómberwa** be licked something  
 A+R- **kukómberangana** lick up for each other  
 C+P- **kukómbesibwa** be caused to lick up  
 C+R- **kukómbesangana** cause each other to lick up

**kukómera** sow

A- **kukómerera** sow for  
 C- **kukómeza** cause to sow  
 P- **kukómerwa** be sowed  
 A+P- **kukómererwa** be sowed something  
 C+R- **kukómezangana** cause each other to sow

**kukona** be underdone/undercooked; castrate

A- **kukonera** be underdone at; castrate for/at  
 C- **kukonesa** cause to be underdone, undercook  
 P- **kukonwa** be castrated  
 A+P- **kukonerwa** be castrated something  
 A+R- **kukonerangana** castrate for each other  
 C+A- **kukoneseza** undercook for; cause to castrate for  
 C+P- **kukonesibwa** be caused to be undercooked

**kukonda** fell

A- **kukondera** fell for/at  
 C- **kukondesa** cause to fell  
 P- **kukondwa** be felled  
 X- **kukondeka** cause to hang down loosely;  
     put up a rough shelter

**kukónora** pull off (esp. fruit)

A- **kukónorera** pull off for/at

C- **kukónoza** cause to pull off

P- **kukónorwa** be pulled off

S- **kukónoka** fall off

A+P- **kukónorerwa** be pulled something

A+R- **kukónorerangana** pull off for each other

C+R- **kukónozangana** cause each other to pull off

S+A- **kukónocera** fall off at

**kukóra** work; make; do; repair; touch

A- **kukópera** work for

C- **kukóza** cause to work/make/do; cause to repair, cause to be repaired; dip morsel in sauce

- **kukóza** cause to work; cause to be repaired

P- **kukórwa** be done/made; be repaired

D- **kukórakora** grope

A+C- **kukóreza** dip morsel for; cause to be repaired something

A+P- **kukórerwa** be done a job; be repaired something

A+R- **kukórerangana** work/make/do for each other; repair for each other

C+R- **kukózangana** cause each other to work; cause each other to repair

D+A- **kukórakorera** grope for/at

C+R- **kukózesangana** cause each other to work/repair

A+C+R- **kukórezangana** dip morsel for each other; cause each other to be repaired something

**kukóroza** cough

A- **kukórorera** cough at

C- **kukóroza** cause to cough

C+R- **kukórozangana** cause each other to cough

**kukúba** fold

A- **kukúbira** fold for/at

C- **kukúbisa** cause to fold

- **kukúbya** nickname (appreciative)

P- **kukúbwa** be folded

S- **kukúbuuka** turn round

- **kukúbuuruka** unfold

V- **kukúbuura** turn round (transitive)

- **kukúbuurura** unfold (trans)

X- **kukúbajiza** call by nickname (appreciative)

A+P- **kukúbirwa** be folded something

A+R- **kukúbirana** fold together (in one bundle)

C+R- **kukúbisangana** cause each other to fold

- **kukúbyangana** call each other by nickname

S+A- **kukúbuucira** turn round at

- **kukúbuurucira** unfold at

V+A- **kukúbuurira** turn round for

- **kukúbuururira** unfold for/at

V+C- **kukúbuuza** cause to turn round

- **kukúbuuruza** cause to unfold

A+R+C- **kukúbiranisa** fold (legs) while seated

**kukumba** fall/roll over

A- **kukumbira** fall over at; fall onto

C- **kukumbisa** cause to fall over

- **kukumbya** cause to fall over

X- **kukumbagara** fall over

A+P- **kukumbirwa** be fallen onto

C+P- **kukumbisibwa** be caused to fall over

C+R- **kukumbyangana** cause each other to fall over

X+A- **kukumbagarira** fall over at

X+C- **kukumbagaza** cause to fall over

**kukúna** be polite, be hospitable

A- **kukúnira** be polite to, respect

C- **kukúnisa** cause to respect

A+P- **kukúnirwa** be respected, be accorded hospitality

A+R- **kukúnirangana** be polite to each other, be hospitable to each other

**kukúnda** like, love; agree

A- **kukúndira** like for/at; agree to

C- **kukúnza** cause to like

P- **kukúndwa** be liked

R- **kukúndangana** like each other

A+R- **kukúndirangana** like each other for

**kukúnga** howl

A- **kukúnjira** howl for/at

C- **kukúnja** cause to howl

- **kukúnjisa** cause to howl

R- **kukúngana** be quarrelsome

C+R- **kukúnjangana** cause each other to howl

**kukúra** grow

A- **kukúrira** grow at; be older than

C- **kukúza** cause to grow; overestimate someone's age

A+P- **kukúrirwa** be younger than

C+P- **kukúzibwa** be caused to grow old

C+R- **kukúzangana** grow old together; overestimate each other's age

**kukúrata** follow, go after

A- **kukúra(a)tira** follow, go after

C- **kukúrasa** cause to follow, bring after

P- **kukúratwa** be followed

A+P- **kukúra(a)tirwa** be followed

**kukurura** drag

A- **kukururira** drag for/at

C- **kukurura** cause to drag; drag oneself along

P- **kukururwa** be dragged

R- **kukururangana** drag each other

S- **kukururuka** be dragged

A+P- kukururirwa be dragged something  
 A+R- kukururirangana drag for each other

kukúura uproot

A- kukúúririra uproot for  
 C- kukúuza cause to uproot  
 P- kukúurwa be uprooted  
 S- kukúuka come out (of the soil)  
 A+P- kukúúrirwa be uprooted something  
 A+R- kukúúrirangana uproot for each other  
 C+P- kukúúzibwa be caused to uproot  
 C+R- kukúúzangana cause each other to uproot

kukwáta hold, catch; touch; (of plant) take root

A- kukwátira hold for/at; be stuck  
 C- kukwása cause to hold; help; cause to be caught; corner  
 - kukwátisa cause to be caught  
 P- kukwátwa be held/caught  
 R- kukwátangana hold each other  
 - kukwátana be related  
 S- kukwátika be available  
 D- kukwátakwata feel all over; touch repeatedly  
 I- kukwátirira hold as surety  
 A+P- kukwátirwa be held something  
 A+R- kukwátirangana hold for each other  
 - kukwátirana hold things together(as in a bundle);  
 share the use of something  
 C+A- kukwásiza corner for; cause to hold for  
 C+P- kukwásibwa be caused to hold; be helped  
 C+R- kukwásangana help each other  
 - kukwátisangana cause each other to be caught  
 R+C- kukwátanisa hold things together (as in a bundle);  
 carry out a task together with  
 I+C- kukwátiriza cause to be held as surety, mortgage

kumanya know

A- kumanyira know for/at  
 C- kumanyisa cause to know, inform  
 P- kumanywa be known  
 I- kumanyiira get used to  
 R- kumanyangana know each other  
 S- kumanyika be well known, be famous  
 C+A- kumanyisiza inform for/at  
 C+P- kumanyisibwa be informed, be caused to know  
 C+R- kumanyisangana inform each other  
 I+R- kumanyiirangana get used to each other  
 S+A- kumanyicira become famous at, be known at

kumara finish; exhaust, deplete

A- kumarira finish for/at  
 C- kumara cause to finish  
 P- kumarwa be finished  
 R- kumarangana exhaust each other  
 A+R- kumarirangana finish for each other

**kumera** (of plants) sprout, germinate

A- **kumerera** sprout for

C- **kumeza** cause to sprout

P- **kumerwamu** (of place) have plants sprout in

I- **kumereera** live a long time, live for ever

A+C- **kumereza** cause to sprout for

C+P- **kumezibwa** be caused to sprout

**kumiga** press

A- **kumijira** press for/at

C- **kumijisa** cause to press

P- **kumigwa** be pressed

R- **kumigangana** press each other

S- **kumiguka** (e.g. a ripe banana) be pressable

A+P- **kumijirwa** be pressed something

A+R- **kumijirangana** press for each other

C+P- **kumijisibwa** be caused to press

C+R- **kumijisangana** cause each other to press

R+A- **kumiganganira** press each other at

**kumira** swallow

A- **kumirira** swallow for/at

C- **kumiza** cause to swallow

P- **kumirwa** be swallowed

X- **kumirinkuza** gulp

C+P- **kumizibwa** be caused to swallow

**kumóka** bark

A- **kumócera** bark at

C- **kumóca** cause to bark

A+P- **kumócerwa** be barked at

A+R- **kumócerangana** bark at each other

C+P- **kumóсібwa** be caused to bark

C+R- **kumóсangana** cause each other to bark

**kumurika** shine/flash, shine on, be alight

A- **kumuricira** shine for

C- **kumurica** cause to shine

P- **kumurikwa** shine on, be lit

R- **kumurikangana** shine on each other

A+P- **kumuricirwa** be lit a light

A+R- **kumuricirangana** light for each other

**kumwenya** smile

A- **kumwenyera** smile for/ at

C- **kumwenyesa** cause to smile

D- **kumwenyamwenya** be all smiles

**kumyóra** screw, wind; dislocate a joint

A- **kumyórerera** screw for/at; dislocate for/at

P- **kumyórwа** be dislocated

S- **kumyóka** have a dislocated joint

R- **kumyórangana** dislocate each other's joints

S+A- **kumyócera** dislocate a joint at/while at

**kunaaba** wash (intransitive)

A- **kunaabira** wash for/at

C- **kunaabisa** wash, bathe (transitive)

P- **kunaabwa** (e.g. water, soap) be use in washing

A+P- **kunaabirwamu** (of container, river etc.) be bathed in

C+R- **kunaabisangana** wash each other

**kunága** throw away; neglect

A- **kunájira** throw away for

C- **kunájisa** cause to throw away; sell cheap

D- **kunáganaga** scatter

P- **kunágwa** be thrown away

R- **kunágangana** neglect each other

- **kunágana** shirk responsibility for someone e.g. a child

X- **kunágeija** be careless about

C+R- **kunájisangana** cause each other to throw away

D+A- **kunáganajira** scatter for

D+P- **kunáganagwa** be scattered (**kunágwanagwa**)

**kunájira** sleep

A- **kunájirira** sleep at

C- **kunájiza** cause to sleep

C+P- **kunájizibwa** be caused to sleep

C+R- **kunájizangana** cause each other to sleep

**kunanura** satisfy

S-**kunanuka** be satisfied

A+S- **kunanucira** be satisfied at

**kunéna** bite, gnaw

A- **kunénera** bite for/at

C- **kunénesa** cause to bite

P- **kunénwa** be bitten

**kunia** defecate

A- **kuneera** defecate on

C- **kuneisa** cause to defecate

P- **kuneebwa** be defecated

A+P- **kuneerwa** be defecated on

A+R- **kuneerangana** defecate on each other

C+A- **kuneiseza** cause to defecate for

C+P- **kuneisibwa** be caused to defecate

C+R- **kuneisangana** cause each other to defecate

**kuníájiira** plod along

A- **kuníájiirira** plod along at

C- **kuníájiiza** cause to plod along

X- **kuníáganiaga** plod along

C+P- **kuníájiizangana** cause each other to plod along

**kuniga** choke

A- **kunijira** choke for/at



C- **kunijisa** cause to choke, cause to be choked  
 P- **kunigwa** be choked  
 R- **kunigangana** choke each other  
 A+R- **kunijirangana** choke for each other  
 C+R- **kunijisangana** cause each other to choke with  
 R+A- **kuniganganira** choke each other at

**kuniha** overeat, (of eaten food) be too much for  
 A- **kunihira** be too much at  
 C- **kunihisa** cause to overeat

**kunoba** hate  
 A- **kunobera** hate for/at  
 C- **kunobesa** cause to hate  
 P- **kunobwa** be hated  
 R- **kunobangana** hate each other  
 R+A- **kunobanganira** hate each other at

**kunóga** be thoroughly crushed/pounded  
 A- **kunójera** be thoroughly crushed at  
 C- **kunója** crush thoroughly  
 A+C- **kunójeza** crush thoroughly for/at  
 C+P- **kunójibwa** be thoroughly crushed  
 A+C+R- **kunójezangana** thoroughly crush for each other

**kunógoora** make clay pots, mould  
 A- **kunógoorera** mould for/at  
 C- **kunógoora** cause to mould/be moulded  
 P- **kunógoorwa** be moulded  
 A+P- **kunógoorerwa** be moulded something  
 A+R- **kunógoorerangana** mould for each other  
 C+P- **kunógoozibwa** be caused to mould  
 C+R- **kunógoozangana** cause each other mould

**kunógora** cut a piece off  
 A- **kunógorera** cut a piece for/at  
 C- **kunógora** cause to cut a piece  
 P- **kunógorwa** be cut  
 S- **kunógoka** be cut  
 A+P- **kunógorerwa** be cut a piece  
 A+R- **kunógorerangana** cut a piece for each other  
 C+P- **kunógozibwa** be caused to cut a piece  
 C+R- **kunógozangana** cause each other to cut a piece

**kunúga** loathe, be disgusted  
 A- **kunújira** loathe at  
 C- **kunújisa** cause to loathe  
 P- **kunúgwa** be loathed  
 R- **kunúgangana** loathe each other, have a habit of loathing  
 R+A- **kunúganganira** loathe each other at

**kununka** stink, smell; sniff  
 A- **kununcira** smell to  
 C- **kununcisa** cause to smell

P- **kununkwa**(mu) be sniffed in  
 R- **kununkaana** stink all over  
 I+C- **kununciriza** sniff about  
 C+P- **kununcibwa** be caused to stink

**kunura** taste nice, be delicious  
 A- **kunurira** taste nice to  
 C- **kunuza** cause to taste nice  
 A+P- **kunurirwa** be pleased by taste of  
 C+P- **kunuzibwa** be caused to taste nice

**kunyáara** urinate  
 A- **kunyáarira** urinate on  
 C- **kunyáaza** cause to urinate  
 P- **kunyáarwa** be urinated  
 A+P- **kunyáarirwa** be urinated on  
 A+C- **kunyáariza** cause to urinate for  
 A+R- **kunyáarirangana** urinate on each other  
 C+P- **kunyáázibwa** be caused to urinate  
 C+R- **kunyáázangana** cause each other to urinate

**kunyaata** eat without vegetables or relish  
 A- **kunyaatira** eat ...at  
 C- **kunyaatisa** cause to eat ...  
 - **kunyaasa** cause to eat...  
 P- **kunyaatwa** be eaten without relish

**kunyaga** swindle, cheat  
 A- **kunyajira** swindle for/at  
 C- **kunyajisa** cause to be swindled  
 P- **kunyagwa** be swindled  
 R- **kunyagangana** swindle each other  
 A+P- **kunyajirwa** be swindled at  
 C+A- **kunyajisiza** cause to be swindled for  
 C+R- **kunyajisangana** cause each other to be swindled

**kunyágarara** be troubled, be poorly off  
 A- **kunyágararira** be troubled at  
 C- **kunyágaraza** trouble, put in a poor condition  
 C+R- **kunyágarazangana** trouble each other

**kunyeeta** grow older, mature  
 A- **kunyeetera** mature at  
 C- **kunyeesa** cause to mature  
 C+P- **kunyeesibwa** be caused to mature  
 C+R- **kunyeesangana** cause each other to mature

**kunyejera** go uphill; be welcome  
 A- **kunyejerera** go uphill at; be welcome at  
 C- **kunyejeza** cause to go uphill; welcome,  
 treat with hospitality  
 P- **kunyejerwa** be climbed  
 C+P- **kunyejezibwa** be welcomed  
 C+R- **kunyejezangana** welcome each other

**kunyiga** press down on (esp. cooked bananas)  
 A- **kunyijira** press for/at  
 C- **kunyijisa** cause to press  
 P- **kunyigwa** be pressed  
 A+R- **kunyijirangana** press for each other  
 C+R- **kunyijisangana** cause each other to press

**kunyurura** pull  
 A- **kunyururira** pull for/at  
 C- **kunyurusa** cause to pull  
 P- **kunyururwa** be pulled  
 R- **kunyururangana** pull each other  
 S- **kunyururuka** be elastic, be pulled  
 A+P- **kunyururirwa** be pulled something  
 A+R- **kunyururirangana** pull for each other  
 C+P- **kunyuruzibwa** be caused to pull  
 C+R- **kunyuruzangana** cause each other to pull  
 R+A- **kunyururanganira** pull each other at

**kunyúunya** lick up, suck up  
 A- **kunyúunyira** lick up for/at  
 C- **kunyúunyisa** cause to lick up  
 P- **kunyúunywa** be licked up  
 X- **kunyúunyuta** suck out  
 A+P- **kunyúunyirwa** be sucked up something  
 A+R- **kunyúunyirangana** suck up for each other  
 C+R- **kunyúunyisangana** cause each other to suck up

**kúnywa** drink  
 A- **kunywéra** drink for/at  
 C- **kunywéisa** cause to drink  
 P- **kunywábwa** be drunk by  
 R- **kunywána** make blood brotherhood/friendship  
 X- **kunywéisaguzibwa** have a habit of  
     drinking anything/anywhere  
 A+P- **kunywérwa** be drunk something  
 A+R- **kunywérangana** drink for each other  
 C+A- **kunywéiseza** cause to drink for  
 C+P- **kunywéisibwa** be caused to drink  
 C+R- **kunywéisangana** cause each other to drink  
 R+A- **kunywánira** make friendship for/at  
 R+C- **kunywánisa** cause to make friendship  
 I+R- **kunywérerana** drink together(as a mixture);  
     have a custom of sharing beer

**kunywéjera** kiss  
 A- **kunywéjerera** kiss for/at  
 C- **kunywéjeza** cause to kiss  
 P- **kunywéjerwa** be kissed  
 R- **kunywéjerangana** kiss each other  
 C+P- **kunywéjezibwa** be caused to kiss

**kwoca** be hot, heat, roast, burn

A- **kwoceza** burn for/at  
 C- **kwocesa** cause to burn  
 P- **kwocibwa** be burnt  
 R- **kwocangana** burn each other  
 A+R- **kwocezangana** burn for each other, burn e.o. at  
 C+R- **kwocesangana** burn each other with

**kwôga** bathe (intransitive)  
 A- **kwôjera** bathe at  
 C- **kwôja** wash, bathe (transitive)  
 - **kwôjesa** cause to wash  
 P- **kwôgwa** (of water, soap etc.) be washed with  
 X- **kwôgoroza** rinse  
 A+C- **kwôjeza** wash for/at  
 C+P- **kwôjibwa** be washed  
 C+R- **kwôjangana** wash each other  
 X+P- **kwôgorozibwa** be rinsed

**kwôgosa** twist rope, weave rope  
 A- **kwôgoseza** twist for/at  
 C- **kwôgosesa** cause to twist  
 P- **kwôgosibwa** be twisted

**kwôma** dry up (intransitive)  
 A- **kwômera** dry up for/at  
 C- **kwômesa** cause to dry up  
 - **kwômya** cause to dry up  
 R- **kwômangana** dry up thoroughly  
 X- **kwômesereza** (of a guilty person) deny guilt vehemently,  
 stand by a denial of guilt firmly  
 R+C- **kwômanganisa** cause to dry thoroughly

**kwômbeka** build  
 A- **kwômbecera** build for  
 C- **kwômbecesa** cause to build  
 P- **kwômbekwa** be built  
 A+P- **kwômbecerwa** be built something  
 A+R- **kwômbecerangana** build for each other  
 C+P- **kwômbecesisibwa** be caused to build  
 C+R- **kwômbecesarangana** cause each other to build

**kwôna** (of animals) spoil crops in the fields  
 A- **kwônera** spoil crops for  
 C- **kwônesa** cause to spoil crops  
 A+P- **kwônerwa** be spoiled crops  
 C+A- **kwôneseza** cause to spoil crops for

**kwonjera** continue, add  
 C- **kwonjera** increase, give more to  
 P- **kwonjerwa** be given more  
 X- **kwonjesereza** add to  
 C+R- **kwonjexangana** give more to each other

**kwônka** suck at the breast

A- **kwóncera** suck at  
 C- **kwónca** suckle  
 P- **kwónkwa** be sucked  
 A+C- **kwónceza** suckle for/at  
 C+P- **kwóncibwa** be suckled

**kwóra** become poor  
 A- **kwórera** become poor for/at  
 C- **kwóra** cause to become poor  
 C+P- **kwózibwa** be caused to become poor  
 C+R- **kwózangana** cause each other to become poor

**kwóreka** show  
 A- **kwórecera** show at  
 C- **kwóreca** put on display  
 P- **kwórekwa** be shown  
 I- **kwórecerera** demonstrate  
 R- **kwórekangana** show to each other  
 R+A- **kwórekanganira** show to each other at

**kwóroba** be soft, be weak; be obedient  
 A- **kwórobera** be soft to/at; be obedient to  
 C- **kwórobya** soften, weaken

**kwóroora** bring up, look after  
 A- **kwóroorera** bring up for/at  
 C- **kwóroora** cause to bring up  
 P- **kwóroorwa** be brought up  
 A+R- **kwóroorerangana** bring up for each other  
 C+P- **kwóroozibwa** be caused to bring up

**kwósa** omit/skip a day  
 A- **kwósera** omit a day for/at  
 C- **kwósesa** cause to omit a day  
 C+R- **kwósesangana** cause each other to omit a day

**kwóta** warm oneself  
 A- **kwótera** warm oneself at  
 C- **kwótesa** cause to warm oneself  
 P- **kwótwa** (of fire) be used to warm oneself  
 C+R- **kwótesangana** cause each other to warm self

**kwoya** be hard on; hanker after  
 A- **kwoyera** be hard on for/at; hanker after at  
 C- **kwoyesa** cause to be hard on; cause to hanker after  
 P- **kwoywa** be hankered after  
 R- **kwoyangana** be hard on each other  
 C+P- **kwoyesibwa** be caused to be hard on; be caused to hanker after  
 C+R- **kwoyesangana** cause each other to hanker after

**kupácira** load, board (a vessel, vehicle)  
 A- **kupácirira** load for/at, board at  
 C- **kupáciza** cause to load, put on board

P- **kupácirwa** be loaded, be put on board  
 C+R- **kupácizangana** put each other on board

**kupágasa** work for a wage  
 A- **kupágasiza** work for a wage for/at

**kupika** pump

A- **kupicira** pump for  
 C- **kupicisa** cause to pump  
 P- **kupikwa** be pumped  
 A+P- **kupicirwa** be pumped something  
 A+R- **kupicirangana** pump for each other  
 C+R- **kupicisangana** cause each other to pump

**kupima** measure, weigh

A- **kupimira** measure for/at  
 C- **kupimisa** cause to measure  
 P- **kupimwa** be measured  
 R- **kupimangana** measure each other  
 A+P- **kupimirwa** be measured something  
 A+R- **kupimirangana** measure for each other  
 C+P- **kupimisibwa** be caused to measure  
 C+R- **kupimisangana** cause each other to measure

**kupukura** stab

A- **kupukurira** stab for/at  
 C- **kupukuza** cause to stab  
 P- **kupukurwa** be stabbed  
 R- **kupukurangana** stab each other  
 A+P- **kupukurirwa** be stabbed something  
 A+R- **kupukurirangana** stab for each other  
 C+P- **kupukuzibwa** be caused to stab  
 C+R- **kupukuzangana** cause each other to stab

**kuraaha** castrate

A- **kuraahira** castrate for/at  
 C- **kuraahisa** cause to castrate  
 V- **kuraahuura** castrate  
 V+P- **kuraahuurwa** be castrated  
 A+P- **kuraahirwa** be castrated something  
 A+R- **kuraahirangana** castrate for each other

**kuraama** curse

A- **kuraamira** curse for/at  
 C- **kuraamisa** cause to curse  
 P- **kuraamwa** be cursed  
 R- **kuraamangana** curse each other  
 A+R- **kuraamirangana** curse for each other

**kuráara** spend the night; (of fire) go out

A- **kuráarira** (of a guest) spend the night at; (of a bird) sit on eggs  
 C- **kuráaza** cause to spend the night; extinguish (fire)  
 P- **kuráarwa** (mu) be spent the night in

X- **kuráárika** invite to a task/function  
 A+C- **kuráárika** invite to a task/function;  
 extinguish fire for/at  
 A+P- **kuráárirwa** have a guest spend the night

**kurába** pass; (of plants) blossom, produce fruit  
 A- **kurábira** pass through; produce fruit at  
 C- **kurábya** cause to pass; (of lightning) flash  
 - **kurábisa** get a good crop  
 P- **kurábwa** (of a path etc.) be passed through

**kurábura** enlighten, make clever  
 A- **kuráburira** enlighten for/at  
 C- **kurábuza** cause to enlighten  
 P- **kuráburwa** be enlightened  
 R- **kuráburangana** enlighten each other  
 S- **kurábuka** be clever  
 A+P- **kuráburirwa** be enlightened someone  
 A+R- **kuráburirangana** enlighten for each other  
 S+A- **kurábucira** be clever at

**kuraga** say goodbye; promise; bequeath  
 A- **kurajira** say goodbye for/at; bequeath for/at  
 C- **kurajisa** cause to say goodbye; cause to bequeath  
 P- **kuragwa** be bid farewell; be bequeathed something  
 I- **kurajiira** order, give directions  
 R- **kuragangana** say goodbye to each other; bequeath to e.o.  
 - **kuragaana** agree, promise  
 I+A- **kurajiirira** give directions about  
 R+C- **kuraganisa** give an appointment, promise  
 I+A+C- **kurajiiriza** give directions repeatedly  
 with admonitions not to forget

**kuragara** go down, fall  
 A- **kuragarira** fall at  
 C- **kuragaza** cause to fall; wipe off  
 P- **kuragarwa** drop something  
 S- **kuragarika** fall, be scattered  
 C+P- **kuragazibwa** be wiped off  
 S+A- **kuragaricira** be scattered at

**kuragura** prophesy, divine, foretell  
 A- **kuragurira** prophesy for/at  
 C- **kuraguza** consult a diviner/soothsayer  
 P- **kuragurwa** be prophesied  
 A+P- **kuragurirwa** be told a prophesy  
 A+R- **kuragurirangana** prophesy for each other

**kurahira** swear, vow  
 A- **kurahirira** swear at  
 C- **kurahiza** cause to swear

**kurahuka** be quick  
 A- **kurahucira** be quick at something

C- **kurahuca** do quickly

**kurahura** bully; (of chickens) scratch

A- **kurahurira** bully for/at

C- **kurahuza** cause to bully; cause to scratch

P- **kurahurwa** be bullied; be scratched

R- **kurahurana** be a bully, bully each other

**kurambika** lay

A- **kurambicira** lay for/at

P- **kurambikwa** be laid

X- **kurambira** lie down

I+C- **kurambiciriza** straighten out (legs while seated)

**kurámbura** inspect

A- **kurámburira** inspect for

C- **kurámbuza** cause to inspect

P- **kurámburwa** be inspected

R- **kurámburangana** inspect each other

A+P- **kurámburirwa** be inspected something

A+R- **kurámburirangana** inspect for each other

C+P- **kurámbuzibwa** be caused to inspect

C+R- **kurámbuzangana** cause each other to inspect

**kurambuura** make to lose weight by denying food

A- **kurambuurira** make lose weight for/at

P- **kurambuurwa** be made to lose weight

S- **kurambuuka** lose weight

R- **kurambuurangana** make each other lose weight

S+A- **kurambuucira** lose weight at

**kuramuca** greet

A- **kuramuciza** greet for/at

I- **kuramukanisa** greet one another

**kuramura** judge, reconcile, decide

A- **kuramurira** judge for/at

C- **kuramuza** bargain, haggle

P- **kuramurwa** be judged

C+P- **kuramuzibwa** (of price) be bargained

**kuramya** greet/pay homage to the king

A- **kuramiza** greet king for/at

X- **kuramisiriza** be on tenterhooks, keep fingers crossed

**kuranda** (of plants) creep; repair a crack in a calabash

A- **kurandira** creep at; repair for/at

C- **kurandisa** cause to creep; cause to repair

P- **kurandwa** be repaired

X- **kurandagatana** creep all over

**kuranga** announce

A- **kuranjira** announce to

C- **kuranjisa** display/announce lost item



P- **kurangwa** be announced  
 R- **kurangaana** spread (bad/confidential) news  
 I- **kuranjirira** preach  
 A+P- **kuranjirwa** be announced something  
 I+P- **kurangaanwa** be infamous

**kurangaara** gape  
 A- **kurangaarira** gape at  
 C- **kurangaaza** cause to gape  
 C+P- **kurangaazibwa** be caused to gape  
 C+R- **kurangaazangana** cause each other to gape

**kurara** (esp. animals) wander  
 A- **kurarira** wander at  
 C- **kuraza** cause to wander  
 S- **kuraruka** become mad  
 V- **kurarura** cause to become mad  
 C+P- **kurazibwa** be caused to wander  
 V+R- **kurarurangana** cause each other to become mad

**kurárama** look up  
 A- **kuráramira** look up at  
 C- **kuráramisa** cause to look up  
 X- **kurárika** raise (head)  
 A+P- **kuráramirwa** be looked up at  
 A+R- **kuráramirangana** look up at each other  
 C+R- **kuráramisangana** cause each other to look up

**kurása** shoot, throw  
 A- **kurásira** throw at, shoot for/at  
   - **kurásiza** shoot for/at  
 P- **kuráswa** be shot  
 R- **kurásangana** shoot each other, throw at each other  
   - **kurásana** struggle, fight  
 A+P- **kurásirwa** be thrown something

**kureeba** look, watch, see, look for  
 A- **kureebera** search for/at, see at, watch for;  
   cheat by looking at answers  
 C- **kureebesa** cause to see  
   - **kureebya** keep uninvited watch in order to do mischief  
 D- **kureebareeba** look about  
 P- **kureebwa** be seen  
 R- **kureebana** keep in touch by visiting each other  
   - **kureebangana** look at each other  
 I- **kureeberera** supervise, watch over  
 I+C- **kureeberera** hang around in order to receive crumbs  
 A+P- **kureeberwa** be watched something  
   **kureeberwámu** be transparent, allow sight (e.g. a hole),  
 be reflective (e.g. a mirror)  
 A+R- **kureeberangana** cheat by looking at each other's work  
 C+P- **kureebesibwa** be caused to see  
 C+R- **kureebesangana** cause each other to see

**kureega** tighten (e.g. a bow)

A- **kureejera** tighten for/at

C- **kureejesa** cause to tighten

P- **kureegwa** be tightened

S- **kureeguka** become slack

- **kureeguruka** become slack

V- **kureegura** slacken

- **kureegurura** slacken

A+P- **kureejerwa** be tightened something

A+R- **kureejerangana** tighten for each other

C+P- **kureejesibwa** be caused to tighten

C+R- **kureejesangana** cause each other to tighten

**kuréeta** bring

A- **kuréetera** bring for

C- **kuréesa** cause to bring, come with (means/manner); smoke

- **kuréetesa** cause to bring

P- **kuréetwa** be brought

R- **kuréétangana** bring each other

- **kuréétana** come together, arrive together

I- **kurééterera** sing solo

A+P- **kurééterwa** be brought something

A+R- **kurééterangana** bring for each other

- **kurééterana** flow/leak/bleed profusely

C+A- **kurééseza** smoke at

C+P- **kuréésibwa** be caused to bring; be smoked

C+R- **kuréétesangana** cause each other to bring

I+P- **kuréétererwa** be sung

**kuréga** tell tales on; set container to catch rain water

A- **kuréjera** set container for

C- **kuréjesa** cause to set container, catch with (container)

P- **kurégwa** be victim of tales; (of rain water) be caught,  
(of container) be set up to catch water

R- **kurégangana** tell tales on each other

A+P- **kuréjerwa** be caught water, be set up a container

A+R- **kuréjerangana** catch water for each other,  
set up containers for each other

C+R- **kuréjesangana** cause each other to catch water/set up  
containers

**kureiha** be long, be tall

A- **kureihera** be long for/at

C- **kureihesa** cause to be long, lengthen, overestimate length

S- **kureihuuka** become long, become tall

C+P- **kureihesibwa** be lengthened

S+A- **kureihuucira** become long at

**kureka** let, leave alone

A- **kurecera** leave alone for/at; stop doing; throw a spear at

P- **kurekwa** be left alone

R- **kurekangana** leave each other alone

S- **kurekuka** fall from grasp

V- **kurekura** let go from grasp, set free

A+A- **kurecerera** stop doing at  
 A+C- **kureceza** cause to stop doing  
 A+R- **kurecerangana** end a relationship

**kurema** be too much for, beat; make sandals  
 A- **kuremera** be too much at; make sandals for  
 C- **kuremesa** exhaust, cause to fail; cause to make sandals  
 P- **kuremwa** be tired, fail; (of sandals) be made  
 R- **kuremangana** be too much for each other, disagree  
 I- **kuremeera** be heavy  
 S- **kuremuuka** regain strength, be rested  
 A+P- **kuremerwa** be tired at  
 C+A- **kuremeseza** exhaust for  
 C+P- **kuremesibwa** be caused to be tired  
 C+R- **kuremesangana** cause each other to be tired/to fail  
 R+A- **kuremanganira** disagree at  
 I+A- **kuremeerera** be heavy for/at  
 I+C- **kuremeeza** cause to be heavy  
 I+A+P- **kuremeererwa** be weighed down

**kuremba** be very ill, be thoroughly beaten  
 A- **kurembera** be very ill for/at  
 C- **kurembya** cause to be very ill  
 A+C- **kurembeza** cause to be very ill for/at  
 C+P- **kurembyangana** cause each other to be very ill

**kurenga** measure; be mean (esp. with respect to food)  
 A- **kurenjera** measure for; be mean to  
 C- **kurenjesa** cause to measure; try; tempt  
 P- **kurengwa** be measured  
 A+P- **kurenjerwa** be measured something  
 A+R- **kurenjerangana** measure for each other  
 C+P- **kurengesibwa** be tempted  
 C+R- **kurengesangana** tempt each other  
 - **kurengesana** hesitate/guess

**kuranga** go from view, go beyond a point/rule, (of sun) set  
 A- **kurénjera** set at, go beyond at  
 C- **kurénja** (of character) be unacceptable; pass day;  
 cause to go beyond  
 D- **kuréngarenga** (of sun) be evening twilight  
 P- **kuréngwa** be surpassed  
 C+A- **kurénjenja** hint

**kuréngahara** be ignorant, lack skill/dexterity  
 A- **kuréngaharira** be ignorant at  
 C- **kuréngahaza** cause to be ignorant  
 C+P- **kuréngahasibwa** be caused to be ignorant

**kurera** rear (a child), babysit  
 A- **kurerera** rear for/at  
 C- **kureza** cause to rear  
 P- **kurerwa** be reared  
 R- **kurerangana** rear each other

A+P- **kurererwa** be reared a child  
 A+R- **kurererangana** rear for each other  
 C+P- **kurezibwa** be caused to rear  
 C+R- **kurezangana** cause each other to rear

**kuriba** (of a commodity) fail to sell  
 A- **kuribira** fail to sell at(place)  
 C- **kuribisa** cause to fail to sell  
 A+A- **kuribirira** fail to sell for(person)  
 C+P- **kuribisibwa** be caused to fail to sell

**kuribata** tread on, march  
 A- **kuribatira** tread on for/at  
 C- **kuribatisa** cause to tread on  
 - **kuribasa** cause to tread on  
 P- **kuribatwa** be trodden  
 R- **kuribatangana** tread on each other  
 I- **kuribatiirira** tread severely  
 A+P- **kuribatirwa** be trodden something

**kuriha** pay damages  
 A- **kurihira** pay damages to  
 C- **kurihisa** cause to pay damages  
 P- **kurihwa** be paid as damages  
 C+P- **kurihisibwa** be caused to pay damages  
 C+R- **kurihisangana** cause each other to pay damages

**kurima** dig, cultivate  
 A- **kurimira** dig for  
 C- **kurimisa** cause to dig  
 P- **kurimwa** be dug  
 A+P- **kurimirwa** be dug something  
 A+R- **kurimirangana** dig for each other  
 C+P- **kurimisibwa** be caused to dig  
 C+R- **kurimisangana** cause each other to dig

**kurinda** look after, watch, protect; wait  
 A- **kurindira** watch for; wait for/at  
 C- **kurinza** cause to watch; cause to wait  
 P- **kurindwa** be watched/protected; be waited for  
 R- **kurindangana** protect each other; wait for each other  
 A+R- **kurindirangana** protect for each other

**kurira** cry, weep  
 A- **kuririra** cry at  
 C- **kuriza** cause to cry  
 I- **kuririirira** (of a child) cry a lot to  
     someone's inconvenience  
 C+P- **kurizibwa** be caused to cry

**kuroga** bewitch  
 A- **kurojera** bewitch for/at  
 C- **kurojesa** cause to bewitch, accuse of witchcraft  
 P- **kurogwa** be bewitched

R- **kurogangana** bewitch each other  
 V- **kurogoorora** exorcise  
 I- **kurojeerera** fixate the victim of a magic spell  
 on something  
 A+P- **kurojerwa** be bewitched something  
 A+R- **kurojerangana** bewitch for each other  
 R+A- **kuroganganira** bewitch each other at

**kuronda** look for, search  
 A- **kurondera** search for/at  
 C- **kurondesa** cause to search  
 - **kuronza** cause to search  
 P- **kurondwa** be looked for  
 I- **kurondoora** resemble a relative (in character or physical  
 features)  
 A+P- **kuronderwa** be searched something  
 C+P- **kuronzibwa** be caused to search

**kuróota** dream  
 A- **kuróótera** dream at  
 C- **kuróótesa** cause to dream  
 P- **kuróotwa** be dreamed  
 R- **kuróótangana** dream about each other  
 V- **kuróótorora** tell a dream  
 I- **kuróóterera** have nightmares

**kuroza** taste  
 A- **kuroreza** taste for/at  
 C- **kurozesa** cause to taste  
 P- **kurozibwa** be tasted  
 A+R- **kurorezangana** taste for each other  
 C+R- **kurozesangana** cause each other to taste

**kuruga** exit, come from  
 A- **kurujira** exit for  
 C- **kurujisa** cause to exit  
 P- **kurugwamu** be exited

**kuruka** weave  
 A- **kurucira** weave for/at  
 C- **kurucisa** cause to weave  
 P- **kurukwa** be weaved  
 A+P- **kurucirwa** be weaved something  
 A+R- **kurucirangana** weave for each other  
 C+R- **kurucisangana** cause each other to weave

**kurúma** bite  
 A- **kurúmira** bite for/at  
 C- **kurúmisa** cause to bite  
 P- **kurúmwa** be bitten; be in labor  
 R- **kurúmangana** bite each other; have a habit of biting  
 X- **kurúmika** cup, bleed  
 V- **kurúmuura** give an antidote for a bite  
 R+A- **kurúmanganira** bite each other at

X+A- **kurúmicira** cup for/at

**kurunda** heap up

A- **kurundira** heap up for

C- **kurunza** cause to heap up

P- **kurundwa** be heaped up

R- **kurundaana** gather

A+P- **kurundirwa** be heaped up something

R+A- **kurundaanira** gather for/at

R+A+P- **kurundaanirwa** be gathered something

**kurunga** season (food)

A- **kurunjira** season for/at

C- **kurunjisa** cause to season

P- **kurungwa** be seasoned

X- **kurunjisirisa** be fond of seasoning

A+P- **kurunjirwa** be seasoned something

A+R- **kurunjirangana** season for each other

C+R- **kurunjisangana** cause each other to season

**kururuma** (esp. of motor) rumble

A- **kururumira** rumble at

C- **kururumya** cause to rumble

**kurwana** fight, struggle

A- **kurwanira** fight for

C- **kurwanisa** cause to fight; scold

I- **kurwanirira** fight for, help

I+P- **kurwanirirwa** be fought for/helped

**kurwára** be ill

A- **kurwááirira** become ill at (place)

C- **kurwáza** cause to become ill; nurse

P- **kurwárwa** (of a disease) be had

I- **kurwááririra** become ill at someone's inconvenience

C+P- **kurwáázibwa** be caused to become ill

C+R- **kurwáázangana** cause each other to become ill;  
nurse each other

**kúrya** eat; irritate

A- **kuríira** eat for/at

C- **kuríisa** cause to eat, feed

P- **kuríibwa** be eaten

D- **kuryarya** cheat

R- **kuryána** quarrel, fight

I- **kurííririra** take more than one's fair share

X- **kuríísaguzibwa** have a habit of eating anything/anywhere

A+R- **kuríírangana** eat for each other

C+A- **kuríísiza** cause to eat for, feed for

C+P- **kuríísibwa** be caused to eat, be fed

C+R- **kuríísangana** cause each other to eat, feed each other

**kusa** grind

A- **kuseera** grind for/at; overcharge, be expensive

C- **kuseisa** cause to grind  
 P- **kuseebwa** be ground  
 A+R- **kuseerangana** grind for each other  
 C+A- **kuseiseza** cause to grind for  
 C+P- **kuseisibwa** be caused to grind  
 C+R- **kuseisangana** cause each other to grind

**kusaasa** ache, hurt; be needed badly  
 A- **kusaasira** hurt at; feel pity for  
 P- **kusaasibwa** be hurt; need badly  
 R- **kusaasangana** hurt each other

**kusáaga** be left over, be plenty, exceed  
 A- **kusáajira** be left over at  
 C- **kusáajisa** cause to be left over  
   - **kusáaja** cause to be left over  
 P- **kusáagwa** be exceeded  
 R- **kusáágaana** be too much, be all over  
 V- **kusáágura** leave over  
 A+C- **kusáájiza** offend  
 C+R- **kusáájisangana** cause each other to be left over  
 V+C- **kusááguza** leave over

**kusaarira** be bitter  
 A- **kusaaririra** be bitter at  
 C- **kusaariza** cause to be bitter  
 I- **kusaariirira** be bitter to (person)  
 C+P- **kusaarizibwa** be caused to be bitter  
 A+P- **kusaariirirwa** feel a bitter taste

**kusaaruura** harvest  
 A- **kusaaruurira** harvest for/at  
 C- **kusaaruuzza** cause to harvest  
 P- **kusaaruurwa** be harvested  
 A+P- **kusaaruurirwa** be harvested something

**kusaba** ask, beg, pray  
 A- **kusabira** beg for/at, pray for  
 C- **kusabisa** cause to beg  
 P- **kusabwa** be begged  
 R- **kusabangana** beg each other  
 I+C- **kusabiiriza** beg importunately  
 A+P- **kusabirwa** be begged something, be prayed for  
 A+R- **kusabirangana** beg for each other  
 C+P- **kusabisibwa** be caused to beg  
 C+R- **kusabisangana** cause each other to beg

**kusagara** accompany  
 A- **kusagarira** accompany for  
 C- **kusagara** cause to accompany  
 P- **kusagarwa** be accompanied  
 R- **kusagarana** accompany each other  
 A+P- **kusagarirwa** be accompanied someone  
 C+P- **kusagazibwa** be caused to accompany

**kusaka** go and work for food, fetch food  
 A- **kusacira** fetch food for/at  
 C- **kusacisa** give food to take home  
 P- **kusakwa** (of food) be fetched  
 A+P- **kusacirwa** be fetched food  
 A+R- **kusacirangana** fetch food for each other  
 C+R- **kusacisangana** give food to each other

**kusakaara** thatch  
 A- **kusakaarira** thatch for/at  
 C- **kusakaaza** cause to thatch  
 P- **kusakaarwa** be thatched  
 S- **kusakaaruka** become unthatched  
 V- **kusakaarura** unthatch  
 A+P- **kusakaarirwa** be thatched something  
 A+R- **kusakaarirangana** thatch for each other  
 C+P- **kusakaazibwa** be caused to thatch  
 C+R- **kusakaazangana** cause each other to thatch

**kusáma** bleed (transitive)  
 A- **kusámira** bleed at  
 C- **kusámisa** cause to bleed  
 P- **kusámwa** be bled  
 R- **kusámangana** bleed each other

**kusamaara** stare, gape  
 A- **kusamaarira** stare at  
 C- **kusamaaza** cause to stare  
 A+C- **kusamaariza** cause to stare for  
 A+P- **kusamaarirwa** be stared at  
 C+P- **kusamaazibwa** be caused to stare

**kusamba** kick; writhe in agony  
 A- **kusambira** kick for/at  
 C- **kusambisa** cause to kick  
 P- **kusambwa** be kicked  
 R- **kusambana** commit fornication/adultery  
 - **kusambangana** kick each other  
 A+P- **kusambirwa** be kicked something  
 A+R- **kusambirangana** kick for each other  
 R+A- **kusambanira** commit fornication at

**kusamburura** undo weavework  
 A- **kusambururira** undo weavework for/at  
 C- **kusamburuza** cause to undo weavework  
 P- **kusambururwa** (of weavework) be undone  
 S- **kusamburuka** be undone  
 A+P- **kusambururirwa** be undone weavework  
 A+R- **kusambururirangana** undo weavework for each other  
 C+R- **kusamburuzangana** cause each other to undo weavework  
 S+A- **kusamburucira** be undone at

**kusándaga** make incisions, vaccinate



A- kusándajira make incisions for  
 V- kusándajisa cause to make incisions  
 P- kusándagwa be cut  
 R- kusándagangana make incisions on each other  
 A+P- kusándajirwa be cut someone

kusanga meet, find  
 A- kusanjira meet for  
 C- kusanjisa cause to meet  
 P- kusangwa be met  
 R- kusangangana meet each other at  
 - kusangaana meet, come together

kusánjira cover  
 A- kusánjirira cover for/at  
 C- kusánjiza cause to cover  
 P- kusánjirwa be covered  
 R- kusánjirangana cover each other  
 S- kusánguuruka be uncovered  
 V- kusánguurura uncover  
 A+P- kusánjirirwa be covered something  
 A+R- kusánjirirangana cover for each other  
 C+R- kusánjizangana cause each other to cover  
 S+A- kusánguurucira be uncovered at  
 V+A- kusánguururira uncover for/at

kusára cut  
 A- kusáririra cut for/at; cut umbilical cord of newborn; prune  
 banana tree  
 C- kusára cause to cut  
 P- kusárwa be cut  
 R- kusárangana cut each other  
 I- kusáriirira trim cultivated plot to end day's work  
 A+A- kusáririra prune banana tree for  
 A+C- kusárizira cause to be cut something; cause to prune  
 A+R- kusárirangana cut for each other  
 C+R- kusázangana cause each other to cut

kusarara be numb  
 A- kusararira be numb at  
 C- kusaraza cause to be numb  
 S- kusararuka lose numbness  
 C+P- kusarazibwa be caused to be numb

kusasura pay  
 A- kusasurira pay for/at  
 C- kساسuzira cause to pay  
 P- kساسurwa be paid  
 R- kساسurangana pay each other  
 A+P- kساسurirwa be paid for  
 A+R- kساسurirangana pay for each other  
 C+R- kساسuzangana cause each other to pay

kusátura split open

A- **kusaturira** split for/at  
 C- **kusatuza** cause to split  
 P- **kusaturwa** be split  
 S- **kusátuka** be split  
 A+P- **kusaturirwa** be split something  
 A+R- **kusaturirangana** split for each other  
 C+P- **kusátuzibwa** be caused to split  
 C+R- **kusátuzangana** cause each other to split  
 S+A- **kusátucira** be split at

**kusébuka** sprout again  
 A- **kusébucira** sprout at

**kuseega** be ill for a long time  
 A- **kuseejera** be ill at  
 C- **kuseejesa** cause to be ill  
 C+R- **kuseejesangana** cause each other to be ill

**kuseemeeka** pant  
 A- **kuseemeecera** pant for/at  
 C- **kuseemeeca** cause to pant  
 C+R- **kuseemeecangana** cause each other to pant

**kusénya** collect firewood  
 A- **kusényera** collect firewood for/at  
 C- **kusényesa** cause to collect firewood  
 P- **kusénywa** be collected  
 X- **kusényagura** shatter  
 A+P- **kusényerwa** be collected firewood  
 A+R- **kusényerangana** collect for each other  
 C+R- **kusényesangana** cause each other to collect firewood  
 X+A- **kusényagurira** shatter for  
 X+S- **kusényagurika** be shattered  
 X+S+A- **kusényaguricira** be shattered at

**kuseesa** spill  
 A- **kuseesera** spill for/on  
 C- **kuseesesa** cause to spill  
 P- **kuseeswa** be spilled  
 S- **kuseeseka** be spilled  
 R- **kuseesaana** spill all over, use  
     (esp. liquids) extravagantly  
 X- **kuseesekara** fill and spill over  
 A+P- **kuseeserwa** be spilled something on  
 S+A- **kuseesecera** spill over onto  
 X+C- **kuseesekaza** cause to fill and spill over

**kuseka** laugh, mock  
 A- **kusecera** laugh/smile at  
 C- **kuseca** cause to laugh  
     - **kusecesa** cause to laugh  
 P- **kusekwa** be laughed at, be mocked  
 R- **kusekangana** mock each other with respect to something  
 I- **kuseceerera** mock, laugh at

I+P- **kuseceererwa** be mocked, be laughed at  
 A+R- **kusecerangana** smile at each other  
 C+P- **kusecibwa** be caused to laugh  
 C+R- **kusecangana** cause each other to laugh  
 I+C- **kuseceereza** laugh a lot

**kusékura** pound

A- **kusékurira** pound for/at  
 C- **kusékuza** cause to pound  
 P- **kusékurwa** be pounded  
 A+P- **kusékurirwa** be pounded something  
 A+R- **kusékurirangana** pound for each other  
 C+R- **kusékuzangana** cause each other to pound

**kusécera** destroy, decimate

A- **kusécerera** decimate for/at  
 C- **kuséceza** cause to decimate  
 P- **kusécerwa** be decimated  
 R- **kusécerangana** decimate each other

**kusemba** wrap up

A- **kusembera** wrap up for/at  
 C- **kusembesa** cause to wrap up  
 P- **kusembwa** be wrapped up  
 S- **kusemburuka** become unwrapped  
 V- **kusemburura** unwrap  
 A+P- **kusemberwa** be wrapped up something  
 A+R- **kusemberangana** wrap up for each other  
 C+P- **kusembesibwa** be caused to wrap up  
 C+R- **kusembesangana** cause each other to wrap up  
 S+A- **kusemburucira** become unwrapped at  
 V+A- **kusembururira** unwrap for

**kusémbuka** walk slowly when ill

A- **kusémbucira** walk slowly for/at  
 C- **kusémbuca** cause to walk slowly  
 C+R- **kusémbucangana** cause each other to walk slowly

**kusémera** be pleasant, be clean

A- **kusémerera** be pleasant for/at  
 C- **kusémeza** cause to be pleasant; operate on  
 A+C- **kusémereza** cause to be pleasant for; operate on for/at  
 A+P- **kusémererwa** be happy  
 C+P- **kusémezibwa** be operated on

**kusénda** withhold hospitality

A- **kuséndera** withhold hospitality for/at  
 C- **kuséndesa** cause to withhold hospitality  
 P- **kuséndwa** be denied hospitality  
 R- **kuséndangana** withhold hospitality from each other

**kusénjeera** buy beer

A- **kusénjeerera** buy beer for  
 C- **kusénjeeza** cause to buy beer

P- **kusénjeerwa** (of beer) be bought  
 R- **kusénjeererangana** buy beer for each other  
 A+P- **kusénjeererwa** be bought beer  
 A+R- **kusénjeererangana** buy beer for each other

**kusénsera** permeate, enter  
 A- **kusénserera** permeate through  
 C- **kusénseza** cause to enter  
 P- **kusénserwa** be permeated

**kusereka** hide (something from someone)  
 A- **kuserecera** hide for  
 C- **kusereca** cause to hide  
 P- **kuserekwa** be hidden  
 R- **kuserekangana** hide something from each other  
 V- **kuserekurura** bring out of hiding  
 X- **kuserura** expose; (of moon) rise, appear  
 A+P- **kuserecerwa** be hidden something  
 A+R- **kuserecerangana** hide for each other  
 C+R- **kuserecangana** cause each other to hide something

**kusiba** lock, imprison  
 A- **kusibira** lock for/at  
 C- **kusibisa** cause to lock  
 P- **kusibwa** be locked  
 X- **kusibika** fasten, tether  
 V- **kusibura** unfasten  
 A+P- **kusibirwa** be locked something  
 A+R- **kusibirangana** lock for each other  
 C+R- **kusibisangana** cause each other to lock  
 X+A- **kusibicira** fasten for  
 X+P- **kusibikwa** be fastened  
 V+A- **kusiburira** unfasten for  
 V+P- **kusiburwa** be unfastened  
 V+A+P- **kusiburirwa** be unfastened something  
 V+A+R- **kusiburirangana** unfasten for each other

**kusíga** leave behind  
 A- **kusíjira** leave behind while at; entrust to  
 C- **kusíjisa** cause to leave behind  
 P- **kusígwa** be left behind  
 R- **kusígangana** leave at different times,  
     go at different paces  
 X- **kusígara** be left behind, stay  
 I- **kusíjirira** leave before the end  
 A+P- **kusíjirwa** be entrusted with something  
 A+R- **kusíjirangana** entrust each other with  
 C+P- **kusíjisibwa** be caused to leave behind; wander to a  
     new concern  
 C+R- **kusíjisangana** cause each other to leave behind  
 X+C- **kusígara** cause to stay; be left with

**kusigeigana** pass the buck  
 A- **kusigeiganira** pass the buck at

C- **kusigeiganisa** pass the buck to  
 A+P- **kusigeiganirwa** (of task) be subject of contention  
 C+P- **kusigeiganisibwa** (of person) be passed the buck

**kusigisa** stir  
 A- **kusigisira** stir for/at  
 C- **kusigisisa** cause to stir  
 P- **kusigisibwa** be stirred  
 - **kusigiswa** be stirred  
 A+P- **kusigisirwa** be stirred something  
 A+R- **kusigisirangana** stirr for each other

**kusigura** steal a person's wife; provide cause for not  
 doing something  
 A- **kusigurira** steal.. for  
 C- **kusiguza** cause to steal..  
 P- **kusigurwa** be stolen  
 R- **kusigurangana** provide excuse for each other

**kusiiba** spend the day; fast  
 A- **kusiibira** pass the day on(food)  
 C- **kusiibya** cause to spend the day  
 P- **kusiibwamu** be spend the day in  
 V- **kusiibura** bid farewell  
 V+A- **kusiiburira** bid farewell for/at  
 V+P- **kusiiburwa** be bidden farewell  
 V+R- **kusiiburangana** bid each other farewell  
 V+S- **kusiiburuka** break the fast

**kusiiga** smear, paint  
 A- **kusiijira** smear for/at  
 C- **kusiijisa** cause to smear  
 P- **kusiigwa** be smeared  
 R- **kusiigangana** smear each other  
 A+R- **kusiijirangana** smear for each other

**kusiima** thank, approve of  
 A- **kusiimira** thank for/at  
 C- **kusiimisa** cause to thank  
 P- **kusiimwa** be thanked  
 R- **kusiimangana** thank each other; like each other  
 A+P- **kusiimirwa** be thanked someone

**kusiimura** wake up (transitive)  
 A- **kusiimurira** wake up for/at  
 C- **kusiimuza** cause to wake up  
 P- **kusiimurwa** be woken up  
 S- **kusiimuka** wake up (intransitive)  
 A+P- **kusiimurirwa** be woken someone  
 C+R- **kusiimuzangana** cause each other to wake up  
 S+A- **kusiimucira** wake up at

**kusiisa** spoil  
 A- **kusiisira** spoil for/at; encamp

C- **kusiisisa** cause to spoil  
 P- **kusiiswa** be spoilt  
 X- **kusiisikara** be spoilt, go wrong

**kusiita** crush

A- **kusiitira** crush for/at  
 C- **kusiitisa** cause to crush  
 P- **kusiitwa** be crushed  
 I- **kusiitiira** crush, press hard on  
 A+P- **kusiitirwa** be crushed something  
 A+R- **kusiitirangana** crush for each other

**kusika** pull; inherit

A- **kusicira** pull for/at  
 C- **kusicisa** cause to pull; bequeath  
 R- **kusikana** wrangle  
 - **kusikangana** pull each other  
 P- **kusikwa** be inherited  
 X- **kusikankura** pull forcefully  
 S- **kusikuka** be pulled off  
 V- **kusikura** pull off/out  
 R+C- **kusikanisa** bring into a wrangle  
 V+A- **kusikurira** pull off for  
 V+C- **kusikuza** cause to pull off  
 V+P- **kusikurwa** be pulled off

**kusikina** hicough

A- **kusikinira** hicough at  
 C- **kusikinisa** cause to hicough

**kusimba** erect, place upright

A- **kusimbira** erect for  
 C- **kusimbisa** cause to erect  
 P- **kusimbwa** be erected  
 S- **kusimbuka** (of e.g. a car) move, be movable  
 V- **kusimbura** set in motion, move (trans & intr)  
 A+P- **kusimbirwa** be erected something  
 A+R- **kusimbirangana** erect for each other  
 C+R- **kusimbisangana** cause each other to erect  
 V+A- **kusimburira** set in motion for  
 V+C- **kusimbuza** cause to set in motion

**kusinda** be drunk; groan with pain; (of lion) roar

A- **kusindira** be drunk for/at  
 C- **kusinza** cause to be drunk  
 S- **kusinduuka** become sober  
 V- **kusinduura** make sober  
 C+P- **kusinzibwa** be made drunk  
 C+R- **kusinzangana** make each other drunk  
 S+A- **kusinduucira** become sober at

**kusindika** push; dispatch/send

A- **kusindicira** push for; (of mother) push baby out  
 C- **kusindicisa** cause to push

P- **kusindikwa** be pushed  
 R- **kusindikana** shove, jostle  
 A+P- **kusindicirwa** be pushed something; (of baby) be pushed out  
 A+R- **kusindicirangana** push for each other  
 C+R- **kusindicisangana** cause each other to push

**kusindura** uproot  
 A- **kusindurira** uproot for  
 C- **kusinduza** cause to uproot  
 P- **kusindurwa** be uprooted  
 S- **kusinduka** be uprooted  
 A+P- **kusindurirwa** be uprooted something  
 A+R- **kusindurirangana** uproot for each other  
 C+R- **kusinduzangana** cause each other to uproot

**kusinga** rub clean  
 A- **kusinjira** rub for/at  
 C- **kusinjisa** cause to rub  
 P- **kusingwa** be rubbed  
 A+P- **kusinjirwa** be rubbed something  
 A+R- **kusinjirangana** rub for each other  
 C+R- **kusinjisangana** cause each other to rub

**kusinga** win, overcome  
 A- **kusinjira** win at  
 C- **kusinjisa** cause to win; cause to be overcome/fail  
 P- **kusingwa** fail, be overcome  
 R- **kusingangana** compete  
 X- **kusinjisiriza** make fail unfairly  
 A+P- **kusinjirwa** fail for/at  
 R+A- **kusinganganira** compete at

**kusisa** resemble  
 R- **kusisana** resemble each other  
 R+A- **kusisanira** resemble each other for/at  
 R+C- **kusisanisa** confuse, mix up, compare (esp. faces)  
 R+P- **kusisanwa** be resembled

**kusitama** sit  
 A- **kusitamira** sit on  
 C- **kusitamisa** cause to sit  
 A+P- **kusitamirwa** be sat on

**kusoba** go wrong  
 A- **kusobera** baffle, be wrong at  
 C- **kusobya** err  
 S- **kusobooka** be clear, be understandable  
 - **kusobooroka** (e.g. of weavework) be set right  
 V- **kusoboorora** set right; explain  
 - **kusobora** cope with, be able  
 A+P- **kusoberwa** be baffled and saddened  
 A+C- **kusobeza** err for, disappoint  
 S+A- **kusoboocera** be clear to/at

V+A- **kusoboororera** explain for/at  
 V+P- **kusoboororwa** be explained something  
 V+R- **kusoboororangana** explain to each other  
 S+A+P- **kusoboocerwa** understand clearly;  
 be enlightened/modern

**kusohora** go out  
 A- **kusohorera** go out at  
 C- **kusohoza** cause to go out  
 S- **kusohooroka** fall out (e.g. from a bundle)  
 V- **kusohoorora** pull out  
 A+C- **kusohoreza** cause to go out for/at  
 C+P- **kusohozibwa** be taken out  
 S+A- **kusohoorocera** fall out at  
 V+A- **kusohoororera** pull out for/at

**kusókoza** comb  
 A- **kusókoreza** comb for/at  
 C- **kusókozeza** cause to comb  
 P- **kusókozibwa** be combed  
 R- **kusókozangana** comb each other

**kusoma** read; attend school/church; sip  
 A- **kusomera** read for/at  
 C- **kusomasa** cause to read; teach/preach  
 P- **kusomwa** be read  
 S- **kusomeka** be legible  
 I- **kusomerera** curse by reading from a holy book  
 I+C- **kusomeereza** drink while eating  
 A+P- **kusomerwa** be read something  
 A+R- **kusomerangana** read for each other  
 C+P- **kusomesibwa** be taught, be preached to  
 C+R- **kusomesangana** cause each other to read

**kusómba** fetch in several trips  
 A- **kusómbera** fetch for  
 C- **kusómbesa** cause to fetch  
 P- **kusómbwa** be fetched  
 I- **kusómberera** fetch in several trips  
 A+P- **kusómberwa** be fetched something  
 A+R- **kusómberangana** fetch for each other  
 C+P- **kusómbesibwa** be caused to fetch  
 C+R- **kusómbesangana** cause each other to fetch

**kusomboora** move items from a house; steal (almost)  
 everything  
 A- **kusomboorerera** move items for/at  
 C- **kusombooza** cause to move items  
 P- **kusomboorwa** (of things) be moved, be stolen; (of people)  
 lose items through theft  
 S- **kusombooka** come together from all over

**kusona** sew  
 A- **kusonera** sew for/at



C- **kusonesa** cause to sew  
 P- **kusonwa** be sewn  
 A+P- **kusonerwa** be sewn something  
 A+R- **kusonerangana** sew for each other  
 C+A- **kusoneseza** cause to sew for  
 C+P- **kusonesibwa** be caused to sew  
 C+R- **kusonesangana** cause each other to sew

**kusongora** sharpen (e.g. a peg)  
 A- **kusongorera** sharpen for/at  
 C- **kusongoza** cause to sharpen  
 P- **kusongorwa** be sharpened  
 S- **kusongoka** be sharpened  
 A+P- **kusongorerwa** be sharpened something  
 A+R- **kusongorerangana** sharpen for each other  
 C+P- **kusongozibwa** be caused to sharpen  
 C+R- **kusongozangana** cause each other to sharpen

**kusoora** extinguish (esp. a plant)  
 A- **kusoorera** extinguish for/at  
 C- **kusooza** cause to extinguish  
 P- **kusoorwa** be extinguished  
 S- **kusooka** be extinguished  
 A+P- **kusoorerwa** be extinguished something  
 A+R- **kusoorerangana** extinguish for each other  
 C+R- **kusoozangana** cause each other to extinguish

**kusora** pay tax  
 A- **kusorera** pay tax for  
 C- **kusoza** cause to pay tax  
 P- **kusorwa** (of tax) be paid  
 A+C- **kusoreza** cause to pay tax for/at; sniff  
 A+P- **kusorerwa** be paid tax for  
 A+R- **kusorerangana** pay tax for each other  
 C+P- **kusozibwa** be caused to pay tax  
 C+R- **kusozangana** cause each other to pay tax

**kusoroma** pick  
 A- **kusoromera** pick for/at  
 C- **kusoromesa** cause to pick  
 P- **kusoromwa** be picked  
 A+P- **kusoromerwa** be picked something  
 A+R- **kusoromerangana** pick for each other  
 C+R- **kusoromesangana** cause each other to pick

**kusoroora** set apart, sort out  
 A- **kusoroorera** set apart for/at  
 C- **kusoroora** cause to set apart  
 P- **kusoroorwa** be set apart  
 A+P- **kusoroorerwa** be sorted something  
 A+R- **kusoroorerangana** sort out for each other  
 C+P- **kusoroozibwa** be caused to sort out  
 C+R- **kusoroozangana** cause each other to sort out

**kusótooka** walk feebly/stealthly  
 A- **kusótoocera** walk feebly for/at; stalk  
 C- **kusótooca** cause to walk feebly  
 A+P- **kusótoocerwa** be stalked  
 C+P- **kusótoocibwa** be caused to walk feebly

**kusuka** pour  
 A- **kusucira** pour for/at  
 C- **kusucisa** cause to pour  
 P- **kusukwa** be poured  
 X- **kusukaanura** pour from one vessel into another  
 A+P- **kusucirwa** be poured something  
 A+R- **kusucirangana** pour for each other  
 C+R- **kusucisangana** cause each other to pour

**kusúmika** join, tie a knot  
 A- **kusúmicira** tie a knot for/at  
 C- **kusúmicisa** cause to tie a knot  
 P- **kusúmikwa** be tied into a knot  
 X- **kusúminkanisa** splice, mend (a rope)  
 A+P- **kusúmicirwa** be tied a knot  
 A+R- **kusúmicirangana** tie a knot for each other  
 C+R- **kusúmicisangana** cause each other to tie a knot

**kusúna** pinch; (of breasts) develop  
 A- **kusúnira** pinch for/at  
 C- **kusúnisa** cause to pinch  
 P- **kusúnwa** be pinched  
 R- **kusúnangana** pinch each other  
 A+P- **kusúnirwa** be pinched someone  
 A+R- **kusúnirangana** pinch for each other

**kusunga** flatter, lionize  
 A- **kusunjira** flatter at  
 C- **kusunjisa** cause flatter  
 P- **kusungwa** be flattered  
 R- **kusungangana** flatter each other

**kusúnga** regard a person as shameful  
 A- **kusúnjira** regard as shameful at  
 C- **kusúnjisa** cause to regard as shameful  
 P- **kusúngwa** be regarded as shameful  
 R- **kusúngangana** regard each other as shameful  
 A+R- **kusúnjirangana** regard as shameful for each other  
 C+R- **kusúnjisangana** cause each other to be regarded  
 as shameful  
 R+A- **kusúnjirangana** regard each other as shameful at

**kusúra** herald, be an omen  
 A- **kusúrira** herald for/at  
 C- **kusúza** cause to herald  
 P- **kusúrwa** be heralded  
 A+P- **kusúrirwa** be heralded something  
 A+R- **kusúrirangana** herald for each other

**kusútura** lift

- A- **kusúturira** lift up for; lift many things simultaneously
- C- **kusútuza** cause to lift up
- P- **kusúturwa** be lifted up
- S- **kusútuka** go up/rise
- A+P- **kusúturirwa** be lifted something
- A+R- **kusúturirangana** lift up for each other
- C+P- **kusútuzibwa** be caused to lift
- C+R- **kusútuzangana** cause each other to lift

**kusuubura** peel

- A- **kusuuburira** peel for
- C- **kusuubuza** cause to peel; invest
- P- **kusuuburwa** be peeled
- A+P- **kusuuburirwa** be peeled something
- A+R- **kusuuburirangana** peel for each other
- C+P- **kusuubuzibwa** be caused to peel
- C+R- **kusuubuzangana** cause each other to peel

**kusuuma** go down hill

- A- **kusuumira** go down hill at
- C- **kusuumya** take down hill
- P- **kusuumwa** (of a hill) be descended
- C+R- **kusuumyangana** take each other down hill

**kusuura** greet

- A- **kusuurira** greet for/at
- C- **kusuuza** cause to greet; approach
- P- **kusuurwa** be greeted
- R- **kusuurangana** greet each other
- V- **kusuuru(u)ra** uncover
- A+C- **kusuuriza** check on, visit
- A+P- **kusuurirwa** be greeted someone
- A+R- **kusuurirangana** greet for each other
- V+P- **kusuuru(u)rwa** be uncovered
- V+R- **kusuuru(u)rangana** uncover each other

**kuswara** be exposed, be shamed

- C- **kuswaza** expose, shame
- C+A- **kuswariza** expose for/at
- C+P- **kuswazibwa** be exposed
- C+R- **kuswazangana** expose each other

**kusweka** cover

- A- **kuswecera** cover for/at
- C- **kuswecesa** cause to cover
- P- **kuswekwa** be covered
- R- **kuswekangana** cover each other
- A+P- **kuswecerwa** be covered something
- A+R- **kuswecerangana** cover for each other
- C+R- **kuswecesangana** cause each other to cover

**kuswêra** (of a man) marry

A- kuswérera marry at  
 C- kuswéza cause to marry  
 P- kuswérwa (of a woman) be married  
 R- kuswérangana marry each other  
 I- kuswérerera arrange a marriage for (a man)  
 C+P- kuswézibwa be caused to marry  
 C+R- kuswézangana cause each other to marry

kúnya burn, catch fire; ripen; be cooked  
 A- kuhíira burn at; pity  
 C- kuhíisa cause to be cooked; brew beer  
 I- kuhíirira be excited  
 X- kuhíisiriza (esp. of a boil) be very 'ripe' and ready to  
 burst open  
 A+P- kuhíirwa(mu) have something burn at; be lucky  
 C+A- kuhíisiza cause to ripen for/at  
 C+P- kuhíisibwa cause to be ripe/cooked

kúta put  
 A- kutéera put for  
 C- kutéisa cause to put; forbid  
 P- kutéebwa be put  
 C+A- kutéiseza cause to put for, forbid for  
 C+P- kutéisibwa be forbidden something  
 C+R- kutéisangana forbid each other

kutáaga seek pity; clutch at/try anything for help  
 A- kutáájira seek pity from  
 C- kutáájisa cause to seek pity  
 X- kutááguzwa clutch at anything for help  
 I+C- kutáájiriza plead, entreaty  
 A+C- kutáájisangana cause each other to seek pity  
 A+R- kutáájirangana seek pity from each other

kutáágura tear  
 A- kutáágurira tear for/at  
 C- kutááguzwa cause to tear  
 P- kutáágurwa be torn  
 S- kutááguka become torn  
 X- kutáágurikana be dawn  
 A+P- kutáágurirwa be torn something  
 A+R- kutáágurirangana tear for each other  
 C+P- kutááguzibwa be caused to tear  
 C+R- kutááguzangana cause each other to tear

kutaaha go home, enter  
 A- kutaahira enter for/at; (of bees) enter hive  
 C- kutaahisa go home with (means)  
 - kutaasya take/bring inside  
 P- kutahwa be entered  
 I- kutaahirira intrude upon  
 A+C- kutaahisa force one's way through  
 C+P- kutaahisibwa be caused to go home  
 I+P- kutaahirirwa be intruded upon

**kutáana** separate (intransitive); do by turns

A- **kutáánira** separate at

C- **kutáánisa** cause to separate

X- **kutáánuukana** separate (intransitive)

**kutaba** struggle to get out of a quagmire/mud, play in mud

A- **kutabira** struggle at; cover esp. a hole with earth

C- **kutabisa** cause to struggle

P- **kutabwa** (esp. of mud) be played with

S- **kutabuka** emerge, arise; (of child) be very active/playful

V- **kutabura** (of water) boil

C+P- **kutabisibwa** be caused to struggle

C+R- **kutabisangana** cause each other to struggle

V+A- **kutaburira** boil at

**kutabaara** visit the king's residence; go to pick a fight

A- **kutabaarira** visit for; pick a fight at

C- **kutabaaza** cause to pick a fight

P- **kutabaarwa** be attacked

S- **kutabaaruka** return safely; (of a mother) deliver safely

**kutagata** be warm

A- **kutagatira** be warm at

C- **kutagasa** warm

A+P- **kutagatirwa** feel warm

C+A- **kutagasiza** warm for

C+P- **kutagasibwa** be warmed

**kutáha** scoop, draw (e.g. water)

A- **kutáhira** scoop for/at

C- **kutáhisa** cause to scoop

P- **kutáhwa** be scooped

A+P- **kutáhirwa** be scooped something

A+R- **kutáhirangana** scoop for each other

C+P- **kutáhisibwa** be caused to scoop

C+R- **kutáhisangana** cause each other to scoop

**kutáhata** carry in the hand esp. with something else  
on the head

A- **kutáhatira** carry for

C- **kutáhatisa** cause to carry

P- **kutáhatwa** be carried

A+P- **kutáhatirwa** be carried something

A+R- **kutáhatirangana** carry for each other

C+P- **kutáhasibwa** be caused to carry

**kutáma** disgust, displease

A- **kutámira** disgust at

C- **kutámisa** anger

P- **kutámwa** be angry, dislike

R- **kutámangana** dislike each other

A+P- **kutámirwa** dislike at

C+P- **kutámisibwa** be caused to dislike

**kutámba** cure (a disease); offer sacrifice

A- **kutámbira** treat (a patient), rescue

C- **kutámbisa** cure with (medicine), consult a doctor concerning a disease

- **kutámbya** bother, be a nuisance, persecute

P- **kutámbwa** (of a disease) be cured

A+P- **kutámbirwa** (of a patient) be treated

A+R- **kutámbirangana** treat each other

C+A- **kutámbisiza** cause (a patient) to be treated

C+R- **kutámbyangana** persecute each other

**kutámbura** stride

A- **kutámburira** stride at

C- **kutámbuza** cause to stride

P- **kutámburwa** (of a journey) be stridden

S- **kutámbuka** stride

S+A- **kutámbucira** stride at

**kutámika** feed, put into the mouth

A- **kutámicira** feed for/at

P- **kutámikwa** be fed

R- **kutámikangana** feed each other

A+P- **kutámicirwa** be fed at

**kutana** fester

A- **kutanira** fester at

C- **kutanisa** cause to fester

C+P- **kutanisibwa** be caused to fester

**kutánaka** vomit

A- **kutánacira** vomit on

C- **kutánaca** cause to vomit

P- **kutánakwa** be vomited

X- **kutánacirana** vomit severely

A+C- **kutánaciza** cause to vomit for

A+P- **kutánacirwa** be vomited on

A+R- **kutánacirangana** vomit on each other

C+P- **kutánacibwa** be caused to vomit

C+R- **kutánacangana** cause each other to vomit

**kutandama** sit astride

A- **kutandamira** sit astride for/at

C- **kutandanya** cause to sit astride

V- **kutandamura** set astride

I+C- **kutandamiriza** sit astride

A+P- **kutandamirwa** be sat astride for

A+R- **kutandamirangana** sit astride for each other

**kutándika** start work

A- **kutándicira** start work for/at

C- **kutándicisa** cause to start work

P- **kutándikwa** (of work) be started

A+P- **kutándicirwa** be started something  
 A+R- **kutándicirangana** start for each other  
 C+R- **kutándicisangana** cause each other to start

**kutánga** forbid, bring back; go ahead/be first  
 A- **kutánjira** forbid for/at  
 C- **kutánjisa** cause to forbid  
 P- **kutángwa** be forbidden  
 A+P- **kutánjirwa** be brought back something  
 A+R- **kutánjirangana** bring back for each other  
 C+R- **kutánjisangana** cause each other to bring back

**kutangaara** be surprised  
 A- **kutangaarira** be surprised at  
 C- **kutangaaza** surprise  
 A+P- **kutangaarirwa** be marvelled

**kutantamura** enlarge  
 A- **kutantamurira** enlarge for/at  
 C- **kutantamuza** cause to enlarge  
 P- **kutantamurwa** be enlarged  
 S- **kutantamuka** become large  
 A+P- **kutantamurirwa** be enlarged something  
 A+R- **kutantamurirangana** enlarge for each other  
 C+P- **kutantamuzibwa** be caused to enlarge  
 C+R- **kutantamuzangana** cause each other to enlarge

**kutaraaka** splash, pop out (intransitive)  
 A- **kutaraacira** splash at  
 C- **kutaraaca** cause to splash  
 A+P- **kutaraacirwa** have something splash onto self  
 C+A- **kutaraaciza** cause to splash for/at

**kutárika** set up to dry  
 A- **kutáricira** dry for  
 C- **kutáricisa** cause to dry  
 P- **kutárikwa** be dried  
 I+C- **kutáriiciriza** dry with insufficient heat  
 A+P- **kutáricirwa** be dried something  
 A+R- **kutáricirangana** dry for each other

**kutátira** warn  
 A- **kutátirira** warn for/at  
 P- **kutátirwa** be warned  
 R- **kutátirangana** warn each other

**kutebya** tell a story, converse  
 A- **kutebeza** tell a story to/at  
 I+C- **kutebereza** add fanciful parts to a story, exaggerate  
 A+P- **kutebezibwa** be told a story

**kuteega** curse, procure a magic spell  
 A- **kuteejera** curse at  
 C- **kuteejesa** cause to curse

P- **kuteegwa** (of magic spell) be procured  
 V- **kuteegura** make offering to undo magic spell against self  
 I- **kuteejerera** curse someone, procure magic spell  
     against someone  
 I+P- **kuteejererwa** be cursed  
 I+R- **kuteejererangana** curse each other

**kutéeka** cook; (of solution) settle; make (a law)  
 A- **kutéecera** cook for/at; settle at; make a law for; pile up  
 C- **kuteecesa** cause to cook  
 P- **kutéekwa** be cooked  
 R- **kutéekaana** settle, calm down  
 V- **kutéekurura** unpack  
 D- **kutéekateeka** prepare  
 I- **kutéecerera** press down upon; concentrate  
 A+P- **kutéecerwa** be cooked something  
 A+R- **kutéecerangana** cook for each other  
 C+P- **kutéecesibwa** be caused to cook  
 C+R- **kutéecesangana** cause each other to cook  
     - **kutéecerana** pile upon each other  
 R+A- **kutéekaanira** settle for  
 R+C- **kutéekaanisa** cause to calm down  
 I+C- **kutéecerera** think, reflect

**kutéekama** perch; be naughty  
 A- **kutéekamira** be naughty to  
 C- **kutéekamisa** cause to be naughty  
 A+P- **kutéekamirwa** be victim of naughty behavior  
 A+R- **kutéekamirana** be naughty to each other

**kutéera** hit  
 A- **kutéerera** hit for/at; prune a banana tree  
 C- **kutéeza** cause to hit, cause to be hit  
 P- **kutéerwa** be hit  
 R- **kutéerangana** hit each other  
     - **kutéerana** cause to be at loggerheads; mix up  
 A+P- **kutéererwa** be pruned; be hit for/at  
 A+R- **kutéererangana** hit for each other  
 C+P- **kutéézibwa** be caused to hit  
 C+R- **kutéézangana** cause each other to hit/be hit  
 R+A- **kutééranigana** hit each other at  
     - **kutééranira** cause to be at loggerheads for; mix at  
 I+C- **kutéererera** be a bad guy

**kutéga** set a trap; shave  
 A- **kutéjera** set a trap for, ambush; shave for  
 C- **kutéjesa** cause to set a trap; cause to shave;  
     become incorrigible  
 P- **kutégwa** be trapped; be shaved  
 R- **kutégangana** trap each other  
 S- **kutéguuruka** (of a trap) go off  
 V- **kutéguurura** unset a trap  
     - **kutégura** clear space by putting things away,  
     remove dishes after a meal



A+P- **kutéjerwa** be set a trap, be ambushed  
 A+R- **kutéjerangana** set a trap for each other;  
 ambush each other  
 C+P- **kutéjesibwa** be caused to set a trap; be caused to shave  
 C+R- **kutéjesangana** cause each other to set a trap;  
 cause each other to shave  
 S+A- **kutéguurucira** go off at  
 V+A- **kutéguururira** unset a trap for/at  
 V+P- **kutéguururwa** be unset  
 I+C- **kutéjereza** wait for, expect  
 V+A+R- **kutéguururirangana** unset traps for each other

**kutéjeka** control, manage, make rules  
 A- **kutéjecera** manage for/at  
 C- **kutéjecesa** cause to manage  
 P- **kutéjekwa** be managed  
 A+R- **kutéjecerana** have mutual understanding/control  
 I+C- **kutéjecereza** lord it over others

**kutéisura** let go  
 A- **kutéisurira** let go for/at  
 P- **kutéisurwa** be dropped, be let free  
 S- **kutéisuka** slip off

**kutéma** cut  
 A- **kutémera** cut for/at  
 C- **kutémesa** cause to cut  
 P- **kutémbwa** be cut  
 R- **kutémasingana** cut each other, fight  
 S- **kutémuuruka** (of a bush) be cleared; (of a sore) enlarge,  
 get worse  
 V- **kutémuurura** clear overgrown bush  
 A+P- **kutémerwa** be cut something  
 A+R- **kutémerangana** cut for each other  
 C+P- **kutémesibwa** be caused to cut  
 C+R- **kutémesangana** cause each other to cut  
 R+A- **kutémanganira** cut each other at  
 R+C- **kutémanganisa** cause to fight  
 V+A- **kutémuururira** clear overgrown bush for  
 V+C- **kutémuuruza** cause to clear overgrown bush  
 V+R- **kutémuuruzangana** cause each other to clear  
 overgrown bush

**kutemba** go up  
 A- **kutembera** go up at  
 C- **kutembya** take up  
 P- **kutembwa** be climbed  
 V- **kutembuura** begin a new field  
 A+C- **kutembeza** take up for/at  
 V+C- **kutembuuza** cause to begin a new field

**kuténdeka** ordain; put in a special position  
 A- **kuténdecera** ordain for  
 P- **kuténdekwa** be ordained

R- **kuténdekangana** ordain each other

**kutengeeta** sway, be loose

A- **kutengeetera** sway at

C- **kutengeesa** cause to sway

C+P- **kutengeesibwa** be caused to sway

**kuténsa** confer, plot; court (a woman)

A- **kuténseza** confer at; court for/at

**kutóra** even ploughed land

A- **kutórerera** even for

C- **kutóra** cause to even

P- **kutórwa** be evened

I- **kutóreera** be flat; be calm/settled/satisfied

A+P- **kutórerwa** be evened ploughed land

A+R- **kutórerangana** even for each other

C+P- **kutézibwa** be caused to even

C+R- **kutézangana** cause each other to even

I+C- **kutóreera** make flat; make settled

I+C+P- **kutóreezibwa** be made flat, be calmed

**kutórama** stay up late

A- **kutóramira** stay up late for/at

C- **kutóramya** cause to stay up late

A+P- **kutóramirwa** have guests stay up late

A+R- **kutóramirangana** stay up late for each other

**kuterebura** slip off, take away quickly/briefly

A- **kutereburira** slip off for/at

P- **kutereburwa** be slipped off

S- **kuterebuka** slip off (intransitive)

**kutéreka** give beer

A- **kutéredera** give beer for/at

C- **kutérecesa** cause to give beer

P- **kutérekwa** be given beer

R- **kutérekangana** give beer to each other

I- **kutéreecerera** offer sacrifice

**kuterera** slip, be smooth

A- **kutererera** slip at

C- **kutereza** cause to slip

C+P- **kuterezibwa** be caused to slip

**kutérura** lift off from fire

A- **kutérurira** lift off for/at

C- **kutéruruza** cause to lift off

P- **kutérurwa** be lifted off

S- **kutéruruka** fall off balancing point

A+P- **kutérurirwa** be lifted something

A+R- **kutérurirangana** lift for each other

C+P- **kutéruruzibwa** be caused to lift off

C+R- **kutéruruzangana** cause each other to lift off

**kutéta** (of a child) be spoilt

A- **kutétera** be spoilt at

C- **kutésa** spoil ( a child)

C+A- **kutéseza** spoil for/at

**kutetema** tremble

A- **kutetemera** tremble at

C- **kutetemesa** cause to tremble

C+R- **kutetemesangana** cause each other to tremble

**kutétera** (of a hen) cackle

A- **kutéterera** cackle at

C- **kutéteza** cause to cackle

C+P- **kutétezibwa** be caused to cackle

**kutiga** pierce

A- **kutijira** pierce for

C- **kutijisa** cause to pierce

P- **kutigwa** be pierced

A+C- **kutijiza** hint, wink

A+P- **kutijirwa** be pierced something

A+R- **kutijirangana** pierce for each other

C+P- **kutijisibwa** be caused to pierce

C+R- **kutijisangana** cause each other to pierce

**kutiganda** cut wood for building

A- **kutigandira** cut wood for/at

C- **kutigandisa** cause to cut wood

P- **kutigandwa** be cut

**kutiina** fear

A- **kutiinira** be afraid at/for

C- **kutiinisa** frighten

P- **kutiinwa** be feared

R- **kutiinangana** fear each other

C+R- **kutiinisanangana** frighten each other

**kutiiza** lend, borrow; invite

A- **kutiiriza** borrow for/lend for; invite for

P- **kutiizibwa** be lent/be borrowed; be invited

R- **kutiizangana** lend to each other; invite each other

**kutimba** dig (holes)

A- **kutimbira** dig for

C- **kutimbisa** cause to dig

P- **kutimbwa** be dug

A+P- **kutimbirwa** be dug something

A+R- **kutimbirangana** dig for each other

C+P- **kutimbisibwa** be caused to dig

C+R- **kutimbisangana** cause each other to dig

**kutinda** bridge; set up a bed

A- **kutindira** bridge for/at; set up a bed for

C- **kutindisa** cause to bridge  
 P- **kutindwa** be bridged  
 V- **kutinduura** unset a bed  
 A+P- **kutindirwa** be bridged something  
 A+R- **kutindirangana** bridge for each other  
 C+P- **kutinzibwa** be caused to bridge  
 C+R- **kutinzangana** cause each other to bridge

**kutitira** be cold  
 A- **kutitirira** be cold at  
 C- **kutitiza** cause to be cold  
 C+P- **kutitizibwa** be caused to be cold  
 C+R- **kutitizangana** cause each other to be cold

**kutobera** sink; (of sun) set  
 A- **kutoberera** sink at  
 C- **kutobeza** cause to sink; pass the day  
 P- **kutoberwamu** be sank in  
 C+P- **kutobezibwa** be caused to sink

**kutomera** knock into  
 A- **kutomerera** knock into for/at  
 C- **kutomeza** cause to knock into  
 P- **kutomerwa** be knocked into  
 R- **kutomerangana** knock into each other  
 C+P- **kutomezibwa** be caused to knock into  
 C+R- **kutomezangana** cause each other to knock into

**kutóna** announce a surprise event  
 A- **kutónera** (of an insect) sting  
 P- **kutónwa** be given surprise news  
 R- **kutónangana** give surprise news to each other  
 X- **kutóneka** arouse pain from a wound  
 A+C- **kutónexa** cause to sting, cause to be stung  
 A+P- **kutónerwa** be stung  
 X+X- **kutónekara** have a wound irritated

**kutonda** (of god) create; discriminate against a non-relative  
 A- **kutondera** create for/at  
 P- **kutondwa** be created  
 R- **kutondangana** discriminate against each other  
 V- **kutondoora** trace one's lineage

**kutóndora** peel, split pods  
 A- **kutóndorera** peel for  
 C- **kutóndoza** cause to peel  
 P- **kutóndorwa** be peeled  
 S- **kutóndoka** be peeled, lose skin  
 A+P- **kutóndorerwa** be peeled something  
 A+R- **kutóndorerangana** peel for each other  
 C+P- **kutóndoziibwa** be caused to peel  
 C+R- **kutóndoziangana** cause each other to peel  
 S+A- **kutóndocera** be peeled at

**kutónga** demand payment of a debt  
 A- **kutónjera** demand payment for/at  
 C- **kutónja** complain to oneself about misfortunes  
 - **kutónjesa** cause to demand payment  
 P- **kutóngwa** be told to pay a debt  
 R- **kutóngana** quarrel  
 - **kutóngangana** demand payment from each other  
 I- **kutónjerera** direct incantations to the spirits  
 X- **kwétónjeza** pray to the spirits (i.e. demand fair treatment from the supernatural powers. N.B. reflexive)  
 - **kutónjesereza** be a very impatient creditor  
 C+A- **kutónjeza** complain to self at  
 R+A- **kutónganira** plead for  
 R+C- **kutónganisa** attack verbally, engage someone in a quarrel

**kutóoka** sprout  
 A- **kutóócera** sprout at

**kutóonya** drip  
 A- **kutóónyera** drip onto  
 I- **kutóónyerera** drizzle  
 A+C- **kutóónyeza** cause to drip onto; write elegantly  
 A+P- **kutóónyerwa** be dripped something onto  
 V+S- **kutóónyororoka** stop drizzling

**kutóora** take, receive; (of a path) come into common use  
 A- **kutóórera** take for/at  
 C- **kutóoza** cause to take; cause to come into common use; select  
 P- **kutórwa** be taken  
 R- **kutóórana** pick up something lost by chance  
 A+C- **kutóóreza** copy, imitate, mimick

**kutóroboza** pick fruit before ripening  
 A- **kutóroboreza** pick for  
 C- **kutórobozesa** cause to pick  
 P- **kutórobozibwa** be picked

**kutóroza** cause to run away, kidnap  
 A- **kutórorera** cause to run away for/to/at  
 C- **kutóroza** cause to kidnap  
 P- **kutórorwa** be kidnapped, be caused to run away  
 R- **kutórorangana** cause each other to run away  
 S- **kutóroka** run away  
 A+R- **kutórorerangana** kidnap for each other  
 S+A- **kutórocera** run away at/to

**kutota** be too soft (due to too much water)  
 A- **kutotera** be too soft at  
 C- **kutosa** cause to be too soft

**kutukura** be red  
 A- **kutukurira** be red at

C- **kutukuza** cause to be red  
 P- **kutukurwa** have a part of self become red  
 C+R- **kutukuzangana** cause each other to be red

**kutúma** send(a person); summon  
 A- **kutúmira** send for/at  
 C- **kutúmisa** cause to send; cause to summon  
 P- **kutúmwa** be sent  
 R- **kutúmagana** send each other  
 A+P- **kutúmirwa** be summoned someone  
 C+P- **kutúmisibwa** be caused to summon  
 I+C- **kutúmiiriza** send on errands too often

**kutumba** swell, increase  
 A- **kutumbira** swell at  
 C- **kutumbisa** cause to swell  
 X- **kutumbika** soak  
 X+A- **kutumbicira** soak for  
 X+P- **kutumbikwa** be soaked

**kutunda** do business, acquire wealth  
 A- **kutundira** do business for/at  
 P- **kutundwa** (of wealth) be acquired  
 A+P- **kutundirwa** be acquired wealth

**kutúnga** be rich; keep, care for  
 A- **kutúnjira** be rich for/at; keep for  
 C- **kutúnjisa** cause to be rich; cause to keep  
 P- **kutúngwa** be kept

**kutunta** fly  
 A- **kutuntira** fly at  
 C- **kutunsa** cause to fly  
 X- **kutuntumura** make fly away  
 X+S- **kutuntumuka** fly away

**kutúntuza** worry, bother (transitive)  
 A- **kutúnturiza** worry for/at  
 P- **kutúntuzibwa** be caused to worry  
 R- **kutúntuzangana** cause each other to worry

**kutúra** object to; (of animals) go out to graze  
 A- **kutúrira** infect  
 C- **kutúza** (of a child) sleep

**kutuuma** heap up  
 A- **kutuumira** heap up; heap up for  
 C- **kutuumisa** cause to heap up  
 P- **kutuumwa** be heaped up  
 S- **kutuumuuka** (of smoke) go up, (of a ball) bounce  
 V- **kutuumuura** blow smoke, bounce a ball  
 A+P- **kutuumirwa** be heaped something  
 A+R- **kutuumirangana** heap up for each other  
 C+R- **kutuumisangana** cause each other to heap up

S+A- **kutuumuucira** go up at  
 V+A- **kutuumuurira** blow for/at  
 V+P- **kutuumuurwa** be blown

**kutúura** live, reside; put down (a load), relieve of a load  
 A- **kutúurira** relieve for  
 C- **kutúuza** live with; cause to put down, cause to relieve  
 P- **kutúurwa** be lived in; be put down, (of a person)  
     be relieved of a load  
 A+P- **kutúurirwa** be relieved someone of a load  
 C+P- **kutúúzibwa** be caused to put down  
 C+R- **kutúúzangana** cause each other to put down

**kutwánga** pound  
 A- **kutwánjira** pound for/at  
 C- **kutwánjisa** cause to pound  
 P- **kutwángwa** be pounded  
 A+P- **kutwánjirwa** be pounded something  
 A+R- **kutwánjirangana** pound for each other  
 C+A- **kutwánjisisa** cause to pound for  
 C+R- **kutwánjisangana** cause each other to pound  
 C+P- **kutwánjisibwa** be caused to pound

**kutwára** take, carry; conceive; rule  
 A- **kutwáririra** take for; take presents to a newly  
     married daughter; conceive at  
 C- **kutwára** cause to take; be rough in manners  
 P- **kutwárwa** be taken; be conceived; be ruled  
 R- **kutwárangana** take each other  
 A+P- **kutwárirwa** be carried something  
 A+R- **kutwárirangana** carry for each other  
 C+P- **kutwázibwa** be caused to take  
 C+R- **kutwázangana** cause each other to take

**kutwéija** press charges; pay tribute/gifts to a ruler  
 A- **kutwéijera** press charges against somebody  
 C- **kutwéijesa** cause to press charges  
 P- **kutwéijwa** (of a case) be brought forward  
 A+A- **kutwéijerera** press charges against somebody for/at  
 A+R- **kutwéijerangana** press charges against each other  
 A+P- **kutwéijerwa** be charged; be handled a case for  
 C+R- **kutwéijesangana** cause each other to press charges  
 C+P- **kutwéijesibwa** be caused to press charges

**kutyára** sharpen  
 A- **kutyárisa** sharpen for/at  
 C- **kutyázisa** cause to sharpen  
 P- **kutyázibwa** be sharpened  
 A+R- **kutyárisangana** sharpen for each other  
 C+R- **kutyázisangana** cause each other to sharpen

**kuvúga** drive, ride  
 A- **kuvújira** drive for/at  
 C- **kuvújisa** cause to drive

P- kuvúgwa be driven  
 A+P- kuvújirwa be driven something  
 A+R- kuvújirangana drive for each other  
 C+P- kuvújisibwa be caused to drive  
 C+R- kuvújisangana cause each other to drive

kuvúmba go to (usually) a neighbor's to drink beer  
 A- kuvúmbira seek beer at  
 C- kuvúmbisa cause to seek beer  
 P- kuvúmbwa be visited by people when there is beer  
 R- kuvúmbangana visit each other for beer

kuyoorwa scoop up  
 A- kuyoorera scoop up for/at  
 C- kuyooza cause to scoop up  
 P- kuyoorwa be scooped up  
 A+P- kuyoorerwa be scooped up something  
 A+R- kuyoorerangana scoop up for each other  
 C+P- kuyoozibwa be caused to scoop up  
 C+R- kuyoozangana cause each other to scoop up

kuzaana play  
 A- kuzaanira play for/at  
 C- kuzaanisa cause to play, joke  
 P- kuzaanwa (of a game) be played  
 A+P- kuzaanirwa be played a game  
 A+R- kuzaanirangana play for each other  
 C+P- kuzaanisibwa be caused to play  
 C+R- kuzaanisangana cause each other to play

kuzáara deliver, give birth  
 A- kuzáarira deliver for/at  
 C- kuzáaza cause to deliver  
 P- kuzáarwa be born  
 A+C- kuzáariza cause deliver for  
 A+P- kuzáarirwa be born child, be born at  
 C+P- kuzáazibwa be caused to deliver  
 C+R- kuzáazangana cause each other to deliver

kuzénjerera go to a place many times; be dizzy  
 C- kuzénjereza cause to go to a place many times;  
     cause to be dizzy  
 C+P- kuzénjerezibwa be caused to go many times;  
     be caused to be dizzy

kuzibira prevent  
 A- kuzibirira prevent for/at  
 C- kuzibiza cause to prevent  
 P- kuzibirwa be prevented  
 R- kuzibirangana prevent each other

kuziha swim  
 A- kuzihira swim at  
 C- kuzihisa cause to swim



C+R- **kuzihisangana** cause each other to swim

**kuziika** bury

A- **kuziicira** bury for

C- **kuziicisa** cause to bury

P- **kuzikwa** be buried

V- **kuziikuura** exhume

A+P- **kuziicirwa** be buried something

A+R- **kuziicirangana** bury for each other

C+R- **kuziicisangana** cause each other to bury

V+A- **kuziikuurira** exhume for

V+P- **kuziikuurwa** be exhumed

**kuzimba** swell

A- **kuzimbira** swell for/at

C- **kuzimbisa** cause to swell

- **kuzimbya** cause to swell

V- **kuzimburura** cause a swelling to disappear

S- **kuzimburuka** (of a swelling) disappear

C+P- **kuzimbisibwa** be caused to swell

V+A- **kuzimburucira** (of swelling) disappear at

**kuzimura** pay back a dowry (after a divorce)

A- **kuzimurira** pay back a dowry to

C- **kuzimuza** cause to pay back a dowry

P- **kuzimurwa** (of a dowry) be paid back

C+R- **kuzimuzangana** cause each other to pay back a dowry

**kuzina** dance, sing

A- **kuzinira** dance for/at

C- **kuzinisa** cause to dance

P- **kuzinwa** be danced

I- **kuzinirira** sing softly in celebration/in anticipation of a prize

A+P- **kuzinirwa** be entertained with a dance/song

A+R- **kuzinirangana** dance for each other

C+R- **kuzinisangana** cause each other to dance

**kuzinda** choke (transitive); close off

A- **kuzindira** choke for/at

C- **kuzindisa** cause to choke

- **kuzinza** cause to choke

P- **kuzindwa** suffocate

C+P- **kuzindisibwa** be caused to choke

**kuzinduka** visit (usually with presents)

A- **kuzinducira** visit (person)

A+P- **kuzinducirwa** be visited

A+R- **kuzinducirangana** visit each other

**kuzinga** role up; give a charm to prevent escape

A- **kuzinjira** role up for/at; charm for/at

C- **kuzinjisa** cause to roll up

P- **kuzingwa** be rolled up; be charmed

D- **kuzingazinga** make very weak, paralyse  
 X- **kuzingama** paralyse, fail to grow normally  
 S- **kuzinguruka** become unwound  
 V- **kuzingurura** unwind  
 I- **kuzinjirira** wind round  
 A+P- **kuzinjirwa** be rolled something  
 A+R- **kuzinjirangana** roll up for each other  
 C+R- **kuzinjisangana** cause each other to roll up  
 D+P- **kuzingwasingwa** (**kuzingazingwa**) be weakened  
 (e.g. by an illness)  
 X+A- **kuzingamira** paralyse at  
 S+A- **kuzingurucira** become unwound at  
 V+A- **kuzingururira** unwind for/at  
 V+P- **kuzingururwa** be unwound  
 I+P- **kuzinjirirwa** be wound round

**kuzira** be taboo, be forbidden; avoid  
 A- **kuzirira** avoid at  
 C- **kuziza** cause to avoid  
 P- **kuzirwa** be avoided  
 R- **kuzirangana** be taboo to each other  
 - **kuzirana** be taboo to each other  
 V- **kuzirura** make end avoidance

**kuzitira** enclose, fence off  
 A- **kuzitirira** enclose for  
 C- **kuzitiza** cause to enclose  
 P- **kuzitirwa** be fenced off  
 A+P- **kuzitirirwa** be fenced off something  
 A+R- **kuzitirirangana** fence off for each other  
 C+P- **kuzitizibwa** be caused to fence off  
 C+R- **kuzitizangana** cause each other to fence off

**kuzônga** sway; go indirectly, take long to reach  
 a destination, (of a route) be circuitous  
 A- **kuzónjera** sway at  
 C- **kuzónja** cause to sway; cause to go indirectly  
 C+P- **kuzónjibwa** be caused to go indirectly

**kuzoor** find, present to view; widen (eyes) i.e. be on the  
 lookout  
 A- **kuzoorera** find for  
 C- **kuzooza** cause to find; cause to widen (eyes)  
 P- **kuzoorwa** be found  
 S- **kuzooka** be found  
 A+P- **kuzoorerwa** be found something  
 A+R- **kuzoorerangana** find for each other  
 C+P- **kuzoozibwa** be caused to find; be caused to widen eyes  
 C+R- **kuzoozangana** cause each other to find; cause each  
 other to widen eyes