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Runyambo Verb Extensions and Constructions on Predicate Structure

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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
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1993

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The dissertation of Josephat Muhozi Rugemalira is approved:

Chair  
Nov. 2, 1993

Date

Nov. 9, 1993

Date

Nov. 4, 1993

Date

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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

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# ABBREVIATIONS

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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG</td>
<td>Construction Grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Double Stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FV</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB</td>
<td>Government and Binding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Locative Clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFG</td>
<td>Lexical Functional Grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMT</td>
<td>Lexical Mapping Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSS</td>
<td>Lexical Semantic Structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSY</td>
<td>Yesterday Past Tense</td>
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<tr>
<td>R</td>
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<td>RF</td>
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<td>S</td>
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<td>Today Past Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Reversive</td>
</tr>
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</table>
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.
The indigenous inhabitants of Karagwe call themselves *abanyambo* and refer to their *orurimi* 'tongue/language' as *orunyambo* or occasionally as *acinyambo*. 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). 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. From there they moved into Karagwe and proceeded to preach and teach in Ruhaya (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). 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.

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 ŋ y
    k g h

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The palatal nasal /n/ 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'; kubéíha 'tell lies').

Important alternations include the following:

i) h -> p/N e.g. omuti guhângó 'big tree'
    enju mpângó 'big house'

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

iii) N -> Nαlαce/αlαce i.e. a nasal consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant e.g. [eqkura mpâ:ŋo] '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 incorporated in the 'agentive' and the 'perfective tense' morphemes (103), and in the causative morpheme (see chapter four).

(103) a) kwítá omwis; beisíre
    'kill' 'killer' 'they killed'
b) kurira omuriz; barizire

'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; barucire

'to weave' 'weaver' 'they weaved'

b) kuhiiga omuhiiij; bahiiijire

'to hunt' 'hunter' 'they hunted'

c) kutéeka kutééccera bateecire

'to cook' 'cook for' 'they cooked'

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:gga] '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. kuhénda 'to break').

1.2.2 Nominal morphology

The nominal class prefixes are shown in Table 1.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>omukázi</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>ba-</td>
<td>-ba-</td>
<td>abakázi</td>
<td>women</td>
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<td>-gu-</td>
<td>omuti</td>
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<td>-ji-</td>
<td>emiti</td>
<td>trees</td>
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<td>eríino</td>
<td>tooth</td>
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<td>ri-</td>
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<td>ihuri</td>
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<td>obugúfu</td>
<td>shortness</td>
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<td>-ku-</td>
<td>okuguru</td>
<td>leg</td>
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<td>-ha-</td>
<td>kúnu</td>
<td>here</td>
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<td>-ha-</td>
<td>omumiti</td>
<td>among trees</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a-/ba-</td>
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**TABLE 1.1: Nominal class prefixes**

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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/kúnúuya '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)

\[\text{they-read-PSY-FV}\]
b) bá -á -som -jir-e 'they have already read'

they-PF-read-PF-FV

Both the yesterday past (-jr-) and the perfective (-á-...jir-) 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 -jir-e suffixes, Runyambo has one more inflectional suffix -ag-, shown in (108).

(108) ti -tú-ka -ci-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) -biika -biic-ir-a -biic-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Infinitive Root</th>
<th>-ir-</th>
<th>-is-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>kúf(w)a</td>
<td>-fú-</td>
<td>-f(w)éera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>kugwa</td>
<td>-gu-</td>
<td>-gweera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut</td>
<td>kúcwa</td>
<td>-cú-</td>
<td>-cwéera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>kúrya</td>
<td>-rí-</td>
<td>-riira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>kuja</td>
<td>-ji-</td>
<td>-jiira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burn</td>
<td>kúsya</td>
<td>-hí-</td>
<td>-híira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give</td>
<td>kúha</td>
<td>-hé-</td>
<td>-héera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
<td>kúta</td>
<td>-té-</td>
<td>-téera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grind</td>
<td>kusa</td>
<td>-se-</td>
<td>-seera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defecate</td>
<td>kunia</td>
<td>-ne-</td>
<td>-neera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>kúba</td>
<td>-bé-</td>
<td>-béera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawn</td>
<td>kúca</td>
<td>-cé-</td>
<td>-céera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>kúnywa</td>
<td>-nyó-</td>
<td>-nywéera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exhaust</td>
<td>kúhwa</td>
<td>-hó-</td>
<td>-hwéera</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) -cing-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).

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

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) -hanuuza 'marvel' and (4S) -hanuuka '(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-ár-a 'plant' (*-bi-)
b) -sig-ar-a 'remain' (-sig-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.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Runyambo</th>
<th>Ruhaya</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kéiso]</td>
<td>[káifo]</td>
<td>Kaisho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[rwambeizi]</td>
<td>[rwambaizi]</td>
<td>Rwambaizi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[neisózi]</td>
<td>[naiʃózi]</td>
<td>Nyaishozi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Relations:</th>
<th>subject, object ...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thematic Roles</td>
<td>agent, patient ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases</td>
<td>nominative, accusative ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arguments</td>
<td>x, y, ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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). 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. 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's.

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.

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 (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. Criticizing Keenan's prototype definition of subject, Johnson

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(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

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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 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).10

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.

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 decreasers 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 idiosyncracies, 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. 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

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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. 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 món don bhuachaill
gave the king the house big to boy
'\textquoteleft the king gave the big house to the boy\textquoteright
'\textquoteleft the king gave the boy the big house\textquoteright

b) *thug an rí an teach món an buachaill

c) *thug an rí an buachaill an teach món (*dative shift)

d) *thug an rí don bhuachaill an teach món

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 (Mohanan 1982). Consider the Malayalam example in (207), glossed as 'the child saw the elephant' (Mohanan 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\textsuperscript{14}. 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\textsuperscript{15}. 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 0-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.

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 raju vannu hogalida
Hari-nom Raju-acc praised
'Hari praised Raju'

ii) raju vannu 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 absolutive 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), “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.² 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.3
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-ir- á abantu⁴ 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 -siíj-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 omukéíkurú 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 omukéíkurú 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) 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 omwána
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 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-ë-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 - téér- 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 embúsi
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 bisatu
     sprout- A - FV days three 'sprout in three days'

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.
3.2.6 Neutral role

The applicative cooccurs with two fixed expressions busa ‘nothing’ and cimo ‘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 cimo
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 cimo
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 embodiment7, 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 - i r - á o m u - n j u  
    speak - A - F V  L - house 'speak in the house'

    (b) *gamb -á o m u - n j u

(332) (a) a - k a - m u - s a n g - á o m u - n j u  
    he- PST- her -find-FV  L - house
    'he found her in the house'

    (b) *a - k a - m u - s a n j - i r - á o m u - n j u

(333) (a) b i i k - á o m u - n j u  
    store-F V  L - house
    'store (something) in the house'

    (b) b i i c - i r - á o m u - n j u
    store-A - F V  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 entébe
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>affixes</th>
<th>pattern name</th>
<th>no. of verbs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+A +L</td>
<td>+A</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>+A +L</td>
<td>+A</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-A +L</td>
<td>-A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-A +L</td>
<td>-A</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+A -L</td>
<td>-L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word</th>
<th>English Definition</th>
<th>English Word</th>
<th>English Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwânga</td>
<td>refuse</td>
<td>kwaka</td>
<td>burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwara</td>
<td>make bed</td>
<td>kubanja</td>
<td>start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubáza</td>
<td>ask (question)</td>
<td>kubiika</td>
<td>store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubinga</td>
<td>chase</td>
<td>kubóha</td>
<td>tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubúuza</td>
<td>ask (question)</td>
<td>kucáara</td>
<td>visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucukura</td>
<td>search</td>
<td>kucumba</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
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<td>jerk</td>
<td>kucúngura</td>
<td>redeem</td>
</tr>
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<td>kúcwa</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>kucwera</td>
<td>spit</td>
</tr>
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<td>forget</td>
<td>kweya</td>
<td>sweep</td>
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<td>die</td>
<td>kufukunkura</td>
<td>empty</td>
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<td>pierce</td>
<td>kufunda</td>
<td>be narrow</td>
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<td>wash (clothes)</td>
<td>kugarama</td>
<td>lie on back</td>
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<td>kugarura</td>
<td>bring back</td>
<td>kugesa</td>
<td>harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuguruka</td>
<td>jump</td>
<td>kuhanama</td>
<td>climb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhandiika</td>
<td>write</td>
<td>kuhanika</td>
<td>hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuheeka</td>
<td>carry</td>
<td>kuhiiiga</td>
<td>search/hunt</td>
</tr>
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<td>kuhinda</td>
<td>rouse</td>
<td>kuhunga</td>
<td>flee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúhwa</td>
<td>be finished</td>
<td>kwíba</td>
<td>steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwibika</td>
<td>emerse/dip</td>
<td>kwíha</td>
<td>remove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwihura</td>
<td>serve food</td>
<td>kwíjura</td>
<td>fill up (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwimuka</td>
<td>rise</td>
<td>kujábika</td>
<td>emerse/dip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kujuba</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>kukóma</td>
<td>tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukómba</td>
<td>lick</td>
<td>kukómera</td>
<td>sow</td>
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<tr>
<td>kukónora</td>
<td>pull off</td>
<td>kukurura</td>
<td>pull</td>
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<td>kukúura</td>
<td>uproot</td>
<td>kumara</td>
<td>finish</td>
</tr>
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<td>kumera</td>
<td>sprout</td>
<td>kumurika</td>
<td>shine/flash</td>
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<tr>
<td>kununka</td>
<td>sniff/stink</td>
<td>kunyejera</td>
<td>ascend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunyurura</td>
<td>pull</td>
<td>kúnywâ</td>
<td>drink</td>
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<td>kwombeka</td>
<td>build</td>
<td>kupácîra</td>
<td>load</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupágasa</td>
<td>work for a wage</td>
<td>kurába</td>
<td>pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuragara</td>
<td>drop (intrans)</td>
<td>kurahuka</td>
<td>hurry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuréga</td>
<td>catch water</td>
<td>kureka</td>
<td>leave alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurenga</td>
<td>measure</td>
<td>kurênga</td>
<td>go over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuronda</td>
<td>search</td>
<td>kuruga</td>
<td>exit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúrya</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>kusáaga</td>
<td>exceed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusaaruura</td>
<td>harvest</td>
<td>kusaba</td>
<td>ask/request</td>
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<tr>
<td>kusára</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>kuséennya</td>
<td>fetch firewood</td>
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<tr>
<td>kusemba</td>
<td>wrap</td>
<td>kusereka</td>
<td>hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusíga</td>
<td>leave behind</td>
<td>kusígisa</td>
<td>stir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>push</td>
<td>kusoma</td>
<td>read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusohora</td>
<td>exit</td>
<td>kusómba</td>
<td>fetch repeatedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusoroma</td>
<td>harvest</td>
<td>kusoroora</td>
<td>separate</td>
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<td>kusuka</td>
<td>pour</td>
<td>kusútura</td>
<td>lift</td>
</tr>
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<td>kusuuma</td>
<td>descend</td>
<td>kuswéra</td>
<td>marry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúsyà</td>
<td>burn (intrans)</td>
<td>kúta</td>
<td>put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutáha</td>
<td>scoop</td>
<td>kutadama</td>
<td>sit astride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutânga</td>
<td>forbid;be first</td>
<td>kutéeka</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutééra</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>kutéma</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutemba</td>
<td>ascend</td>
<td>kutiganda</td>
<td>fetch materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutiíiza</td>
<td>borrow/lend</td>
<td>kutóbera</td>
<td>sink</td>
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<td>kutórorra</td>
<td>kidnap/take away</td>
<td>kutúma</td>
<td>send</td>
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<td>kutwânga</td>
<td>pound</td>
<td>kutwéija</td>
<td>press charges</td>
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<td>kutyáza</td>
<td>sharpen</td>
<td>kuzínga</td>
<td>fold</td>
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<tr>
<td>kuzíra</td>
<td>avoid</td>
<td>kuzooora</td>
<td>bring out</td>
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**TABLE 3.2: Group two verbs**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwaya</td>
<td>plunder/take</td>
<td>kubúgana</td>
<td>meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwereera</td>
<td>float</td>
<td>kwēma</td>
<td>start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuheima</td>
<td>gather materials</td>
<td>kwikara</td>
<td>stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúja</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>kukúrata</td>
<td>follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunága</td>
<td>lose; throw away</td>
<td>kwōna</td>
<td>destroy crops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuráara</td>
<td>spend night; (of fire) go out</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurambira</td>
<td>stretch out</td>
<td>kurunda</td>
<td>heap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusagara</td>
<td>accompany</td>
<td>kusaka</td>
<td>fetch food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusanga</td>
<td>find</td>
<td>kusénjeera</td>
<td>buy beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusiiba</td>
<td>spend time</td>
<td>kusoora</td>
<td>annihalate</td>
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<tr>
<td>kutaaha</td>
<td>go home/enter</td>
<td>kutéékama</td>
<td>perch</td>
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<tr>
<td>kuterebura</td>
<td>slip off (trans)</td>
<td>kutimba</td>
<td>dig</td>
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<tr>
<td>kutuuma</td>
<td>heap</td>
<td>kutúura</td>
<td>stay/live</td>
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<td>kuziha</td>
<td>swim</td>
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<td>kuziika</td>
<td>bury</td>
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**TABLE 3.3: Group three verbs**

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<th>Verb</th>
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<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>kubunga</td>
<td>wander</td>
<td>kubyāma</td>
<td>lie (down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucáara</td>
<td>visit</td>
<td>kugoba</td>
<td>reach/arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kugwa</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>kuhika</td>
<td>reach/arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwija</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>kwinama</td>
<td>bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kujenda</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>kunia</td>
<td>defecate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunyáara</td>
<td>urinate</td>
<td>kurárama</td>
<td>look up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuseesa</td>
<td>spill</td>
<td>kusítama</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutánaka</td>
<td>vomit</td>
<td>kutóonya</td>
<td>drip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 applicative8. Again there is considerable room for construal allowed by the semantics of the verbs kwiha 'remove' and kutwara '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 kutwara '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 -À pattern, and the expression of a broader temporal context of the whole event for +À. Consider (341-342).

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

(b) garám - ir- à 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 - à 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. 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\(^{10}\) - 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”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kubinga</td>
<td>chase</td>
<td>kujuba</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kugesa</td>
<td>harvest</td>
<td>kuhákuura</td>
<td>collect honey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúhwa</td>
<td>be finished</td>
<td>kumara</td>
<td>finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusoroma</td>
<td>harvest</td>
<td>kutáha</td>
<td>scoop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutórora</td>
<td>kidnap/take away</td>
<td>kuyoora</td>
<td>scoop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

a  kujubá omunyanja ‘fish from lake’
   kujubirá omucítúkuru ‘fish (and put catch) into basket’

b  kugesá omundimiro ‘harvest from field’
   kugeserá omucítúkuru ‘harvest into basket’

c  kumará amaarwá omunkáaye ‘deplete/finish beer out of gourd’
   kumarirá amaarwá omunkáaye ‘fill all beer into gourd’

TABLE 3.5: Displacing verbs

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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’, kuséénya ‘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’, kukáranga ‘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\textsuperscript{11}. 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-muhånda  
'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-muhända
   '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'¹²

(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)
Kató he-PST-store-A-FV kakúru money (L-pocket)
Kató stored money for Kákúru (in the pocket)'

(c) Kató a-ka-biic-ir-a ensimbí omu-muhánda
kató he-PST-store-A-FV money L-path
'Kató stored the money when on the path'

(d)*Kató a-ka-biic-ir-á ensimbí omu-mufukó omu-muhánda
(e) kubiíka 'store': Y, X, [Z]+ -ir:B->kubiícíra: Y, X, [Z], B

The verb kubiíka '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 kubiíka '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) 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-muhanda
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
‘Kató 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-muhanda
L - path
‘Kató put it (the book) there (on the chair) when on the path’

(e) *Kató (ecitabo) a - ka - ci - te - er - á
aha- ntébé omu -muhanda
Kúta 'put' is a group 2 verb with a non-omissible participant locative\textsuperscript{14} (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 ensimbi omu-ciro (adjunct)
   he-PST-count-FV money L -night
   'he counted money at night'

(353) (b) *a-ka-bar-á ensimbi omu-nju (argument)
   he-PST-count-FV money L -house
   'he counted money in the house'
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 omuciro ‘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.

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

TABLE 3.6: Time expressions (adjuncts)
omunju  in the house
omumwirima  in the dark
omunsi  in the country
ahansi  below/down/on the ground
omumwezi  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 cannot fill argument positions and cannot be assigned participant roles. This in effect means that there is a definable but very small class

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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 abáná abaruuná 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 Trithart 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>circumstancial

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 kwēma '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'.

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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 *iC; et *; était en première lieu déterminé par le contexte formel en protobantu. 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 *iC; 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 -i- as the primary causative suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bantu Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kugwa 'fall'</td>
<td>kugwisa</td>
<td>'cause to fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúcwa 'cut'</td>
<td>kucwísa</td>
<td>'cause to cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuja 'go'</td>
<td>kujiísa</td>
<td>'cause to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusa 'grind'</td>
<td>kuseísa</td>
<td>'cause to grind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúca 'dawn'</td>
<td>kucéísa</td>
<td>'cause to dawn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic stem</th>
<th>-i- derivation</th>
<th>-is\textsubscript{i}- derivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kutaaha</td>
<td>kutaasya</td>
<td>kutaahisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enter</td>
<td>take in</td>
<td>go home by means of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwaka</td>
<td>kwaaca</td>
<td>kwaacisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be aflame</td>
<td>set aflame</td>
<td>burn in some manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw\textsubscript{o}ga</td>
<td>kw\textsubscript{o}ja</td>
<td>kw\textsubscript{o}jesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash (\text{intr})</td>
<td>wash (\text{tr})</td>
<td>cause to wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw\textsubscript{\text{i}}ta</td>
<td>kw\textsubscript{\text{i}}sa</td>
<td>kw\textsubscript{\text{i}}tisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kill/catch</td>
<td>cause to kill</td>
<td>cause to catch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw\text{enda}</td>
<td>kwenza</td>
<td>kw\text{endesa}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like/want</td>
<td>demand</td>
<td>cause to like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuk\text{ura}</td>
<td>kuk\text{u}za</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grow</td>
<td>raise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kur\text{\text{a}ba}</td>
<td>kur\text{\text{a}bya}</td>
<td>kur\text{\text{a}b}isa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass/be fruitful. cause to pass</td>
<td>cause to be fruitful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuguma</td>
<td>kugumya</td>
<td>kugumisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be hard</td>
<td>make firm</td>
<td>make hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(character)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(substance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 4.2: -i- and -is\textsubscript{i}- 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\textsubscript{i}- causative, in which case there will usually be
a different sense, so that the two derivations are not synonymous.¹ 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic stem</th>
<th>$-\mathbf{i}-$ derivation</th>
<th>$-\mathbf{is}_\mathbf{i}-$ derivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pita</td>
<td>pisha</td>
<td>pitisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass</td>
<td>give way</td>
<td>cause to pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pika</td>
<td>*pisha</td>
<td>pikisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cook</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>cause to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piga</td>
<td>*pisha</td>
<td>pigisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>cause to hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pata</td>
<td>pasha</td>
<td>patisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get</td>
<td>cause to get (news)</td>
<td>cause to get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paka</td>
<td>*pasha</td>
<td>pakisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smear</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>cause to smear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 oga</td>
<td>osha</td>
<td>ogesha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash (intr)</td>
<td>wash (tr)</td>
<td>cause to wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oka</td>
<td>*osha</td>
<td>okesha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bake</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>cause to bake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ota</td>
<td>*osha</td>
<td>otesha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dream/sprout</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>cause to dream/sprout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 waka</td>
<td>washa</td>
<td>*wakisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be aflame</td>
<td>set aflame</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anguka</td>
<td>angusha</td>
<td>*angukisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>cause to fall</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4.3: Selective use of $-\mathbf{i}-$ in Kiswahili

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As Table 4.3 shows, in Kiswahili, the consonant alternations brought about by -j- are: k, g, t -> j. 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\(^2\) 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic stem</th>
<th>-is; derivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kugaya 'snub'</td>
<td>kugayisa 'cause to snub'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kugóya 'cook'</td>
<td>kugóyesa 'cause to cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucânca 'get busy'</td>
<td>kucâncisa 'cause to get busy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumánc 'wander'</td>
<td>kumâncisa 'cause to wander'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubeija 'carve'</td>
<td>kubeijesa 'cause to carve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwija 'come'</td>
<td>kwizisa 'cause to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusigisa 'stir'</td>
<td>kusigisisa 'cause to stir'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhéesa 'forge'</td>
<td>kuhéesesesa 'cause to forge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubáza 'ask' (question)</td>
<td>kubázisa 'cause to ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubúza 'ask' (question)</td>
<td>kubúzisa 'cause to ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuzaana 'play'</td>
<td>kuzaanisa 'cause to play'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutiina 'fear'</td>
<td>kutiínisa 'cause to fear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kufúnya 'fold'</td>
<td>kufúnysa 'cause to fold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunyúunya 'suck'</td>
<td>kunyúnyisa 'cause to suck'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4.4: -is; 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/, can only take the -is;- 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 -isj- 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix form</th>
<th>Number of verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-isj- only</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-; only</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both -; and -isj-</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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 -isj- causative forms

In the verb sample there are altogether 438 verbs that take the causative extension. Of these, 216 (i.e. 49.3%) take -isj- 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-í- a -> bónesa 'cause to see'
    b) bón - u - a -> bónwa 'be seen'
    c) bón - es -j - 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-í-.

(402) a) bón-es-er-í-a -> bóneseza 'cause to see for'
        (*bónesera)
    b) many-is-ir-í-a -> manyisiza '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 \((r \rightarrow z)\) 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 -̃ es - a Namá 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 omurvéire
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 egáari
    carry-C -FV bicycle
    'carry by bicycle' (means)

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

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

b) vuj - is - á amáani
    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 énku
        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'

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

b) Káto 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 [omugôngo]
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 [omugôngo]
he-PST - me-break+C-FV child back
'he made me break the child's back'
The verb kuhenda 'break' has three arguments, one of which is omissible (420a). Only a body part (an inalienable part of one of the other two participants)\(^5\) 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  ociniga

he-PST- it- her- smear-C - FV anger

'he smeared it on her with anger'

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).

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

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

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.
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 - sinz -a
beer it -be drunk+C-FV
'beer causes [people] to be drunk'

(425) a) omwenda 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 kwôma '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. 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 akásyó '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. 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, we cannot posit, à 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

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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" 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.10

The cluster concept of thematic roles entails a level of indeterminacy in assigning participants between the two proto-roles. This indeterminancy 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 enkáaye
   he-PST -drink -C - FV gourd
   'he drank from a gourd'
b) a - ka - nywe -er- á omu-nkásye
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 transitivizing 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 transitiviers 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 transitivising 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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{m} & \text{n} & \tilde{\text{n}} \\
\text{b} & \text{d} & \text{j} & \text{g} \\
\text{p} & \text{t} & \text{c} & \text{k}
\end{array}
\]

"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-phik-its-a mañgus kwá kádzidzi
porcupine it-PR-cook- C -FV pumpkins to owl
'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by owl'
(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)).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS: Pivot</th>
<th>Other core arguments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEMANTIC MACROROLES: Actor</td>
<td>Undergoer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEMATIC RELATIONS: agt-effector-experiencer-loc-theme-pat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGICAL STRUCTURE: argument positions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-'. 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) -bag+an-a share, divide up
    b) -bûg+an-a meet
    c) -bweij+an-a be lonely
    d) -éga+an-a deny
    e) -fuka+an-a wrestle, struggle
    f) -fút+an-a 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
   -tông-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) -kwāt-a hold/touch/sieze
  -kwāt-an-a be related; stick together; own together
  -kwāt-angan-a hold/sieze each other

c) -rās-a throw/shoot
  -rās-an-a fight, struggle
  -rās-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     Ø     ->     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\(^2\). 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\(^3\). 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. *-nywângana '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. 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 à 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) -bôn-ek-a 'be visible/available/seen/found'
  b) -hénd-ek-a 'break' (intr)
  c) -som-ek-a 'be legible'

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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. 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.

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) -cinga -cing-ur-a -cing-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 (*-cing-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)⁷.

(514) a) -kóma -kóm-oror-a -kóm-orok-a
   'tie' 'untie' 'become untied'

   b) -téga -tég-uurur-a -tég-uuruk-a
   'trap' 'untrap' 'become untrapped'

   c) -hóma -hóm-or-a -hóm-ok-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- formations⁸.

5.2.2 Syntax and semantics of the stative

The syntactic pattern for the stative extension is exemplified in (515).
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. The resulting construction is amenable to two interpretations, traditionally referred to as "stative" and "potential". 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' -riibwa 'be eaten'
b) -sa 'grind' -seebwa 'be ground'

(518) a) -hëesa : -hësibwa (from *-hëet-;i-u-a) : -hëeswa

'forge' 'be forged'

b) -bônesibwa (*bôn-es+;i-u-a) 'be caused to see'

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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/). In (518b) we have a genuine passive of a causative derivation. In both cases the /b/ is inserted to break up the vowel sequence.

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'
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 enjóka a - ka - ji - kóm-a
    child snake he-PST - it - tie-FV
    'the snake, the child tied it'

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

In (520) the positions of the NPs omwána 'child' and enjóka '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. 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) abáána 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')\(^{14}\). 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) kusingwa          be defeated, lose  
c) kuswërwa          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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic stem</th>
<th>2-arg. passive</th>
<th>1-arg. passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-báza</td>
<td>-bázi bwa</td>
<td>bázi bwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ask/question</td>
<td>be asked</td>
<td>be examined (catechism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bátiza</td>
<td>n.a.(^a)</td>
<td>-bátizibwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baptize</td>
<td></td>
<td>be baptized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cünda</td>
<td>-cündwa</td>
<td>-cündwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shake</td>
<td>be shaken</td>
<td>be tormented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-goba</td>
<td>-gobwa(ho)(^b)</td>
<td>-gobwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reach; suffice</td>
<td>be reached</td>
<td>be satisfied (each getting their share)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hika</td>
<td>-hikwa(ho)(^b)</td>
<td>-hikwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reach; suffice</td>
<td>be reached</td>
<td>be satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rema</td>
<td>-remwa</td>
<td>-remwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat</td>
<td>be beaten</td>
<td>be tired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rúma</td>
<td>-rúmwa</td>
<td>-rúmwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bite</td>
<td>be bitten</td>
<td>be in labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sanga</td>
<td>-sangwa(mu)(^b)</td>
<td>sángwa(^c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find/come upon</td>
<td>be found</td>
<td>be found home</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
\(^a\) This is a loan word with only one passive sense.
\(^b\) Verbs with non-omissible locative arguments take a locative clitic when the locative NP is preposed (see chapter three).
\(^c\) 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\(^{15}\). 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 -riib-w-a
mushrooms  they-eat  -P-FV
'mushrooms are edible'

b) *obutúzi bu -ka -riib-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

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')

-ijika 'cause to seek shelter from rain' (trans); (from -iga '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 -;- mutating process or not can be tricky as the example in (i) shows.

(i) a) -bátiza 'baptize'
    b) -bátizibwa 'be baptized' (??-bátir-;-u-a)
    c) -bátiriza 'baptize for/at' (??-bátir-ir-;-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 -;-; 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 kútáma '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).


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) kwira 'grow dark'  kwirira 'grow dark at'
   b) kuseesa 'spill'  kuseesesa 'cause to spill'
   c) kubinga 'chase'  kubingangana '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'  kucéérerera '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 reverse 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 omwâna 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 omwâna
  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\textsuperscript{2}.

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 \textit{omwáná omúsyo}  
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 \textit{omúsyo}  
they-PST-it-slaughter-C - FV knife  
'they slaughtered it with a knife'

c) ba -ka -mu - baaj -is - á \textit{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)\textsuperscript{3}. 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

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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)4.
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. 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).

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

(608) a) a - ka- mu- kor - ez-á egáari (ez <- er-;i-)
    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 abaataní omwâna
government it-PST-raise+C-FV neighbors child
'government made neighbors raise the child'

b) abaataní (omwâna) ba - ka-mu -rez -j-bw-a serikári
neighbors child they-PST-him-raise-C-P-FV government
'neighbors were caused by govt to raise him'

c) *omwáná (abaataní) a-ka-ba -rez -j-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 me7. 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 - énku/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 reciprocal8. 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-

(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).


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

**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.10

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEQUENCE</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>CAR son-es-ez-angan-a 'cause to sew for each other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACR bûr-iz-angan-a 'cause to disappear for each other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nój-ez-angan-a 'crush thoroughly for each other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>CAP son-es-ezi-bw-a 'cause to be sewn for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACP nój-ezi-bw-a 'cause to be crushed for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*CRA bôn-es-angan-ir-a ?'cause to see each other at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>*SAR bôn-ec-er-angan-a ?'become visible to e.o.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>*SAC bôn-ec-ez-a 'cause to be visible at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>*RAC bôn-angan-iz-a ?'cause to see each other at'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 emyēnda
   they-PST-sew-C -A -R - FV dresses
   'for each other they had dresses sewn'
b) *a - ka -son-es-ez-angan-á abááná 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[ to Verb (Z) for each other]'. 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 omuséíjá emiti
    we -PST- cut-C -A -R -FV man trees
    'wej made the man cut trees for each otherj'

b) *a -ka -tu-tem-es-ez-angan- á emiti
    he-PST-us-cut-C -A -R -FV trees
    'he made usj cut trees for each otherj'

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 Kato'

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 de-transitivizers — 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 co-occur, 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. 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. 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 - me - 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 küha '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 omuséijá 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 omuséijá 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'
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.
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'

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-.

"...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', búúriza 'ask for' (from *búúr-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).

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).

See the discussion on causee omission in chapter four.

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:

indoda ikhandánisa ámátye ngómatshíni

'the man makes 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:
\[-bhal-w\-el- 'be written for'\]
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/.
(Saty 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).
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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- kwagura 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- kwambucira 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- kwaniiira groan

kwânga refuse, dislike
A- kwânjira refuse for/at
C- kwânjisa cause to refuse/dislike
R- kwânganana (of wife) temporarily go away from husband
- kwângangana dislike each other
P- kwângwa be disliked
I- kwânjirira refuse for, withhold help
A+R- kwânjirangana refuse at each other
A+P- kwânjirwa be refused at
C+R- kwânjisangana cause each other to refuse something
C+P- kwânjisibwa be caused to refuse/dislike
R+A- kwânganira (of wife) go to (place) away from husband
- kwânganganira dislike each other at

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R+C- kwánganisa cause to go away from husband

kwára make a bed, spread out (a sheet)
A- kwaríra make a bed for; spread out (esp. grass) on floor
C- kwáza cause to make bed
P- kwára (of bed) be made
X- kwaríka cover bananas to ripen; keep a bride secluded
V- kwarúra bring a bride out of seclusion
- kwarúura uncover
I- kwaríiríra spread out grass on floor
A+R- kwarírangana make bed for each other
A+P- kwarírwa be made a bed for

kwása chop, split
A- kwasíza chop for/at
C- kwasísa cause to chop
P- kwásibwa be chopped
X- kwasíma open one’s mouth
X+V- kwasamúra open someone’s mouth

kwátá crack, shatter
A- kwátíra crack for/at
C- kwátísa cause to crack
S- kwátíka crack (intr.)
P- kwátwa be cracked
A+R- kwátírangana crack for each other
A+P- kwátírwa be cracked for
C+R- kwátísangana cause each other to crack
C+P- kwátísibwa be caused to crack
S+A- kwátícíra crack at

kwaya plunder, take away everything
A- kwayíra plunder for
C- kwayísa cause to plunder
P- kwaywa be plundered
A+P- kwayírwa be plundered for

kúba be
A- kubééra be for; help
C- kubéísa cause to be
A+P- kubéérwa be fortunate; be helped
A+R- kubéérangana help each other

kubáaga slaughter
A- kubáájíra slaughter for/at
C- kubáájísa cause to slaughter
P- kubáagwa be slaughtered
A+R- kubáájírangana slaughter for each other
C+R- kubáájísangana cause each other to slaughter

kubáasa be able, be strong enough to
A- kubáásíza stand up to someone for
P- kubáásibwa be decisively challenged/stopped
S- kubáásíka 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- kubábukwa be scorched
I- kubábiiira 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- kubánjura cause to clear the ground
P- kubánjurwa be cleared
A+R- kubánjurirangana clear the ground for each other
C+P- kubánjurizibwa 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- kubandizangana start for each other

kubara count
A- kubarira count for; estimate
C- kubasa cause to count
P- kubarwa be counted
R- kubarangana count each other
V- kubaruruza tell a tale
I- kubariiira estimate
A+C- kubariisa cause to count/ be counted for
A+P- kubarirwa be counted for
A+R- kubarirangana count for each other
C+P- kubasizibwa be caused to count
C+R- kubazangana cause each other to count

kubárura burst (trans)
A- kubárurira burst for
C- kubárusa cause to burst
S- kubáruka burst (intr)
A+R- kubáruzirangana burst for each other
C+R- kubáruszangana cause each other to burst
S+A- kubárucira burst at

kubáza ask, inquire, examine
A- kubáriziwa inquire for/at
C- kubázisa cause to inquire
P- kubázisibwa be asked/examined
R- kubázangana ask each other
I- kubáziiriza be too inquisitive
A+R- kubárizangana inquire for each other

kubáziira sew
A- kubáziirira sew for/at
C- kubáziiza cause to sew
P- kubáziirwa be sewn
C+R- kubáziizangana cause each other to sew

kubátiza baptize
A- kubátiriza baptize for/at
P- kubátizisibwa be baptized
R- kubátizangana baptize each other
A+R- kubátirizangana baptize for each other, baptize each other at

kubéiha tell lies, deceive
A- kubéihara deceive for/at
C- kubéihesa cause to tell lies
P- kubéihwa be deceived
R- kubéihangana deceive each other
I- kubéiherera accuse unjustly
D- kubéihabelha 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- kubeijesesa 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- kubiikwa 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- kúbóhera bind for/at
C- kúbóhesa cause to bind
P- kúbóhwa be bound
R- kúbóhangana bind each other
V- kúbóhoorora unbind
S- kúbóhooroka become unbound
I- kúbóhoorerera bind severely
A+P- kúbóherwa be bound for/at
A+R- kúbóherangana bind for each other, bind e.o. at
C+P- kúbóhesibwa be cause to bind
C+R- kúbóhesangana cause each other to bind
V+C- kúbóhoorosa cause to unbind
V+P- kúbóhoororwa be unbound
S+A- kúbóhoorocera become unbound at

kubóna see
A- kúbónera see for/at
C- kúbónesa cause to see
P- kúbónwa be seen
R- kúbónangana see each other; meet
S- kúbóneka be visible, be available
D- kúbóna bona suffer
A+P- kúbónerwa be found something
A+R- kúbónerangana see/find for each other
S+A- kúbónercera be visible at
C+A- kúbónesesza cause to see for
C+P- kúbónesibwa be caused to see
C+R- kúbónesangana cause each other to see
R+A- kúbónanganira see each other at
R+C- kúbónanganisa cause to meet
D+A- kúbónabonerwa suffer at
D+C- kúbónabonesa cause to suffer
- kúbónyabonya cause to suffer

kubóya be a bully
A- kúbóyera 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- kubúganganu 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- kubúmbisisa cause to mould for
C+R- kubúmbisangana cause each other mould

kubúnga wander off idly, visit
A- kubunjira wander idly for/to
C- kubunjisa cause to wander idly
- kubunja cause to wander; peddle
X- kubúnguza make frequent and idle visits
C+P- kubunjibwa 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- kubúririra disappear at/into
C- kubúza lose, cause to disappear
P- kubúria lack something
D+C- kubúrazusa (also kubúrazusa) bewilder, pester with too many demands
D+A+P- kubúrazuridza suffer, be bewildered

kubúza ask, inquire
A- kubúzira ask for/at
C- kubúzisa cause to inquire
P- kubúzibwa be asked
R- kubúzangana ask each other
I- kubúziriza be too inquisitive
A+R- kubúzizangana inquire for each other, ask e.o. at

kubwéígora bark
A- kubwéígora bark at
C- kubwéiga cause to bark
C+P- kubwéigosibwa be caused to bark
C+R- kubwéigosangana 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

kubyâma lie down, go to bed
A- kubyâmima lie on
C- kubyâmaya put to bed
- kubyâmisa cause to go to bed
X- kubyâmirisima lure into sleep
A+P- kubyâmirwa be laid on
A+R- kubyâmirana (of many) lie helplessly
e.g. the sick, fallen trees

kubyâra plant
A- kubyârirâ plant for
C- kubyâra cause to plant
P- kubyârâwa be planted
A+P- kubyârârwa be planted something
C+P- kubyâzibwa be caused to plant

kúca dawn
A- kucérea dawn while at
C- kucéisa cause to dawn; pass a sleepless night; greet,
    wish good day
C+A- kucéisesa greet for (also: kükéisesa)
I+P- kucéerererwa be late (i.e. be thoroughly dawmed upon
    by the day)
I+C- kucéereresera cause to be late
I+C+P- kucéereresizibwa be caused to be late

kucáara go for a walk, visit
A- kucááriâra go for a walk to, visit a person/place
C- kucáára take someone for a walk/visit
D- kucááracara walk about
A+C- kucááritis take someone around for
A+P- kucáárirwa be visited
A+R- kucáárirangana visit each other
C+P- kucáázibwa be taken around
C+R- kucáázangana take each other around

kucéba mash
A- kucébera mash at; examine, check on
C- kucébesa cause to mash
P- kucébâwa be mashed
S- kucébuka splinter into pieces
V- kucébura cut into pieces
D- kucébacaba pound/cut into many little pieces
V+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-  kucéncuzira sift for/at
C-  kucéncuzwa 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

kucénena filter
A-  kucénenera filter for/into
C-  kucénenesa cause to filter
P-  kucénenuwa be filtered
S-  kucénenuka trickle through a filter
X-  kucéneka suck blood out of body
X+P-  kucénenuza squeeze the last drops through the filter
A+R-  kucénenerangana filter for each other
C+P-  kucénenesibwa be caused to filter
C+R-  kucénenesangana cause each other to filter
S+A-  kucénenucira trickle through a filter at/into

kucinga shut, close
A-  kucínjira shut for, obstruct view
C-  kucínjisa cause to shut
P-  kucingwa 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-  kucíririra recover at/for
C-  kucíra cause to recover; exceed with
P-  kucírwa be exceeded
R-  kucírana be unequal
I-  kucíriirira escape very narrowly from danger
A+C-  kucíririza cause to recover for/at
C+R-  kucírzangana be unequal with respect to

kucúgura have diarrhoea
A-  kucúgurira have diarrhoea on/at
C-  kucúguza cause to have diarrhoea
P-  kucúgurwa be ....
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kucukura</td>
<td>search intensively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>kucukurira search for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-</td>
<td>kucukusa cause to search</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-</td>
<td>kucukurwa be searched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+R-</td>
<td>kucukurirangana search(dig out) for each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+C-</td>
<td>kucukuzangana cause to search(dig out) for each other</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucumba</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>kucumbira cook for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-</td>
<td>kucumbisa cause to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-</td>
<td>kucumbwa be cooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-</td>
<td>kucumbirira care for someone by providing good meals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+P-</td>
<td>kucumbirwa be cooked something, be cooked at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+R-</td>
<td>kucumbirangana cook for each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+A-</td>
<td>kucumbisiza cause to be cooked something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+P-</td>
<td>kucumbisibwa be caused to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+R-</td>
<td>kucumbisangana cause each other to cook</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucúmbajira</td>
<td>limp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>kucúmbajirira limp at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-</td>
<td>kucúmbajiza cause to limp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+P-</td>
<td>kucúmbajizibwa be caused to limp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+R-</td>
<td>kucúmbajizangana cause each other to limp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucúmita</td>
<td>spear, pierce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>kucúmitira spear for; cut down some young banana trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-</td>
<td>kucúmisisa cause to spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-</td>
<td>kucúmitwa be speared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>kucúmitangana spear each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+P-</td>
<td>kucúmitirwa be speared something, be speared at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+R-</td>
<td>kucúmitirangana spear for each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+P-</td>
<td>kucúmisibwa be caused to spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+R-</td>
<td>kucúmisangana cause each other to spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R+A-</td>
<td>kucúmitanganira spear each other at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucuncumura</td>
<td>jerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>kucuncumurira jerk for/at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-</td>
<td>kucuncumusa cause to jerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-</td>
<td>kucuncumurwa be jerked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>kucuncumurangana jerk each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-</td>
<td>kucuncumuka be jerked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+P-</td>
<td>kucuncumurirwa be jerked something, be jerked at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+R-</td>
<td>kucuncumurirangana jerk for each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+P-</td>
<td>kucuncumuzibwa be caused to jerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+R-</td>
<td>kucuncumuzangana cause each other to jerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucünda</td>
<td>shake, churn(butter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>kucündira shake for/at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-</td>
<td>kucũnsa cause to shake; torment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-</td>
<td>kucũndwa be shaken; be tormented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-</td>
<td>kucúndagura shake repeatedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+P-</td>
<td>kucúndirwa be shaken something, be shaken at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+R-</td>
<td>kucúndirangana shake for each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+P-</td>
<td>kucúnzibwa be caused to shake; be tormented</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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- kucúra cause to wail (e.g. by mentioning name of deceased)
A+P- kucúrirwa be mourned
A+R- kucúrirangana mourn for each other
C+P- kucúribwa 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- kucúreesibwa be caused to quieten
C+R- kucúreezangana 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

kucúriza whistle
A- kucúrira whistle at
C- kucúrizisa cause to whistle
P- kucúrizwa be whistled

kucúuka be weaned
A- kucúucira be weaned at
C- kucúuka wean
V- kucúukura wean
C+A- kucúuciza wean in (duration)
V+A- kucúukurira wean for, wean in (duration)
V+P- kucúkikurwa be weaned

kúcwa disown; cut up
A- kucwâra disown at; cut up for/at;
C- kucwísa cause to cut up
P- kucwâbwa be cut up
S- kucwëka become extinct
A+R- kucwërangana cut up for each other

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C+P- kucwísibwa be caused to disown/cut up
S+A- kucwécera meet e.g. a visitor on the way
S+I- kucwécerezera be completely destroyed
S+R+C- kucwékanganisa cross (e.g. a road)

kucwára 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

kwéba be forgotten
A- kwéberera be forgotten at
C- kwébesa cause to forget
P- kwébwa forget
R- kwébangana forget each other
A+P- kwéberwa forget (while) at
C+R- kwébesangana cause each other to forget
C+I- kwébeserera distract

kwébembera be in front, lead
A- kwébembrera lead for
C- kwébembera put in front
P- kwébemberwa be preceded by, be led

kwéfuusa regret, be remorseful
A- kwéfuuriza regret at

kwéga learn
A- kwéjera learn at, learn for (e.g. a profession)
C- kwégesa teach
P- kwégwa be learnt
C+P- kwégesibwa be taught
C+R- kwégesangana teach each other
C+I- kwégeserera teach in order to convert, coach regarding what to say

kwégaana deny
A- kwéganira deny at

kwégana 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- kuganyiirira pity for/at
X+P- kuganyirwa be pitied
X+R- kuganyirangana feel pity for each other

kwéjeka put leaning
A- kwéjecera put leaning for
C- kwéjecesa cause to put leaning
P- kwéjekwa be put leaning
R- kwéjekangana put each other leaning
A+P- kwéjecerwa be put something leaning
A+R- kwéjecerangana put leaning for each other

kwéhanga dare foolishly (i.e. against ability)
A- kwéhanjira dare at (place)
R- kwéhanganaa muster one's energies
X- kwéhangamurira attempt the impossible

kwéjiza pretend
A- kwéjiriza pretend on someone

kwékomya make sure of future recognition, recognize
A- kwékomeza recognize at

kwéma start from; (of animals) be on heat, conceive
A- kwémera conceive at
C- kwémya (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- kwémeeraza erect, cause to stand up
I+C+P kwémeerazibwa 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- kwenderza demand for/at
A+P- kwenderwa be liked at
A+R- kwenderangana wish for each other
C+R- kwendaranga demand from each other
R+A- kwendaranira like each other at

kwére (of crop) ripen, be abundant; be clean, be white
A- kwérema ripen for/at; be clean (while) at; testify to someone's innocence
C- kwéra have a good crop; clean satisfactorily
X- kwérorukana be whitish, lose original color
A+C- kwérea have a good crop for/at
A+R- kwéreerangana testify to each other's innocence
C+P- kwéreziwa be produced in abundance; be cleaned
kwereera float
C- kwereera cause to float, hold high
C+P- kwereezibwa be caused to float

kwerura winnow
A- kwerurira winnow for/at
C- kwerura 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- kwésiriza 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- kwétetera 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- kwétetaswa be caused to call
I+C- kwétetera call repeatedly (so pester)

kwétenga desire, long for
A- kwétanjera desire at, wish for
C- kwétanjesa cause to desire
P- kwétengwa be desired

kwétonda introduce oneself; be careful, concentrate
A- kwétondera introduce self to/at; be careful at

kwévuuga 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- kweyesesa cause to sweep up for
C+R- kwéyexasanga cause each other to sweep up

kwéyayaamura yawn
A- kwéyayaamurira yawn at
C- kwéyayaamusa 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- kuféeracereera be completely destroyed
A+P- kuféerwa lose a relative to death

kuféro change colour (transitive)
A- kuféroera change colour for/at
C- kuféora cause to change colour
P- kuféorwa be changed in colour
S- kufooka change colour (intransitive)
A+C- kuféroesa cause to change colour for
A+P- kuféroerwa be changed colour for
A+R- kuféorierangana change colour for each other
C+P- kuféosibwa be caused to change colour
S+A- kuféocera change colour at

kufuka be cold; blow the nose
A- kufuciza 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- kufukunkusa 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

kufúmbata embrace
A- kufúmbatira embrace for/at
C- kufúmbasa cause to embrace
P- kufúmbatwa be embraced
R- kufúmbatana embrace each other
A+P- kufúmbatirwa be embraced for/at
C+R- kufúmbatanisa cause to embrace each other
R+A- kufúmbatanira embrace each other at

kufúmura pierce
A- kufúmurira pierce for/at
C- kufúmusa 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

kufúná gain, profit
A- kufúnira gain for/at
C- kufúnisa cause to gain

kufúnda be narrow, fail to fit
A- kufündira be narrow at
C- kufúnza cause to be narrow; reduce distance/job ahead
P- kufündwa be unable to fit into a dress
V- kufúnduura open (remove lid, stopper)
S- kufúnduuka open (intr)
V+A- kufúnduuirira open for/at
V+C- kufúnduusa 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- kufúnduurzangana cause each other to open

kufúndicira cover
A- kufúndicirira cover for/at
C- kufúndicina 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- kufúndicasangana 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- kufungusa 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- kufúnyanyera 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- kufúnyanyaxa cause to be wrinkled
D+A- kufúnyafunyira crumple for/at
D+C- kufúnyafunyisa cause to crumple
X+A+C- kufúnyanyarira cause to be wrinkled for

kufura wash clothes
A- kufurira wash for/at
C- kufusa 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- kufúrusa 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- kufúruezangana cause each other to move
S+A- kufúrucira 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

kufuuha (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- kugaaniiriiza 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- kugabusisa 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- kwágambirisiriza 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- kugaruranganira 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

kugesa harvest (esp. millet, sorghum)
A- kugesera harvest for/into
C- kugesesa cause to harvest
P- kugesibwa be harvested
A+C- kugesesa 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- kugobywa 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- kugobera defraud (transitive)  
A+P- kugoberwa be reached.esp. by trouble), be one's turn  
C+I- kugobeserenga 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- kugoneresa 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- kugororsa 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- kugóyera 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- kugugunira be gnawed something, be gnawed at  
A+R- kugugunirangana gnaw for each other  

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C+P- kugunisibwa be caused to gnaw
C+R- kugunisangana cause each other to gnaw

kuguma remain, continue; be hard (solids), be difficult, be well (healthy)
A- kumira remain for; be hard for/at
C- kumya keep to self, retain; gumi omutima have courage, persevere
   - kumisa harden, encourage
R- kumangana become hard
A+P- kumirwa have difficulty
C+A- kumisiza harden for, encourage for
C+P- kumisibwa be hardened; be confirmed in the faith
C+I- kumisiriza encourage, give heart
R+C- kumanganisa cause to become hard

kugura buy
A- kugura buy for/at
C- kugusa 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- kugútusa 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- kugútusibwa be caused to cut
C+R- kugútusangana 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- kugweigoosa 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- kugweigooxangana cause each other to strip sisal

kuha give  
A- kubhëera give for/at  
C- kubhéisa cause to give, cause to be given; praise  
P- kubhéebwa be given something  
A+R- kubhéérangana give to each other at  
C+I- kubhéierrena praise intensively  
C+R- kubhéesangana praise each other  
A+C- kubhéeresa give, hand to, serve  
A+C+R- kubhéerezangana 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- kuhabuxa inquire about way, seek (esp. medical) advice

kuhakana dispute  
A- kubakanira dispute about/at  
C- kubakaniisa contradict  
P- kubakanwa (of an argument) be disputed  
A+P- kubakanirwa be disputed about  
C+A- kubakanisisa contradict for/at

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C+P- kuhakanisibwa be contradicted

kubahkuura draw out (esp. honey from hive)
A- kubahkuurira draw out for/at
C- kubahkuusa cause to draw out
P- kubahkuurwa be drawn out
A+R- kubahkuurirangana draw out for each other
A+P- kubahkuurirwa be drawn something (esp. honey)
C+P- kubahkuusibwa be caused to draw out
C+R- kubahkuuzangana cause each other to draw out

kuháma take root, be fixed firmly; gain strength
A- kuhámiira gain strength at
C- kuhámya hold firmly
- kuhámisa hold firmly

kuhambba 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- kuhániira rebuke for/at
C- kuhanisa cause to rebuke
P- kuhanwa be rebuked
R- kuhanangana rebuke each other
A+P- kuhaniirwa be rebuked at
A+R- kuhaniirangana 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- kuhanamiringana climb for each other
C+P- kuhanamisibwa be caused to climb
C+R- kuhanamisangana cause each other to climb

kuhandiika write, register
A- kuhandiicira write for/at
C- kuhandiicisa cause to write
P- kuhandiikwa be written
A+P- kuhandiicirwa be written something (e.g. a letter),
   be written at
C+A- kuhandiicisiza 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- **kuhanguruiwa** be put out of fashion
V+S+A- **kuhangurucira** go out of fashion at

**kuhànga** be noon
A- **kuhànjira** be noon while at
A+P **kuhànjirwa** have noon come upon

**kuhánguha** grow fat
A- **kuhánguhiara** grow fat at
C- **kuhángusya** cause to grow fat
C+P- **kuhángusibwa** 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- **kuhanuza** 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- **kuhanuxangana** cause each other to take down
V+A+R- **kuhanurirangana** take down for each other

**kuhanuura** discuss, decide
A- **kuhanuuirira** advise
C- **kuhanuura** express surprise
 (reflexive: kwAhanuuza seek advice)
P- **kuhanuruwa** be decided/resolved
S- **kuhanuuka** do something for the first time
A+R- **kuhanuuirirangana** advise each other

**kuhára** scrape
A- **kuhária** scrape for
C- **kuháza** cause to scrape
P- **kuhára** be scraped
X- **kuháragata** scrape
A+R- **kuhárirangana** scrape for each other
C+P- **kuháxibwa** be caused to scrape

**kuhaya** threaten (intransitive)
. 
A- **kuhayira** threaten
C- **kuhayisa** cause to threaten
A+P- **kuhayirwa** be threatened

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A+R- kuhayirangana threaten each other

kuheska carry (usually on the back);
(of maize plant) form a cob
A- kuheecaera 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- kuheecesesa 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

kuheeesa forge (as a metal smith)
A- kuheeesesa forge for/at
   - kuheesera forge for/at
C- kuheeesesa cause to forge
P- kuheeswa be forged
   - kuheesibwa be forged
A+R- kuheesezangana forge for each other
C+R- kuheesesangana cause each other to forge

kuheheera be cool, be soft/moist;
   have a 'frog' in one's throat
A- kuheheerera be soft at
C- kuheheesa cause to be soft
C+P- kuheheezibwa be caused to be soft

kuheijera groan
A- kuheijerera groan at
C- kuheijera cause to groan
C+P- kuheijezibwa be caused to groan
C+R- kuheijezangana cause each other to groan

kuheimba light (a fire)
A- kuheimbera light for
C- kuheimbessa cause to light
P- kuheimbwa be lit
I- kuheimberera put moral pressure on
A+P- kuheimberwa be lit a fire
A+R- kuhémba
 toughest
A+R- kuhémba
 light for each other
C+A- kuhémbe
 cause to be lit a fire
C+P- kuhémbes
 be caused to light
C+R- kuhémbes
 cause each other to light

kuhemura
 disgrace
A- kuhemuru
 disgrace for/at
P- kuhemurwa
 be disgraced
R- kuhemurangana
 disgrace each other
S- kuhemuka
 be ashamed
S+A- kuhemucira
 be ashamed at

kuhénda
 break; overburden
A- kuhéndera
 break for/at
C- kuhénda
 cause to break; overburden with
P- kuhéndwa
 be broken, be overburdened
R- kuhéndengana
 break each other; overburden each other
S- kuhéndeke
 break (intrans); toil
D- kuhéndahenda
 break quickly; break into many pieces
A+P- kuhénderwa
 be broken something
A+R- kuhénderangana
 break for each other
C+P- kuhénsibwa
 be caused to break; be overburdened with
C+R- kuhénszangana
 cause each other to break; overburden each other with
S+A- kuhéndecera
 break at; toil for/at

kuhéra
 be gone for too long
A- kuhéreza
 be gone at, esp. in akahereráhi
 what became of him?
C- kuhéreza
 finish, complete
I- kuhéreza
 be near
S- kuhéréka
 entrust
I+C- kuhéréesa
 put near
I+R- kuhéreerana
 be near each other
I+S- kuhéreeruka
 be last, see last
S+A- kuhérecera
 see off
S+P- kuhérekwa
 be entrusted with
I+R+C- kuhéreeranisa
 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- kuhijixangana
 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- kuhijicira
 cause to support

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S+A- kuhigucira fall over at
V+A- kuhigurira knock over for/at

kuhiiga hunt; look for
A- kuhiiijira hunt for/at; look for/at
C- kuhiiijisa cause to hunt
P- kuhiiigwa be hunted
R- kuhiiigangana hunt each other
A+P- kuhiiijirwa be hunted something
A+R- kuhiiijirangana hunt for each other
C+R- kuhiiijisangana cause each other to hunt
I+C- kuhiiijiriza search intensively

kuhiika (of rain) threaten to fall
A- kuhicira threaten at
I+C- kuhiciriza threaten seriously

kuhiika 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- kuhiciriza 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- kuhingusa cause to go past
P- kuhingurwa be passed
C+R- kuhingusana 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- kuhinyiriza fold up trousers/shirt sleeves
A+R- kuhinyirangana fold for each other

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C+R- kuhínyisangana cause each other to fold
I+C- kuhínyiriza 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 unplacer
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 unplacer for
V+P- kuhómoorwa be unplastered
V+A+R- kuhómoorerangana unplacer for each other

kuhóra cool; lend
A- kuhórerera cool at; lend at
C- kuhóra cause to cool; plead a case; (Reflexive: kwéhoza borrow)
P- kuhóra be lent
R- kuhórangana lend to each other
C+C- kuhóresa cause to plead a case, cause to answer charges
C+P- kuhózibwa (of a case) be pleaded/argued
I+C- kuhóreerera soothe, calm (trans)
C+R- kuhóresangana 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- kuhúrirera lose appetite at; hear, obey
P- kuhúrwa be disliked (by a pregnant person)
I- kuhúriiriza listen attentively
A+C- kuhúrica hear with; have hearsay
A+P- kuhúrirwa be heard, be obeyed

kúhwa end, be no longer there, be exhausted
A- kuhvéra end at
C- kuhvéisa go dry (esp. cow’s milk), diminish (esp. food)
X- kuhvérecerera be completely destroyed, be annihilated
I- kuhvérera wear out (e.g. a pencil)

kuhwéza be clear (with light), see clearly; be intelligent
A- kuhwéreza light up for; be intelligent at
C- kuhwézesza 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- kwigusibwa be caused to open
C+R- kwigusangana cause each other to open

kwiha remove
A- kwihrira remove for
C- kwihsisa cause to remove
P- kwihrwa be removed
I- kwihirira start from, arise from
A+P- kwihirwa be removed something

kwihura serve food
A- kwihurira serve food to/at
C- kwihusa cause to serve food
P- kwihurwa (of food) be served
S- kwihuka 'get off the hook'
A+P- kwihurira be served food
A+R- kwihurirangana served each other food
C+P- kwihuzibwa be caused to serve food
C+R- kwihuzangana cause each other to serve food

kwija come
A- kwizira come towards
C- kwiziva cause to come
A+P- kwizirwa be approached

kwijuka recall
A- kwijucira recall while at
C- kwijuca cause to recall, remind
P- kwijkwa be recalled, be remembered
I- kwijuciriza keep recalling a past experience
C+R- kwijuca keep each other

kwijura (of container) be filled; (of substance)
fill a container
A- kwijurira be filled at
C- kwijusa fill
P- kwijurwa(mu) be filled
V- kwijururika diminish (from fullness) (trans)
X- kwijururukwa dwindle, diminish (from fullness) (intr)
A+C- kwijurisa fill up
V+P- kwijururwa (of container) be unfilled

kwikara stay
A- kwikariza stay for; fell in wrestling
C- kwikasa 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- kwimisibwa 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- kwimucirangana raise/rouse for each other

kwinama bow down, be bent
A- kwinamira bow to/at, bend towards
C- kwinamisa cause to bow, bend
   - kwinamyia 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- kwísa cause to grow dark
I+C- kwiriríza cause to delay until nightfall
C+P- kwízibwa be caused to grow dark
I+C+P- kwiririzibwa be delayed until nightfall

kwirira move nearer/farther
A- kwirira move nearer to
C- kwirísa cause to be nearer/farther
P- kwirírwa be approached
R- kwirirírangana 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- kwirucísa cause to run for
C+R- kwirucangana cause each other to run

kwíta 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- kuiteita obscure esp. by change of topic  
A+P- kwitirwa be killed something  
A+R- kwitiranganwa 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  

kujábiaka dip  
A- kujábicira dip for/at  
V- kujábu(u)ra take out of a pot  
P- kujá bikwa be dipped  
V+A- kujábu(u)ríra 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- kujendesesa cause to go for  
I+C- kujenderesa cause to progress  
I+C+P- kujenderesibwa be caused to progress  

kujera flow; measure  
A- kujereza flow for/at/into  
C- kujera cause to flow; try  

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I- kujereera supervise
A+P- kujereserwa 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- kujújwa (of wife) be paid dowry for
A+P- kujújirwa be paid dowry
A+R- kujújizangana pay dowry to each other
C+R- kujújisangana cause each other to pay dowry

kujúma insult, scold
A- kujúmira insult for/at
C- kujúmisisa 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- kujumeera cause to cry

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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

Kujunga squeeze banana juice
A- kujunjira squeeze for/at
C- kujunjisa cause to squeeze
P- kujunzwana be squeezed
I- kujunjiriza tread severely
A+P- kujunjirwa be squeezed banana juice, be squeezed at
A+R- kujunjirngana squeeze for each other
C+R- kujunjisangana cause each other to squeeze

Kujura be homesick, miss
A- kujurira be homesick at; testify
C- kujurza cause to be homesick
P- kujurwa be missed
A+C- kujuriza call as a witness
A+P- kujurzwa be given favorable testimony
A+R- kujurirangana testify for each other
A+C+R- kujurisangana call each other as witness

Kujúura undress, take off clothes
A- kujúurira undress for/at
C- kujúusa cause to undress
P- kujúurwa be undressed, (of clothes) be taken off
R- kujúurangana undress each other
S- kujúuka get off
A+R- kujúurirangana undress for each other
C+R- kujúusangana cause each other to undress
S+A- kujúucira get off at

Kujwa (sun) shine; (juice) flow
A- kujwera shine for/at; flow for/at
C- kujwisasa 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- kujwária wear for/at
C- kujwaza cause to wear

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P- kujwārwa be worn
X- kujwāka dress, clothe
C+R- kujwāzangana cause each other to wear
X+A- kujwēcera dress/clothe for/at
X+P- kujwēkwa be dressed/clothed
X+R- kujwēkangana dress/clothe each other

kukāba faint, die
A- kukābira faint at
C- kükābya cause to faint
I- kükābizira faint for

kukāga detect by smell
A- kükājira smell for/at
C- kükājisa cause to smell
P- kükāgwā be detected by smell
R- kükāgangana detect each other by smell
A+P- kükājirwa be smelled something
A+R- kükājirangana smell for each other

kukāma milk
A- kükāmira milk for/at
C- kükāmisa cause to milk
P- kükāmwa be milked
D- kükāmakama (of clothes) be half dry
S- kükāmuuka (e.g. water) be squeezed out, drip
V- kükāmuura squeeze out (liquids), press (wet items)
A+P- kükāmirwa be milked something, be milked at
A+R- kükāmirangana milk for each other
C+P- kükāmisibwa be caused to milk
C+R- kükāmisangana cause each other to milk
S+A- kükāmuucira drip at
V+A- kükāmuurira squeeze out/press for/at
V+C- kükāmuusa cause to squeeze out/press
V+P- kükāmuurwa be squeezed/pressed
V+A+P- kükāmuurirwa be squeezed/pressed something
V+A+R- kükāmuurirangana squeeze/press for each other
V+C+P- kükāmuusibwa be caused to squeeze/press
V+C+R- kükāmuusangana cause each other to squeeze/press

kukambura pull down (house)
A- kükamburira pull down for
C- kükambusa cause to pull down
P- kükamburwa be pulled down
S- kükambuka fall to ruin/disrepair
D- kükambakambura pull down violently
A+P- kükamburirwa be pulled down (a house)
A+R- kükamburirangana pull down for each other
C+P- kükambuzibwa be caused to pull down
C+R- kükambuzangana cause each other to pull down
S+A- kükambucira fall to ruin in (duration)

kukāna insult with tongue click
A- kükānira insult for/at
C- kukánisa cause to insult
P- kukánwa be insulted
R- kukánangana insult each other
A+R- kukánirangana insult 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- kukanduuirira clear for
V+C- kukanduuxa cause to clear

kukániga 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- kukánjusangana cause each other to chew

kukéikura (of women) grow old
A- kukéikurira grow old at
C- kukéikuza cause to grow old

kukókoota be shrivelled, be dwarfed
A- kukókootera be shrivelled at
C- kukókoosa cause to be shrivelled
S- kukókootoka be shrivelled (used as a curse)

kukómza tie, imprison
A- kukómwera tie for/at
C- kukómwesa cause to tie
- kukómya blink
P- kukómwa be tied
R- kukómangana tie each other
S- kukómooroka become untied/loose
V- kukómoorora untie, loosen
I- kukomrerera pack up
D - kukómakóma tie quickly
A+P- kukómérvwa be tied something
A+R- kukómerangana tie for each other
   - kukómerana tie together (in one bundle); lock inside
C+A- kukómesera cause to tie for
C+P- kukómesibwa be caused to tie
C+R- kukómesangana cause each other to tie
S+A- kukómooorcera become loose at
V+A- kukómoorrwa untie for/at
V+C- kukómoorosa cause to untie
V+P- kukómoorrwa be untied
V+R- kukómoororangana untie each other
V+A+P- kukómoororervwa be untied something

kukómagáa beat barkcloth
A- kukómajíra beat barkcloth for/at
C- kukómajíisa cause to beat barkcloth
P- kukómagwa (of barkcloth) be beaten
A+P- kukómajírwa be beaten barkcloth
A+R- kukómajírangana 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- kukómesa cause to sow
P- kukómerwa be sowed
A+P- kukómererwa be sowed something
C+R- kukómesangana cause each other to sow

kukóna be underdone/undercooked; castrate
A- kukónera be underdone at; castrate for/at
C- kukónesa cause to be underdone, undercook
P- kukónwa be castrated
A+P- kukonerwa be castrated something
A+R- kukonerangana castrate for each other
C+A- kukónesesa undercook for; cause to castrate for
C+P- kukonesibwa be caused to be undercooked

kukónda fell
A- kukondoza fell for/at
C- kukondesa cause to fell
P- kukondwa be felled
X- kukonděka cause to hang down loosely;
   put up a rough shelter
kukónora pull off (esp. fruit)
A- kukónorera pull off for/at
C- kukónosa cause to pull off
P- kukónorwa be pulled off
S- kukónoka fall off
A+P- kukónorera be pulled something
A+R- kukónorerangana pull off for each other
C+R- kukónoxangana cause each other to pull off
S+A- kukónocera fall off at

kukóra work; make; do; repair; touch
A- kukórera work for
C- kukóra cause to work/make/do; cause to repair, cause to be repaired; dip morsel in sauce
- kukóresa cause to work; cause to be repaired
P- kukórwa be done/made; be repaired
D- kukórakora grope
A+C- kukóresa dip morsel for; cause to be repaired something
A+P- kukórërwa be done a job; be repaired something
A+R- kukórerangana work/make/do for each other; repair for each other
C+R- kukóxangana cause each other to work; cause each other to repair
D+A- kukórinkera grope for/at
C+R- kukózesangana cause each other to work/repair
A+C+R- kukórerangana dip morsel for each other; cause each other to be repaired something

kukóroroa cough
A- kukórorera cough at
C- kukóroza cause to cough
C+R- kukórozangana cause each other to cough

kukúba fold
A- kukúbirà fold for/at
C- kukúbisa cause to fold
- kukúbya nickname (appreciative)
P- kukúbwa be folded
S- kukúbuuka turn round
- kukúbuuruka unfold
V- kukúbuuroa turn round (transitive)
- kukúbuuruira unfold (trans)
X- kukúbajisa 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- kukúbuura cause to turn round
- kukúbuuruza cause to unfold

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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
  - kukumbiya 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- kukúrirangana be polite to each other, be hospitable to each other

kukúnda like, love; agree
A- kukündira like for/at; agree to
C- kukúnsa cause to like
P- kukündwa be liked
R- kukúndangana like each other
A+R- kukúndirangana like each other for

kukúnga howl
A- kukúnjira howl for/at
C- kukúnsa cause to howl
  - kukúnjisa cause to howl
R- kukúngana be quarrelsome
C+R- kukúndangana cause each other to howl

kukúra grow
A- kukúrira grow at; be older than
C- kukúsa cause to grow; overestimate someone's age
A+P- kukúrirwa be younger than
C+P- kukúzibwa be caused to grow old
C+R- kukúrangana 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- kukurusa 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

kukúra uproot
A- kukúririra uproot for
C- kukúusa cause to uproot
P- kukúrzwa be uprooted
S- kukúuka come out (of the soil)
A+P- kukúririrwa be uprooted something
A+R- kukúririrangana uproot for each other
C+P- kukúzibwa be caused to uproot
C+R- kukúzangana cause each other to uproot

kukwáta hold, catch; touch; (of plant) take root
A- kukuwátiira hold for/at; be stuck
C- kukuwása cause to hold; help; cause to be caught; corner
  - kukuwátisa cause to be caught
P- kukuwátwa be held/caught
R- kukuwátangana hold each other
  - kukuwátana be related
S- kukuwátika be available
D- kukuwátakwata feel all over; touch repeatedly
I- kukuwátirira hold as surety
A+P- kukuwátirwa be held something
A+R- kukuwátirangana hold for each other
  - kukuwátirana hold things together (as in a bundle);
    share the use of something
C+A- kukuwásiza corner for; cause to hold for
C+P- kukuwásibwa be caused to hold; be helped
C+R- kukuwásangana help each other
  - kukuwásasangana cause each other to be caught
R+C- kukuwátanisa hold things together (as in a bundle);
    carry out a task together with
I+C- kukuwátiriza 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- kumanyira 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- kumaza cause to finish
P- kumarwa be finished
R- kumarangana exhaust each other
A+R- kumarrirangana finish for each other
**kumera** (of plants) sprout, germinate
A- kumerera sprout for
C- kumera cause to sprout
P- kumerwamu (of place) have plants sprout in
I- kumeraera live a long time, live for ever
A+C- kumera cause to sprout for
C+P- kumexibwa be caused to sprout

**kumiga** press
A- kumijira press for/at
C- kumijisa cause to press
P- kumigwa be pressed
R- kumiganza press each other
S- kumigua(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- kumiganira press each other at

**kumira** swallow
A- kumirira swallow for/at
C- kumira cause to swallow
P- kumirwa be swallowed
X- kumirinkusa gulp
C+P- kumisibwa be caused to swallow

**kumóka** bark
A- kumócera bark at
C- kumóca cause to bark
A+P- kumócierwa be barked at
A+R- kumóceraangana bark at each other
C+P- kumócibwa be caused to bark
C+R- kumócangana cause each other to bark

**kumurika** shine/flash, shine on, be alight
A- kumuricira shine for
C- kumurica cause to shine
R- kumurikwana shine on, be lit
A+P- kumurikangana shine on each other
A+R- 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- kumyorera screw for/at; dislocate for/at
P- kumyórwa be dislocated
S- kumyóka have a dislocated joint
R- kumyorangana 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- kunaibwa (e.g. water, soap) be use in washing
A+P- kunaibirwamu (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- kunágaija 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- kunájíza 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- kuneisesa cause to defecate for
C+P- kuneisibwa be caused to defecate
C+R- kuneisangana cause each other to defecate

kuniájiira plod along
A- kuniájiirira plod along at
C- kuniájiixa cause to plod along
X- kuniáganiaga plod along
C+P- kuniájiizangana 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- kunójesa 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-** kunógoosa cause to mould/be moulded
**P-** kunógoorwa be moulded
A+P- kunógoorerwa be moulded something
A+R- kunógoorerangana mould for each other
C+P- kunógoosibwa be caused to mould
C+R- kunógoosangana cause each other mould

**kunógora** cut a piece off
**A-** kunógorera cut a piece for/at
**C-** kunógoza 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- kunura cause to taste nice
A+P- kunuzirwa be pleased by taste of
C+P- kunuzibwa be caused to taste nice

kunyásara urinate
A- kunyásáriwa urinate on
C- kunyásaza cause to urinate
P- kunyásarwa be urinated
A+P- kunyásáriziwa be urinated on
A+C- kunyásáriwa cause to urinate for
A+R- kunyásárizangana urinate on each other
C+P- kunyásázipwa be caused to urinate
C+R- kunyásázarangana cause each other to urinate

kunyaata eat without vegetables or relish
A- kunyaatira eat ...at
C- kunyaatiza cause to eat ...
- kunyasa 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

kunyágaraara be troubled, be poorly off
A- kunyágaraririwa be troubled at
C- kunyágaraara trouble, put in a poor condition
C+R- kunyágarazangana trouble each other

kunyeesta grow older, mature
A- kunyeesterara mature at
C- kunyeestasa cause to mature
C+P- kunyeestibwa be caused to mature
C+R- kunyeestangana cause each other to mature

kunyejera go uphill; be welcome
A- kunyejérera go uphill at; be welcome at
C- kunyejexa cause to go uphill; welcome, treat with hospitality
P- kunyejerwa be climbed
C+P- kunyejeribwa be welcomed
C+R- kunyejerzangana 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- kunyúnyira lick up for/at
C- kunyúnyisa cause to lick up
P- kunyúnywa be licked up
X- kunyúnyuuta suck out
A+P- kunyúnyirwa be sucked up something
A+R- kunyúnyirangana suck up for each other
C+R- kunyúnyisangana cause each other to suck up

kúnywa drink
A- kunywéra drink for/at
C- kunywéisa cause to drink
P- kunywába be drunk by
R- kunywána make blood brotherhood/friendship
X- kunywéisaguzibwa have a habit of
drinking anything/anywhere
A+P- kunywéwara 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- kwocexa burn for/at
C- kwocasa cause to burn
P- kwocibwa be burnt
R- kwocangana burn each other
A+R- kwocexangana burn for each other, burn e.o. at
C+R- kwocesangana burn each other with

kwöga bathe (intransitive)
A- kwöjera bathe at
C- kwöja wash, bathe (transitive)
  - kwöjesa cause to wash
P- kwögwa (of water, soap etc.) be washed with
X- kwögoroxa rinse
A+C- kwöjexa wash for/at
C+P- kwöjibwa be washed
C+R- kwöjangana wash each other
X+P- kwögorozibwa be rinsed

kwögosa twist rope, weave rope
A- kwögosexa twist for/at
C- kwögosesa cause to twist
P- kwögosibwa be twisted

kwöma dry up (intransitive)
A- kwömera dry up for/at
C- kwömesa cause to dry up
  - kwömya cause to dry up
R- kwömangana dry up thoroughly
X- kwömserexa (of a guilty person) deny guilt vehemently, stand by a denial of guilt firmly
R+C- kwömanganisa cause to dry thoroughly

kwömbeke build
A- kwömbecera build for
C- kwömbecesa cause to build
P- kwömbekewa be built
A+P- kwömbecerwa be built something
A+R- kwömbecerangana build for each other
C+P- kwömbecesibwa be caused to build
C+R- kwömbecesangana cause each other to build

kwöna (of animals) spoil crops in the fields
A- kwönera spoil crops for
C- kwönesa cause to spoil crops
A+P- kwönnera be spoilt crops
C+A- kwöneseza cause to spoil crops for

kwnonjera continue, add
C- kwnonjexa increase, give more to
P- kwnonjerwa be given more
X- kwnonjesexa add to
C+R- kwnonjesangana give more to each other

kwönka suck at the breast
A- kwoncéra suck at
C- kwoncéca suckle
P- kwoncékwa be sucked
A+C- kwoncéesa suckle for/at
C+P- kwoncécibwa be suckled

kwóra become poor
A- kwórera become poor for/at
C- kwóra cause to become poor
C+P- kwóxibwa be caused to become poor
C+R- kwóxangana cause each other to become poor

kwóze ka show
A- kwórecera show at
C- kwórec ca put on display
P- kwórekwa be shown
I- kwórecere ra 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- kwóroorerera bring up for/at
C- kwóroora cause to bring up
P- kwóroorzwa be brought up
A+R- kwóroorengana 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

kwóya 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- kupácirera 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

kupíka 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

kupíma 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- kupukusa 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- kuraáriira (of a guest) spend the night at; (of a bird) sit on eggs
C- kuraáza cause to spend the night; extinguish (fire)
P- kuraárwa(mu) be spent the night in

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X- kurárika invite to a task/function
A+C- kuráríza invite to a task/function;
   extinguish fire for/at
A+P- kurárízwa have a guest spend the night

kurába pass; (of plants) blossom, produce fruit
A- kurábíra 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- kurábúrira enlighten for/at
C- kurábúza cause to enlighten
P- kurábúrwa be enlightened
R- kurábúrangana enlighten each other
S- kurábuka be clever
A+P- kurábúrirwa be enlightened someone
A+R- kurábúrirangana enlighten for each other
S+A- kurábucíra be clever at

kuraga say goodbye; promise; bequeath
A- kurajíra say goodbye for/at; bequeath for/at
C- kurajísa cause to say goodbye; cause to bequeath
P- kuragwa be bid farewell; be bequeathed something
I- kurajíri order, give directions
R- kuragangana say goodbye to each other; bequeath to e.o.
   - kuragana agree, promise
I+A- kurajiíríra give directions about
R+C- kuragaanísa give an appointment, promise
I+A+C- kurajiíríra give directions repeatedly
   with admonitions not to forget

kuragara go down, fall
A- kuragára fall at
C- kuragaza cause to fall; wipe off
P- kuragaráwa drop something
S- kuragaráika fall, be scattered
C+P- kuragásíbwa be wiped off
S+A- kuragáricíra be scattered at

kuragura prophesy, divine, foretell
A- kuragúrira prophesy for/at
C- kuragúza consult a diviner/soothsayer
P- kuragúrwa be prophesied
A+P- kuragúrirwa be told a prophesy
A+R- kuragúrirangana prophesy for each other

kurahíra swear, vow
A- kurahírizra swear at
C- kurahíza cause to swear

kurahuka be quick
A- kurahúcíra be quick at something
C- kurahuca do quickly

kurahura bully; (of chickens) scratch
A- kurahurira bully for/at
C- kurahusuza 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- kurámbugirira inspect for
C- kurámbusa cause to inspect
P- kurámburwa be inspected
R- kurámburangana inspect each other
A+P- kurámbugirwa be inspected something
A+R- kurámbugiriranganana inspect for each other
C+P- kurámbusibwa be caused to inspect
C+R- kurámbuzangana cause each other to inspect

kurambuura make to lose weight by denying food
A- kurambuuirira make lose weight for/at
P- kurambuuirwa be made to lose weight
S- kurambuuka lose weight
R- kurambuuirangana make each other lose weight
S+A- kurambuuccira lose weight at

kuramuca greet
A- kuramuciza greet for/at
I- kuramukanisa greet one another

kuramura judge, reconcile, decide
A- kuramura judge for/at
C- kuramusa 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- kurangaara cause to gape
C+P- kurangaaxibwa be caused to gape
C+R- kurangaazangana cause each other to gape

kurara (esp. animals) wander
A- kurarira wander at
C- kurara cause to wander
S- kuraruka become mad
V- kururunra cause to become mad
C+P- kurarixibwa be caused to wander
V+R- kurururangana 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
- kurásisa 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

kuraseba look, watch, see, look for
A- kurasebera search for/at, see at, watch for;
- cheat by looking at answers
C- kurasebesa cause to see
- kurasebya keep uninvited watch in order to do mischief
D- kurasebaraseba look about
P- kurasebwa be seen
R- kur seabana keep in touch by visiting each other
- kurasebangana look at each other
I- kuraseberera supervise, watch over
I+C- kurasebereza hang around in order to receive crumbs
A+P- kuraseberwa be watched something
- kuraseberwámu be transparent, allow sight (e.g. a hole),
- be reflective (e.g. a mirror)
A+R- kuraseberangana cheat by looking at each other's work
C+P- kurasebesibwa be caused to see
C+R- kurasebesangana cause each other to see

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**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- kureejergangana tighten for each other
C+P- kureejesibwa be caused to tighten
C+R- kureejesangana cause each other to tighten

kuréeta bring
A- kurétera bring for
C- kurésesa cause to bring, come with (means/manner); smoke
   - kurésëta cause to bring
P- kuréstwa be brought
R- kuréstangana bring each other
   - kuréstana come together, arrive together
I- kuréstera sing solo
A+P- kuréstera be brought something
A+R- kuréstanganana bring for each other
   - kuréstana flow/leak/bleed profusely
C+A- kurésesa smoke at
C+P- kurésesibwa be caused to bring; be smoked
C+R- kurésesangana cause each other to bring
I+P- kuréstera 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)
   - kuréjëta cause to set 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

kureihwa 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- kuremeseka 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- kuremeexa 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- kurembasa cause to be very ill for/at
C+P- kuremyangana cause each other to be very ill

kurenga measure; be mean (esp. with respect to food)
A- kurengesa measure for; be mean to
C- kurengesa cause to measure; try; tempt
P- kurenga be measured
A+P- kurengera be measured something
A+R- kurengerangana measure for each other
C+P- kurengesibwa be tempted
C+R- kurengesangana tempt each other
- kurengesana hesitate/guess

kurânga go from view, go beyond a point/rule, (of sun) set
A- kurenjera set at, go beyond at
C- kurenja (of character) be unacceptable; pass day;
- cause to go beyond
D- kurenjanga (of sun) be evening twilight
P- kurenga be surpassed
C+A- kurenjenza hint

kurângahara be ignorant, lack skill/dexterity
A- kurengaharira be ignorant at
C- kurengahara cause to be ignorant
C+P- kurengahazibwa be caused to be ignorant

kureza rear (a child), babysit
A- kurerza 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  
-  kuribaswa cause to tread on  
P-  kuribatwa be trodden  
R-  kuribatangana tread on each other  
I-  kuribatiirira tread severely  
A+P-  kuribatirwa be trodden something

kuriba pay damages  
A-  kurihira pay damages to  
C-  kurihisa cause to pay damages  
P-  kurihwa be paid as damages  
C+P-  kuribisibwa 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-  kurimisibwa be dug something  
A+R-  kurimirangana dig for each other  
C+P-  kurimirisibwa be caused to dig  
C+R-  kurimirisangana 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  
- kurozna cause to search  
P- kurondwa be looked for  
I- kurondoora resemble a relative (in character or physical features)  
A+P- kuronnderwa be searched something  
C+P- kuroszibwa be caused to search

kuróota dream  
A- kuróóterera dream at  
C- kuróótesa cause to dream  
P- kuróótwaw be dreamed  
R- kuróótwangana dream about each other  
V- kuróótorora tell a dream  
I- kuróótererwa have nightmares

kuroza taste  
A- kuroresaza taste for/at  
C- kurozesesa cause to taste  
P- kurozibwa be tasted  
A+R- kuroresangana 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- kuruclidra weave for/at  
C- kurucisa cause to weave  
P- kurukwa be weaved  
A+P- kuruclirwa be weaved something  
A+R- kuruclirangana weave for each other  
C+R- kuruclisangana cause each other to weave

kurúma bite  
A- kurúmira bite for/at  
C- kurúmisisa cause to bite  
P- kurúmwaa be bitten; be in labor  
R- kurúmangana bite each other; have a habit of biting  
X- kurúmiika cup, bleed  
V- kurúmuura give an antidote for a bite  
R+A- kurúmanganira bite each other at
X+kurúmicíra cup for/at
kurúnda heap up
A- kurundíra heap up for
C- kurunsá cause to heap up
P- kurundwá be heaped up
R- kurundaaná gather
A+P- kurundírzíwa be heaped up something
R+A- kurundaanírira gather for/at
R+A+P- kurundaanírzíwa be gathered something

kurunxa season (food)
A- kurunjíra season for/at
C- kurunjísa cause to season
P- kurunjíwa be seasoned
X- kurunjíisziríza be fond of seasoning
A+P- kurunjírzíwa be seasoned something
A+R- kurunjíraníranga season for each other
C+R- kurunjírangsíanga cause each other to season

kururuma (esp. of motor) rumble
A- kururumíra rumble at
C- kururumyá cause to rumble

kurwána fight, struggle
A- kurwaníra fight for
C- kurwanísa cause to fight; scold
I- kurwaníríra fight for, help
I+P- kurwanírírzíwa be fought for/helped

kurwára be ill
A- kurwáárizíra become ill at (place)
C- kurwása cause to become ill; nurse
P- kurwárwa (of a disease) be had
I- kurwáárizírríza become ill at someone's inconvenience
C+P- kurwáárizíbwa become caused to become ill
C+R- kurwáárazíanga cause each other to become ill;
nurse each other

kúrya eat; irritate
A- kuriíra eat for/at
C- kuriísa cause to eat, feed
P- kuriíbwa be eaten
D- kuryara cheat
R- kuryána quarrel, fight
I- kuriíríriríra take more than one's fair share
X- kuriírásíquisíbwa have a habit of eating anything/anywhere
A+R- kuriírángíanga eat for each other
C+A- kuriííiszísa cause to eat for, feed for
C+P- kuriíísíbwa be caused to eat, be fed
C+R- kuriíísírangíanga cause each other to eat, feed each other

kusa grind
A- kuseera grind for/at; overcharge, be expensive

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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

kusasa cause to grind for
A- kusasira hurt at; feel pity for
P- kusasibwa be hurt; need badly
R- kusasangana hurt each other

kusága be left over, be plenty, exceed
A- kusájira be left over at
C- kusájisa cause to be left over
   - kusáaja cause to be left over
P- kuságwa be exceeded
R- kuságana be too much, be all over
V- kuságura leave over
A+C- kusájixa offend
C+R- kusájisangana cause each other to be left over
V+C- kuságura leave over

kusarira be bitter
A- kusaririra be bitter at
C- kusariza cause to be bitter
I- kusariirira be bitter to (person)
C+P- kusarisibwa be caused to be bitter
A+P- kusariirirwa feel a bitter taste

kuschuru harvest
A- kuschuruurira harvest for/at
C- kuschuruuza cause to harvest
P- kuschuruurwa be harvested
A+P- kuschuruurirwa 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- kusabiriza 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- kusagaza cause to accompany
P- kusagarwa be accompanied
R- kusagarana accompany each other
A+P- kusagazirwa 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- kusambururiza  cause to undo weavework
P- kusambururwa  (of weavework) be undone
S- kusamburuka  be undone
A+P- kumbururirwa  be undone weavework
A+R- kusambururirangana  undo weavework for each other
C+R- kusamburuzangana  undo weavework 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- kusanjirira cover for/at
C- kusanjiza cause to cover
P- kusanjirwa be covered
R- kusanjirangana cover each other
S- kusánguuruka be uncovered
V- kusánguurura uncover
A+P- kusanjirirwa be covered something
A+R- kusanjirirangana cover for each other
C+R- kusanjizangana cause each other to cover
S+A- kusánguurucira be uncovered at
V+A- kusánguuruuruzira 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- kusáririsa cause to be cut something; cause to prune
A+R- kusárirangana cut for each other
C+R- kusárangana cause each other to cut

kusarara be numb
A- kusararira be numb at
C- kusarara cause to be numb
S- kusararuka lose numbness
C+P- kusarazibwa be caused to be numb

kusasura pay
A- kusasurira pay for/at
C- kusasura cause to pay
P- kusasurwa be paid
R- kusasurangana pay each other
A+P- kusasurirwa be paid for
A+R- kusasurirangana pay for each other
C+R- kusasuzangana cause each other to pay

kusátura split open
A- kusáturíra split for/at
C- kusátúza cause to split
P- kusáturwá be split
S- kusátúka be split
A+P- kusáturírwá be split something
A+R- kusáturirangana split for each other
C+P- kusátusíbwa be caused to split
C+R- kusátuzangana cause each other to split
S+A- kusátucíra be split at

kusébuka sprout again
A- kusébucíra 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- kuseemeecíra 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- kusényíwa be collected
X- kusényágura shatter
A+P- kusényírwarwa be collected firewood
A+R- kusényerangana collect for each other
C+R- kusényesangana cause each other to collect firewood
X+A- kusényaguríra shatter for
X+S- kusényaguríka be shattered
X+S+A- kusényagurícíra be shattered at

kuseesa spill
A- kuseesíra spill for/on
C- kuseesesa cause to spill
P- kuseesíva be spilled
S- kuseesíka be spilled
R- kuseesíana spill all over, use
    (esp. liquids) extravagantly
X- kuseesíkara fill and spill over
A+P- kuseesírwa be spilled something on
S+A- kuseesescíra spill over onto
X+C- kuseesékara cause to fill and spill over

kuseka laugh, mock
A- kusecíra laugh/smile at
C- kuseca cause to laugh
    - kusecesa cause to laugh
P- kusèkíwa be laughed at, be mocked
R- kusekangana mock each other with respect to something
I- kuseceeríra mock, laugh at
I+P- kuseceerewa be mocked, be laughed at
A+R- kusécerangana smile at each other
C+P- kusécibwa be caused to laugh
C+R- kuséceangana cause each other to laugh
I+C- kusécereza laugh a lot

kusékura pound
A- kusékurira pound for/at
C- kusékura 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

kusécerwa destroy, decimate
A- kusécerewa destroy for/at
C- kuséceza cause to destroy
P- kusécerwa be destroyed
A+P- kusécererwa be destroyed something
A+R- kusécerangana destroy for each other
C+P- kuséceribwa destroy each other
C+R- kusécerangana destroy 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- kusembewa be wrapped up something
A+R- kusembangana 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- kusémjerera be pleasant for/at
C- kusémerea cause to be pleasant
A+C- kusémjerera cause to be pleasant for; operate on
A+P- kusémjerewa be happy
C+P- kusémzerewa 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- kusénjeererera buy beer for
C- kusénjeereza cause to buy beer

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P- kusénjeerwa (of beer) be bought
R- kusénjeererangana buy beer for each other
A+P- kusénjeerwa be bought beer
A+R- kusénjeererangana buy beer for each other

kusénsera permeate, enter
A- kusénserera permeate through
C- kusénsera cause to enter
P- kusénserwa be permeated

kuseraka hide (something from someone)
A- kuseracera hide for
C- kuseraca 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- kuseracerva be hidden something
A+R- kuseracerangana hide for each other
C+R- kuseracangana 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

kusiga leave behind
A- kusijira leave behind while at; entrust to
C- kusijisa cause to leave behind
P- kusigwa be left behind
R- kusigangana leave at different times, go at different paces
X- kusigara be left behind, stay
I- kusijirira leave before the end
A+P- kusijirwa be entrusted with something
A+R- kusijirangana entrust each other with
C+P- kusijisibwa be caused to leave behind; wander to a new concern
C+R- kusijisangana cause each other to leave behind
X+C- kusigaza 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

kusígisa stir
A- kusígisira stir for/at
C- kusígisisa cause to stir
P- kusígisibwa be stirred
- kusígiswa be stirred
A+P- kusígisirwa be stirred something
A+R- kusígisirangana stirr for each other

kusígura steal a person's wife; provide cause for not doing something
A- kusígurira steal.. for
C- kusíguza cause to steal..
P- kusígurwa be stolen
R- kusígurangana provide excuse for each other

kusíiba spend the day; fast
A- kusíibira pass the day on(food)
C- kusíibywa cause to spend the day
P- kusíibwamu be spend the day in
V- kusíibura bid farewell
V+A- kusíiburiza bid farewell for/at
V+P- kusíiburwa be bidden farewell
V+R- kusíiburangana bid each other farewell
V+S- kusíiburuka break the fast

kusíiga smear, paint
A- kusíijira smear for/at
C- kusíijisa cause to smear
P- kusíigwa be smeared
R- kusíigangana smear each other
A+R- kusíijirangana smear for each other

kusíima thank, approve of
A- kusíimirwa thank for/at
C- kusíimisa cause to thank
P- kusíimwa be thanked
R- kusíimangana thank each other; like each other
A+P- kusíimirwa be thanked someone

kusíimura wake up (transitive)
A- kusíimurira wake up for/at
C- kusíimuzwa cause to wake up
P- kusíimurwa be woken up
S- kusíimuka wake up (intransitive)
A+P- kusíimurirwa be woken someone
C+R- kusíimusangana cause each other to wake up
S+A- kusíimucira wake up at

kusíisa spoil
A- kusíisira spoil for/at; encamp
C- kusiisisa cause to spoil
P- kusiiswa be spoilt
X- kusiisikara be spoilt, go wrong

kusita 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- kusimbusa 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- kusindisangana cause each other to push

kusindura uproot
A- kusindurira uproot for
C- kusindura 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- kusinjisiziza 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- kusobywa err
S- kusobooka be clear, be understandable
  - kusoboorka (e.g. of weavework) be set right
V- kusoboorka set right; explain
  - kusobora cope with, be able
A+P- kusoberwa be baffled and saddened
A+C- kusobera 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- kusoboozerwa understand clearly;
be enlightened/modern

kusohora go out
A- kusohorera go out at
C- kusohora cause to go out
S- kusohooroka fall out (e.g. from a bundle)
V- kusohoororara pull out
A+C- kusohoresa cause to go out for/at
C+P- kusohozibwa be taken out
S+A- kusohoorecora fall out at
V+A- kusooorororera pull out for/at

kusókoza comb
A- kusókoza comb for/at
C- kusókoza cause to comb
P- kusókozibwa be combed
R- kusókozangana comb each other

kusoma read; attend school/church; sip
A- kusomera read for/at
C- kusomasesa 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- kusomera 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- kusombera fetch for
C- kusómbesa cause to fetch
P- kusómbwa be fetched
I- kusómbzerara fetch in several trips
A+P- kusómbewa be fetched something
A+R- kusómbangana 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- kusomboorera move items for/at
C- kusomboora 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- kusonesexa 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- kusongosa 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

kusora extinguis (esp. a plant)
A- kusoorera extinguis for/at
C- kusooza cause to extinguis
P- kusoorwa be extinguised
S- kusooka be extinguised
A+P- kusoorerwa be extinguised something
A+R- kusoorerangana extinguis for each other
C+P- kusoozibwa be caused to extinguis
C+R- kusoozangana cause each other to extinguis

kusora pay tax
A- kusorera pay tax for
C- kusoxa cause to pay tax
P- kusorwa (of tax) be paid
A+C- kusorexza 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- kusorooza cause to set apart
P- kusoroorwa be set apart
A+P- kusoroorowera 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+P- 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

kusura 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- kusuubuxa 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

kusuumma 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- kusuusza 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)zwa 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- kuswecerwa cover for/at
C- kusweca 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

kuswëra (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- kuswérerezera arrange a marriage for (a man)
C+P- kuswészibwa be caused to marry
C+R- kuswészangana cause each other to marry

kúsya burn, catch fire; ripen; be cooked
A- kuhíira burn at; pity
C- kuhíisa cause to be cooked; brew beer
I- kuhíirira be excited
X- kuhíisirísa (esp. of a boil) be very 'ripe' and ready to burst open
A+P- kuhíırwa(mu) have something burn at; be lucky
C+A- kuhíísiza cause to ripen for/at
C+P- kuhíísibwa cause to be ripe/cooked

kúta put
A- kutéera put for
C- kutéísa cause to put; forbid
P- kutéebwa be put
C+A- kutéíseza cause to put for, forbid for
C+P- kutéísibwa be forbidden something
C+R- kutéísangana forbid each other

kutáaga seek pity; clutch at/try anything for help
A- kutáájíra seek pity from
C- kutáájísa cause to seek pity
X- kutááguza clutch at anything for help
I+C- kutáájíríra plead, entreaty
A+C- kutáájísangana cause each other to seek pity
A+R- kutáájírangana seek pity from each other

kutáágura tear
A- kutáágúríra tear for/at
C- kutáágúsa cause to tear
P- kutáágurwa be torn
S- kutááguka become torn
X- kutáágúrikana be dawn
A+P- kutááguiríra be torn something
A+R- kutááguirírangana tear for each other
C+P- kutáágúsbwa be caused to tear
C+R- kutáágúszangana cause each other to tear

kutahasá go home, enter
A- kutahasíra enter for/at; (of bees) enter hive
C- kutahasíza go home with (means)
- kutahasya take/bring inside
P- kutahwa be entered
I- kutahasíríra intrude upon
A+C- kutahasísa force one's way through
C+P- kutahasísibwa be caused to go home
I+P- kutahasírírwa 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- kutağıtira be warm at
C- kutağısa warm
A+P- kutağıtirwa feel warm
C+A- kutağısiza warm for
C+P- kutağısibwa be warmed

kutáha scoop, draw (e.g. water)
A- kutağıra scoop for/at
C- kutağısa cause to scoop
P- kutağıwa be scooped
A+P- kutağırwa be scooped something
A+R- kutağırangana scoop for each other
C+P- kutağısibwa be caused to scoop
C+R- kutağısangana cause each other to scoop

kutáhata carry in the hand esp. with something else
on the head
A- kutahtable carry for
C- kutahtable cause to carry
P- kutahtable be carried
A+P- kutahtable be carried something
A+R- kutahtablerangana carry for each other
C+P- kutahtablesibwa be caused to carry

kutáma disgust, displease
A- kutamédia disgust at
C- kutamédia anger
P- kutamédia be angry, dislike
R- kutamédia cause each other to dislike
A+P- kutamédia dislike at

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C+P- kutámisibwa be caused to dislike

cutámba 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

kutámiika feed, put into the mouth
A- kutámicira feed for/at
P- kutámiika be fed
R- kutámicirana feed each other
A+P- kutámicirwa be fed at

kutana fester
A- kutanira fester at
C- kutanisiza 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- kutandamya 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- kutändicirwa be started something
A+R- kutändicirangana start for each other
C+R- kutändicisangana cause each other to start

kutänga forbid, bring back; go ahead/be first
A- kutánjira forbid for/at
C- kutánjisa cause to forbid
P- kutängwa 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

kutangzara be surprised
A- kutangaarira be surprised at
C- kutangaaza surprise
A+P- kutangaarirwa be marvelled

kutantamura enlarge
A- kutantamurira enlarge for/at
C- kutantamusa 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- kutantamurixibwa be caused to enlarge
C+R- kutantamusangana 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- kutáriicitira 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- kuteberekwa 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

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P- kuteegwa (of magic spell) be procured
V- kuteegura make offering to undo magic spell against self
I- kuteejera be curse someone, procure magic spell against someone
I+P- kuteejera be cursed
I+R- kuteejeraangana curse each other

kutëeka cook; (of solution) settle; make (a law)
A- kutëecerera cook for/at; settle at; make a law for; pile up
C- kutëecesa cause to cook
P- kutëekwa be cooked
R- kutëekaana settle, calm down
V- kutëekurura unpack
D- kutëekateeka prepare
I- kutëecerera press down upon; concentrate
A+P- kutëecererwa be cooked something
A+R- kutëecererangana cook for each other
C+P- kutëecesibwa be caused to cook
C+R- kutëecesangana cause each other to cook
R+A- kutëekaanira settle for
R+C- kutëekaanisa cause to calm down
I+C- kutëecerera think, reflect

kutëekama perch; be naughty
A- kutëekamira be naughty to
C- kutëekamisa cause to be naughty
A+P- kutëekamirwa be victim of naughty behavior
A+R- kutëekamirana be naughty to each other

kutëera hit
A- kutëerera hit for/at; prune a banana tree
C- kutëesa cause to hit, cause to be hit
P- kutëerwa be hit
R- kutëeranaga hit each other
A+P+ kutëererwa be pruned; be hit for/at
A+R- kutëereranga hit for each other
C+P- kutëexibwa be caused to hit
C+R- kutëexangana cause each other to hit/be hit
R+A- kutëexranira hit each other at
C+R- kutëexranira cause to be at loggerheads for; mix at
I+C- kutëererewa be a bad guy

kutëga set a trap; shave
A- kutëjera set a trap for, ambush; shave for
C- kutëjesa cause to set a trap; cause to shave;
become incorrigible
P- kutëgwa be trapped; be shaved
R- kutëgangana trap each other
S- kutëguuruka (of a trap) go off
V- kutëguurura unset a trap
- kutëgura 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- kutéguuurucira go off at
V+A- kutéguuururira unset a trap for/at
V+P- kutéguuururwa be unset
I+C- kutéjeresa wait for, expect
V+A+R- kutéguuururirangana 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- kutéjecerera 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- kutémwa be cut
R- kutémangana cut each other, fight
S- kutémuuruka (of a bush) be cleared; (of a sore) enlarge, get worse
V- kutémuurura clear overgrown bush
A+P- kutémewa be cut something
A+R- kutémerranga 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- kutémuuruurangana 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- kutembera 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

kutënsa confer, plot; court (a woman)
A- kutënsesa confer at; court for/at

kutéra even ploughed land
A- kutérera even for
C- kutéza cause to even
P- kutérvwa be evened
I- kutérereza be flat; be calm/settled/satisfied
A+P- kutérereva be evened ploughed land
A+R- kutérerangana even for each other
C+P- kutézibwa be caused to even
C+R- kutézangana cause each other to even
I+C- kutéreesa make flat; make settled
I+C+P- kutéreexibwa be made flat, be calmed

kutérama stay up late
A- kutéraramira stay up late for/at
C- kutéramyra cause to stay up late
A+P- kutéramirwa have guests stay up late
A+R- kutéramirangana 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)

kutéréka give beer
A- kutérékerera give beer for/at
C- kutérékeresa cause to give beer
P- kutérékera be given beer
R- kutérékangana give beer to each other
I- kutérékerecerera offer sacrifice

kutereera slip, be smooth
A- kutereerera slip at
C- kutereesa cause to slip
C+P- kutereexibwa be caused to slip

kutérura lift off from fire
A- kutérurira lift off for/at
C- kutérusa cause to lift off
P- kutérurwa be lifted off
S- kutéruka fall off balancing point
A+P- kutérurirwa be lifted something
A+R- kutérururirangana lift for each other
C+P- kutéruribwa be caused to lift off
C+R- kutéruruzangana cause each other to lift off

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kutéta (of a child) be spoilt
A- kutéterə be spoilt at
C- kutęsa spoil (a child)
C+A- kutęsizə spoil for/at

kutetema tremble
A- kutetemera tremble at
C- kutetemesa cause to tremble
C+R- kutetemesangana cause each other to tremble

kutéterə (of a hen) cackle
A- kutétererə cackle at
C- kutętera cause to cackle
C+P- kutęterezibwa be caused to cackle

kutiga pierce
A- kutijira pierce for
C- kutijiza 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- kutiininangana fear each other
C+R- kutiininisangana frighten each other

kutiiza lend, borrow; invite
A- kutiizira borrow for/lend for; invite for
P- kutiizibwa be lent/be borrowed; be invited
R- kutiizisangana 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

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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- kutitirera 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- kutobera sink at
C- kutobera 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- kutomera cause to knock into
P- kutomerwa be knocked into
R- kutomerangana knock into each other
C+P- kutomexibwa be caused to knock into
C+R- kutomerzangana cause each other to knock into

kutôna announce a surprise event
A- kutônera (of an insect) sting
P- kutônwa be given surprise news
R- kutônangana give surprise news to each other
X- kutôneka arouse pain from a wound
A+C- kutônera cause to sting, cause to be stung
A+P- kutônerwa be stung
X+X- kutôneka 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

kutondora peel, split pods
A- kutondorera peel for
C- kutondosa cause to peel
P- kutondorwa be peeled
S- kutondoka be peeled, lose skin
A+P- kutondorwa be peeled something
A+R- kutondorangana peel for each other
C+P- kutondozibwa be caused to peel
C+R- kutondozangana cause each other to peel
S+A- kutondocera be peeled at
kutônga demand payment of a debt
A- kutunjera demand payment for/at
C- kutunjja complain to oneself about misfortunes
   - kutunjesa cause to demand payment
P- kutôngwa be told to pay a debt
R- kutôngana quarrel
   - kutôngangana demand payment from each other
I- kutunjerezera direct incantations to the spirits
X- kwétunjesa pray to the spirits (i.e. demand fair
   treatment from the supernatural powers. N.B. reflexive)
   - kutunjesezesa be a very impatient creditor
C+A- kutunjjera complain to self at
R+A- kutónanira plead for
R+C- kutónanisa attack verbally, engage someone in
   a quarrel

kutóka sprout
A- kutócera sprout at

kutónya drip
A- kutónyera drip onto
I- kutónyerezera drizzle
A+C- kutónyesa cause to drip onto; write elegantly
A+P- kutónyewa be dripped something onto
V+S- kutónyororoka stop drizzling

kutóra take, receive; (of a path) come into common use
A- kutórera take for/at
C- kutóza cause to take; cause to come into common use;
   select
P- kutórwa be taken
R- kutórana pick up something lost by chance
A+C- kutórezesa copy, imitate, mimic

kutóroboza pick fruit before ripening
A- kutóroboresa pick for
C- kutórobozesesa cause to pick
P- kutórobozibwa be picked

kutóroza cause to run away, kidnap
A- kutórozera cause to run away for/to/at
C- kutóroza cause to kidnap
P- kutórozwa be kidnapped, be caused to run away
R- kutórozangana cause each other to run away
S- kutóroka run away
A+R- kutórozangana kidnap for each other
S+A- kutórocerera run away at/to

kutota be too soft (due to too much water)
A- kutosera 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- kutukusangana cause each other to be red

kutúma send(a person); summon
A- kutumira send for/at
C- kutumisa cause to send; cause to summon
P- kutumwa be sent
R- kutumangana send each other
A+P- kutumirwa be summoned someone
C+P- kutumisibwa be caused to summon
I+C- kutumiiriza 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

kutunga be rich; keep, care for
A- kutunjira be rich for/at; keep for
C- kutunjisa cause to be rich; cause to keep
P- kutungwa be kept

kutunta fly
A- kutuntira fly at
C- kutunsa cause to fly
X- kutuntumura make fly away
X+S- kutuntumuka fly away

kutuntuza worry, bother (transitive)
A- kutunturiza worry for/at
P- kutuntuzibwa be caused to worry
R- kutuntuzangana cause each other to worry

kutúra object to; (of animals) go out to graze
A- kutúria 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- kutuumuka (of smoke) go up, (of a ball) bounce
V- kutuumuura blow smoke, bounce a ball
A+P- kutuumirwa be heaped something
A+R- kutuumisangana heap up for each other
C+R- kutuumisangana cause each other to heap up
S+A- kutuumuucira go up at
V+A- kutuumuuirira blow for/at
V+P- kutuumuuirwa be blown

kutúura live, reside; put down (a load), relieve of a load
A- kutúuirira relieve for
C- kutúuirua live with; cause to put down, cause to relieve
P- kutúuirwa be lived in; be put down, (of a person)
be relieved of a load
A+P- kutúuirirwa be relieved someone of a load
C+P- kutúuiribwa be caused to put down
C+R- kutúuirangana cause each other to put down

kutwânga 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- kutwánjisira cause to pound for
C+R- kutwánjisangana cause each other to pound
C+P- kutwánjisibwa be caused to pound

kutwârâ take, carry; conceive; rule
A- kutwârirâ take for; take presents to a newly
married daughter; conceive at
C- kutwâra cause to take; be rough in manners
P- kutwârwa be taken; be conceived; be ruled
R- kutwârangana take each other
A+P- kutwârirwa be carried something
A+R- kutwârirangana carry for each other
C+P- kutwâzibwa be caused to take
C+R- kutwâzangana 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- kutwéijirwa be charged; be handled a case for
A+R- kutwéijirangana cause each other to press charges
C+P- kutwéijesibwa be caused to press charges

kutyâza sharpen
A- kutyázira sharpen for/at
C- kutyázisa cause to sharpen
P- kutyázibwa be sharpened
A+R- kutyázisangana 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

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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

kuyoora scoop up
A- kuyoorera scoop up for/at
C- kuyooxa cause to scoop up
P- kuyoorwa be scooped up
A+P- kuyoorawwa be scooped up something
A+R- kuyoorarangana scoop up for each other
C+P- kuyoosibwa be caused to scoop up
C+R- kuyoosangana cause each other to scoop up

kuzäana play
A- kuzäänira play for/at
C- kuzäänisa cause to play, joke
P- kuzäänwa (of a game) be played
A+P- kuzäänirwa be played a game
A+R- kuzäänirangana play for each other
C+P- kuzäänisibwa be caused to play
C+R- kuzäänisangana cause each other to play

kuzáara deliver, give birth
A- kuzárrira deliver for/at
C- kuzárasa cause to deliver
P- kuzáarwa be born
A+C- kuzáarira cause deliver for
A+P- kuzáarira be born child, be born at
A+R- kuzáarangana deliver each other
C+P- kuzáxisibwa be caused to deliver
C+R- kuzásangana cause each other to deliver

kuzénjerera go to a place many times; be dizzy
C- kuzénjerera cause to go to a place many times;
cause to be dizzy
C+P- kuzénjeresibwa be caused to go many times;
be caused to be dizzy

kuzibira prevent
A- kuzibirira prevent for/at
C- kuzibisa cause to prevent
P- kuzibirwa be prevented
R- kuzibirangana prevent each other

kuzíha swim
A- kuzíhira swim at
C- kuzíhisa cause to swim

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C+R- kuzihiisangana cause each other to swim

kuziika bury
A- kuziiicira bury for
C- kuziiicisa cause to bury
P- kuziikwa be buried
V- kuziiikuura exhume
A+P- kuziiicirwa be buried something
A+R- kuziiicirangana bury for each other
C+R- kuziiicisangana cause each other to bury
V+A- kuziiikuurira exhume for
V+P- kuziiikuurwa 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- kuzimuswa 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- kuzinizangana dance for each other
C+R- kuzininsangana 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- kuzingwazingwa (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- kuzitirizwa be fenced off something
A+R- kuzitirizangana 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

kuzoora find, present to view; widen (eyes) i.e. be on the lookout
A- kuzoorera find for
C- kuzooxa 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- kuzooxibwa be caused to find; be caused to widen eyes
C+R- kuzooxangana cause each other to find; cause each other to widen eyes