

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

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 neighbours whose kings collaborated with the invaders at the end of the 19th 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 northeastern boundary with the district of Bukoba within Tanzania. A tributary of the Kagera, River Mwisu, 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. The name of the territory, *Karágwe*, derives from the verb *kuraga* - "bequeath", "bid farewell", and here may be rendered "let you be bequeathed (something)" or "may someone bequeath something to you". The pretender to the old throne, Mr. Cosmas Rumanyika, suggests that there used to be a village to with that name in the southern part of the kingdom.

According to the preliminary report of the 2002 census, the population of Karagwe was 425,476. The indigenous inhabitants of Karagwe call themselves *abanyambo* and refer to their *orurími* 'tongue/language' as *orunyambo* or occasionally as *ecinyambo*. Since there has been considerable confusion in the literature on this score, a few clarifications are in order. The confusion is of two kinds. First, there is confusion in naming and locating the land, the people, and the language. This confusion apparently originates from Bryan (1959:107) who lists "nyambo (ru-)" and "Karagwe (ru-)" as two distinct languages spoken in the same area, then Tanganyika Territory, south of the Kagera River. 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. 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), 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. In this regard works by Bickmore (1989a, 1992) and Rugemalira (1993b, 2002), are significant for having, at least, reaffirmed Runyambo’s place on the map.

The treatment of Runyambo is an apt illustration of the saying that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy. 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 characterisation of Runyambo as a Ruhaya dialect. Both Buhaya (Muleba, and Bukoba rural and urban, districts (2002 population census: 762,679)) 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.¹

¹ 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:

In purely linguistic terms, Ruhaya, Runyambo, Runyankore, Ruciga, Runyoro and Rutooro (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). But as the saying 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 or imposed.² 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 (E21) and Ruhaya (E22), 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.

| <u>Runyambo</u> | <u>Ruhaya</u> | <u>Spelling</u> |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| [kéiso] | [káifo] | Kaisho |
| [rwambeizi] | [rwambaizi] | Rwambaizi |
| [neisózi] | [naiŋózi] | Nyaishozi |

² Rubongoya (1999) gives an account of the failure of attempts to agree on a single orthography and thus accept the existence of a single language called Runyoro in place of Runyoro, Rutooro, Runyankore and Ruciga. Being a speaker of Runyoro he appears to put all the blame on the speakers of the other varieties, but it is doubtful whether he would have accepted the proposal to call the common language Runyankore or Ruciga instead of Runyoro.

1.2 Runyambo Dialects

Two broad dialects may be demarcated roughly along an East/West dichotomy. The traditional geographical names are Marungu (from singular *Irungu* - wilderness) and Migongo. Marungu (as used by the people of Migongo) refers to the western areas of the district, covering Mabira, Bugomora, Murongo, Keiso, Nkwenda, Rwabwere and Kimuli (see map on page 6). Migongo (“highlands”) refers to the eastern half of the district, covering the fairly continuous ridge from Igurwa and Kituntu in the north through Bugene in the middle, to Nyaishozi and Bweranyange (Busangaaro) in the south and south west.

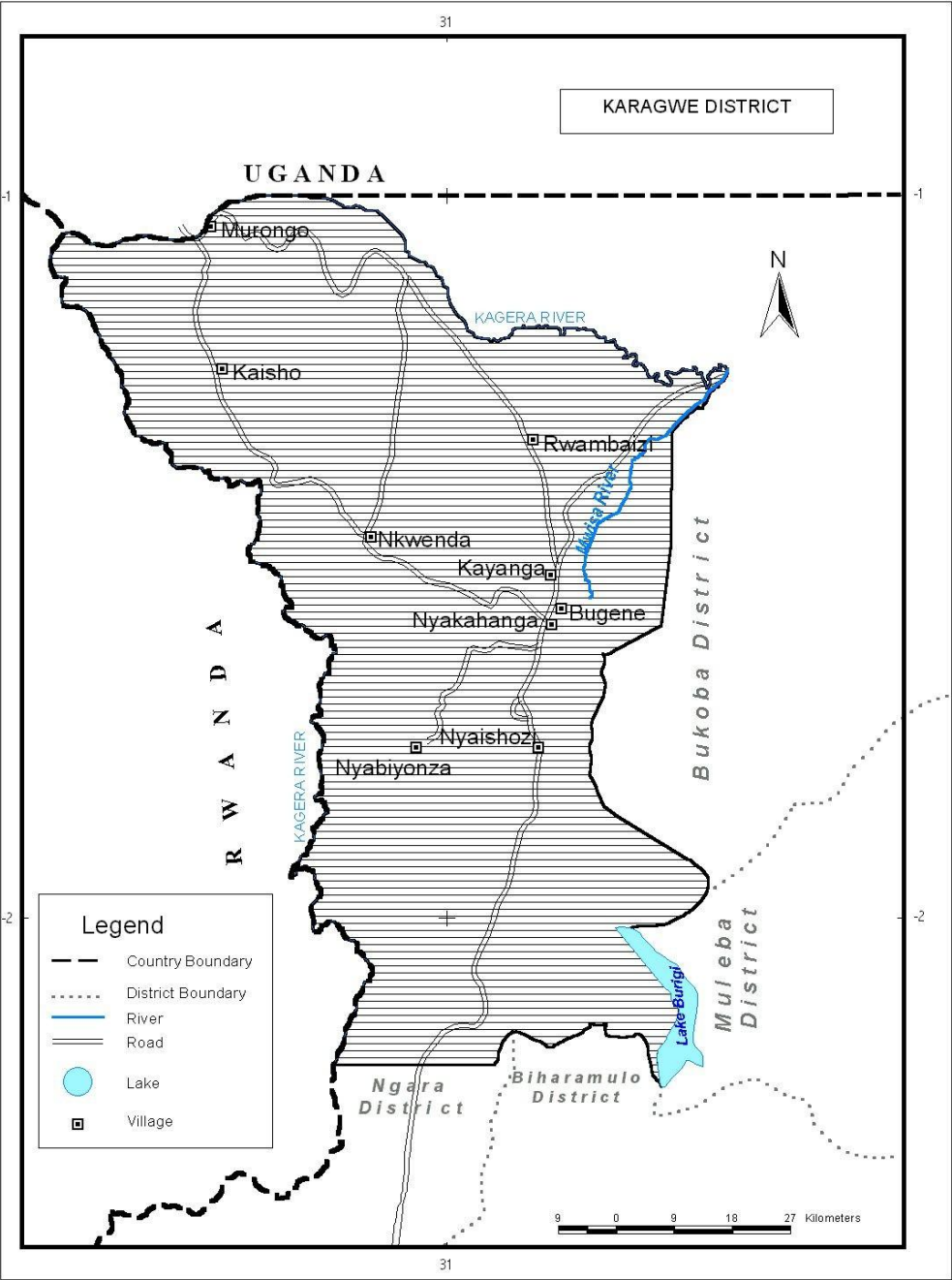
Some of the lexical items which mark this dialectal distinction are shown below:

| Marungu | Migongo | English |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--|
| <i>ecisibo</i> | <i>ecihongóre</i> | goat pen |
| <i>ecicanca</i> | <i>ecisánkara</i> | dry banana leaf |
| <i>kutéra</i> | <i>kujégura</i> | prepare tilled land for planting |
| <i>kukwâta empumbya</i> | <i>kukeetera</i> | take care of success of wedding ceremonies |
| <i>ecitára</i> | <i>orusiisira</i> | type of granary |

The most easily notable phonetic feature distinguishing the two varieties is palatalisation and depalatalisation. There is less palatalisation of velar stops in the Migongo variety than in the Marungu variety. The voiced palatal stop [j] of Migongo is depalatalised to an alveolar fricative [z] in Marungu, while the voiceless palatal stop [c] is an alveolar fricative with a palatal articulation [sʏ]. In the illustrative data below examples from Ruhaya are also added, showing a virtual absence of palatalisation in parallel contexts. Also notable is the loss of [h] in Ruhaya.³

³ There are more extensive differences between Runyambo and Ruhaya at the lexical, morphosyntactic and prosodic levels, but these deserve separate treatment.

| <u>Marungu</u> | <u>Migongo</u> | <u>Ruhaya</u> | <u>English</u> |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>omuceeka</i> | <i>omukeeka</i> | <i>omukeeka</i> | mat |
| <i>omujenyi</i> | <i>omugenyi</i> | <i>omugenyi</i> | guest |
| <i>omuhúji</i> | <i>omuhúgi</i> | <i>omuúgi</i> | hunter |
| <i>ecizúmi</i> | <i>ecijúmi</i> | <i>ekijúmi</i> | insult |
| <i>ecitooce</i> | <i>ecitooke</i> | <i>ekitooke</i> | banana |
| <i>enzozo</i> | <i>enjojo</i> | <i>enjoju</i> | elephant |
| <i>enzúra</i> | <i>enjúra</i> | <i>enjûra</i> | rain |
| <i>kuza</i> | <i>kuja</i> | <i>kugya</i> | to go to |
| <i>kwôzya</i> | <i>kwôja</i> | <i>kwôgya</i> | to wash (tr.) |
| <i>kusyáara</i> | <i>kucáara</i> | <i>kukyáara</i> | to visit |
| <i>nyensya</i> | <i>nyenca</i> | <i>nyénkya</i> | tomorrow |
| <i>omúsyo</i> | <i>omúsyo</i> | <i>omú(h)yo</i> | knife |



CHAPTER TWO PHONOLOGY

2.1 Consonants

There are 19 consonant phonemes but the orthography need make use of only 18 symbols since /ɲ/ is represented by *ny*.

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|---|
| stops | p b | t d | c j | k |
| | | | | g |
| nasals | m | n | ɲ | |
| fricatives | f v | s z | | |
| approximants | w | r | y | h |

2.2 Significant Consonant Alternations

The voiced bilabial consonant /b/ is realised as a stop [b] after a nasal and as a bilabial fricative [β] elsewhere.

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>akaβúzi</i> small goat | <i>embúzi</i> goat |
| <i>kuβara</i> to count | <i>kúmbara</i> to count me |

The alveolar liquid is realised as [ɾ], a soft tap, for most speakers in the eastern variety (Migongo), and a strong trill [r] in the western variety (Marungu). It becomes a voiced alveolar stop [d] after a nasal consonant and virtually all instances of [d] are found in this context.

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>kúrya</i> to eat | <i>kúndya</i> to eat me |
| <i>kurira</i> to cry | <i>endirira</i> manner of crying |

The few exceptions listed in Rugemalira (2002) are in loan words (*edáari* ceiling, *edébe* tin, *edengu* lentil, *edoodo* type of vegetable, *eduuka* shop).

When followed by the high front vowel [i] of the short causative, the agentive nominaliser, and the perfective suffix *-ire*, the liquid /r/ becomes a fricative [z].

rira cry
omurizi person who cries

riza cause to cry
arizíre he cried

The glottal fricative /h/ is realised as a voiceless bilabial stop [p] if a nasal consonant precedes it.

orúhu skin, hide *émpu* skins
kuha to give *mpa* give me

There are very few instances, in loan words and onomatopoeic forms, where the bilabial stop [p] occurs without the homorganic nasal before it (*ipápa* wing, *orupapuro* paper, *ipaapáari* pawpaw, *epampu* pump, *omupágasi* labourer).

There are independent nasal phonemes at bilabial, alveolar, and palatal places of articulation.

omuti tree *enono* (finger) nail *ɛɲama* meat

All nasals in the context of nasal + consonant cluster are homorganic.

[*embíbo*] seed [*ɛɲfû:zi*] orphan
[*endúúru*] noise [*ɛɲcíro*] compass direction [*ɛɲgobe*] arrow

In the speech of some people the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] is in free variation with the alveolar fricative [s].

orusaka / oruʃaka bush, thicket
orusânje/oruʃânje type of tall thick grass

An occasional (rather archaic) voiced palatal fricative [ʒ] is heard in the Marungu variety but the normal alternation is between the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ (Marungu) and the voiced palatal stop /j/ (Migongo) in certain lexical contexts.

amatozo amatozo amatojo type of thorny plant

eɲʒoʒo *enzozo* *eɲʒoʒo* elephant

2.3 Nasals in Sequence

In certain contexts, long nasal consonants become possible as a result of the first person singular subject prefix (*n-*) occurring before another nasal consonant (with homorganic effects).

| | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>mmutúnjirehi</i> | [<i>m-mu-tú:ɲɲ-ir-e-hi</i>] | where shall I raise her |
| | I -she-raise-A-M- where | |
| <i>kunnága</i> | [<i>ku:-n-naga</i>] | to abandon me |
| | INF-me-abandon | |
| <i>kunnyágaraza</i> | [<i>ku:-ɲ-ɲágaraz-a</i>] | to bother me |
| | INF-me-bother+C-M | |
| <i>kunnywéjera</i> | [<i>ku:-ɲ-ɲwéjer-a</i>] | to kiss me |
| | INF-me-kiss-M | |

As expected, the vowel before the nasal cluster is long, except in the first item where only the vowel before the NC cluster undergoes the lengthening.

2.4 Vowels

2.4.1 Vowel length

There are five monophthongs [*i u e o a*] and vowel length is distinctive among them.

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>kugaya</i> | to despise | <i>kugaaya</i> | to be critically ill |
| <i>kuhaga</i> | to swell | <i>kuhaaga</i> | to be satiated |
| <i>isoma</i> | schooling | <i>isooma</i> | type of plant |
| <i>kunoba</i> | to hate | <i>kunooba</i> | to tan |
| <i>kusera</i> | to be bad omen | <i>kuseera</i> | to sell dear |
| <i>kusisa</i> | to resemble | <i>kusiisa</i> | to spoil |
| <i>kusibura</i> | to untether | <i>kusiibura</i> | to bid farewell |
| <i>kutuya</i> | to be numb | <i>kutuuya</i> | to attempt the impossible |

The inventory includes one diphthong /*ei*/ in such words as *omuséija* man; *kubéiha* tell lies; *kuheima* (bee) search for food. In one respect it is a

rather peculiar segment, being the only diphthong in the vowel inventory. But in other respects it is similar to the long vowels, forming a bimoraic syllabic nucleus and carrying tone accordingly. It probably emerged through some form of affixation and vowel coalescence, such as is still visible in the following items:

| | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------|------------|
| <i>ama+izi</i> | > <i>améizi</i> | water | <i>aba+isi</i> | > <i>abéisi</i> | killers |
| <i>aba+iru</i> | > <i>abéiru</i> | commoners | <i>aba+itu</i> | > <i>abéitu</i> | ours |
| <i>ama+iso</i> | > <i>améiso</i> | eyes | <i>ama+iru</i> | > <i>ameiru</i> | craving |
| <i>ama+ino</i> | > <i>améino</i> | teeth | <i>ise+itwe</i> | > <i>iséitwe</i> | our father |

Even where such analysis is no longer available it is reasonable to posit such a scenario.

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| <i>omugéiga</i> | rich person | <i>omuréiba</i> | rafter | <i>kubeija</i> | to carve |
| <i>kuhéisa</i> | to praise/marvel | <i>etéija</i> | type of weed | <i>omuswéina</i> | termite hole |

This is the only sequence of different vowels that remains after various mechanisms to neutralise it have failed to apply [see glide formation, elision, coalescence and ghost consonants below].

Compensatory vowel lengthening is associated with glide formation and nasal+consonant clusters:

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| [<i>kwóosa</i>] | from <i>ku-ós-a</i> | to skip a day | [<i>kuβyáara</i>] | from * <i>ku-bí+ar-a</i> | to plant |
| [<i>kuβi:ŋga</i>] | | to chase | [<i>kuɣ:nda</i>] | | to go |

In the normal orthography lexical length is marked by double spell-out, e.g. *kutéeka* cook. Predictable vowel lengthening is ignored by the orthography, e.g. *kwôsa*, *kubinga*.

2.4.2 Vowel effects on consonants

The traces of the earlier Proto-Bantu seven-vowel system are still visible in the mutation of [t] and [r] to [s] and [z], respectively, before the high front vowel in certain morphological contexts, viz. agentiviser and perfective morphemes:

| <u>Infinitive Verb</u> | | <u>Agentive Noun</u> | | <u>Perfective Verb</u> |
|------------------------|------|----------------------|----------|----------------------------|
| <i>kwîta</i> | kill | <i>omwîsi</i> | killer | <i>beisîre</i> they killed |
| <i>kurira</i> | cry | <i>omurizi</i> | cry baby | <i>barizîre</i> they cried |

A more general alternation consists in the palatalisation of velar consonants [k,g] before any of the front vowels [i,e] as displayed by the agentiviser, the applicative, and the perfective suffixes.

| | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a) | <i>kuruka</i> to weave | <i>omuruci</i> weaver | <i>barucîre</i> they weaved |
| b) | <i>kuhûiga</i> to hunt | <i>omuhûiji</i> hunter | <i>bahiijîre</i> they hunted |
| c) | <i>kutéeka</i> to cook | <i>kutéécera</i> to cook for | <i>bateecîre</i> they cooked |
| d) | <i>kutéga</i> to shave | <i>kutéjera</i> to shave for | <i>batejîre</i> they shaved |

This is a fairly reliable characteristic of Runyambo (in contrast with Runyankore and Ruhaya), although even within Runyambo there are some dialectal and lexical variations. In general, speakers of the Migongo variety are less likely to palatalise than speakers of the Marungu variety (see 1.2 above).

2.4.3 Vowel elision

In connected speech two consecutive vowels belonging to different words result in the elision of one of the vowels in the sequence. If the second vowel is an augment (nominal pre-prefix) elision restores/copies the vowel of the noun class prefix in pre-prefix (augment) position while deleting one of the two vowels. At the same time, if the first vowel in the sequence is high it may glide to [w] or [y]. In this pattern, [e] is treated as the underlying vowel of the nasal class prefix (classes 9/10).

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| <i>kujungá amaarwa</i> | → [kujuuŋgámaarwa] | to brew beer |
| <i>amaté agabi</i> | → [amatáagabi] | the bad milk |
| <i>amasomó agabi</i> | → [amasom ^w áagabi] | the bad lessons |
| <i>akahú akabi</i> | → [akah ^w ákabi] | the bad skin |
| <i>akajirá ikúru</i> | → [akajirííkúru] | he had stubbornness |
| <i>átemú igúfa</i> | → [átem ^w ígúfa] | he should put in a bone |
| <i>omutí ifo gugwîre</i> | → [omutífogugwîre] | the tree down there fell |
| <i>asaré igúfa</i> | → [asaríígúfa] | he should cut the bone |
| <i>amasomó ifo gagumire</i> | → [amasom ^w ífogagumire] | the lessons down there are hard |
| <i>kujungá ebyenju</i> | → [kujuuŋgíβyeeɲju] | to crush the bananas |
| <i>kujungá omuramba</i> | → [kujuuŋgúmuraamba] | to make juice |
| <i>omujungó ogwawe</i> | → [omujuuŋgúgwaawe] | your brewing turn/cycle |
| <i>atemé enyómyo</i> | → [atemééɲomyo] | he should cut the pole |
| <i>átemú enyómyo</i> | → [átem ^w ééɲomyo] | he should put in the pole |
| <i>ajítemú omuguha</i> | → [ajítemúmuguha] | he should put a rope on it |
| <i>omumití emiguha</i> | → [omumitímiguhayawayo] | there are no more ropes among the trees |
| <i>yawayo</i> | | |
| <i>emití omurufú yawayo</i> | → [emit ^w úmurufúyawayo] | there is no more timber at the funeral |
| <i>amaté omunju garimu</i> | → [amatúmuuɲɲugarimu] | there is milk in the house |
| <i>omurogó emiti</i> | → [omurog ^w ímitibakajimwiiβaho] | they stole the timber from the witch |
| <i>bakajimwibaho</i> | | |

Where the second vowel of the sequence is not a nominal pre-prefix, this second vowel will be retained at the expense of the first.

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>ente akajikóma</i> | → [entakajikóma] | the cow, he tied it |
| <i>omwâna okamubóna</i> | → [omwáánokamuβóna] | the child, you saw her |
| <i>entongo ériya</i> | → [entong ^w éériya] | that piece of meat |
| <i>ebintu obitwâre</i> | → [eβint ^w ooβitwáare] | the stuff, you take it |
| <i>omuntu ogu</i> | → [omunt ^w óogu] | this person |

A note on orthographical conventions: the preferred format is that which represents surface tone for each word in isolation, ignores tone shift and reduction, and suppresses any vowel elisions.

2.4.4 Vowel coalescence

Within the word, two vowels at morpheme boundaries become modified so as to constitute one syllable nucleus with a long vowel or the diphthong. Recall that a vowel is lengthened after a consonant + glide cluster.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>a-ma-íno</i> > <i>améino</i> teeth | <i>a-ma-ízi</i> > <i>améizi</i> water |
| <i>a-ba-íru</i> > <i>abéiru</i> commoners | <i>tu-óna</i> > <i>twêna</i> all of us |
| <i>ba-óna</i> > <i>bóona</i> all | <i>ci-óna</i> > <i>cóona</i> all of it |

2.5 Syllable Structure

The following syllable types are found in the language:

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| V and CV: | <i>e.mo</i> one | <i>i.na</i> four | <i>i.gú.fá</i> bone | <i>i.ri.ho</i> thirst | <i>o.mu.ti</i> tree |
| NCV: | <i>ga.mba</i> say/speak | <i>cû.nda</i> shake | <i>hu.mpa</i> grow fungus | | |
| N: | <i>m.pa</i> give me | <i>n.ce</i> small | <i>n.dya</i> I eat/eat me | | |
| CGV: | <i>ku.rya</i> to eat | <i>e.nwa</i> wasp | | | |
| NCGV: | <i>e.mbwa</i> dog | <i>e.ndya</i> manner of eating | | | |

Vowel-only syllables are allowed in word-initial position only. In general any two-vowel sequences result in glide formation if the first vowel in the sequence is [i, u, o]. If not, elision/coalescence may take place, for which see 2.4.3 and 2.4.4 above.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>ku-éta</i> > <i>kwêta</i> | to call |
| <i>o-mu-ána</i> > <i>omwâna</i> | child |
| <i>e-ri-ána</i> > <i>eryâna</i> | childishness |
| <i>e-ri-ómbera</i> > <i>eryómbera</i> | weeding period |
| <i>a-bóíne</i> > <i>abwéíne</i> | he saw |

Where there is a sequence of three vowels a ghost consonant [y] surfaces to break up the monotony. This is a phenomenon associated with vowel initial verb roots. The ghost consonant is probably a trace of a lost palatal glide which also surfaces in the imperative forms of these verbs, but only if the initial vowel of the root is [e, o, a]. There are no instances of initial [u] in roots:

| infinitive | imperative | gloss |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>kw-êga</i> | <i>yéga</i> | learn |
| <i>kw-enda</i> | <i>yénda</i> | like |
| <i>kw-ôta</i> | <i>yóta</i> | bask in warmth |
| <i>kw-ôra</i> | <i>yóra</i> | become poor |
| <i>kw-âta</i> | <i>yáta</i> | shatter |
| <i>kw-ara</i> | <i>yára</i> | spread out |
| <i>kw-îta</i> | <i>íta</i> | kill |
| <i>kw-îba</i> | <i>íba</i> | steal |

The excess vowels may result from the introduction of the reflexive [é] prefix.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| <i>ku-é-y+eta</i> > <i>kwéyeta</i> | to call self |
| <i>ku-é-y+enda</i> > <i>kwéyenda</i> | to like self |
| <i>ku-é-y+ogosa</i> > <i>kwéyogosa</i> | to twist self |
| <i>ku-é-y+agura</i> > <i>kwéyagura</i> | to scratch self |

Certain tense prefixes may also be a source of excess vowels. The Recent Perfective (Pf1) is a case in point:

a-á-eg-ire > *yááyéjire*
 he-pf-learn-pf he has already learnt

ba-á-ég-ire > *bááyéjire*
 they-pf-learn-pf they have already learnt

This ghost consonant may not precede the high front vowel (a condition which necessitates a reordering of the items in favour of the [ei] diphthong).

| | | | |
|---------------------|---|------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>ku-y+é-ita</i> | > | <i>kuyéita</i> | to kill self |
| <i>ku-y+é-igusa</i> | > | <i>kuyéigusa</i> | to fill self with food |
| <i>ku-y-é-ima</i> | > | <i>kuyéima</i> | to deny self something, abstain |
| <i>ku-y-é-ihuca</i> | > | <i>kuyéihuca</i> | to congratulate self |

Most consonants, with a few exceptions, may form a cluster with any of the glides, as shown in the following list.

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| <i>omusámbya</i> | type of tree |
| <i>câmpya</i> | search for a livelihood |
| <i>rya</i> | eat |
| <i>é-n-dya</i> | manner of eating |
| <i>tyâza</i> | sharpen |
| <i>nia</i> (orthography can't use ny since it represents <i>n</i>) | defecate |
| <i>amamyá</i> | malt |
| <i>sya</i> (from <i>hya</i> , which never surfaces) | burn (intr.) |
| <i>syâra</i> (=caara, dialectal variation) | visit |
| <i>ozya</i> (=oja, dialectal variation) | wash (trans.) |
| <i>obwâto</i> | boat |
| <i>gâ-m-pwa</i> (from <i>hwa</i> , be finished) | 'it is finished in me' |
| <i>rwana</i> | fight |
| <i>endwâra</i> | illness |
| <i>twâra</i> | take |
| <i>omunwa</i> | lip |
| <i>omwâna</i> | child |
| <i>omuswa</i> | termite |
| <i>zwâra</i> (=jwara, dialectal variation) | dress up |
| <i>cwêra</i> | spit |
| <i>kwâta</i> | hold, seize |
| <i>gwa</i> | fall |
| <i>fwa</i> (=fa, in orthography) | die |

Among the missing combinations *ky*, *gy*, *cy*, and *jy* correspond to *c*, *j*, *sy*, *zy* respectively. The glides do not cooccur; there are very few lexical items with corresponding vowels in those positions, viz. *wi* and *yu*; *kuwíwiita*

(smart, itch); kuyungurura (sift). So the true gaps are *vy*, *vw*, and *fy*.

Nasals will readily form clusters with any consonant (with the homorganic restriction). Even where there are no lexical items, as in the case of *mv*, other morphological conditions readily create such a cluster, e.g. *otamvúga* don't drive me.

2.6 Tone

2.6.1 Lexical tone⁴

The tonal contrast is between high and low. Here only high tone is marked (e.g. *kukóma* to tie; *kujúura* undress). Only where vowel length is derived, and therefore unmarked in the orthography, is falling tone marked (e.g. *kuhênda* to break; *kurwâra* to become ill; but *kubíika* to store away).

There are very few minimal pairs displaying purely tonal contrasts.

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>enda</i> | stomach | <i>énda</i> | louse |
| <i>kwasa</i> | to flower | <i>kwâsa</i> | to split |
| <i>ecaasa</i> | 20 cents | <i>ecáasa</i> | dental gap |
| <i>enju</i> | house | <i>énju</i> | gray hair |
| <i>ecikano</i> | tendon | <i>ecikáno</i> | click insult |
| <i>kwaga</i> | melt/dissolve | <i>kwâga</i> | yield, give in |
| <i>entongo</i> | boneless flesh | <i>entôngo</i> | type of plant/fruit |
| <i>endwâra</i> | illness | <i>endwára</i> | manner of coping with illness |
| <i>enkórorora</i> | cough | <i>enkoróra</i> | manner of coughing |

More common is the situation where the contrast between two words combines both tone and vowel length:

| | | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>kutéga</i> | trap | <i>kuteega</i> | cast a spell/curse |
| <i>kujúra</i> | miss, long for | <i>kujúura</i> | undress |
| <i>kubíika</i> | announce death | <i>kubíika</i> | store away |

⁴ For grammatical tone see the tonal melodies in the tense system, Tables 11 and 12.

| | | | |
|---------------|----------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>kuhúra</i> | dislike | <i>kuhúura</i> | thresh grain |
| <i>entáma</i> | mouthful | <i>entaama</i> | sheep |
| <i>kuhóra</i> | lend | <i>kuhoora</i> | avenge |

Some lexical items display considerable tonal variation and can appear with either high or low tone in the speech of one person⁵.

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| <i>engobe/engóbe</i> | arrow | <i>obufu/obúfu</i> | sin |
| <i>cimo/címo</i> | one | <i>omugore/omugóre</i> | bride |
| <i>okutu/okútu</i> | ear | <i>okuju/okúju</i> | knee |
| <i>omutwe/omútwe</i> | head | | |

It is possible that such items are on the path towards losing their high tone. It has been argued that tone is a disappearing feature for many languages in the Rutara Group. Muzale (forthcoming) observes that Rutooro and Runyoro are at advanced stages in the evolution away from being tone languages to being pitch-accent and stress-accent languages. Rubongoya (1999) maintains that Runyoro has no phonemic tone.

2.6.2 Tone rules

Every word has only one underlying high tone and this condition is preserved in the surface form. By Meeussen's Rule only one high tone survives to the surface.

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|------------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| <i>kugura</i> | to buy | <i>kujígura</i> | to buy it | (high tone on object prefix) |
| <i>kutimba</i> | to dig up | <i>kujítimba</i> | to dig it up | (high tone on object prefix) |
| <i>kukóma</i> | to tie | <i>kujikóma</i> | to tie it | (only root H tone left) |
| <i>kutéma</i> | to cut | <i>kugutéma</i> | to cut it | (only root H tone left) |

All reflexive verbs bear only the high tone on the reflexive morpheme after any other high tone has been deleted.

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>kukóma</i> (tie) | <i>kwékoma</i> (tie self) |
|---------------------|---------------------------|

⁵ Taylor (1959) maintains that, in this respect, there are two dialects in Runyankore-Ruciga, viz. High Speakers and Low Speakers. See also Bickmore's (1992) optional stress.

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>kutéma</i> (cut) | <i>kwétema</i> (cut self) |
| <i>kujuna</i> (help) | <i>kwéjuna</i> (help self) |

High tone cannot appear on the final (prepausal) syllable. So the high tone on monosyllabic verbs has to shift to the infinitive prefix.

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>kúfa</i> (die) | <i>kúrya</i> (eat) | <i>kúnywa</i> (drink) |
| <i>kúsyá</i> (burn) | <i>kúca</i> (dawn) | <i>kúhwa</i> (be finished) |
| <i>kúha</i> (give) | | |

A high tone spreads backwards or forwards to cover a derived long vowel (however obtained) except in penultimate position.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>acitemíre</i> | he cut |
| <i>acimuteméire</i> | he cut it for him (high on <i>íre</i> spreads backwards) |
| <i>akabitéeka</i> | he cooked them (right spreading blocked in penultimate syllable) |
| <i>akabatécera</i> | he cooked for them (right spreading in non-penultimate position) |

As a result of the blocking of high tone spreading in penultimate position, all falling tones appear in penultimate position.

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>kuhênda</i> | break (trans.) | <i>kuhéndeka</i> | break (intr.) |
| <i>kutwâra</i> | carry | <i>kutwârira</i> | carry for |
| <i>kuhúiga</i> | hunt/ search | <i>kuhúijiriza</i> | search intensely |
| <i>abazáana</i> | servants | <i>abazáanakazi</i> | maids |

In phrasal contexts, a floating high tone associated with the nominal pre-prefix (augment) surfaces on the non-final word boundary.

| | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>akagura omuti</i> | <i>[akagurúmuti]</i> | he bought a tree |
| <i>akahaata ebitooce</i> | <i>[akahaatíbitooce]</i> | he peeled bananas |
| <i>akahênda omuti</i> | <i>[akahendúmuti]</i> | he broke the tree |
| <i>akajúma omuséija</i> | <i>[akajúmúmuséija]</i> | he insulted a man |
| <i>akajúma Rumanyíka</i> | <i>[akajúma rumapíka]</i> | he insulted Rumanyíka |

CHAPTER THREE NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Concordial System

The structure of the noun consists of three elements, namely, the pre-prefix (or augment), the class prefix, and the stem, as in *o-mu-guha* rope. With derived nouns the stem may consist of a root and a suffix, as in *o-mu-rim-i* cultivator (see section 3.3).

The pre-prefix (augment, initial vowel) consists of only the mid and low vowels [o, e, a], and these can only co-occur with the high and low vowels [u, i, a] respectively in the class prefix proper (cf. vowel harmony in the verb stem, section 4.3). The syntactic functions of the pre-prefix are dealt with in section 5.1.6 below.

Classes 1 & 2 contain singular and plural nouns referring to human beings.

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|-------------|
| <i>omuntu</i> | <i>abantu</i> | person/s |
| <i>omukázi</i> | <i>abakázi</i> | woman/women |
| <i>omukáma</i> | <i>abakáma</i> | king/s |
| <i>omurimi</i> | <i>abarimi</i> | farmer/s |
| <i>omihúji</i> | <i>abahúji</i> | hunter/s |

Class 1a consists of personal names and kinship terms, including personalised animal names which are very common in stories: *Wakami* Hare, *Warujojo* Elephant, *Waruhísi* Hyena. The plural is in class 2a, where the collective human and kinship terms also belong.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>baaWakami</i> | hare & company |
| <i>baaRumanyíka</i> | Rumanyíka & company |
| <i>baatáata na baamáawe</i> | my fathers and my mothers/gentlemen & ladies |
| <i>baanyokorómi</i> | your uncles |
| <i>baaso</i> | your fathers |

Classes 3 & 4 contain the singular and plural nouns typically referring to plants as well as other miscellaneous objects.

| | | |
|------------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>omuti</i> | <i>emiti</i> | tree/s |
| <i>omuhíni</i> | <i>emihíni</i> | handle/s |
| <i>omucunkwa</i> | <i>emicunkwa</i> | orange tree/s |
| <i>omujera</i> | <i>emijera</i> | river/s |
| <i>omwêzi</i> | <i>emyêzi</i> | moon/s |

Class 5 has lost the consonant of the prefix in most nouns; the consonant survives in two nouns (*e-rí-iso* eye, *e-rí-ino* tooth) where the augment also surfaces. The stems of these nouns have an initial vowel. All other noun stems in this class have an initial consonant and lack the augment (*i-riho* thirst, *i-fa* famine). The plural counterpart is class 6.

| | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>iziba</i> | <i>amaziba</i> | water hole/s |
| <i>ihuri</i> | <i>amahuri</i> | egg/s |
| <i>isaza</i> | <i>amasaza</i> | pea/s |
| <i>igúfa</i> | <i>amagúfa</i> | bone/s |
| - | <i>amate</i> | milk |

Classes 7 & 8 form a singular/plural pair with nouns referring to a variety of objects.

| | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>ecintu</i> | <i>ebintu</i> | things/s |
| <i>ecingunju</i> | <i>ebigunju</i> | creature/s |
| <i>ecitúzi</i> | <i>ebitúzi</i> | mushroom/s |
| <i>ecitéezo</i> | <i>ebitéezo</i> | broom/s |
| <i>ecitúuro</i> | <i>ebitúuro</i> | tomb/s |

Classes 9 & 10, with the invariable nasal prefix, typically contain names of animals.

| | |
|---------------|------------|
| <i>ente</i> | cow/cattle |
| <i>engwe</i> | leopard/s |
| <i>empunu</i> | pig/s |

| | |
|-----------------|----------|
| <i>enjojo</i> | elephant |
| <i>enfurebe</i> | bag |

Class 11 takes its plural forms from class 10. The nouns in this class typically refer to long and thin objects.

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>oruhu/empu</i> | skin/s |
| <i>orufu/emfu</i> | funeral/s |
| <i>oruhíta/empíta</i> | grassland/s |
| <i>oruhiji/enyiji</i> | door/s |
| <i>orugusyo/engusyo</i> | potsherd/s |
| <i>orurera/endera</i> | umbilical cord/s |
| <i>orugóye/engóye</i> | sweet potato plant/s |

Class 12 mainly derives diminutives from other classes and the plural for these is Class 13.

| Basic class | Class 12 | Class 13 | Gloss |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>omukázi</i> | <i>akakázi</i> | <i>otukázi</i> | small woman/women |
| <i>ecintu</i> | <i>akantu</i> | <i>otuntu</i> | little thing/s |
| <i>oruhu</i> | <i>akahu</i> | <i>otuhu</i> | small skin/s |
| <i>oruhiji</i> | <i>okahiji</i> | <i>otuhiji</i> | small door/s |
| <i>ente</i> | <i>akate</i> | <i>otute</i> | small cattle |

However there are a few nouns in class 12 that are not derived from other classes and these will normally take their plural in class 14. The names for small insects may be found here.

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>akasíisi/obusíisi</i> | type of small ant/s |
| <i>akanyabajere/obunyabajere</i> | cricket/s |
| <i>akanyampira/obunyampira</i> | stink bug/s |
| <i>akaziizi/obuziizi</i> | type of fruit fly/flies |
| <i>akasênda/obusênda</i> | pepper |

Class 14 nouns consist mainly of abstract entities.

| | |
|------------------|----------|
| <i>oburênga</i> | dullness |
| <i>oburófu</i> | filth |
| <i>oburora</i> | life |
| <i>oburunji</i> | beauty |
| <i>oburwéire</i> | disease |

Class 15 consists of a few nouns listed below, but the verbal infinitives will be assigned to a class 15a:

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|----------------|------|
| <i>okúju</i> | knee | <i>okútu</i> | ear |
| <i>okwâwa</i> | arm pit | <i>okuguru</i> | leg |
| <i>okuzímu</i> | underworld | <i>okwêzi</i> | moon |

These take their plural pattern from class 6: *amáju* knees, *amátu* ears, *amaguru* legs.

Of the so-called locative classes (16, 17, & 18), class 17 survives only in the following forms: *kúnu/kúnuuya* 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 below (cf. sections 3.6, 4.15, & 5.6.6), these prefixes are related to the locative enclitics on the verb. Proper place names do not take any prefixes.

Tables 1–5 below summarise the nominal morphology. Table 1 also shows that the subject, object, and modifier (adjective, numeral, demonstrative) affixes are copies of the noun class prefix, the exceptions being the class 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 17, and 18 prefixes. Adjectives for the most part share the same agreement affixes as the numerals and demonstratives, the exceptions being the class 1, 4, and 9 affixes.

Table 1: Noun class prefixes and other concordial forms

| class | AUG | pref. | example | gloss | subj. | obj. | adj. | one/ | demonstratives | | |
|-------|-----------|------------|------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | | | | | aff | aff. | agr. | two | this | that ¹ | that ² |
| 1 | <i>o-</i> | <i>mu-</i> | <i>omuntu</i> | person | <i>a</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>ómo</i> | <i>ogu</i> | <i>ogwo</i> | <i>óriya</i> |
| 2 | <i>a-</i> | <i>ba-</i> | <i>abantu</i> | people | <i>ba</i> | <i>ba</i> | <i>ba</i> | <i>bábiri</i> | <i>aba</i> | <i>abo</i> | <i>báriya</i> |
| 1a | - | <i>wa-</i> | <i>Wakami</i> | hare | <i>a</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>ómo</i> | <i>ogu</i> | <i>ogwo</i> | <i>óriya</i> |
| 2b | - | <i>ba-</i> | <i>Bawakami</i> | the hares | <i>ba</i> | <i>ba</i> | <i>ba</i> | <i>bábiri</i> | <i>aba</i> | <i>abo</i> | <i>báriya</i> |
| 3 | <i>o-</i> | <i>mu-</i> | <i>omuti</i> | tree | <i>gu</i> | <i>gu</i> | <i>gu</i> | <i>gúmo</i> | <i>ogu</i> | <i>ogwo</i> | <i>gúriya</i> |
| 4 | <i>e-</i> | <i>mi-</i> | <i>emiti</i> | trees | <i>e</i> | <i>ji</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>ebiri</i> | <i>ej</i> | <i>ejo</i> | <i>ériya</i> |
| 5 | - | <i>i</i> | <i>ihuri</i> | egg | <i>ri</i> | <i>ri</i> | <i>ri</i> | <i>rímo</i> | <i>eri</i> | <i>eryo</i> | <i>ríriya</i> |
| 6 | <i>a-</i> | <i>ma-</i> | <i>amahuri</i> | eggs | <i>ga</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>abiri</i> | <i>aga</i> | <i>ago</i> | <i>gáriya</i> |
| 7 | <i>e-</i> | <i>ci-</i> | <i>ecintu</i> | thing | <i>ci</i> | <i>ci</i> | <i>ci</i> | <i>címo</i> | <i>eci</i> | <i>eco</i> | <i>círiya</i> |
| 8 | <i>e-</i> | <i>bi-</i> | <i>ebintu</i> | things | <i>bi</i> | <i>bi</i> | <i>bi</i> | <i>bíbiri</i> | <i>ebi</i> | <i>ebyo</i> | <i>bíriya</i> |
| 9 | <i>e-</i> | <i>N-</i> | <i>embúzi</i> | goat | <i>e</i> | <i>ji</i> | <i>N</i> | <i>émo</i> | <i>ej</i> | <i>ejo</i> | <i>ériya</i> |
| 10 | <i>e-</i> | <i>N-</i> | <i>embúzi</i> | goats | <i>zi</i> | <i>zi</i> | <i>zi</i> | <i>ibiri</i> | <i>ezi</i> | <i>ezo</i> | <i>zíriya</i> |
| 11 | <i>o-</i> | <i>ru-</i> | <i>orusíika</i> | wall | <i>ru</i> | <i>ru</i> | <i>ru</i> | <i>rúmo</i> | <i>oru</i> | <i>orwo</i> | <i>rúriya</i> |
| 12 | <i>a-</i> | <i>ka-</i> | <i>akáana</i> | small baby | <i>ka</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>kámo</i> | <i>aka</i> | <i>ako</i> | <i>káriya</i> |
| 13 | <i>o-</i> | <i>tu-</i> | <i>otwâna</i> | small babies | <i>tu</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>túbiri</i> | <i>otu</i> | <i>otwo</i> | <i>túriya</i> |
| 14 | <i>o-</i> | <i>bu-</i> | <i>oburwéire</i> | sickness | <i>bu</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>búmo</i> | <i>obu</i> | <i>obwo</i> | <i>búriya</i> |
| 15 | <i>o-</i> | <i>ku-</i> | <i>okútu</i> | ear | <i>ku</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>kúmo</i> | <i>oku</i> | <i>okwo</i> | <i>kúriya</i> |
| 15a | <i>o-</i> | <i>ku-</i> | <i>okúrya</i> | eating | <i>ku</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>kúmo</i> | <i>oku</i> | <i>okwo</i> | <i>kúriya</i> |
| 16 | <i>a-</i> | <i>ha-</i> | <i>ahantu</i> | place | <i>ha</i> | <i>ha</i> | <i>ha</i> | <i>hámo</i> | <i>aha</i> | <i>aho</i> | <i>háriya</i> |
| 17 | - | <i>ku-</i> | <i>kúriya</i> | there | <i>ha</i> | <i>ha</i> | <i>ha</i> | - | <i>oku</i> | <i>okwo</i> | <i>kúriya</i> |
| 18 | - | <i>mu-</i> | <i>múriya</i> | in there | <i>ha</i> | <i>ha</i> | <i>ha</i> | - | <i>omu</i> | <i>omwo</i> | <i>múriya</i> |

Notes to Table 1:

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| AUG: augment | adj. agr. : adjective agreement affix |
| Pref.: noun class prefix | that ¹ : near the hearer/already mentioned |
| subj.aff.: subject affix | that ² : away from both speaker and hearer |
| obj. aff.: object affix | |

Table 2 summarises the numeral system and agreement pattern. The numerals **one to five** take an agreement affix when modifying a noun and the pattern is consistent for that range of **ones** throughout the number system. The forms for **six** through **ten** are invariable. The **tens** (10–50) take the class 5/6 prefixes; **sixty** and **seventy** take class 9 prefixes; **eighty** and **ninety** and the **hundreds** (100-500) take the class 7/8 prefixes, while the hundreds above 600 as well as the **thousands** take classes 11/10 prefixes.

aba-ntu. ci-kúmi .na. bá-biri
class 2-people. class 7-ten. and. class 2-two
'one hundred and two people'

emi-ti. bi-kumi. bí-biri. na. (ma-kumi). gá-satu. _na. gú-mo
class 4-trees. class 8-ten. class 8-two. and. (class 6-ten). concord 6-three
.and .concord 3-one
'two hundred thirty-one trees'

N.B.: class 7 prefix + *kumi* = one hundred
class 8 prefix + *kumi* = hundreds
class 6 prefix + *kumi* = tens
class 6 concordial prefix + *satu* = thirty

Table 2: Numeral agreement

| person(s) | ones | tens | hundreds | thousands |
|---------------|------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>omuntu</i> | <i>omo</i> 1 | <i>ikúmi</i> 10 | <i>cikumi (címo)</i> 100 | <i>rukúmi (rúmo)</i> 1000 |
| <i>abantu</i> | <i>bábiri</i> 2 | <i>(makumi) gábiri</i> 20 | <i>bikumi bíbiri</i> 200 | <i>nkúmi ibiri</i> 2000 |
| <i>abantu</i> | <i>básatu</i> 3 | <i>(makumi) gásatu</i> 30 | <i>bikumi bísatu</i> 300 | <i>nkúmi isatu</i> 3000 |
| <i>abantu</i> | <i>bána</i> 4 | <i>(makumi) gána</i> 40 | <i>bikumi bína</i> 400 | <i>nkúmi ina</i> 4000 |
| <i>abantu</i> | <i>bátaano</i> 5 | <i>(makumi) gátaano</i> 50 | <i>bikumi bítaano</i> 500 | <i>nkúmi itaano</i> 5000 |
| <i>abantu</i> | <i>mukáaga</i> 6 | <i>nkáaga</i> 60 | <i>rukáaga</i> 600 | <i>nkúmi mukáaga</i> 6000 |
| <i>abantu</i> | <i>músanju</i> 7 | <i>nsanju</i> 70 | <i>rúsanju</i> 700 | <i>nkúmi músanju</i> 7000 |
| <i>abantu</i> | <i>munána</i> 8 | <i>cinána</i> 80 | <i>runána</i> 800 | <i>nkúmi munána</i> 8000 |
| <i>abantu</i> | <i>mwenda</i> 9 | <i>cenda</i> 90 | <i>rwenda</i> 900 | <i>nkúmi mwenda</i> 9000 |
| <i>abantu</i> | <i>ikúmi</i> 10 | <i>cikúmi</i> 100 | <i>rukúmi</i> 1000 | <i>nkúmi ikúmi</i> 10000 |

Ordinal numbers are marked up to fifth by the agreement pattern in combination with the class 12 nominal prefix, except for the special forms for “once” (class 11) and “first” (class 9).

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <i>rúmo</i> | once | <i>omurúndi gwa mbere</i> | first time |
| <i>kábiri</i> | twice | <i>omurundi gwa kábiri</i> | second time |
| <i>kásatu</i> | three times | <i>omurundi gwa kásatu</i> | third time |
| <i>kána</i> | four times | <i>omurundi gwa kána</i> | fourth time |
| <i>kátaano</i> | five times | <i>omurundi gwa kátaano</i> | fifth time |
| <i>emirúndi mukáaga</i> | six times | <i>omurundi gwa mukáaga</i> | sixth time |

Table 3 presents the independent personal pronouns and the related prefixes. The second person plural object prefix (*-ba-*) is identical to the third person plural subject and object prefix.

Table 3: Personal pronouns and prefixes

| | Pronoun | subj. aff. | obj. aff. |
|-----|-------------------------|------------|-----------|
| 1sg | <i>nyawe</i> I/me | <i>n</i> | <i>n</i> |
| 2sg | <i>iwe</i> you | <i>o</i> | <i>ku</i> |
| 3sg | <i>we</i> (s)he/him/her | <i>a</i> | <i>mu</i> |
| 1pl | <i>itwe</i> we/us | <i>tu</i> | <i>tu</i> |
| 2pl | <i>imwe</i> you | <i>mu</i> | <i>ba</i> |

| | Pronoun | subj. aff. | obj. aff. |
|-----|---------------------|------------|-----------|
| 3pl | <i>bo</i> they/them | <i>ba</i> | <i>ba</i> |

(*nyawe*) *n-ka-mu-bóna* I saw him/her
(I) 1st sg subj-P3-3rdsg obj-see

(*iwe*) *o-ka-tu-bóna* You saw us
(you) 2nd sg subj-P3- 1st pl obj- see

Table 4 presents the personal possessive pronouns. Note the change in the tonal pattern from the singular pronoun forms (low tone) to the plural pronoun forms (high tone).

Table 4: Personal possessive forms

| possessive | | <i>omuntu</i> (low tone) | |
|--------------|---------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | person | people |
| <i>-anje</i> | my | <i>omuntú wanje</i> | <i>abantú banje</i> |
| <i>-awe</i> | your | <i>omuntú waawe</i> | <i>abantú baawe</i> |
| <i>-e</i> | his/her | <i>omuntú we</i> | <i>abantú be</i> |
| <i>-itu</i> | our | <i>omuntu wéitu</i> | <i>abantu béitu</i> |
| <i>-anyu</i> | your | <i>omuntu wáanyu</i> | <i>abantu báanyu</i> |
| <i>-abo</i> | their | <i>omuntu wáabo</i> | <i>abantu báabo</i> |
| possessive | | <i>omukóno</i> (high tone) | |
| | | arm | arms |
| <i>-anje</i> | my | <i>omukóno gwanje</i> | <i>emikóno yanje</i> |
| <i>-awe</i> | your | <i>omukóno gwawe</i> | <i>emikóno yaawe</i> |
| <i>-e</i> | his/her | <i>omukonó gwe</i> | <i>emikonó ye</i> |
| <i>-itu</i> | our | <i>omukono gwéitu</i> | <i>emikono yéitu</i> |
| <i>-anyu</i> | your | <i>omukono gwânyu</i> | <i>emikono yáanyu</i> |
| <i>-abo</i> | their | <i>omukono gwâbo</i> | <i>emikono yáabo</i> |

Table 5 presents the third person possessive forms for the other noun classes, e.g. *omuti gwayo* its tree; *omuti gwazo* their tree, where 'its' and 'their' vary by noun class, and here could stand for 'of the goat'/'of the

goats' (class 9/10). In the table the noun in the "possessor" column is the pronominal variable associated with the "possessed" noun *omuti* tree.

Table 5: Other possessive forms

| | Aug | Class pref. | Example possessor noun | | its/their tree (possessed) | its/their trees (possessed) |
|----|-----|-------------|------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | o- | mu- | <i>omuntu</i> | person | <i>omutí gwe</i> | <i>emítí ye</i> |
| 2 | a- | ba- | <i>abantu</i> | people | <i>omuti gwâbo</i> | <i>emiti yáabo</i> |
| 3 | o- | mu- | <i>omuti</i> | tree | <i>omuti gwagwo</i> | <i>emiti yaagwo</i> |
| 4 | e- | mi- | <i>emiti</i> | trees | <i>omuti gwayo</i> | <i>emiti yaayo</i> |
| 5 | | i | <i>ihuri</i> | egg | <i>omuti gwaryo</i> | <i>emiti yaaryo</i> |
| 6 | a- | ma- | <i>amahuri</i> | eggs | <i>omuti gwago</i> | <i>emiti yaago</i> |
| 7 | e- | ci- | <i>ecintu</i> | thing | <i>omuti gwaco</i> | <i>emiti yaaco</i> |
| 8 | e- | bi- | <i>ebintu</i> | things | <i>omuti gwabyo</i> | <i>emiti yaabyo</i> |
| 9 | e- | N- | <i>embúzi</i> | goat | <i>omuti gwayo</i> | <i>emiti yaayo</i> |
| 10 | e- | N- | <i>embúzi</i> | goats | <i>omuti gwazo</i> | <i>emiti yaazo</i> |
| 11 | o- | ru- | <i>orusúka</i> | wall | <i>omuti gwarwo</i> | <i>emiti jaarwo</i> |
| 12 | a- | ka- | <i>akáana</i> | small baby | <i>omuti gwako</i> | <i>emiti yaako</i> |
| 13 | o- | tu- | <i>otwâna</i> | small babies | <i>omuti gwatwo</i> | <i>emiti yaatwo</i> |
| 14 | o- | bu- | <i>oburwéire</i> | sickness | <i>omuti gwabwo</i> | <i>emiti yaabwo</i> |
| 15 | o- | ku- | <i>okútu</i> | ear | <i>omuti gwakwo</i> | <i>emiti yaakwo</i> |
| 16 | a- | ha- | <i>ahantu</i> | place | <i>omuti gwáho</i> | <i>emiti yaaho</i> |
| 17 | | ku- | <i>kúriya</i> | there | <i>omuti gwôkwo</i> | <i>emiti yóokwo</i> |
| 18 | | mu- | <i>múriya</i> | in there | <i>omuti gwômwo</i> | <i>emiti yóomwo</i> |

Possessive forms often stand alone to express kinship relations and home.

| | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>abe</i> | his/her relatives |
| <i>abaaawe</i> | your relatives |
| <i>abéitu</i> | my/our relatives |
| <i>abáanyu</i> | your relatives |
| <i>abáabo</i> | their relatives |
| <i>omwanje</i> | in my home |
| <i>omwawe</i> | in your home |
| <i>omwe</i> | in his home |

omwânyu in your home
omwâbo in their home

The set of proper adjectives is relatively small, and it is distinguished by a partially unique set of concordial affixes (see Table 1). The core adjectives include the following.

-*bi* bad -*bísi* unripe -*hângo* big
 -*reingwa* long/tall -*runji* good -*ce* small
 -*gúfu* short -*kúru* old -*to* young

The quantifiers may also be considered here:

-*onka/ónka* alone/only -*óna* all
 -*ômbi /-ômbiri* both -*înji* many

Personal forms for *-onka* and *-ona* are presented in Table 6. The vowel is [e] for all personal forms except third person plural. This will also apply to *-ômbi*.

Table 6: Personal forms for *-onka* alone, and *-óna* all.

| Person | Singular | | Plural | |
|--------|---------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | <i>nyenka</i> me alone | <i>nyéena</i> whole of me | <i>twenka</i> we alone | <i>twêna</i> all of us |
| 2 | <i>wenka</i> you alone | <i>wéena</i> whole of you | <i>mwenka</i> you alone | <i>mwêna</i> all of you |
| 3 | <i>wenka</i> him alone | <i>wéena</i> whole of him | <i>bonka</i> them alone | <i>bóona</i> all of them |

The forms may combine with the personal pronouns for emphasis:

nyawé nyenka me alone *nyawé nyéena* the whole of me
imwe mwêna all of you *bó bonka* them only

The general pattern for the other noun classes is as for the adjectives (Table 1) except classes 4 and 9.

abakázi bóona all women *omuti gwôna* the whole tree

eríínó ryonka/ ryónka the tooth alone *amaté gonka/gónka* the milk only
ecitabo cóona the whole book *ebitabo byômbi* both books

Class 4 *emití yónka/ emití yóona* trees alone/ all the trees
 emití yômbi both trees
 Class 9 *enté yónka/ente yóona* the cow alone/the whole cow
 ente zômbi both cows

Reduplication of *-óna* renders the meaning ‘anything’. The tonal tier is not reduplicated.

otagambá kantu kóónakoona don’t say anything
otáreeta muntu wéénaweena don’t bring anybody

The regular pattern for agreement affixes (Table 1) applies to *-înji* (many).

abantu béinji many people *emití mînji* many trees
améino géinji many teeth *ebitabo bînji* many books
ente zînji many cows

Most noun modification is expressed in the relative structure or the modified (perfective) *-ire* form.

omuntu ataríkugamba quiet person, [lit. person who does not speak]
omuntu aríkwétejeereza keen person (*étejeereza* be keen/ careful)
omwongo gújunzire a rotten pumpkin (*junda* rot)
omuti gwómire a dry tree (*óma* dry)
encunkwa zíhiire ripe oranges (*kúsya* <- *hí-* to ripen/burn)
ibaare rígunire a hard stone (*kuguma* be hard)
omusyo gúsenyire a rusty knife (*kusanya* rust)

Note these contrasts in addition to the previous patterns:

omwóngó ogújunzire a pumpkin which is rotten [*omwóóngúgújunzire*]
omwóngo gujunzire the pumpkin is/became rotten
omutí ogwómire a tree which is dry
omuti gwómire the tree is dry / dried up

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>encunkwá ezíhiire</i> | oranges which are ripe |
| <i>encunkwá zihíire</i> | the oranges are / became ripe |
| <i>ibááre erígumire</i> | a stone which is hard |
| <i>ibááre rigumíre</i> | the stone is hard / became hard |
| <i>omusyó ogúsenyire</i> | a knife which is rusty |
| <i>omusyó gusenýire</i> | the knife is / became rusty |

The contrasts may be characterised in terms of definiteness and the role of tone is quite significant:

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>encunkwa zíhiire</i> | ripe oranges [indefinite] |
| <i>encunkwá ezíhiire</i> | oranges which are ripe/the ripe oranges [definite] |
| <i>encunkwá zihíire</i> | the oranges are/became ripe [predicative] |

Colour terms are proper nouns and take no augment:

| | | | |
|------------------|-------|------------------|--------|
| <i>katuku</i> | red | <i>katáre</i> | white |
| <i>kakobe</i> | blue | <i>kéiraguju</i> | black |
| <i>nyarubabi</i> | green | <i>ruhongo</i> | yellow |
| <i>citaka</i> | brown | | |

Colour qualification may be done with a deverbal structure or by using the nominal associative structure.

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>omwenda guríkwíragura</i> | a costume which is black (<i>kwíragura</i> to be black) |
| <i>omwenda gwa kéiraguju</i> | a black costume (lit. a costume of black) |

The basic colour verbs are

| | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>kutukura</i> to be red | <i>kwíragura</i> to be black | <i>kwêra</i> to be white |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|

3.2 Deriving Nouns by Change of Class

A new sense of a noun may be obtained by attaching a different noun class prefix to it. This may involve pairs that would usually mark the singular/plural contrast:

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| <i>ecireju</i> | chin | <i>ebireju</i> | beard |
| <i>ikanse</i> | green banana peels | <i>amakanse</i> | sticky tree sap |
| <i>ikúru</i> | stubbornness | <i>amakúru/enkúru</i> | news |
| <i>ecihinzi</i> | a cold/flu | <i>ebihinzi</i> | nasal mucus |

Change of class may involve an augmentative, a diminutive, a pejorative, or an appreciative sense. More than one such sense may be implied depending on what is regarded as the standard of reference in each particular case as well as the overall context:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| <i>enju</i> | house [standard] |
| <i>akaju</i> | (nice) small house; hut [pejorative <u>if</u> seen as inappropriately small] |
| <i>oruju</i> | large house, hall; [pejorative <u>if</u> seen as inappropriately large/ designed] |
| <i>eciju</i> | house [pejorative: too big or not well built/kept] |
| <i>amaarwa</i> | beer [standard] |
| <i>ebyarwa</i> | beer that is not so tasty [pejorative] |
| <i>otwarwa</i> | Small amount of beer [diminutive]; nice beer |

Change of class may involve other senses with various degrees of relationship to the original sense:

| | | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>omunwa</i> | lip | <i>akanwa</i> | mouth | <i>orunwa</i> | rumour mongering |
| <i>omuyaga</i> | wind | <i>amayaga</i> | fleeting pleasures | <i>akayaga</i> | breeze |
| <i>ecifúba</i> | chest | <i>orufúba</i> | tuberculosis | | |
| <i>mukáaga</i> | six | <i>nkáaga</i> | sixty | <i>rukáaga</i> | six hundred |
| <i>omuti</i> | tree, timber | <i>ikúmi</i> | ten | | |
| <i>eciti</i> | stick | <i>cikúmi</i> | hundred | | |
| <i>akati</i> | small stick | <i>rukúmi</i> | thousand | | |
| <i>oruti</i> | backbone; thin/long stick | <i>kakumi</i> | 100 thousand | | |

Table 7 below shows all the derivational possibilities for the nominal roots *-ntu* and *-ana*.

Table 7: Noun class change effects

| <u>cl</u> | <u>-ntu</u> | <u>sense</u> | <u>-ana</u> | <u>sense</u> |
|-----------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>omuntu</i> | person | <i>omwâna</i> | child |
| 2 | <i>abantu</i> | people | <i>abâana</i> | children |
| 5 | | | <i>eryâna</i> | childish behaviour |
| 7 | <i>ecintu</i> | thing | <i>ecâana</i> | child [augmentative/ pejorative] |
| 8 | <i>ebintu</i> | things | <i>ebyâna</i> | children [augmentative/ pejorative] |
| 9 | | | <i>enyâna [ejâna]</i> | calf |
| 10 | <i>enyintu</i> | things [pejorative] | <i>enyâna</i> | calves |
| 11 | <i>oruntu</i> | thing [pejorative] | <i>orwâna</i> | child [pejorative] |
| 12 | <i>akantu</i> | thing [diminutive] | <i>akâana</i> | child [diminutive/ appreciative] |
| 13 | <i>otuntu</i> | things [diminutive] | <i>otwâna</i> | children [diminutive/ appreciative] |
| 14 | <i>obuntu</i> | humanness | <i>obwâna</i> | childhood |
| 16 | <i>ahantu</i> | place | | |

Loan words are assigned to a class on the basis of meaning and/or morphological shape. Borrowed nouns referring to humans go into classes 1 & 2.

omukirísitu christian
omupáádiri Roman Catholic priest
abaperésona persons of the Holy Trinity,
omusísita nun

Trees go into classes 3 & 4.

omuzeitúuni olive tree *omuzabíbu* grapevine

The majority of other nouns with no clear semantic class, as well as the animals, go to classes 9 & 10, being treated as having no prefix.

| | | | |
|------------------|----------|-------------------|---------|
| <i>ekerezía</i> | church | <i>esúure</i> | school |
| <i>evanjíri</i> | gospel | <i>penetensia</i> | penance |
| <i>emótoka</i> | motorcar | <i>efaráasi</i> | horse |
| <i>ekompyuta</i> | computer | | |

Ocasionally a noun is morphologically reanalyzed to fit into a convenient class as the following class 7 examples show:

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| <i>eciharáani</i> | sewing machine, from Swahili <i>cherehani</i> |
| <i>ecirábo</i> | pub, from English 'club' via Swahili <i>kilabu</i> |
| <i>ecitabo</i> | book, from Arabic via Swahili <i>kitabu</i> |

3.3 Nouns from Verbs

Several derivational options are available for forming nouns from verbs.

3.3.1 Pattern -o

The verb root is modified by means of the -o formative.

| <u>verb</u> | <u>gloss</u> | <u>noun</u> | <u>gloss</u> |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>kutâmba</i> | to sacrifice | <i>ecitâmba</i> | sacrificial offering |
| <i>kujájara</i> | to go to market | <i>omujájaro</i> | market |
| <i>kurima</i> | to cultivate | <i>omurimo</i> | work/job |
| <i>kuranga</i> | to announce | <i>irango</i> | announcement |
| <i>kwânga</i> | to dislike | <i>orwângo</i> | hatred |
| <i>kurwana</i> | to fight | <i>endwano</i> | fight |
| <i>kutûnga</i> | to raise, keep | <i>itûngo</i> | wealth |

3.3.2 Pattern a-o

The verb root is extended by the applicative affix and the -o formative is added. The resulting noun is assigned to a noun class using the relevant prefix.

| <u>verb</u> | <u>gloss</u> | <u>noun</u> | <u>gloss</u> |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>kutâmba</i> | to heal, cure, treat | <i>itâmbiro</i> | treatment place/hospital |
| <i>kucumba</i> | to cook | <i>icumbiro</i> | kitchen |
| <i>kwiha</i> | to extract | <i>ecihiro</i> | extraction site, quarry |
| <i>kutemba</i> | to ascend | <i>entembero</i> | ladder |

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>kujunga</i> | to brew | <i>ijunjiro</i> | brewing site |
| <i>kusoma</i> | read, study, learn | <i>isomero</i> | school |
| <i>kwerura</i> | winnow | <i>eceeruriro</i> | winnowing place |

3.3.3 Pattern H + Class 9

The verb is nominalised by means of (usually) a high tone on the penultimate syllable and the result is assigned to class nine.

| verb | gloss | noun | gloss |
|------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>kutâmba</i> | to heal/treat | <i>entâmba</i> | manner/method of treating |
| <i>kucumba</i> | to cook | <i>encúmba</i> | manner of cooking |
| <i>kugamba</i> | to speak | <i>engámba</i> | manner of speaking |
| <i>kutéma</i> | to cut | <i>entéma</i> | manner of cutting |
| <i>kwómbeka</i> | to build | <i>enyombéka</i> | style of building |
| <i>kwíragura</i> | to be black | <i>enyiragúra</i> | type of blackness |
| <i>kurwana</i> | to fight | <i>endwâna</i> | manner of fighting |
| <i>kurwâra</i> | to become ill (contrast) | <i>endwâra</i> <i>endwâra</i> | manner of coping with illness illness |

3.3.4 Pattern mi... + íre

The verb is modified by the *-íre/ére*⁶ suffix (see vowel harmony, section 4.3) and prefixed with *mi* for class 4.

| verb | gloss | noun | gloss |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| <i>kutâmba</i> | to heal/treat | <i>emitâmbire</i> | manner of treating |
| <i>kucumba</i> | to cook | <i>emicumbíre</i> | manner of cooking |
| <i>kugamba</i> | to speak | <i>emigambíre</i> | manner of speaking |
| <i>kúnywa</i> | to drink | <i>eminywêre</i> | manner of drinking |
| <i>kúrya</i> | to eat | <i>emiríre</i> | manner of eating |
| <i>kúsyá</i> | to burn | <i>emihíre</i> | manner of burning |
| <i>kugona</i> | to snore | <i>emigonére</i> | manner of snoring |
| <i>kukóma</i> | to tie | <i>emikómere</i> | manner of tying |
| <i>kuhênda</i> | to break | <i>emihéndere</i> | manner of breaking |
| <i>kujenda</i> | to go | <i>emijendére</i> | manner of going |

⁶ This is distinct from the perfective *-ire*; it participates in vowel harmony and does not induce imbrication.

A root high tone is retained at the expense of the suffix high except in the CV- roots which behave like the low tone verbs. The contour tone on the long vowels is a result of the ban on tone spreading to penultimate position.

3.3.5 Pattern -i

The agentive nominaliser assigns the nouns to classes 1/2 for animates and class 14 for abstract qualities.

| verb | gloss | noun | gloss |
|----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>kutâmba</i> | to heal/treat | <i>omutâmbi</i> | healer |
| | | <i>obutâmbi</i> | skill/job of healing |
| <i>kucumba</i> | to cook | <i>omucumbi</i> | cook |
| | | <i>obucumbi</i> | skill/job of cooking |
| <i>kuhúiga</i> | to hunt | <i>omuhúji</i> | hunter |
| | | <i>obuhúji</i> | skill/job of hunting |
| <i>kurima</i> | to cultivate | <i>omurimi</i> | farmer |
| | | <i>oburimi</i> | skill/job of cultivating |
| <i>kuranga</i> | to announce | <i>omuranji</i> | announcer |
| | | <i>oburanji</i> | job of announcer |

3.3.6 Pattern -u

The verb root is modified by the -u formative and the noun is assigned to any class.

| | | |
|-------------|--------|--|
| <i>kúfa</i> | to die | <i>obúfu/amáfu</i> sin(s), waywardness |
| | | <i>orúfu</i> death, funeral |
| | | <i>omúfu</i> corpse, sinner |

3.3.7 Pattern -e

The verb root is modified by the -e formative and the noun is assigned to any class.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>kujunda</i> to rot | <i>ecjúnde</i> stench, bad smell |
| | <i>obujúnde</i> rags, rotting stuff |
| <i>kucwêka</i> to become extinct | <i>encwêce</i> (spirit of) dead person |

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>kurumba</i> (spirit of a dead person) visit the living | with no offspring <i>orumbe</i> funeral |
| <i>kurima</i> to cultivate | <i>oburime</i> cultivated land |
| <i>kutéma</i> to cut | <i>ecitéme</i> cleared bushland ready for cultivation |

3.3.8 Miscellaneous means

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>fa</i> die | <i>ifa</i> famine <i>cifa</i> the deceased | <i>omufáákare</i> sinner |
| | <i>omufeera</i> stupid person | <i>omuféerwa</i> the bereaved |
| <i>túma</i> send | <i>entúmwa</i> messenger | |
| <i>héreka</i> entrust | <i>empérekwa</i> animal entrusted for custody | |
| <i>hindura</i> alter | <i>empindúre</i> inside out manner | <i>empindura</i> large intestine |
| <i>tûnga</i> raise/keep | <i>ecitungaanwa</i> tamed animal | <i>ecitûnga</i> water hole |
| <i>jenda</i> go | <i>ijenda</i> the going (<i>ijenda eri</i> this time around) | |
| <i>ómbeka</i> build | <i>eryómbeka</i> the action of building | |
| <i>cumba</i> cook | <i>icumba</i> cooking turn | |

3.3.9 Verb-noun compounds

The verb is modified by the augment and noun class prefix on the stem; the noun half retains the class prefix but drops the augment.

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>eciita-buzáare</i> | type of payment for neutralising a kinship relationship to allow intermarriage [killer of kinship] |
| <i>ecicwa-mukágo</i> | type of payment for neutralising a friendship pact to allow intermarriage [severer of friendship pact] |
| <i>orucwa-bitéeko</i> | bat [severer of utensil nets] |
| <i>orutema-nyîndo</i> | praying mantis [cutter of nose] |
| <i>akacwa-bazéire</i> | millipede [severer of parents; a poisonous insect that kills a child who places it in the mouth] |
| <i>ecirumira-hábirí</i> | scorpion [two-way biter] |
| <i>ecikanga-báana</i> | scarecrow [scarer of children] |
| <i>ecifa-mabéere</i> | dry cow [dead udders] |
| <i>ecihirinjisa-mazi</i> | dung beetle [roller of feaces] |
| <i>entééra-bisaka</i> | healer's advance payment [beater of bushes] |

3.3.10 Reduplication

Some form of reduplication is noticeable in several nouns even where the non-reduplicated form is not available in the lexicon.

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>ecigorogóro</i> | type of tree | <i>oruyongoyôngo</i> | type of heron |
| <i>omukaraakáre</i> | castor oil plant | <i>ecinyimaanyími</i> | shadow |
| <i>omukoníkoni</i> | witch catcher | | |

It does not appear that the process is currently productive in the language.

3.3.11 Noun – noun compounds

This type of derivation appears to be severely restricted; a few examples are available.

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>ecikoni-nya-buto</i> | type of tree [stick with oil] |
| <i>empimbi-ruhára</i> | weasel [log stripes] |
| <i>akasana-mutagata</i> | early morning sun [sun warm] |
| <i>ise-abarongo</i> | father of twins |
| <i>enkura-ruhembe</i> | rhinoceros beetle [rhino horn] |

3.4 Nouns from Adjectives

The nouns derived from the few adjectives in the language express abstract qualities or states and are in class 14.

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>obwangu</i> | quickness | <i>obuce</i> | smallness |
| <i>obureingwa</i> | length | <i>obugúfu</i> | shortness |
| <i>obuhângo</i> | bigness/fatness | <i>obwînji</i> | quantity/state of being numerous |
| <i>oburunji</i> | beauty, goodness | <i>obubi</i> | badness |
| <i>obubísi</i> | quality of being unripe | <i>obuto</i> | youth |

bwangu is an adverb: *garuka bwangu* come back quickly; it does not modify a noun until it becomes a noun and forms the connective structure *omuntu wa obwangu* a quick person.

3.5 Proper Names

There are a few very common formatives for the names of people and places. Such formatives (fm) are usually affixed to analyzable verb forms, especially in personal names.

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Ka-bá-ganika</i> | one who despises them |
| fm-them-despise | |
| <i>Be-ita-hóona</i> | they kill/destroy everywhere |
| fm-them-despise | |
| <i>Ru-ta-ga-tíina</i> | one who does not fear troubles |
| fm- NEG-them-fear | [<u>them</u> = affairs/troubles] |
| <i>Ba-rw-eta</i> | they bring it upon themselves |
| they-it-call | [<u>it</u> = death] |

Certain formatives are typical in place names. The *nya-* and *ru-a-* formatives roughly mean 'having properties of/belonging to' the specified thing.

| | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| <i>Nya-rubáare</i> | having pebbles | |
| <i>Nya-isózi</i> | having hills | [<i>neisózi</i>] |
| <i>Ru-(a)-éncende</i> | having monkeys | [<i>rwééncende</i>] |
| <i>Ru-a-cikóona</i> | having crows | [<i>rwaacikóona</i>] |
| <i>Omu-rusaka</i> | in a bush | |
| <i>Omu-ibúga</i> | in the plain | [<i>omwiiβúga</i>] |

Nya- is also employed in forming nationality labels and some other special formations.

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>Omu-nya-nkóre</i> | Ankore citizen |
| <i>Omu-nya-rwanda</i> | Rwandese citizen |
| <i>Omu-nya-mahanga</i> | foreigner |
| <i>Omu-nya-buzáare</i> | kin/relative [citizen of my clan] |
| <i>Nya-rubânja</i> | the estates [belonging to the king as landowner per excellence] |
| <i>Nya-ruju</i> | king's house [the house] |

Bu- is a fairly productive abstract formative for place/country names and is regularly employed in deriving foreign names:

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>Bu-háya</i> | Hayaland | <i>Bu-ganda</i> | Gandaland/Uganda |
| <i>Bu-nyoro</i> | Nyoroland | <i>Bu-rúndi</i> | Burundi, |
| <i>Bu-ráaya</i> | Europe | <i>Bu-rúusi</i> | Russia, |
| <i>Bu-ngeréza</i> | England | | |

Etymological roots are not clear in the case of local names with the *bu-* formative:

Bukúura, Bugara, Businde, Burigi, Bujéne, Busángaaro, Bukóba

3.6 Locative Expressions

Reclassification of nouns to the locative classes involves the attachment of the locative prefix (16 & 18) without dropping the original class prefix. The locative concept here subsumes spatial as well as temporal expressions.

| | | | |
|------------------|----------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>omu-ti</i> | tree | <i>omu-mu-ti</i> | in the tree |
| <i>eci-tabo</i> | book | <i>omu-ci-tabo</i> | in the book |
| <i>oru-sózi</i> | mountain | <i>aha-ru-sózi</i> | on the mountain |
| <i>oku-húiga</i> | hunting | <i>omu-ku-húiga</i> | on a hunting expedition |
| <i>oru-taro</i> | tray | <i>aha-ru-taro</i> | on the tray |
| <i>e-ci-ro</i> | night | <i>omu-ci-ro</i> | in the night |
| <i>aka-séese</i> | morning | <i>omu-ka-séese</i> | in the morning |

Locative nouns without any other noun prefix capture certain locative/temporal concepts.

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| <i>ahé-eru</i> | outside/in the open |
| <i>omu-gati</i> | in the middle |
| <i>há-ndi ha-ce</i> | a little later [- <i>ndi</i> other, - <i>ce</i> little/small] |

In certain other concepts the non-locative noun class prefix is identifiable:

aha-n-si below/on the ground [*ensi* = earth, country]

ahe-i-guru above [iguru = sky]

Proper place names do not normally take locative prefixes. But a special construction is available.

omu-ri Tanzania in Tanzania ('be in Tanzania')
omu-n-si ya Tanzania/ omu-i-hanga rya Tanzania ha-ri-mú *obugéiga*
there-be-there
in the land/nation of Tanzania there is wealth in there

The double representation of the locative is also visible in the following where the verb forms have a locative subject affix [*ha*] and a locative clitic [*ho*].

a-ha-tá-ri-hó *mazima* *ti-há-ri-hó buhóoro*
where-not-be-there truth not -there-be-there peace
where there is no truth there is no peace

Personal names are preceded by the class 16 locative prefix + *a* connector or the class 16 prefix followed by the class 17 prefix + *a* connector. Such forms constitute separate words independent of the personal name.

omwa Rumanyíka < *omu-a rumanyíka* in Rumanyíka's house
aha kwa Rumanyíka < *aha ku-a rumanyíka* at Rumanyíka's place

There are variations in the agreement pattern between the locative expression and the modifying elements of the verb. The possessive and adjective modifier constructions ignore the locative prefix.

omu-n-ju yanje in my house
omu-ba-ntu banje among my people
omu-n-ju m-bi in a bad house
omu-ba-ntu babi among bad people

But the verb agrees with the locative prefix; the agreement element is always the class 16 prefix.

omu-n-ju yanje harimu abantu in my house there are people
aha-mu-ti hakasémera at the tree it became pleasant

3.7 Tone Patterns in Nouns

There is at most one high tone per noun in isolation and this, for the most part, will surface on the penultimate syllable. In the following examples the leftmost column provides toneless nouns for comparison.

Two syllables: The high tone falls on the preprefix, i.e. the penultimate syllable (rather than on the nasal noun class prefix which belongs to the same syllable as the noun root).

| | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>enju</i> house | <i>énju</i> grey hair | <i>énswa</i> type of termite |
| <i>ente</i> cattle | <i>émbwa</i> dog | <i>énfu</i> fish; death/funerals |
| <i>enda</i> stomach | <i>énda</i> louse | <i>énku</i> firewood (pl.) |

Three syllables: The high tone falls on the penultimate syllable, which is the noun class prefix if the noun belongs to a class other than class 9/10. The nasal class prefix belongs to a syllable in the nominal root.

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>omunwa</i> mouth | <i>omúze</i> bad habit | <i>enyîmba</i> rattle | <i>orúku</i> firewood (sg.) |
| <i>omuti</i> tree | <i>omútwe</i> head | <i>enjóci</i> bee | <i>ecíswa</i> anthill |
| <i>akaca</i> hawk | <i>amázi</i> feces | <i>enkóko</i> chicken | |

Four syllables: The high tone falls on the penultimate syllable except for borrowed words (*emótoka*, *etádooba*) and possibly derived (deverbal) nouns, which may have a pre-penultimate high (cf. rightmost column).

| | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>omugongo</i> highland | <i>omugôngo</i> back | <i>emótoka</i> motorcar |
| <i>omuhoro</i> matchete | <i>omutíma</i> heart | <i>etádooba</i> lamp |
| <i>omuzizi</i> piece of work | <i>akasózi</i> hill | <i>enkókora</i> elbow |
| <i>enkorooto</i> type of ant | <i>akakóko</i> small chicken | <i>enkórora</i> cough |
| <i>akajojo</i> small elephant | <i>akajóci</i> small bee | <i>enkúrungo</i> crushing stone |

It appears that high tone is likely to be lost in penultimate long vowel position if the “no spreading” constraint is violated. So nouns with a long high toned vowel alternatively may also be pronounced with a low tone.

But nouns with the expected falling tone in penultimate position are never pronounced with low tone.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>akakóoko / akakooko</i> | small beast |
| <i>amasáása / amasaasa</i> | type of wild fruit |
| <i>omusámbya / omusambya</i> | type of tree |
| <i>endúúru / enduuru</i> | noise |
| <i>omwámi / omwami</i> | chief, headman |
| <i>omuterééka / omutereeka</i> | flat land |

CHAPTER FOUR VERB MORPHOLOGY

The nucleus of the verb complex is the root, to which various prefixes and suffixes may be attached. 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).

4.1 Order of Elements in the Verb Form

The order of elements in the verbal group is as follows:

1. initial (presubject): relativiser *a-*, negative *ti-*, mood *ka-*, conditional *ki-*, and continuous *ni-*
2. subject marker
3. negative *-ta-*
4. tense marker
5. object markers
6. reflexive *-é-*
7. verb root
8. verb extensions
9. perfective *-ir-*
10. final (mood) vowel
11. locative clitic *ho*, *yo*, interrogative enclitics *hi*, *ci*, manner clitics *je*, *kwo*
12. tense clitic *ga*

Table 8: Order of elements in the verb form

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------|-------------|--------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>a</i> | <i>ba</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>rí</i> | <i>ku</i> | | <i>bón</i> | | | <i>a</i> | <i>je</i> | |
| Those who don't see well; those who won't ever see you well | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>ti</i> | <i>tú</i> | | <i>ka</i> | <i>ci-mu</i> | | <i>bón</i> | | | <i>a</i> | <i>hó</i> | <i>ga</i> |
| We have never seen it on him | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | <i>a</i> | | <i>ka</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>é</i> | <i>reet</i> | <i>er</i> | | <i>a</i> | | |
| She brought him herself | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>ti</i> | <i>mu</i> | | <i>rá</i> | <i>zi</i> | <i>é</i> | <i>bon</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>ir</i> | <i>e</i> | | |
| You did not see them yourselves | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>ká</i> | <i>ba</i> | <i>ta</i> | | <i>m</i> | | <i>bón</i> | | | <i>a</i> | <i>yo</i> | |
| Let them not see me there | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>kí</i> | <i>ba</i> | | <i>ri</i> | <i>tu</i> | | <i>bón</i> | | | <i>a</i> | | |
| If ever they see us | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>ni</i> | <i>mu</i> | | | <i>n</i> | | <i>tiin</i> | <i>is-iz</i> | | <i>a</i> | <i>ci</i> | |
| Why are you terrifying me (making me be afraid) | | | | | | | | | | | |

4.2 Variations in the Mood Vowel

The final vowel is *-e* in several contexts.

4.2.1 Perfective and yesterday tenses (-ir+e)

The vowel is part and parcel of the tense/aspect suffix *-ire* but it retains its quality beyond the mutations that the consonant [r] goes through (see imbrication below).

ba -som -ir+e they read (yesterday)
ti-ba-som-ír+e they did not read
bá -á -som -ir+e they have already read

4.2.2 Certain combinations of imperative mood and pronominal prefix

The presence of a subject or object prefix on the imperative verb form requires the presence of the final vowel *-e*:

ci-sóm -e read it
ba -rek-é ba -sóm -e let them read

4.2.3 Certain tense combinations with negation

Besides the *-ire* tenses the near future (F1) tense pattern has the *-e* ending in the negative:

ti -ba -raa-sóm -e they won't read
ti-tu-raa-rim-e we won't cultivate

4.3 Vowel Harmony in Verb Extensions

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, which are regarded as being inflectional. I will return to a consideration of the meanings and functions of the extensions in section 4.4 below. 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 (see also section 2.4 on vowel elision and coalescence, and section 3.1 on vowel harmony in the noun pre-prefix and prefix).

| | | | |
|--------|------------|------------|---------|
| -guma | -gum-ir-a | -gum-is-a | be hard |
| -gamba | -gamb-ir-a | -gamb-is-a | speak |
| -bíika | -bíic-ir-a | -bíic-is-a | store |
| -kóma | -kóm-er-a | -kóm-es-a | tie |
| -reeba | -reeb-er-a | -reeb-es-a | look |

The relevant feature in determining the quality of the suffix vowel is height. The suffix vowel is mid when the root vowel is mid; it is high elsewhere (cf Rugemalira 1993b). However, as Table 9 shows, the CV roots, as a group, display a different pattern that does not conform to the letter of this rule.

Table 9: Suffix vowel harmony in CV roots

| Gloss | Infinitive | Root | -ir- | -is- |
|----------|----------------|-------|-----------|-----------|
| die | <i>kúf(w)a</i> | -fú- | -f(w)éera | -f(w)úisa |
| fall | <i>kugwa</i> | -gu- | -gweera | -gwiisa |
| cut | <i>kúcwa</i> | -cú- | -cwéera | -cwúisa |
| eat | <i>kúrya</i> | -rí- | -ríira | -ríisa |
| go | <i>kuja</i> | -ji- | -jíira | -jíisa |
| burn | <i>kúsya</i> | -hi- | -híira | -húisa |
| give | <i>kúha</i> | -hé- | -héera | -héisa |
| put | <i>kúta</i> | -té- | -téera | -téisa |
| grind | <i>kusa</i> | -se- | -seera | -seisa |
| defecate | <i>kunia</i> | -ne- | -neera | -neisa |
| be | <i>kúba</i> | -bé- | -béera | -béisa |
| dawn | <i>kúca</i> | -cé- | -céera | -céisa |
| drink | <i>kúnywa</i> | -nyó- | -nywéera | -nywéisa |
| exhaust | <i>kúhwa</i> | -hó- | -hwéera | -hwéisa |

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. One more pattern should be noted. It involves the reversive extension -ur-, shown below.

-*cíng-ur-a* open
 -*bár-ur-a* burst
 -*gút-ur-a* snap
 -*tér-ur-a* remove from hearth
 -*gom-or-a* fatten

The vowel in the reversive extension is /o/ after a root /o/, and /u/ elsewhere. The pattern is the same for the intransitive *-uk-/ok-* forms. In these forms the *cvc-* root is no longer available, the contrast holding between the extended *-ur-/uk-* stems.

4.4 Productive Verb Extensions and Co-occurrence

4.4.1 Applicative

The applicative suffix forms *-ir-/er-* participate in the vowel harmony pattern already discussed. The syntactic and semantic possibilities allowed by the applicative are exemplified below.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>akareeterá abáana ebitakuri</i> | s/he brought potatoes for the children |
| <i>akahandiicirá omuseijá ebarúha</i> | s/he wrote a letter to/on behalf of the man |
| <i>akakorera busa</i> | s/he worked for nothing |
| <i>akatumirá omwana</i> | s/he scolded us on account of the child/she scolded the child for us |
| <i>akajwarirá omunju</i> | s/he dressed up in the house |
| <i>akafurucira buráaya</i> | s/he emigrated to Europe |
| <i>akasitamirá entébe</i> | s/he sat on a chair |
| <i>bakansomera ebarúha</i> | they read the letter to/for me they read my letter (without my permission) |

4.4.2 Causative

There are two forms of the causative suffix, the long form *-is/es-* and the short form *-i-*. The short form of the suffix, a reflex of the Proto-Bantu superclose vowel /i/, causes a number of consonant alternations involving palatalisation or fricativisation of the root consonant immediately preceding the suffix (see also section 2.4.2 above).

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>kutaaha</i> | enter | <i>kutaasya</i> | take in |
| <i>kwaka</i> | be aflame | <i>kwaca</i> | set aflame |
| <i>kwôga</i> | bathe | <i>kwôja</i> | bathe (trans.) |
| <i>kwîta</i> | kill | <i>kwîsa</i> | cause to kill |
| <i>kwenda</i> | like | <i>kwenza</i> | cause to like, demand |
| <i>kukúra</i> | grow | <i>kukúza</i> | raise |
| <i>kurába</i> | pass | <i>kurábya</i> | cause to pass |
| <i>kuháma</i> | be firm | <i>kuhámya</i> | hold firmly |

Given the palatalising and fricativising effects of the short causative suffix [i =y], the list of six consonants that do not accept the short suffix is not surprising: the alveolar fricatives [s,z], the palatal stops [c, ɟ, ɲ], and the palatal glide [y]. There are no current derivations involving the alveolar nasal stop [n] and the short causative suffix, although *kubónyabonya* to torture (i.e. cause to see hardship, from *kubóna* see, is a lone witness).

The long form of the causative enjoys wider distribution. There are many roots that take only the long causative and many that take both *-is-* and *-i-*, indicating a regularising process in progress. The alveolar [r] is particularly resistant to *-is-* encroachment.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>rima</i> | cultivate | <i>rimisa</i> | cause to cultivate |
| <i>kubeija</i> | carve | <i>kubeijesa</i> | cause to carve |
| <i>kuzaana</i> | play | <i>kuzaanisa</i> | cause to play |
| <i>kwoca</i> | burn | <i>kwocesa</i> | cause to burn |
| <i>kuhéesa</i> | forge | <i>kuhéésesa</i> | cause to forge |
| <i>kubáza</i> | ask | <i>kubázisa</i> | cause to ask |
| <i>kugaya</i> | snub | <i>kugayisa</i> | cause to snub |
| <i>kukanya</i> | increase (intr.) | <i>kukanyisa</i> | cause to increase |
| <i>kuriha</i> | pay restitution | <i>kurihisa</i> | cause to pay |
| <i>kuhaata</i> | peel | <i>kuhaatisa</i> | cause to peel |
| <i>kubáaga</i> | slaughter | <i>kubáájisa</i> | cause to slaughter |
| <i>kutaka</i> | groan | <i>kutacisa</i> | cause to groan |

Where two derivations are available, a difference in meaning may eventually develop. The examples below signal the fine nuances that are available in certain contexts even when the two derivations can still be generally regarded as equivalents.

kwîsa bother with

kwisa omwaga harrass, mistreat

akamwisá obutúzi he killed him with mushrooms

kwítisa cause/help to kill

akamwitisá obutúzi he helped him pick mushrooms

kwenza demand

noonnyénzaci what do you want from me?

kwendesa cause to like

enáku zikamwendesá abaatáni hard times made him like his neighbors

kwaca light

akaacá omuriro he lit a fire

kwacisa cause to burn/light

akamwacisa omuriro he made him light a fire

kwôja wash (trans.) from *kwôga* (intrans)

akoojá enyungu he washed the pot

kwójesa cause/help to wash

akatwoojesá enyungu he made/helped us wash the pot

Homophones and polysemous items may be treated differently, or may be created by the suffixes.

kutaaha enter, go home

kutaahisa amaguru go home on foot

kutaasya ente bring in the cattle (cause the cattle to go in)

kurába pass; produce (crop) abundantly

kurábya cause to pass

kurábisa cause to produce a good crop

kukóra work, mend, make

kukóza cause to work; use; eat with relish

kukózesa cause to be repaired

Some items with what appears to be causative morphology are not causative in meaning; the root is no longer available.

kubúuza **kubúura* ask (question)
kubáza **kubára* ask (question)
kupágasa **kupágata* do casual labour
kutyáaza **kutyáara* sharpen (knife)

In some other items the root may be available but the semantic connection is disputable.

kuhéisa praise; ?from *kúha* give
kusígisa stir; ?from *kusíga* leave behind

The syntactic and semantic possibilities available with the causative suffix include the following.

akarimisá abapágasí endimiro he made the laborers cultivate the field
akasonesá omwênda he had a costume made [with causee omission]
akarimisá enfúka he cultivated with a hoe
akariísá abajenyi he fed the guests/he ate with the guests
akarimisá amáani he cultivated with force/energetically/vigorously
akeesomesá ecitabo he pretended to read a book [made himself read a book]

4.4.3 Passive

There are two forms of the passive suffix. The short form *-u-* is attached to a stem that ends in a consonant. The long form *-ibu/ebu-* is attached to a stem ending in a vowel.

kurim-w-a be cultivated [-u- form: after a consonant]
kurí-ibw-a be eaten [-ibu- form: after [i]]
kuhe-ebwa be given [-ebu- form: after [e]]
endimiro ekarimwá omukázi the field was cultivated by the woman
ebitooce bikariibwá abáana the bananas were eaten by the children

4.4.4 Stative

The stative suffix *-ik/ek-* participates in the vowel harmony pattern. Like the passive it reduces the verb's valency; a transitive verb becomes intransitive after suffixation with the stative.

| | | | |
|------------------------------|--------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>kubóna</i> | see | <i>kubón-ek-a</i> | be visible/available |
| <i>kuhênda</i> | break | <i>kuhéndeka</i> | break (intrans.) |
| <i>kusoma</i> | read | <i>kusomeka</i> | be legible |
| <i>kuseesa</i> | spill | <i>kuseeseka</i> | be spilt |
| <i>kubáasa</i> | manage | <i>kubáásika</i> | be possible |
| <i>kumanya</i> | know | <i>kumanyika</i> | be known/famous |
| <i>omwána akaboná omwêzi</i> | | | the child saw the moon |
| <i>omwézi gukabóneka</i> | | | the moon became visible/appeared |

4.4.5 Reciprocal

Of the two forms of the reciprocal, the long form *-angan-* is the more productive, while the short form *-an-* is frozen. This suffix too reduces the valency of the verb.

| | | | |
|------------------------------|------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>abakázi bakabónangana</i> | | the women saw each other | |
| <i>kujuna</i> | help | <i>kujunangana</i> | help each other |
| <i>kunoba</i> | hate | <i>kunobangana</i> | hate each other |

Usually if the derived stem has the short form *-an-* the unextended root will no longer be available.

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------|
| <i>ku-bag+an-a</i> | share, divide up | <i>ku-búg+an-a</i> | meet |
| <i>ku-bweij+an-a</i> | be lonely | <i>ku-rw+an-a</i> | fight |
| <i>ku-fuka+an-a</i> | wrestle, struggle | <i>ku-fút+an-a</i> | chew |
| <i>ku-hak+an-a</i> | argue | <i>kw-ing+an-a</i> | be equal |

But if such a root exists, it may have a largely unrelated meaning.

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>kú-ta</i> | put | <i>ku-táana</i> | separate (intrans.) |
| <i>ku-tonda</i> | create | <i>ku-tondana</i> | discriminate against each other |
| <i>kú-nywa</i> | drink | <i>ku-nywâna</i> | become friends [drink each other] |
| <i>ku-jenda</i> | go, walk | <i>ku-jendana</i> | go together |

ku-sanga come upon *ku-sangaana* convene
kw-êga learn *kw-égaana* deny

Note that *ku-jenda* is not even transitive, which is a basic requirement for the regular pattern of the reciprocalisation process.

Occasionally both the long and short forms may exist for a particular verb, in which case the two derivations will have different meanings in accordance with the economy principle in the lexicon.

kurása throw/shoot
kurásana struggle/engage in battle
ku-rasangana throw/shoot at each other

ku-raga bid farewell, promise
ku-ragaana fix an appointment, make a
ku-rangana bid each other farewell

ku-tônga demand payment
ku-tóngana quarrel
ku-tóngangana demand payment from each other

ku-kwâta hold, seize
ku-kwâtana be related, stick together, own jointly
ku-kwátangana hold each other

ku-reeba look
ku-reebana keep in touch
ku-reebangana look at each other

4.4.6 Extension co-occurrence

Syntactic properties and phonological shape play a role in determining co-occurrence possibilities. The applicative and causative, which add an argument to the structure (transitivisers), readily co-occur, always in the C-A (-es-ez-) order.

som-es-ez-a cause to educate for

akatusomesezá abáana he/she educated our children for us

bón-es-ez-a cause to see for

a- ka- m -bon-es-ez-á abááná enáku

she-P3-me-see-C-A-FV children hardship

she made my children experience hardship /she subjected my children to hardship (lit. 'she made the children see hardship for me')

Repetition of the same suffix is not permitted. The passive, stative and reciprocal suffixes take away one argument from the structure (detransitivisers); they do not co-occur. Any of the transitivisers (applicative and causative) may combine with any of the detransitivisers in a two suffix combination, except the causative + stative combination.

(ebaruha) a-ka-ji-som-er-w-a Kakuru

(letter) he-P3-it-read-A-P-FV Kakuru

the letter, it was read to him by Kakuru

(ecitabo) a-ka-ci-reet-er-w-a Kakuru

(book) he-P3-it-bring-A-P-FV Kakuru

the book, he was brought it by Kakuru

e-ka-hend-ec-er-a omunju

it-PST-break-S-A- FV house

it broke in the house

ba-ka-tem-er-angan-a ebiti

they-P3-cut-A-R-FV sticks

they cut sticks for each other

ba-ka-tem-angan-ir-a omu-nju

they-P3-cut-R-A-FV in house

they cut each other in the house

a-ka-ji-som-es-ibw-a omuseija

she-P3-it-read-C-P-FV man

she was made to read it by the man

ba-ka-som-es-angan-a ecitabo
they-P3-read-C-R-FV book
they made each other read a book

The following combinations/arrangements are not permissible: AS, PA, PC, RC, CS, SC. Phonological constraints play a role in ruling out some combinations. Vowel-only suffixes (passive -u-, causative -i-) are placed at the end in any suffix combination. The canonical CVC- verb root takes a -VC- suffix, followed by a final vowel. Derivations that disrupt this arrangement are postponed until last when appropriate repair mechanisms involving glide formation are applied.

When all these restrictions have been considered, very few options are left for three suffix combinations; these involve causative and applicative plus reciprocal (CAR) or passive (CAP).

son-es-ez-angan-a cause to sew for each other
ba- ka- son -es- ez -angan -á emyênda
they-PST-sew -C -A - R- FV costumes
they had costumes made for each other [with causee omission]i.e. they (X and Y) caused someone (Z) to make costumes for each other (X and Y).
a - ka - gu-son-es-ez-ibw- á nyina
he-P3-it- sew-C-A - P- FV his mother
he was caused to be sewn it by his mother

In general, variable suffix ordering has no syntactic or semantic significance. In the following sentences two interpretations are possible even though the applicative and causative suffixes must appear in only one order.

a- ka- mu- son- es - ez-á omwênda
she-P3-him-sew-C- A- FV costume
she caused someone to make a costume for him
on his behalf she caused someone to make a costume

Similarly the applicative and passive combinations can only appear in one order irrespective of the intended interpretation.

omwênda gu-ka- fur- ir- w- á omunju
costume it -P3-wash-A-P-FV in the house
the costume was washed in the house

a- ka- gu-fur- ir- w- á omukózi
she- P3- it- wash-A -P- FV worker
it was washed for her by a worker
(lit. she was washed it by a worker)

Certain combinations of the applicative and reciprocal may be amenable to a scope interpretation, with the order of the suffixes being significant.

ba- ka- sar- ir- angan-a enyama
they- P3- cut- A- R- FV meat
they cut meat for each other

ba- ka- sar-angan-ir-a enyama
they- P3 - cut- R- AP-FV meat
they cut each other on account of the meat
However there are several lexicalised (frozen) reciprocal forms that are not amenable to an analytical interpretation.

kunywâna become friends
kuryâna be at loggerheads
kusambana fornicate

kurwana fight
kusangaana meet
kuhárana hate/make an enemy of.

The last (*kuhárana*) cannot take a plural subject as would be required by a true reciprocal verb; and *kusambana* need not take a plural subject. The rest must take a plural subject.

4.5 Semi-Productive Verb Extensions

4.5.1 Reversive

The *ur/or* suffix (see above for vowel harmony pattern) reverses the action of the base verb. And if the verb is transitive, then the *uk/ok* suffix

detransitivises it. In some derivations (e.g. *kómoorora*) the suffix is reduplicated or the suffix vowel is long (e.g. *fúnduura*).

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>cînga</i> | close | <i>cíngura</i> | open | <i>cínguka</i> | become open |
| <i>inama</i> | bend | <i>inamura</i> | raise | <i>inamuka</i> | be upright, ascend |
| <i>fûnda</i> | be tight | <i>fúnduura</i> | remove cover | <i>fúnduuka</i> | become open |
| <i>kúba</i> | fold | <i>kúbuurura</i> | unfold | <i>kúbuuruka</i> | unfold (intr.) |
| <i>reega</i> | tighten | <i>reegurura</i> | loosen | <i>reeguruka</i> | become loose |
| <i>kóma</i> | tie | <i>kómoorora</i> | untie | <i>kómooroka</i> | become untied |
| <i>soba</i> | go wrong | <i>soboorora</i> | set right | <i>sobooroka</i> | be set right |

But this suffix is not as productive as the suffixes discussed in the previous section. Many derived forms exist without the corresponding base verbs; and where the base verb is available, the semantic connection is extremely tenuous at best.

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| <i>bárura</i> | burst | <i>báruka</i> | burst (intr.) |
| <i>gútura</i> | snap | <i>gútuka</i> | snap (intr.) |
| <i>gomora</i> | fatten | <i>gomoka</i> | become fat |
| <i>térura</i> | remove from position | <i>téruka</i> | slip off a position |
| <i>rába</i> | pass at/through | <i>rábura</i> | enlighten |
| <i>báka</i> | conceive | <i>bákura</i> | startle |
| | | <i>bákuka</i> | become startled |

4.5.2 *Intensive*

The intensive is not a suffix, but a semantic notion that captures various closely related notions of the intensity of an action, including repetition, continuity, thoroughness, vigour, determination. In Runyambo, for the most part, these shades of meaning are expressed by the reduplication of the applicative suffix.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>róota</i> | dream | <i>róóterera</i> | have nightmares |
| <i>reeba</i> | look | <i>reeberera</i> | supervise |
| <i>bába</i> | itch | <i>bábiirira</i> | itch intensely |
| <i>bóha</i> | tie up | <i>bóheerera</i> | tie up securely |
| <i>mera</i> | sprout | <i>mereera</i> | live for ever |

In these examples the first vowel of the suffix is long if the root vowel is short and vice versa.

There is a widespread tendency for the suffix form to be tripled in the case of CV (short) roots. There may also be some special forms associated with the short roots. This appears to be a repair mechanism of what are apparently treated as defective roots. In the following examples only *kuhwérewa* and *kugwerera* fit the regular pattern of the other disyllabic stems.

| | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------------|--|
| <i>kúca</i> | dawn | <i>kucéerewera</i> | be late |
| <i>kúrya</i> | eat | <i>kuríririra</i> | eat more than one's share |
| | | <i>kurísaguzibwa</i> | eat frequently/anywhere |
| <i>kúcwa</i> | cut/sever | <i>kucwerera</i> | clear the edges of a farm to keep out possible fires |
| <i>kúhwa</i> | be finished | <i>kuhwérewa</i> | wear out e.g. hoe, knife, pencil |
| | | <i>kuhwerecerera</i> | be annihilated |
| <i>kugwa</i> | fall | <i>kugwerera</i> | stagger i.e. repeatedly wanting to fall |
| <i>kúnywa</i> | drink | <i>kunywéísaguzibwa</i> | drink frequently/anywhere |
| <i>kunia</i> | defecate | <i>kuneisaguzibwa</i> | go to toilet frequently |
| <i>kúfa</i> | die | <i>kuféerewera</i> | be destroyed |
| | | <i>kufááfaatikana</i> | (affairs) fail to succeed |

Intensity is also expressed by some combination of the applicative (single or double) and the causative. Many verbs that have a ...*reza/riza* ending are lexicalised forms of *-irir-*+causative *-i-* and express some shade of intensity.

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>kutéecereza</i> | think |
| <i>kusiisiriza</i> | rub gently, massage |
| <i>kuhúiciriza</i> | (rain clouds) threaten to come down |
| <i>kununciriza</i> | sniff about |
| <i>kuhújiriza</i> | search intensely |
| <i>kuhondereza</i> | follow up closely |
| <i>kwíjuriza</i> | fill to the brim |
| <i>kukóreereza</i> | do casual/odd jobs |
| <i>kurajiriza</i> | give strict and detailed instructions |

kuguruciza go from place to place (job to job, etc.) without settling in one for long; be restless

4.5.3 Stem reduplication

Reduplication of the stem bears some distant similarity to verb suffixation. It is considered here since it is a robust derivational strategy that captures similar shades of the intensive meaning as the *-irir-* form. It seems that if a verb root does not have an established suffix-based derivation for the intensive, it is verb stem reduplication that will be relied upon to carry any intended shade of the intensive meaning.

kubara count
kubariirira estimate
kubarabara make a quick count

kubéiha tell a lie
kubéíherera tell tales on somebody
kubéihabeiha coax, entice

kubûmba mold
kubúmbirira try to maintain/repair/care for something delicate
kubúmbabumba try to maintain/repair/care for something delicate

kugamba speak
kugambirira speak one's mind (as if possessed by some hidden being on whose behalf one is speaking)
kugambagamba speak (habitually) without restraint

The basic process involves the copying of a two-syllable stem. Longer (three syllable) stems reduce to a two-syllable template in the first half of the derivation and reproduce the whole stem thereafter.

kubáruka burst/pop
kubárabaruka pop repeatedly
kucúmita pierce
kucúmacumita pierce repeatedly
kusohora go out

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>kusohasohora</i> | go out repeatedly |
| <i>kusereka</i> | hide |
| <i>kuserasereka</i> | hush up |
| <i>kuguruka</i> | jump |
| <i>kuguraguruka</i> | jump up and down repeatedly |

4.6 Non-Productive Verb Extensions

The *-ar-*, *-at-*, and *-am-* formatives identifiable in the following words are completely nonproductive, and their meanings are unrecoverable. The verbs are quite old and widely spread across the Bantu area.

| | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>by-âr-a</i> | plant | <i>síg-ar-a</i> | remain |
| <i>rag-ar-a</i> | fall | <i>sag-ar-a</i> | accompany |
| <i>tag-at-a</i> | become warm | <i>kúr-at-a</i> | follow |
| <i>fúmb-at-a</i> | embrace | <i>fúk-am-a</i> | crouch |
| <i>bút-am-a</i> | (structure) collapse | <i>sít-am-a</i> | sit |
| <i>han-am-a</i> | climb up | <i>tér-am-a</i> | stay up late into the night |

4.7 Verb Extension Possibilities

It is appropriate at this juncture to provide an example (Table 10) of the various verb forms that can be regarded as derivatives of a given root.

Table 10: Verb derivations for *kóma* and *hênda*

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>kóma</i> | tie | <i>hênda</i> | break |
| <i>kómera</i> | tie for; sow | <i>héndera</i> | break for; prune |
| <i>kómesa</i> | cause to tie, tie with (e.g. rope) | <i>héndangana</i> | break each other |
| <i>kómwa</i> | be tied | <i>hêndwa</i> | be broken |
| <i>kómoorora</i> | untie | <i>hênza/ héndesa</i> | cause to break |
| <i>kómooroka</i> | come untied | <i>héndeka</i> | be broken |
| <i>kómangana</i> | tie each other | <i>héndarana</i> | break into many pieces |
| <i>kómeerera</i> | pack up | <i>héndrerera</i> | prune for |
| <i>kómeseza</i> | cause to tie for | <i>héndeseza</i> | cause to break for |
| <i>kómesibwa</i> | be caused to tie | <i>hénzibwa/ héndesibwa</i> | be caused to break |
| <i>kómerwa</i> | be tied for | <i>héndrwa</i> | be broken for |

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| <i>kómesangana</i> | cause/help each other to tie | <i>héndesangana</i> | cause each other to break, break each other with (instrument) |
| <i>kómerangana</i> | tie for each other | <i>héndérangana</i> | break for each other |
| <i>kómanganira</i> | tie each other at | <i>héndanganira</i> | break each other at |
| <i>kómeererera</i> | pack up for | | |
| <i>kómoororwa</i> | be untied | | |
| <i>kómooroza</i> | cause/help to untie | | |
| <i>kómoororera</i> | untie for | | |
| <i>kómoorozibwa</i> | be caused/helped to untie | | |

4.8 Verb Derivations from Adjectives

The derivational morpheme *-ha* for making verbs from adjectives may no longer be productive, but this appears to have been a regular process.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>hângo</i> | big | <i>kuhánguha</i> | become big |
| <i>ce</i> | small | <i>kucéeha</i> | become small |
| <i>bí</i> | bad | <i>kubíiha</i> | become bad |
| | | <i>kubííhirirwa</i> | become angry |
| <i>to</i> | young | <i>kutóoha</i> | become young |
| <i>reingwa</i> | long, tall | <i>kureiha</i> | become long/tall |
| | | <i>kureihuuka</i> | become excessively long/tall |

4.9 Verb Derivations from Nouns

A rather rare phenomenon involves the derivation of verbs from nouns. Only three examples have been identified.

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>obugúfu</i> | shortness | <i>kugúfahara</i> | become short |
| <i>omurênga</i> | dull person | <i>kuréngahara</i> | become dull |
| <i>obujúne</i> | sadness | <i>kujúnahara</i> | become sad |
| <i>obubísi</i> | rawness | <i>kubísahara</i> | be raw |

4.10 Tense Markers

Table 11 shows the tense/aspect patterns in the Runyambo main clause verb.

Table 11: Tense and aspect systems in the Runyambo main clause verb

| Tense | Affirmative | | Negative | |
|-------|---|--|--|--|
| Hb. | Sg. <i>n-dima</i> I cultivate | Pl. <i>tu-rima</i> We cultivate | Sg. <i>ti-n-dima</i> I don't cultivate | Pl. <i>ti-tu-rima</i> We don't cultivate |
| Co | <i>ni-n-dima</i> I am cultivating | <i>ni-tu-rima</i> We are cultivating | <i>ti-n-dí-ku-rima</i> I am not cultivating | <i>ti-tu-rí-ku-rima</i> We are not cultivating |
| Pf.1 | <i>n-áá-rim-ire</i> I have already cultivated (recent) | <i>tw-áá-rim-ire</i> We have already cultivated | <i>tí-n-ka-rim-ire</i> I haven't cultivated yet | <i>ti-tú-ka-rim-ire</i> We haven't cultivated yet |
| P1 | <i>n-áá-rima</i> I cultivated (today) | <i>tw-áá-rima</i> We cultivated | <i>tí-n-a-rima</i> I did not cultivate | <i>tí-tw-aa-rima</i> We did not cultivate |
| P2 | <i>n-dim-íre</i> I cultivated (yesterday) | <i>tu-rim-íre</i> We cultivated | <i>ti-n-dim-íre</i> I did not cultivate | <i>ti-tu-rim-íre</i> We did not cultivate |
| P3 | <i>n-ka-rima</i> I cultivated (remote) | <i>tu-ka-rima</i> We cultivated | <i>ti-n-dá-rim-ire</i> I did not cultivate | <i>ti-tu-rá-rim-ire</i> We did not cultivate |
| Pf2 | <i>n-dá-rim-ire</i> I have cultivated (remote) | <i>tu-rá-rim-ire</i> We have cultivated | <i>tí-n-ka-rim-a-ga</i> I have never cultivated | <i>ti-tú-ka-rim-a-ga</i> We have never cultivated |
| F1 | <i>n-daa-ríma</i> I will cultivate (near) | <i>tu-raa-ríma</i> We will cultivate | <i>ti-n-daa-ríme</i> I will not cultivate | <i>ti-tu-raa-ríme</i> We will not cultivate |
| F1a | <i>ni-n-já kurima</i> I am going to | <i>ni-tu-já kurima</i> We are going to | <i>ti-n-dí kujá kurima</i> I am not going | <i>ti-tu-rí kujá kurima</i> We are not going to |

| Tense | Affirmative | | Negative | |
|-----------|---|---|--|--|
| | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| | cultivate | cultivate | to cultivate | cultivate |
| F2 | <i>n-di-ríma/n-dáá-ríma</i> I will cultivate (remote) | <i>tu-ri-ríma/tu-ráá-ríma</i> We will cultivate | <i>tí-n-dí-ríma</i> I will not cultivate | <i>ti-tu-rí-ríma</i> We will not cultivate |
| Ptv. | <i>n-cáá-ríma</i> I am still cultivating | <i>tu-cáá-ríma</i> We are still cultivating | <i>tí-n-cáá-ríma</i> I am no longer cultivating | <i>ti-tú-cáá-ríma</i> We are no longer cultivating |
| Ptv Hb | <i>n-ci-ríma</i> I still cultivate | <i>tu-ci-ríma</i> We still cultivate | <i>tí-n-ci-ríma</i> I will no longer cultivate | <i>ti-tú-ci-ríma</i> We will no longer cultivate |
| Hp | <i>n-káá-ríma</i> <i>n-a-ku-ríma</i> I could cultivate | <i>tu-káá-ríma</i> <i>tw-a-ku-ríma</i> We could cultivate | <i>tí-n-ku-ríma</i> <i>tí-n-a-ku-ríma</i> I couldn't cultivate | <i>tí-tw-a-ku-ríma</i> We couldn't cultivate |
| PHp | <i>n- káá -rim-íre</i> <i>na-ku-rim-íre</i> I would have cultivated | <i>tu- káá -rim-íre</i> <i>tw-a-ku-rim-íre</i> We would have cultivated | <i>tí-n-ku-rim-íre</i> <i>tí-n-a-ku-rim-íre</i> I wouldn't have cultivated | <i>tí-tw-a-ku-rim-íre</i> We wouldn't have cultivated |

Key:

| | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|-----|-----------------------|
| Hb | habitual | Co | continuous |
| Pf.1 | perfective 1 (recent) | P1 | past tense 1 (today) |
| P2 | past tense 2 (yesterday) | P3 | past tense 3 (remote) |
| Pf2 | perfective 2 (remote) | F1 | near future |
| F2 | remote future | Ptv | persistive (still) |
| Ptv Hb | persistive habitual | Hp | hypothetical |
| PHp | past hypothetical | | |

Table 12 provides a summary of the tense markers, showing the affixes

and the associated tone melodies.

Table 12: Summary of tense markers in the main clause

| Tense | Sg/Affirm | Pl/Affirm | Sg/Neg | Pl/Neg |
|--------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Hb | - | - | - | - |
| Co | <i>ni</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>rí-ku</i> | <i>rí-ku</i> |
| Pf 1 | <i>á...ire</i> | <i>á...ire</i> | <i>ka...ire</i> | <i>ka...ire</i> |
| P 1 | <i>á</i> | <i>á</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>a</i> |
| P 2 | <i>íre</i> | <i>íre</i> | <i>íre</i> | <i>íre</i> |
| P 3 | <i>ka</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>rá ...ire</i> | <i>rá...ire</i> |
| Pf 2 | <i>rá...ire</i> | <i>rá...ire</i> | <i>ka...ga</i> | <i>ka...ga</i> |
| F 1 | <i>raa</i> | <i>raa</i> | <i>raa...e</i> | <i>raa...e</i> |
| F 2 | <i>ri</i> <i>ráá</i> | <i>ri</i> <i>ráá</i> | <i>rí</i> - | <i>rí</i> - |
| Ptv | <i>cáá</i> | <i>cáá</i> | <i>cáá</i> | <i>cáá</i> |
| Ptv Hb | <i>ci</i> | <i>ci</i> | <i>ci</i> | <i>ci</i> |
| Hp | <i>káá</i> <i>a-ku</i> | <i>káá</i> <i>a-ku</i> | <i>ku</i> <i>a-ku</i> | <i>a-ku</i> <i>a-ku</i> |
| PHp | <i>káá...ire</i> | <i>káá...ire</i> | <i>a-ku...ire</i> | <i>a-ku...ire</i> |

In the P3 pattern the lack of continuity from the affirmative tense markers to the negative tense is noteworthy. Discontinuity also exists in the relative clause verb for the same tense with the *ka* marker in the main clause but the *ire* marker in the relative clause.

a-ka-rima he cultivated *e-y(a)-a-rim-íre* the one who cultivated
ba-ka-rima they cultivated *a-ba-a-rim-íre* those who cultivated

Since P3 negative employs forms that would have logically belonged to Pf2, this latter slot adds the *ga* form to what would have been P3 negative!

4.11 Auxiliary Verb *kúba*: to Be

This is the auxiliary verb that gets used in forming various tense patterns. It is similar to the other short (CV) verbs in many respects and gets inflected for the various grammatical contrasts (see Table 13). It can take suffixes like perfective *-ire* as well as the causative and applicative

extensions.

Table 13: Tense and aspect systems in the auxiliary verb *kúba*.

| Tense | Affirmative | | Negative | |
|--------|---|--|---|--|
| | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| Hb. | <i>m-ba</i> I be | <i>tu-ba</i> We be | <i>tí-m-ba</i> I am not | <i>ti-tú-ba</i> We are not |
| Co | <i>ni-m-ba</i> I am | <i>ni-tu-ba</i> We are | <i>ti-n-dí-ku-ba</i> I am not | <i>ti-tu-rí-ku-ba</i> We are not |
| Pf.1 | <i>n-áá-bé-ire</i> I have already become (recent) | <i>tw-áá-bé-ire</i> We have already become | <i>tí-n-ka-bé-ire</i> I haven't become yet | <i>ti-tú-ka-bé-ire</i> We haven't become yet |
| P1 | <i>n-áá-ba</i> I was (today) | <i>tw-áá-ba</i> We were | <i>tí-n-a-ba</i> I was not | <i>tí-tw-aa-ba</i> We were not |
| P2 | <i>m-bé-ire</i> I was (yesterday) | <i>tu-bé-ire</i> We were | <i>ti-m- bé-ire</i> I was not | <i>ti-tu- bé-ire</i> We were not |
| P3 | <i>n-ka-ba</i> I was (remote) | <i>tu-ka-ba</i> We were | <i>ti-n-dá- be -ire</i> I was not | <i>ti-tu-rá- be-ire</i> We were not |
| Pf2 | <i>n-dá-be-ire</i> I have become (remote) | <i>tu-rá-be-ire</i> We have become | <i>tí-n-ká-ba-ga</i> I have never become | <i>ti-tú-ká-ba-ga</i> We have never become |
| F1 | <i>n-daa-ba</i> I will be (near) | <i>tu-raa-ba</i> We will be | <i>ti-n-daa-be</i> I will not be | <i>ti-tu-raa-be</i> We will not be |
| F1a | <i>ni-n-já kuba</i> I am going to be | <i>ni-tu-já kuba</i> We are going to be | <i>ti-n-dí kujá kuba</i> I am not going to be | <i>ti-tu-rí kujá kuba</i> We are not going to be |
| F2 | <i>n-di-ba/n-dáá-ba</i> I will be (remote) | <i>tu-ri-ba/tu-ráá-ba</i> We will be | <i>ti-n-dí-ba</i> I will not be | <i>ti-tu-rí-ba</i> We will not be |
| Ptv. | <i>n-cáá-ba</i> I am still | <i>tu-cáá-ba</i> We are still | <i>tí-n-cáá-ba</i> I am no longer | <i>ti-tú-cáá-ba</i> We are no longer |
| Ptv Hb | <i>n-ci-ba</i> I am still | <i>tu-ci-ba</i> We are still | <i>tí-n-ci-ba</i> I am no longer | <i>ti-tú-ci-ba</i> We are no longer |
| Hp | <i>n-káá-ba</i> <i>n-a-ku-ba</i> I could be | <i>tu-káá-ba</i> <i>tw-a-ku-ba</i> We could be | <i>tí-n-ku-ba</i> <i>tí-n-a-ku-ba</i> I couldn't be | <i>tí-tw-a-ku-ba</i> <i>tí-tw-a-ku-ba</i> We couldn't be |
| PHp | <i>n-káá-bé-ire</i> I would have been | <i>tu-káá-bé-ire</i> We would have been | <i>tí-n-a-ku-be-ire</i> I wouldn't have been | <i>tí-tw-a-ku-be-ire</i> We wouldn't have been |

The various possibilities of combining the main verb tense patterns with the auxiliary verb *kúba* (be) are exemplified in Table 14. The auxiliary verb may be inflected for all the possibilities in the basic pattern of Table 11 and joined to the appropriately inflected form of the main verb. There are a number of gaps where the complement of *kúba* is not another verb, but some other constituent (nominal or adjective). Also some tense combinations are not permissible e.g. present habitual + present habitual (**mba ndima*); present continuous + present habitual (**nimba ndima*).

Table 14: Tense patterns in combination with auxiliary verb *kuba*

| Tense | Affirmative -Singular |
|--------------|--|
| Hb+ Co | <i>m-ba ni-n-dima</i> I am usually cultivating |
| Hb + Ptv | <i>m-ba n-cáá-rima</i> I am usually still cultivating |
| Co + Co | <i>ni-m-ba ni-n-dima</i> I am usually cultivating |
| Co + Ptv | <i>ni-m-bá n-cáá-rima</i> I am usually still cultivating |
| Pf.1 +NP | <i>n-áá-bé-iré omukáma</i> I have already become king |
| P1 + Co | <i>n-aa-ba ni-n-dima</i> I was cultivating (today) |
| P1 + P1 | <i>n-aa-ba n-áá-rima</i> I had just cultivated |
| P1 + Pf | <i>n-aa-ba n-áá-rim-ire</i> I had already cultivated (today) |
| P1 + Ptv | <i>n-aa-ba n-cáá-rima</i> I was still cultivating (today) |
| P1 +P2 | <i>n-aa-bá n-dim-ire</i> I had cultivated (today) |
| P2 + Hb | <i>m-be-ire ndíma</i> (recent past)I was/used to cultivate(ing) |
| P2 +Co | <i>m-be-ire ni-n-díma</i> (yesterday) I was cultivating |
| P2 +Pf | <i>m-be-ire n-áá-rim-ire</i> I had already cultivated (recent past, yesterday inclusive) |
| P2 +P1 | <i>m-be-ire n-áá-rima</i> I had just cultivated (yesterday) |
| P2 + Ptv | <i>m-be-ire n-cáá-rima</i> I was still cultivating (yesterday) |
| P3 + Hb | <i>n-ka-bá n-dima</i> I used to cultivate (remote) |
| P3 + Co. | <i>n-ka-bá ni-n-dima</i> I was cultivating (remote) |
| P3 +Pf | <i>n-ka-bá n-áá-rim-ire</i> I had already cultivated |
| P3 +P1 | <i>n-ka-bá n-áá-rima</i> I had just cultivated (remote) |
| P3 + P2 | <i>n-ka-bá n-dim-ire</i> I had cultivated (remote) |
| P3 +Pf2 | <i>n-ka-bá n-dá-rim-ire</i> I had already cultivated (remote while ago) |

| Tense | Affirmative -Singular |
|-----------------|--|
| P3 +Ptv | <i>n-ka-bá n-cáá-rima</i> I was still cultivating (remote) |
| Pf2 + Co (only) | <i>n-dá-be-ire ni-n-dima</i> I have (ever) been cultivating |
| F1+Hb | - |
| F1+Co | <i>n-daa-ba ni-n-dima</i> I will be cultivating (near) |
| F1 + Pf | <i>n-daa-ba n-áá-rim-ire</i> I will have already cultivated (near)(will have finished the job) |
| F1 +P1 | <i>n-daa-ba n-áá-rima</i> I will have just cultivated |
| F1 +P2 | <i>n-daa-ba n-dim-ire</i> I will have cultivated (near- will have done something satisfactorily) |
| F1 +P3 | - |
| F1 +Ptv | <i>n-daa-ba n-cáá-rima</i> I will still be cultivating (near) |
| F2 +Co | <i>n-di-ba /n-dáá-ba ni-n-dima</i> I will be cultivating (remote) |
| F2 +Pf | <i>n-di-ba /n-dáá-ba n-áá-rim-ire</i> I will have already cultivated (remote) |
| F2 +P1 | <i>n-di-ba /n-dáá-ba n-áá-rima</i> I will have just cultivated (remote) |
| F2 +P2 | <i>n-di-bá /n-dáá-ba n-dim-ire</i> I will have cultivated (remote - satisfactorily) |
| F2 +P3 | - |
| F2 +Ptv | <i>n-di-ba /n-dáá-ba n-cáá-rima</i> I will still be cultivating (remote) |
| Ptv.+ NP | <i>n-cáá-bá omugéiga</i> I am still a rich person |
| Ptv Hb + NP | <i>n-ci-ba Karágwe</i> I am still in Karagwe |
| | <i>n-ci-bá omukurima</i> I am still in the cultivating |
| Hp + NP | <i>n-káá-bá / n-a-ku-bá omukáma</i> I could be/become king |
| Hp + Ptv | <i>n-a-ku-ba n-cáá-rima</i> I could still be cultivating |
| PHp + Hb | - |
| PHp +Co | <i>n-káá-bé-ire/na-ku-beire ni-n-dima</i> I would have been cultivating |
| PHp +Pf | <i>n-káá-bé-ire/na-ku-beire n-áá-rim-ire</i> I would have already cultivated |
| PHp +P1 | - |
| PHp +P2 | <i>n-káá-bé-ire/na-ku-beiré n-dim-ire</i> I would have cultivated |

| Tense | Affirmative -Singular |
|-----------|---|
| PHp + Ptv | <i>n-káá-bé-ire/na-ku-beire</i> n-cáá-rima I would still be cultivating |

4.12 Tense Meanings

There is a considerable amount of relative flexibility in the deployment and interpretation of the various tense-aspect markers. Since the English glossing is insufficient for marking the many distinctions available a few examples with contextualisation will be provided below (see summary of markers in Table 12).

4.12.1 Habitual (no marking)

The habitual tense is used to mark timeless truths as exemplified by the following common sayings in the language.

abáána batiiná abakúru
children obey/fear the elders

ahambuzi mbí tosibikahó yaawe
next to a bad goat you don't tie yours

ateibiré tátunga
one who has not stolen does not get rich

omukazi mukúru abá nyoko
the elder wife is (like) your mother

4.12.2 Continuous (ni-)

The continuous is used for capturing an event that is still going on at the time of reference.

abáána nibatiiná ente
the children are afraid of the cattle (so keep them away)

nintecerá omwáná ebyakurya
I am cooking food for the child

4.12.3 Perfective - Pf1 (*á...ire*)

This is the 'already' or 'not yet' tense, capturing the aspect of completion or lack of completion of the relevant event at the time of reference.

abáána bááhandiiciré ebarúha

the children have already written a letter

abakózi báánájiire

the workers have already slept

atákafíire taseká buréma

one who has not died yet does not mock the state of being disabled.

abakázi tibákatémire miti

the women have not cut trees yet

4.12.4 Immediate past -P1 (*á*)

This is the 'today' tense used to capture events taking place in the most recent past. The day of reference is a twelve-hour span marked by sunrise and sunset. If one is talking about an event that happened after sunset, but it is not yet sunrise, this is the proper tense to use. Similarly events happening between sunrise and sunset would be described with this tense. But variations are possible with considerations of whether one has already got out of bed or gone to bed, and with speaker considerations of how remote or near the event may be appropriately presented.

omuti gwagwá izóóba ritákasohweire

the tree fell before the sun rose

baatureeterá amakúru mbwênu

they brought us the news today

abatáákora basohóre

those who did not work go out

4.12.5 Recent past - P2 (*íre*)

Two senses are available, an intermediate past (first three examples below) and a perfective (inchoative) sense. The intermediate past typically

refers to the past twenty-four hours; so this is also called the 'yesterday' past tense. However it may also be used in a framework of bigger timeframes, e.g. seasons, so that events of the latest instance of a season can be referred to using this tense.

*omuciró abáána **batiiniré** ente*
in the [just previous]night the children feared the cattle

*abakózi **batemiré** omuti bweigoro*
the workers cut the tree [yesterday] evening

*ecandá eci **tugurizé** ensáho ikúmi zá ibihîmba*
this dry season we sold ten sacks of beans

With some verbs it is possible to get both a recent past interpretation and an inchoative sense.

***beemeereire** they are standing up (not seated)*
*(nyéígoro) **beemeereiré** omumuhânda*
(yesterday) they stood in the way

***banajiire** they are asleep*
***banajiiré** kare they slept early*

***baremírwe** they are tired*
*(nyéígoro) **baremírwe** (yesterday) they got tired*

***bahumíre** they are blind*
***bahumire** mwáká ogu they became blind this year*

***baremeire** they are disabled*
***baremeire** biro ebi they became disabled recently*

***eyaticire** it is broken*
***eyaticire** nyéígoro it got broken yesterday*

4.12.6 Remote past -P3 (ka)

From the speaker's perspective, this is the most removed of the past tenses.

enjoga ekaatika ijweri

the water pot broke the day before yesterday

omugurúsi akahumá améisó omwitûmba

the old man became blind in the rainy season

Rumanyíka akabingwá Abangeréza

Rumanyíka was deposed by the British

Remoteness, however, is subjective/relative; so it would be possible for a speaker to present the events in the previous two examples in a less remote perspective by using the recent past.

Rumanyíka abinjirwé Abangeréza

Rumanyíka was deposed by the British.

omugurusi ahumiré améisó omwitûmba

the old man became blind in the rainy season.

4.12.7 Remote perfective - Pf2 (rá ... ire)

The particular sense of this tense is to bring out the idea of having gone through some experience. This is especially conveyed by the 'ever' translation in questions, and the 'never' gloss in negatives. In addition, the event here is further removed (more remote) than in the 'already perfective' discussed above.

turájiire Buráaya

we have been to Europe (before/at least once)

orásweire?

have you gotten married (ever since we met)

baráguziré emótoka

they have since bought a car

tibákabónagá mwâna

they have never had a child ever since

4.12.8 Near future - F1 (raa)

The near future expresses events expected to take place in the more definite future, with the same subjectivity holding in the conception of

events as being in the near or remote future (cf. immediate, recent, and remote past above).

nyencá tureimuká kare
tomorrow we will wake up early

turaakutwecerá empiyá omwisomero
we will send you money at school
omucanda tibarayéze buro
in the dry season they won't get a good sorghum harvest

omutiyááni tibaragusinge
(the examination) they won't pass it

4.12.9 Remote future - F2 (ri)

ahaciro cénzindo turiramurwa twêna
on the last day we will all be judged

arisanga wáábéiré omugéiga
she will find you already became a rich person

tindíswerwa I will never get married

4.12.10 Persistentive - Ptv (cáú/ci)

The persistentive is closely related to the continuous but the particular emphasis here is on the fact that the activity is still going on in contradiction to the expectation that the activity would have been completed or stopped. The negative is captured by the 'not any more/longer' gloss. There are two forms (-caa- and -ci-); the second is called persistentive habitual. The meaning distinction between them is rather tenuous.

abató bacáásoma the children are still studying
báro acáávugá/acivugá emótoka? your husband still drives cars?
mucibayó nimúrya? you are still there eating?

tíncoora tíncitunga

(*ti-n-ci-or-a ti-n-ci-tung-a*) from *-ora* become poor, *-tunga* become rich
there is no more chance of my becoming poor or rich

4.12.11 Hypothetical – Hp (*káá/a-ku*)

There are two structural possibilities for expressing the hypothetical meaning in the affirmative. The negative has essentially only one option (first and second person singular excepted). The tone pattern is as for immediate past (P1).

abantu bábiri ba-káá-nywá/ba-a-ku-nywá ecisisi cá amáárwa?
could two people drink a calabash of beer?

abantu bábiri tí-ba-a-ku-ci-mara
two people wouldn't finish it

omuntu a-káá-báágá/a-ku-baagá enté wenka?
could a person skin a cow alone?

tí-ya-ku-ji-baasa he couldn't manage it
tí-n-ku-byama ntanyweire I wouldn't go to bed without drinking

Each of the two possibilities may take the perfective *-ire* ending to express what may be called a “past hypothetical”. This may be discussed together with the other conditional structures below.

4.12.12 Past hypothetical and conditional

Kí nakubeiré omukáma nakuheiré abantú itûngo
if I were king I would give people wealth (no possibility conceivable)

Kí nakubá omukáma nakuhá abantú itûngo
if I become king I can/could give people wealth (possibility not ruled out)

Kí ntákusomire nkááfíire ná obunáku
if I had not gone to school I would have died in poverty

Kí wakubeiré omukázi wakwenziré abaséija
if you were a woman you would love men

Kí oritúnga orááyéhuja/oryehujá abantu
if you ever get rich you will avoid people (acquaintances)

4.13 Tone Patterns in the Verb

The complex tonal patterns in the verb form may be summarised thus for isolated contexts:

Since no high tone may surface on the final syllable, underlyingly high tone monosyllabic roots surface with a high tone on the infinitive prefix.

kúrya (to eat) *kúnywa* (to drink) *kúsya* (to burn).

Polysyllabic roots surface with a high tone on the initial syllable of the root, and this is not affected by extensions, which are all low toned.

| | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>kutéma</i> cut | <i>kutéeka</i> cook | <i>kuhênda</i> break |
| <i>kucúmita</i> pierce | <i>kurémara</i> become deformed | <i>kusótera</i> (stalk |
| <i>kuzínjirira</i> fold/coil | <i>kuhómoora</i> unplaster | |

Only one high can surface from the root to the final vowel (slots 7-10 in Table 8 above). The variations in the tone patterns of the larger verb form depend on the tense/aspect melodies (see summary, Table 12), the polarity (affirmative vs negative), and the type of construction (main clause vs relative clause [Table 17], indicative vs imperative, presence or absence of object affixes and clitics.

4.14 Imbrication

The perfective suffix *-ire* may modify the verb stem depending on the size of the stem, the final consonant and/or the type of morpheme already attached.

4.14.1 Regular -íre stem

This involves a simple affixation of the suffix to the verb root. The process is regular save for the expected palatalisation and spirantisation.

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| <i>kóma</i> (tie) <i>komíre</i> | <i>gona</i> (snore) <i>goníre</i> |
| <i>téta</i> (child:be spoiled) <i>tesíre</i> | <i>saba</i> (beg) <i>sabíre</i> |

móka (bark) *mocíre*
honda (pound) *honzíre*

húga (be distracted) *hujíre*
bara (count) *bazíre*

4.14.2 Variations in the perfective stem

Table 15 presents a summary of imbrication conditions and forms. Forms in italics have no imbrication. The different verbs are presented in groups in the leftmost column. The significant variable is the final consonant in the verb stem [m, d, s, t, z, j, g, b, k, n, r] in that order. Further variables concern the size of the stem and the quality of the vowel. The imbrication status of the unextended verb is shown in Column III.

The verb *bóna* in Group 10 is peculiar, considering the verbs of similar shape in Group 11. The difference between Groups 12 and 13 is the quality of the stem vowel. It is the [a] vowel of the reciprocal suffix (Group 12), albeit frozen, that imbricates. Groups 13 and 14 contrast in the size of the stem - two syllables as opposed to three syllables; the latter (the longer stem) imbricates. Size is also the relevant variable in Groups 15,16, and 17, contrasting a short stem vowel, a long stem vowel, and three syllables, respectively; verbs of the last two types imbricate. Finally the short verbs in Group 18 do not participate in the imbrication process.

Columns IV, V, and VI show the effect of the causative, applicative, and causative + passive extensions, respectively.

Table 15: Imbrication conditions

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|-----|--------|-------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| GRP | VERB | GLOSS | VERB + ire | C + ire | A + ire | C + ire + P |
| 1 | kôma | tie | <i>komire</i> | komeise | komeire | komesiibwe |
| | tetema | tremble | <i>tetemire</i> | tetemeise | tetemeire | tetemesiibwe |
| | îma | deny | <i>imire</i> | imiise | imiire | imisiibwe |
| 2 | hênda | snap | <i>henzire</i> | <i>hendize/</i> <i>hendeise</i> | hendeire | henziibwe/ hendsiibwe |
| | junda | rot | <i>junzire</i> | <i>jundize</i> <i>jundiise</i> | jundiire | junziibwe |
| 3 | rasa | shoot | <i>rasire</i> | <i>rasize</i> | rasiire | |
| | gesa | harvest | <i>gesire</i> | geseise | geseire | gesiibwe |
| | tása | spy | <i>tasize</i> | tasiise | tasiize | tasiibwe |
| | reesa | smoke | <i>reesize</i> | reeseise | reeseize | reesiibwe |
| | siisa | spoil | <i>siisire</i> | siisiise <i>siisize</i> | siisiire | |
| | saasa | hurt,suffer | <i>saasire</i> | <i>saasize</i> | saasiire | saasiibwe |
| | seesa | spill | <i>seesire</i> | seeseise <i>seesize</i> | seeseire | |
| | héesa | forge | <i>heesize</i> | heeseise | heeseize | heesiibwe |
| | héisa | eulogize | <i>heisize</i> | - | heiseize | heisiibwe |
| | sígisa | stir | <i>sigisire</i> | sigisiise | sigisiire | |

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|-----|--------|--------------|-----------------|------------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| GRP | VERB | GLOSS | VERB + ire | C + ire | A + ire | C + ire + P |
| | | | | <i>sigisize</i> | | |
| 4 | haata | peel | <i>haasire</i> | haatiise <i>haasize</i> | haatiire | |
| | ribata | tread | <i>ribasire</i> | ribatiise <i>ribasize</i> | ribatiire | |
| | róota | dream | <i>roosire</i> | rooteise <i>roosize</i> | rooteire | |
| 5 | báza | ask | <i>barize</i> | baziise | bariize | baziibwe |
| | roza | taste | <i>rorize</i> | rozeise <i>rorize</i> | roreize | roziibwe |
| | banza | start | <i>bandize</i> | banziise | bandiize | banziibwe |
| | búuza | ask | <i>buurize</i> | buuziise | buurize | buuziibwe |
| | tyâza | sharpen | <i>tyarize</i> | tyaziise | tyariize | tyaziibwe |
| | curiza | whistle | <i>curiize</i> | - | cuririize | |
| 6 | ija | come | <i>izire</i> | iziise | iziire | |
| | beija | carve | <i>beijire</i> | beijeise | beijeire | |
| | tweija | file charges | <i>tweijire</i> | tweijeise | tweijeire | |
| 7 | roga | bewitch | <i>rojire</i> | rojeise | rojeire | rojesiibwe |
| | aga | melt | <i>ajire</i> | ajiise | ajiire | ajiibwe |
| | hongga | pay fine | <i>honjire</i> | honjeise | honjeire | |

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|-----|--------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| GRP | VERB | GLOSS | VERB + ire | C + ire | A + ire | C + ire + P |
| | híiga | hunt | <i>hijire</i> | hijjise | hijjire | |
| 8 | saba | beg | <i>sabire</i> | sabiise | sabiire | |
| | reeba | look | <i>reebire</i> | reebeise | reebeire | reebesiibwe |
| | iba | steal | <i>ibire</i> | ibiise | ibiire | ibisiibwe |
| | gamba | speak | <i>gambire</i> | gambiise | gambiire | gambisiibwe |
| 9 | seka | laugh | <i>secire</i> | seceise/ <i>secize</i> | seceire | seciibwe |
| | ziika | bury | <i>ziicire</i> | ziiciise/ <i>ziicize</i> | ziiciire | ziicisiibwe |
| | tánaka | vomit | <i>tanacire</i> | tanaciise/ <i>tanacize</i> | tanaciire | tanaciibwe |
| 10 | bóna | see | bweine | boneise | boneire | bonesiibwe |
| 11 | gona | snore | <i>gonire</i> | goneise | goneire | gonesiibwe |
| | juna | help | <i>junire</i> | juniise | juniire | junisiibwe |
| | gana | tell a story | <i>ganire</i> | ganiise | ganiire | ganisiibwe |
| | cena | slip away | <i>cenire</i> | ceneise | ceneire | cenesiibwe |
| 12 | taana | separate | teine | taaniise | taaniire | taanisiibwe |
| | zaana | play | zeine | zaaniise | zaaniire | zaanisiibwe |
| | swana | fight | rweine | rwaniise | rwaniire | rwanisiibwe |
| 13 | huuna | growl | <i>huunire</i> | huuniise | huuniire | hunisiibwe |
| | tíina | fear | <i>tiinire</i> | tiiniise | tiniire | tiinisiibwe |
| | ceena | curse | <i>ceenire</i> | ceeneise | ceeneire | ceenesiibwe |

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|-------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------|------------|-------------|
| GRP | VERB | GLOSS | VERB + ire | C + ire | A + ire | C + ire + P |
| 14 | kázana | strive | kazeine | | kazaniire | |
| | guguna | gnaw | gugwine | guguniise | guguniire | |
| | tóórana | pick up | tooreine | tooraniise | tooraniire | |
| | cénena | filter | ceneine | ceneneise | ceneneire | |
| 15 | gura | buy | <i>guzire</i> | <i>gurize</i> | guriire | guziibwe |
| | zira | avoid (taboo) | <i>zizire</i> | <i>zirize</i> | ziriire | ziziibwe |
| | rira | cry | <i>rizire</i> | <i>ririze</i> | ririire | riziibwe |
| | reera | bring up child | <i>rezire</i> | <i>rerize</i> | rereire | reziibwe |
| 16 | rwâra | be sick | rweire | <i>rweize/rwarize</i> | rwariire | rwaziibwe |
| | byâra | plant | byeire | <i>byeize/byarize</i> | byariire | byaziibwe |
| | záara | give birth | zeire | <i>zeize/zaarize</i> | zaariire | zaaziibwe |
| | júura | undress | fwire | <i>fwize/fuurize</i> | fuuriire | fuuziibwe |
| | zoora | present | zweire | <i>zweize/zoorize</i> | zooreire | zooziibwe |
| | téera | hit | teire | <i>teize/teerize</i> | teereire | teeziibwe |
| seera | sell dear | seereire | <i>seerize</i> | seereire | | |
| 17 | gorora | straighten | gorweire | gorweize | gororeire | goroziibwe |
| | garura | bring back | garwire | garwize | garuriire | garuziibwe |
| | terera | slip | tereire | tereize | terereire | tereziibwe |
| | sarara | be numb | sareire | sareize | sarariire | saraziibwe |
| | titira | be cold | titiire | titiize | titiriire | titiziibwe |

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|-----|----------|-------|--------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| GRP | VERB | GLOSS | VERB + ire | C + ire | A + ire | C + ire + P |
| | nyáámura | pluck | nyaamwire | nyaamwize | nyaamuriire | |
| 18 | fa | die | <i>fiire</i> | <i>fiisize</i> | feereire | |
| | gwa | fall | <i>gwire</i> | <i>gwisize</i> | gwereire | |
| | ha | give | <i>heire</i> | <i>heisize</i> | heereire | |
| | sa | grind | <i>seire</i> | <i>seisize</i> | seereire | |
| | ja | go | <i>jiire</i> | <i>jiisize</i> | jiiriire | |

A few reciprocal forms are presented below to complete the picture:

| <u>Stem</u> | <u>Stem + Rec.</u> | <u>Stem+Rec.+ire</u> |
|---------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| <i>rása</i> (shoot/throw) | <i>rásangana</i> | <i>rasangeine</i> |
| <i>ribata</i> (tread) | <i>ribatangana</i> | <i>ribatangeine</i> |
| <i>báza</i> (ask) | <i>bázangana</i> | <i>bazangeine</i> |
| <i>reeba</i> (look) | <i>reebangana</i> | <i>reebangeine</i> |

Imbrication is generally triggered by a combination of phonological and morphological conditions. The process shortens the form modified by the *-íre* suffix by removing the consonant [r] of the suffix and replacing that consonant with an existing applicative [r], causative [s], reciprocal [n], or passive [b], all segments, except the last, being alveolar.

4.15 Clitics

Locative enclitics (*-ho*, *-yo*, *-mu*) related to the locative noun class prefixes (16,17,18 respectively) come after the final vowel, and can only be followed by the *-ga* tense form.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>kusítamáho</i> | sit on there |
| <i>kújáyo</i> | go over there |
| <i>kutaahámu</i> | enter in there |
| <i>embúzi yamfaho</i> | the goat has died on me |
| <i>améizi gaawamu</i> | the water is finished in there |

tí-n-ka-ji-sítama-hó-ga I have never sat on it

NEG- 1SG - P3-9O-SIT-16-Pf2N

[NEG -negative; 1SG - first person singular affix; P3 - yesterday past tense; 9O - class 9 object marker; 16 - class 16 locative enclitic; Pf2N - never tense]

Two interrogative enclitics, *-ci*, *-hi*, are short forms of question words, viz. *ecici* what, and *nkáhi* where. The use of the full forms appears to be getting rare. The third enclitic, *-je*, has already lost its free form origin. The fourth enclitic *-kwo* is a short form for the adverb *kwokwo* really.

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| <i>a-ka-gamb-ir-a-hi</i> = <i>akagambira nkahi</i> | where did he speak from |
| <i>a-ka-gamb-a-ci</i> = <i>ni ecici eciyagambíre</i> | what did he say |

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>a-ka-gamb-á-je</i> | he spoke well |
| <i>a-ka-ci-gamb-a-kwo</i> | he said it really/indeed |

The *ka* proclitic signals the subjunctive construction. It appears to be a corruption of the verb *reka* leave alone.

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| <i>ká-ba-rim-e</i> | let them cultivate |
| <i>ká-ba-ta-m-bón-a</i> | let them not see me /lest they see me |
| <i>ká-ci-tandúgá-ho</i> | lest it come from me (i.e. lest I be held responsible) |
| <i>ka-cénjer-e</i> | may you perish! |
| <i>ka-meréer-e</i> | may you live for ever |

The invariable reflexive form [é] is affixed immediately before the verb root.

ba- ka- ji- é- téer-er-a [bakajééteerera] they hit it for themselves

4.16 Irregular Verbs

4.16.1 -ri 'be'

This verb takes subject agreement prefixes but is never inflected for tense and cannot take any suffixes. These structural limitations place it in stark contrast with the verb *kuba* to be, which is brought in to help with tense marking. While *kuba* is fairly regular (see Table 13) *-ri* is an invariable present tense form which does not even accept the *ku-* prefix. In the present tenses there appears to be some complementary distribution with a rather fine nuance.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Hb: <i>tuba omumahanga</i> | we be abroad (habitual) |
| Co: <i>turi omumahanga</i> | we are abroad (here & now) |

There is no other tense pattern in which *-ri* would function alone without *kuba*.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>tubeire turi Buráaya</i> | we were in Europe (lit. we <u>were being</u> in Europe) |
| <i>turiba turi Buráaya</i> | we will be in Europe |
| <i>tukabá turi Buráaya</i> | we were in Europe |

4.16.2 *-ine* 'have'

Like *-ri* the verb *-ine* takes subject agreement prefixes.

| | | | |
|--------------|----------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>nyine</i> | I have | <i>twine</i> | we have |
| <i>oine</i> | you have | <i>mwine</i> | you (pl) have |
| <i>eine</i> | s/he has | <i>beine</i> | they have |

bakabá batéine mirimo they did not have work

There is a little evidence of *-ine* taking verb suffixes:

amaté ge-in-w-e oha? who has the milk
milk it -have-P-FV who

omurwéire ti -a- yé- ín- iir- e máani the patient has no energy
patient NEG-he -REF-have-A-M energy

4.16.3 *ní* copula

Ni- is an invariable copula that translates as a form of 'be' and may take nominal agreement suffixes (see chapter 3 on noun classes).

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>omwana ní mukúru</i> | the child is old |
| <i>Kakúru ní muto</i> | Kakúru is young |
| <i>abantu aba ní abasúma</i> | these people are thieves |
| <i>nínnye natémire omuti</i> | it is me that cut the tree |
| <i>enjóká níyo eritéma omwâna</i> | the snake is the one that will bite the child |
| <i>omunju nímwó tutaríraara</i> | in the house is where we will not sleep |

Table 16: *ni-* agreement forms

| | | | |
|--------------|------------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| <i>nínye</i> | it is me | <i>nítwe</i> | it is us |
| <i>nítwe</i> | it is you | <i>nímwe</i> | it is you |
| <i>níwe</i> | it is him/her | <i>níbo</i> | it is them |
| | | | |
| <u>Class</u> | <u><i>ní-</i> form</u> | <u>Class</u> | <u><i>ní-</i> form</u> |
| 3 | <i>nígwo</i> | 4 | <i>níyo</i> |
| 5 | <i>níryo</i> | 6 | <i>nígo</i> |
| 7 | <i>níco</i> | 8 | <i>níbyo</i> |
| 9 | <i>níyo</i> | 10 | <i>nízo</i> |
| 11 | <i>nírwo</i> | 12 | <i>níko</i> |
| 13 | <i>nítwo</i> | 14 | <i>níbwo</i> |
| 15 | <i>níkwo</i> | 16 | <i>ního</i> |
| 17 | <i>níyo</i> | 18 | <i>nímwo</i> |

CHAPTER FIVE PHRASE STRUCTURE

5.1 Noun Phrase Structure

5.1.1 Concordial markers

Modifiers of the noun agree with the modified noun via a system of concordial markers (see Table 1) as exemplified below. The number in the morpheme gloss indicates the set of nominal class affixes and their corresponding concordial markers.

a -ba-ntu ba-nje ba-bi my bad people
AUG-2-person 2-my 2-bad

a -ma-guru gá-ábo ga-hângo their big legs
AUG-6 - leg 6 - their 6 - big

5.1.2 Order of Elements in the Noun Phrase

The structure of the noun phrase may be represented as in Table 17 below.

Table 17: Order of elements in the noun phrase

| Noun | Poss. | Dem. | Num. / Conn. + Ordinal | Adj./Conn. +Noun/Relative |
|--|---------------|---------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>omuntu</i> | <i>wáanyu</i> | <i>óriya</i> | | <i>atagamba</i> |
| That person of yours who does not talk | | | | |
| <i>omuntu</i> | | | <i>wa kábiri</i> | <i>wá eciniga</i> |
| a second person with anger | | | | |
| <i>abantu</i> | | <i>báriya</i> | <i>bábiri</i> | <i>bahângo</i> |
| Those two big people | | | | |

Up to six different modifiers may follow the noun, but four appear to be the normal load. There are many possible combinations of different types of modifiers. However their order appears to be more restricted so that any possessive pronoun would always immediately follow the head noun; the relative expression would normally be the final element. The demonstrative pronoun precedes all the remaining elements. The numeral and ordinal precede the adjective.

NOUN + POSSESSIVE + NUMERAL+ ADJECTIVE:

abantu banje bábiri bahângo my two big people

NOUN + CONNECTIVE-ORDINAL+ ADJECTIVE:

omuntu wa kábiri múbi the second bad person

A modifying noun follows the adjective and any subsequent adjective will be a modifier of the immediate noun before it.

omwana murunji wa omukama a nice child of the king
omuseija wanje wa eciniga cinji my man with a lot of anger

The modifying noun structure may be recursive.

omuseija mugúfu wa obwoko bwa amahanga
(man short of lineage of nations)
a short man of foreign lineage

omuti gwéitu guriya gwa omucibira ca Karágwe
(tree our that of forest of Karagwe)
that tree of ours in the forest of Karágwe

A few more examples are provided below to show the various possibilities.

NOUN+ ADJECTIVE: *omuntu muhângo* a big person

NOUN + DEMONSTRATIVE: *omuntu óriya* that person

NOUN + POSSESSIVE PRON: *omuntu wáanyu* your person

NOUN + CONNECTIVE - NUMERAL: *omuntu wa kábiri* a second person

NOUN + CONNECTIVE - NOUN: *omuntu wa eciníga* a person with anger

NOUN + RELATIVE: *omuntu aríkugamba* a person who is speaking

NOUN + POSSESSIVE + ADJECTIVE:

omuntu wanje muhângo my big person

NOUN + POSSESSIVE + NUMERAL: *abantu banje bábiri* my two people

NOUN + POSSESSIVE +CONNECTIVE - NUMERAL:

omuntu wáanyu wa kábiri your second person

NOUN + POSSESSIVE + DEMONSTRATIVE:

omuntu wáanyu óriya that person of yours

NOUN + POSSESSIVE + CONNECTIVE - NOUN:

omuntu wanje wa eciníga my person with anger

NOUN + POSSESSIVE + DEMONSTRATIVE + RELATIVE:

omuntu wáanyu óriya aríkugamba
that person of yours who is talking

NOUN+NUMERAL+ADJECTIVE:

abantu bábiri bahângo two big people

NOUN +DEMONSTRATIVE+ADJECTIVE:

omuntu óriya omuhângo that person who is big

NOUN +DEMONSTRATIVE + NUMERAL:

abantu báriya bábiri those two people

NOUN +DEMONSTRATIVE + NUMERAL + RELATIVE:

abantu báriya bábiri abaríkugamba those two people who are talking

5.1.3 Noun phrase coordination with *na*

The coordinating conjunction *na* is used in joining noun phrases. A coordinate noun phrase may be interrupted by a verb as in the last example below.

omuntu na ecigunju a person and a beast

omwâna na nyina a child and its mother

Majézi na Rumanyíka bakabónangana M and R saw each other/met

Majézi akabonangana na Rumanyíka M and R saw each other/met

5.1.4 Class conflict resolution

Coordination will normally involve nouns from the same class in order to facilitate agreement on the verb using a common affix. Constructions that would result in a noun class conflict are usually avoided. Occasionally the class 8 prefix *-bi-* (for 'things') is used to resolve class conflicts when they arise.

abáana na embúzi bikafa the children and the goats perished

A better alternative is
abáana bakafa na embúzi the children perished with the goats

5.1.5 Connective marker

The *-a* of association attaches to the nominal concordial affixes to form a conjunctive element that largely expresses adjectival notions. Table 18 shows the agreement patterns.

Table 18: Agreement forms for the connective marker

| N ¹ -a N ² | Gloss |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>omwana wa Káto</i> [o+a] | Káto's child |
| <i>abaana baa Káto</i> [ba+a] | Káto's children |
| <i>omuguha gwa Káto</i> [gu+a] | Káto's rope |
| <i>emiguha ya Káto</i> [i+a] | Káto's ropes |
| <i>eriiso rya Káto</i> [ri+a] | Káto's eye |
| <i>ameiso gaa Káto</i> [ga+a] | Káto's eyes |
| <i>ecitebe caa Káto</i> [ci+a] | Káto's chair |
| <i>ebitebe bya Káto</i> [bi+a] | Káto's chairs |
| <i>embuzi ya Káto</i> [i+a] | Káto's goat |
| <i>embuzi zaa Káto</i> [zi+a] | Káto's goats |
| <i>otuti twa Káto</i> [tu+a] | Káto's sticks |
| <i>obwato bwa Káto</i> [bu+a] | Káto's canoe |
| <i>okutu kwa Káto</i> [ku+a] | Káto's ear |

(i) The connective typically expresses a genitive relation as shown by the data in Table 18, whereby N² is possessor of N¹.

(ii) The genitive relation may be reversed so that N¹ is possessor of N² or some properties of N².

ecitebe cá amaguru ana a chair with four legs
omuntu wá amáani géinji a person with a lot of energy
abantu bá ahansi people on the ground (below)

(iii) The relation is such that N¹ is placed in numerical order by N².

omuti gwa mukáaga the sixth tree
omwezi gwa kábiri the second month
eciró ca mbere the first day

(iv) The connective establishes a relation between a noun (N¹) and a verbal noun (N²) so that the noun (N¹) is subject of the verbal noun (N²).

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>entumwa yá okubíka</i> | a messenger to announce death |
| <i>amatu gá okuhúririra</i> | ears for hearing |
| <i>ameiso gá okureeba</i> | eyes for seeing |

(v) The noun (N¹) is some kind of object of the verbal noun (N²).

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>enfuka yá okurimisa</i> | a hoe to cultivate with |
| <i>ecitabo cá okuhandikamu</i> | a book to write in |
| <i>ecihuru cá okureeberamu</i> | a hole to look through |
| <i>ameizi gá okunywa</i> | water for drinking |

5.1.6 The distribution of the pre-prefix

All common nouns carry a pre-prefix and may be glossed with the indefinite article:

| | | | |
|---------------|----------|-----------------|--------|
| <i>omuntu</i> | a person | <i>ecitabo</i> | a book |
| <i>embúzi</i> | a goat | <i>akasíisi</i> | an ant |

Modifying adjectives carry no pre-prefix and so retain the indefinite sense.

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>omuntu muhângo</i> | a big person |
| <i>ecitabo cihângo</i> | a big book |
| <i>embúzi mpângo</i> | a big goat |
| <i>akasíisi kahângo</i> | a big ant |
| <i>omuntu wa kábiri</i> | a second person |

When the adjective carries the pre-prefix it gets a definite interpretation.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>omuntu omuhângo</i> | the big person | <i>omuhângo</i> | the big one |
| <i>omuntu owa kábiri</i> | the second person | <i>owa kábiri</i> | the second one |

When a noun follows a negative expression the pre-prefix is dropped.

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>titúkabonaga muntu</i> | we have never seen a person |
| <i>tí muntu</i> | it is not a person |

tínabona kantu I did not see anything

Proper names carry no pre-prefix: *Karágwe, Buháya, Nyakatúntu, Rwanda*

5.2 Verb Phrase Structure

The main verb may be preceded by a form of the auxiliary verb *-ba* and both forms will be fully inflected for tense, number and person.

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>bakabá nibaseka</i> | they were laughing |
| <i>tubeire tutákanájiire</i> | we had not yet slept |
| <i>muriba mucáázaana</i> | you will still be playing |

When the *-ja* auxiliary is used, the possibility of three verbs presents itself. The main verb will be infinitive.

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>tukabá nitujá kurima</i> | we were going to cultivate |
| <i>tubeire tujiiré kusaka</i> | we had gone to fetch food |

Two or more verbs in a sequence, each fully inflected, may form a verb phrase.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>akafa ataswéire</i> | he died without marrying |
| <i>akajenda atagambire</i> | he went away without saying a thing |
| <i>barya nibarwâna</i> | they eat while quarrelling/fighting |
| <i>ekasya ntákajítaahamúga</i> | it burnt down before I ever entered it |
| <i>ijá noonáaba</i> | come in as you wash (to eat) |
| <i>akajihandiika naatetéma</i> | he wrote it while shaking |
| <i>kábatwîbe batunge</i> | let them steal from us and get rich |
| <i>bakajikómoorora báájísoma</i> | they opened it and read it |

ba-ka-mu-kwâta bá-á-súba bá-á-mú-reka yá-á-jenda
they-P3-him-catch they-P1-repeat they-P1-him -let he-P1-go
they caught him and did again let him go

5.3 Sentence Patterns

5.3.1 Basic clause types

Four types of the simple clause may be identified.

(i) Copula:

The copula element *ni* establishes a predicate relation between a noun and an adjective or adverb.

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>omwána ní muto</i> | the child is young |
| <i>omuti ní gureingwa</i> | the tree is tall |
| <i>Burááya ní hare</i> | Europe is far |

(ii) Intransitive:

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>omuti gukagwa</i> | the tree fell |
| <i>eciina cikareiha</i> | the hole became deep |
| <i>ecisísi cikaátika</i> | the calabash broke |

(iii) Monotransitive:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>omuséija akatemá omuti</i> | a man cut a tree |
| <i>omukázi akareetá omugisa</i> | the woman brought luck |
| <i>akagutéma</i> | he cut it {pronominalisation} |
| <i>akaguréeta</i> | she brought it {pronominalisation} |

(iv) Ditransitive:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>omukázi akasiiga omwâna amajúta</i> | the woman smeared oil on the child |
| <i>omukáma akahá omuséija ente</i> | the king gave the man a cow |
| <i>akagamúsiiga</i> | she smeared it on <u>him</u> {pronominalisation} |
| <i>akajimuha</i> | he gave it to <u>him</u> {pronominalisation} |

5.3.2 Limit of three object prefixes

If there are three object prefixes in the verb complex, one of the object prefixes must be for first person and closest to the verb root. The first person will be interpreted as the beneficiary/recipient in such a construction. And generally the interpretation of semantic roles in multiple object constructions makes use of variations in animacy: participants with higher animacy will be assigned beneficiary and recipient roles, while participants with lower animacy will be interpreted as patient/theme roles. For this purpose first person has higher animacy than second and third persons.

a-ka-ga-mú-n-siij-ir-a she smeared **it** on him for *me*
she-P3-it-him-me-smear-A-FV

a-ka-ci-mu-m-pé-er-a she gave **it** to him for *me*
she-P3-it-him-me-give-A-FV

a-ka-ga-mu-tu-nywé-ís-ez-a he made her drink it for us
he-P3-it-her-us-drink-C-A-FV

The object prefix and the object noun phrase may not co-occur. The noun phrase may be preposed, and so belong outside the clause:

(amajúta) akagamúnsiijira (as for the oil) she smeared it on him for me.
(ecitabo) akacimumpéera (as for the book) she gave it to him for me
(amate) akagamutunywéíseza (as for the milk) on our behalf he made her
drink it

5.3.3 *Passive options and topicalisation*

The passive construction makes the object a subject and demotes the subject to a postverbal oblique without a prepositional marker.

Active: *omukázi akateeká ebitooce*
the woman cooked the bananas
Passive: *ebitooce bikateekwá omukázi*
the bananas were cooked by the woman
Active: *abahúji bakaboná obutúzi*
the hunters saw mushrooms
Passive: *obutúzi bukabonwá abahúji*
The mushrooms were seen by the hunters

Only one of two objects (animate/with higher animacy) may become subject of the passive construction. The inanimate object may be pronominalised but it cannot become subject of the passive construction. The demoted former subject cannot be pronominalised.

Active: *omukázi akasiiga omwâna amajúta*
a woman smeared oil on a child

- Passive: (*amajúta*) *omwâna a-ka-ga-siig-w-á omukázi*
 (as for the oil) the child was smeared **it** by a woman
- Active: *omusomésa akaha omwâna ecitabo*
 a teacher gave the child a book
- Passive: (*ecitabo*) *omwâna a-ka-ci-hee-bw-á omusomésa*
 (as for the book) the child was given **it** by the teacher

The inanimate object can become prominent as a discourse topic, especially if it is the only full noun phrase in the sentence:

- (*ecitabo*) *a-ka-ci-mú-ha* **(the book)** he gave **it** to her
 (*amajúta*) *a-ka-ga-mú-siiga* **(the oil)** she smeared **it** on him

If an appropriate animate subject is not available/is unknown, rather than make the inanimate participant a subject, the third person plural pronominal affix may be used instead:

- (*ecitabo*) *ba-ka-cí-iba* **(the book)** **they** stole it / it was stolen
 book they-P3-it-steal
- (*amaarwa*) *ba-ka-gá-nywa* **(the beer)** **they** drank it
 beer they-P3-it-drink

5.4 Possessor Raising (Body Part Syntax)

Double objects are possible with basic monotransitive verbs if the second object is an inalienable part of the other object. In such a construction the status of the possessor noun is raised to full objecthood.

- abasúma bakasará omuséija okútu*
 thieves cut the man's ear off [lit. thieves cut the man the ear]

- abasúma bakamusará okútu*
 thieves cut his ear off [lit. thieves cut **him** the ear]

abahíji bakatemá omutí amatáaji
hunters cut the tree's branches off [lit. hunters cut the tree the
branches]

None of the two postverbal nouns may become subject of the passive construction. But each of them may be preposed (i.e. topicalised) and thereby also marked by an object prefix.

(omuséija) abasúma bakamusará okútu
(the man) thieves cut (off) his ear

(abaana) omukázi akabategá isóce
(the children) the woman cut their hair

(omuti) abahíji bakagutemá amatáaji
(the tree) the hunters cut off its branches

(ente) omuríisa akajikamá amáte
(the cow) the herder milked its milk

The topicalisation of the possessed noun allows it to be pronominalised. The locative preposition (*aha, omu*) usually precedes the possessor noun in such a construction.

(okutu) abasúma bakakusará ahamuséija
(the ear) thieves cut it off the man

(amataaji) abahíji bakagatemá ahamuti
(the branches) the hunters cut them off the tree

(amate) omuríisa akagakamá omunte
(the milk) the herder milked it from the cow

When both nouns are pronominalised the possessor is closer to the verb. The locative clitic is also required.

ba-ka-ku-mu-sar-á-ho they cut it off him
they-P3-it-him-cut-FV-LOC

ba-ka-ga-gu-tem-á-ho they cut them off it
they-P3-them-it-cut-FV-LOC

a-ka-ga-ji-kam-á-mu he milked it from it
they-P3-it-it-milk-FV-LOC

5.5 Instrument Raising

Besides the possessor, the instrumental complement may also be raised to object status.

omwâna akateerá enkáaye omujere
the child gave the calabash a kick
(i.e. he hit the calabash with the foot)

omuhíiji akacumitá embogó omusyo
the hunter pierced the buffalo with a knife
omuséija akakomá omukázi omweko
the man tied the woman with a belt

5.6 Locative Complements

5.6.1 Subcategorised complements

Some verbs subcategorise a locative complement. The complement may be marked with a locative prefix.

akatá ensimbí omunsáho she put money in a bag

akatusangá omunju she found us in the house

akaraará omukarugu he slept in the corner

Inherently locative complements (place names) are not further marked with the locative prefix.

akaja Buráaya he went to Europe

bakamusanga Burundi they found him in Burundi

5.6.2 Locatives licenced by the applicative suffix

Most verbs require the applicative suffix to licence a locative complement, which is in turn, appropriately marked with the locative prefix.

akaburirá omwiswa she got lost in the wilderness
akafurirá ahamujera she did the laundry at the river
bikajundirá omundimiro they rotted in the fields

5.6.3 Semantic contrasts

The presence or absence of the applicative suffix may signal a semantic contrast, implying path or direction reversal.

akafuruká omunsi he moved **from** the country
akafurucira Buráaya he moved **to** Europe
ensimbi zikawá omunsáho
the money was finished in the bag {**from** the bag}

ensimbi zikaweerá omubafúmu
all the money was taken **to** doctors

amaarwá akagatahá omubwâto
he scooped the beer **from** the canoe

amaarwá akagatahirá omucisísi
he put the beer **into** the calabash

The semantic contrast may be between locating the event or only locating a participant in the event described by the verb.

akakomá orugisá ahamukóno
he tied a charm on the arm {locating a participant}
(orugisa) akarukomerá omunju
(the charm) he tied it while in the house {locating the whole event}

akahandiiká izúina omucitabo
he wrote the name in the book {locating a participant}

akarihandiicirá omunju
 he wrote it while in the house {locating the whole event}

akaboná omwáná omucirábo
 he saw the child in the pub {locating a participant}

akamubonerá omucibúga
 he saw him while in the yard {locating the whole event }

5.6.4 Omissible locative complements

A few verbs licence an omissible locative complement, appropriately marked with the locative prefix. However when the applicative suffix is added to the verb, the locative prefix on the complement noun is dropped. In general there is no significant semantic contrast involved.

akasitamá ahantébe he sat on a chair {omissible complement}
akasitamirá entébe he sat on a chair {non-omissible complement}

akatanaká ahamwênda he vomited on the dress
akatanacirá omwênda he vomited on the dress

akagwá omumuriro he fell into the fire
akagwerá omuriro he fell into the fire

5.6.5 Durative complements

A durative complement may be licenced by the applicative suffix.

ebihîmba bitakamererá ebiró bísatu
 the beans germinated after three days

omugoré akaarucirá emyézi ebiri
 The bride came out of seclusion after two months

5.6.6 Clitics as locative complement

Locative complement requirements may be satisfied by the locative clitics (see also section 3.6). There are several possibilities of combining the morphosyntactic resources.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| <i>akataahá omunju</i> | he entered in the house | {locative noun} |
| <i>akataahámu</i> | he entered in there | {locative clitic} |
| <i>(enju) akajítaaha</i> | (the house) he entered in it | {object prefix} |
| <i>(enju) akajítaahámu</i> | (the house) he entered in it | {prefix & clitic} |
| <i>akasitamá ahantébe</i> | he sat on a chair | {locative noun} |
| <i>akasitamáho</i> | he sat there | {locative clitic} |
| <i>(entébe) akajisítamira</i> | (the chair) he sat on it | {object prefix} |
| <i>(entebe) akajisítamáho</i> | {the chair} he sat on it | {prefix & clitic} |
| | | |
| <i>akareebá omunyungu</i> | he looked in the pot | {locative noun} |
| <i>akareebámu</i> | he looked in there | {locative clitic} |
| <i>(omunyungu) akaháreeba</i> | (the inside of the pot) he looked at it | {loc. obj. prefix} |
| <i>(enyungu) akajireebámu</i> | (the pot) he looked in there | {prefix & clitic} |
| | | |
| <i>akagobá omucaaro</i> | he arrived in the village | {locative noun} |
| <i>akagobamu</i> | he arrived in there | {locative clitic} |
| <i>(ecaaro) akacígoba</i> | (the village) he arrived at it | {object prefix} |
| <i>(ecaaro) akacigobamu</i> | (the village) he arrived in it | {prefix & clitic} |

5.7 Compound Sentences (Coordination of Clauses)

The following coordinating conjunctions are employed in conjoining clauses:

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>nânga</i> | or |
| <i>conka</i> | but |
| <i>kândi</i> | but then/and then/moreover |
| <i>orwêco</i> | therefore/so |
| <i>orúkuba</i> | because, on account of, since |

Each of these coordinators is exemplified below.

turaajenda na amaguru nânga turaahanáma emótoka
we will go on foot **or** we will get on a car

bakabáaga ente nânga bakagura enyama?
did they slaughter a cow **or** did they buy meat?

*bakamúha amaarwa **conka** akagânga*
they gave him beer **but** he refused (it).

*abajenyi bakaraará omunju **conka** abáko bakataaha*
the guests slept in the house **but** the inlaws went back home

*akajenda wenka **kândi** akaba arwéire*
he went alone **but then** he was sick

*entuntúnu zinura muno **kândi** Burûndi bazeza buri mwâka*
gooseberries are delicious **moreover** in Burundi they grow them
annually

*bakamúrongoora **orúkuba** akagambáje*
they rewarded him **because** he spoke well

*akasomá **orúkubá** ise akabá arí omugéiga*
he studied/went to school **because** his father was a rich person

*omwâna akasomáje **orwêco** bakamúrongoora*
the child read well **therefore/so** they rewarded him

*akasika itûngo rînji **orwêco** akaba naasûba ahamirimo*
he inherited a lot of wealth **so** he used to spend the whole day at
work

5.8 Complex Sentences (Subordination)

5.8.1 Subordinating conjunctions

The subordinating conjunctions are listed below.

| | |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ki</i> | if, when |
| <i>obu</i> | when, since |
| <i>nîbu</i> | even if |
| <i>-ti:</i> | {marks direct speech} |
| <i>ngu:</i> | {marks indirect speech} |

kíbareijá turaabaha ebitooce
if/when they come we will give them bananas

turigaruka kíturimará isoma
we will return **when** we finish school

obúbatusíga nibwó turwara
when they leave us behind it is when/then we get sick

obúbaatusíga kátusitame
since they left us behind let us stay

níbúbaraasîngwa omukáma araabaganyíra
even if they (will) lose, the king will pardon them

níbú baritutumaho tituríjajo
even if they will send us a messenger we will not come

akácwa omugani ati: “kóógambirá aharwânga oba nootéega”
he gave (‘cut’) a proverb **like this**: “when you make an utterance at the altar you are casting an effective spell”

akajira ngu muri abasúma
she imagined that you were thieves

akajira ngu tindítunga
he said that I will never get rich

5.8.2 Clausal complements

Some verbs take clauses as their complements. Such complements have verbs in the infinitive.

akatecereza kwarirá abajenyí ecitánda cimó yáátína
she considered preparing one bed for the guests but hesitated.

akenda kugurirá omukaziwé omwênda
he wanted to buy a dress for his wife

akajá kusaka he went to fetch food

5.9 Negation

5.9.1 Distribution of *ti* and *ta* negative markers

The *ti-* negative marker is positioned before the subject marker in the normal main clause. The *ta-* marker is positioned after the subject marker in the following constructions:

(i) the relative construction:

a-ba-ta-rí-ku-rima those who don't cultivate

(ii) the imperative (prohibitive):

o-ta-rima (you) don't cultivate

ba-ta-rima they should not cultivate

tutarima let's not/shall we not cultivate

(iii) in the complex verb, where the negative element is carried by the main (second) verb:

tu-ka-ba tu-ta-rima we used not to cultivate

mu-ka-bá mu-ta-rí-ku-zaana you were not playing

(iv) in subordination structures:

ba-ka-rya ba-ta-naab-ire they ate without washing

a-ka-kara enyama e-ta-junda she roasted the meat so it would not go

bad *tu-ka-mú-gamb-ir-a a-ta-ci-gura* we told him not to buy it

5.9.2 Negation in the copula sentence

The negative copula element is *ti*, replacing *ni*.

Affirmative: *ebitooce ni bibísi* the bananas are unripe

Negative: *ebitooce tí bibísi* the bananas are **not** unripe

5.9.3 Negation of simple main verb

The negative element *ti-* occupies the initial position on the verb form.

Affirmative: *abasúma bakamutéma* the thieves cut him

Negative: *abasúma tibarámutémire* the thieves did **not** cut him

5.9.4 Negation of complex main verb

The negative marker -ta- is carried by the main verb rather than the auxiliary.

Affirmative: *abasúma bakabá nibamwenda*
the thieves used to like him

Negative: *abasúma bakabá bataríkumwênda*
the thieves used **not** to like him
abasúma bakabá batamwenda
the thieves used **not** to like him

If the negative element is on the auxiliary, then it is *ti-* in initial position that is used.

Negative: *abasúma tibarábeire nibamwenda*
the thieves used **not** to like him
abáana tibaríja kukóra
the children will never go to work

5.9.5 Negation of subject

The negative *ti* element precedes the subject or comes after the subject if it attaches to the pronoun.

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>tí basúma abaamutémire</i> | it was not thieves that slashed him |
| <i>abaamutémire tí basúma</i> | those who slashed him are/were not |
| thieves | |
| <i>tarátemirwe basúma</i> | he was not slashed by thieves |
| <i>abasuma tibo baamutemire</i> | it was not the thieves that slashed him |

5.9.6 Negation of object

The object is preposed and the negative element attaches to the pronoun.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>omuséíja tiwé baatémire</i> | the man is not the one they slashed |
| | it was not the man that they slashed |

5.9.7 Negation in relative forms (see Table 19 below)

omwâna arikusoma the child who is studying
omwâna atarikusoma the child who is **not** studying

abasúma abaatemiré omuntu thieves who slashed a person
abasúma abatarátemire muntu thieves who did not slashed a person

5.10 Relativisation

5.10.1 Subject relative forms

The subject relativisation process basically consists in the nominalisation of the third person verb form, and the most visible indicator is the introduction of the pre-prefix (see Table 19). In the underlined relative forms the pre-prefix and the subject marker have merged.

Table 19: Subject relative verb forms

| Tense | Main clause affirmative | | Relative clause | | |
|-------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| | | | affirmative | | negative |
| Hb | <i>arima</i> | he cultivates | <u><i>árima</i></u> | one who cultivates | <i>ataríma</i> |
| | <i>barima</i> | they cultivate | <i>abárima</i> | those who cultivate | <i>abataríma</i> |
| Co | <i>naarima</i> | he is cultivating | <i>aríkurima</i> | one who is cultivating | <i>ataríkurima</i> |
| | <i>nibarima</i> | they are cultivating | <i>abaríkurima</i> | those who are cultivating | <i>abataríkurima</i> |
| Pf1 | <i>yáárimire</i> | he has already cultivated | <u><i>eyáárimire</i></u> | one who has already cultivated | <i>atákarimire</i> |
| | <i>báárimire</i> | they have already cultivated | <i>abáárimire</i> | those who have already cultivated | <i>abatákarimire</i> |
| P1 | <i>yáárima</i> | he cultivated | <u><i>ey(á)árima</i></u> | one who cultivated | <i>atáárima</i> |
| | <i>báárima</i> | they cultivated | <i>abáárima</i> | those who cultivated | <i>abatáárima</i> |
| P2 | <i>arimíre</i> | he cultivated | <u><i>arimire</i></u> | one who cultivated | <i>atarimíre</i> |
| | <i>barimíre</i> | they cultivated | <i>abárimire</i> | those who cultivated | <i>abatarimíre</i> |
| P3 | <i>akarima</i> | he cultivated | <u><i>eyarimíre</i></u> | one who cultivated | <i>atarárimire</i> |
| | <i>bakarima</i> | they cultivated | <i>abaarimíre</i> | those who cultivated | <i>abatarárimire</i> |
| Pf2 | <i>arárimire</i> | he has | <u><i>arárimire</i></u> | one who has | <i>atákarimága</i> |

| Tense | Main clause affirmative | | Relative clause | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| | | | affirmative | | negative |
| | | cultivated | | cultivated | |
| | <i>barárimire</i> | they have cultivated | <i>abarárimire</i> | those who have cultivated | <i>abatákarimága</i> |
| F1 | <i>araarima</i> | he will cultivate | <u><i>araarima</i></u> | one who will cultivate | <i>ataraarime</i> |
| | <i>baraarima</i> | they will cultivate | <i>abaraarima</i> | those who will cultivate | <i>abataraarime</i> |
| F2 | <i>ariríma</i> | he will cultivate | <u><i>ariríma</i></u> | one who will cultivate | <i>atariríma</i> |
| | <i>bariríma</i> | they will cultivate | <i>abariríma</i> | those who will cultivate | <i>abatariríma</i> |
| Ptv | <i>acáárima</i> | he is still cultivating | <u><i>acáárima</i></u> | one who is still cultivating | <i>atacáárima</i> |
| | <i>bacáárima</i> | they are still cultivating | <i>abacáárima</i> | those who are still cultivating | <i>abatacáárima</i> |
| Ptv Hb | <i>aciríma</i> | he still cultivates | <u><i>aciríma</i></u> | one who still cultivates | <i>atácirima</i> |
| | <i>baciríma</i> | they still cultivate | <i>abaciríma</i> | those who still cultivate | <i>abatácirima</i> |
| Hp | <i>yakurima</i> | he could cultivate | <i>eyakúrima</i> | one who could cultivate | <i>atákurima</i> |
| | <i>baakurima</i> | they could cultivate | <i>abaakúrima</i> | those who could cultivate | <i>abatákurima</i> |
| PHp | <i>yakurimíre/akáárimire</i> | he would have cultivated | <i>eyakúrimire/akúrimire</i> | one who would have cultivated | <i>atákurimire</i> |
| | <i>baakurimíre/bakáárimire</i> | they would have cultivated | <i>abaakúrimire</i> | those who would have cultivated | <i>abatákurimire</i> |

5.10.2 Object relative forms

The object relative pronoun is inflected for noun class and follows the pattern shown in Table 20 below:

Table 20: Object relative forms

| Noun Class | Example | Gloss |
|------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>omuntu owú nabona</i> | the person that i saw |
| 2 | <i>abantu abí nabona</i> | the people that i saw |
| 3 | <i>omuti ogú nabona</i> | the tree that i saw |
| 4 | <i>emiti eyí nabona</i> | the trees that i saw |
| 5 | <i>erúno erí nabona</i> | the tooth that i saw |
| 6 | <i>améino agí nabona</i> | the teeth that i saw |
| 7 | <i>ecisyo ecí nabona</i> | the knife that i saw |
| 8 | <i>ebisyo ebí nabona</i> | the knives that i saw |
| 9 | <i>ente eyí nabona</i> | the cow that i saw |
| 10 | <i>ente ezí nabona</i> | the cows that i saw |
| 11 | <i>oruhu orú nabona</i> | the skin that i saw |
| 12 | <i>akasísi akí nabona</i> | the ant that i saw |
| 13 | <i>otuti otú nabona</i> | the sticks that i saw |
| 14 | <i>obusísi obú nabona</i> | the ants that i saw |
| 15 | <i>okutu okú nabona</i> | the ear that i saw |
| 16 | <i>aharubugu ahí nasitama</i> | on the barkcloth where i sat |
| 17 | <i>kúriya ahí naruga</i> | there where i came from |
| 18 | <i>omunju omú naruga</i> | in the house where i came from |

5.11 Questions

5.11.1 Constituent questions

Constituent questions make use of the following invariable interrogative markers:

kúbaci why *ahanci* why
ryaari when *nkahi* where *ecici* what

kúbací *baareetá embúzi* why did they bring a goat
kúbací *bajenzire batariire* why did they leave without eating?

A: *otasomá citabó eco* don't read that book!
 B: **ahanci/kúbaci** why?

bajenziré ryaari when did they leave?

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>akasomera nkahi/ akasomerahi</i> | where did he go to school? |
| <i>eci ní ecici</i> | what is this ('this is what')? |
| <i>bakagambáci</i> | what did they say? |
| <i>akasoma bitabóci</i> | which/what books did she read? |

The variable forms for *-ha* who/what/which, *-ta* how, and *-ti/tyo* like this/that, are shown in Table 21 for all classes excluding classes 16, 17 and 18. The forms are related to the demonstrative *oriya* pattern of Table 1.

Table 21: Variable question/response forms

| Class | <i>-ha</i> who/what/which | <i>-ta</i> how | <i>-ti</i> like this | <i>-tyo</i> like that |
|-------|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | <i>oha</i> | <i>ota</i> | <i>oti</i> | <i>otyó</i> |
| 2 | <i>baaha</i> | <i>báta</i> | <i>báti</i> | <i>bátyo</i> |
| 3 | <i>guuha</i> | <i>gúta</i> | <i>gúti</i> | <i>gútyo</i> |
| 4 | <i>eeha</i> | <i>eta</i> | <i>eti</i> | <i>etyo</i> |
| 5 | <i>riiha</i> | <i>ríta</i> | <i>ríti</i> | <i>rítýo</i> |
| 6 | <i>gaaha</i> | <i>gáta</i> | <i>gáti</i> | <i>gátyo</i> |
| 7 | <i>ciha</i> | <i>cíta</i> | <i>cíti</i> | <i>cítýo</i> |
| 8 | <i>biiha</i> | <i>bíta</i> | <i>bíti</i> | <i>bítýo</i> |
| 9 | <i>eeha</i> | <i>eta</i> | <i>eti</i> | <i>etyo</i> |
| 10 | <i>ziiha</i> | <i>zíta</i> | <i>zíti</i> | <i>zítyo</i> |
| 11 | <i>ruuha</i> | <i>rúta</i> | <i>rúti</i> | <i>rútyo</i> |
| 12 | <i>kaaha</i> | <i>káta</i> | <i>káti</i> | <i>kátyo</i> |
| 13 | <i>tuuha</i> | <i>túta</i> | <i>túti</i> | <i>tútyo</i> |
| 14 | <i>buuha</i> | <i>búta</i> | <i>búti</i> | <i>bútyo</i> |
| 15 | <i>kuuha</i> | <i>kúta</i> | <i>kúti</i> | <i>kútyo</i> |

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>akasoma ebitabo biiha</i> | which books did she read? |
| <i>bakabona oha</i> | who did they see? |
| <i>wakucigamba ota</i> | how would you say that? |
| <i>omuti gukagwa gúti</i> | the tree fell like this |

Also *-ta*, *-ti*, and *tyo* take the personal pronoun subject prefix forms shown in Table 22.

Table 22: Personal forms for *-ta* and *-ti/-tyo*

| Person/Number | <i>-ta</i> | <i>-ti/-tyo</i> |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1sg | <i>nta</i> | <i>nti/ntyó</i> |
| 2sg | <i>ota</i> | <i>oti/otyó</i> |
| 3sg | <i>ata</i> | <i>ati/atyo</i> |
| 1pl | <i>túta</i> | <i>túti/tútyo</i> |
| 2pl | <i>múta</i> | <i>múti/mútyo</i> |
| 3pl | <i>báta</i> | <i>báti/bátyo</i> |

bakajikoma báta how did they tie it?
bakajikoma báytyo they tied it like that

Elaboration questions use the *-ta* forms:
(wagamba) ota? what did you say? {asking for clarification/a repeat}

5.11.2 Yes/No questions

Yes/No questions are signalled by a rising intonation pattern.

A: encunkwá zihúire? are the oranges ripe?

B: ingaha ni zibísi no they are unripe

5.11.3 *nka* & *si* questions

A question may be signalled by an initial *nka*. Such a question expresses the speaker's surprise at the observed state of affairs and seeks an explanation (cf. Kiswahili *mbona*). It is a less direct construction than *kubaci* (why). *Si* is a discourse particle that signals an impending interrogative form and serves to warn the hearer that a question is coming.

nka ataríkurya? how come you are not eating?

nka nimwiruka? how come you are running?

nka watamwa how come you are angry?

sí nka ataríkurya? how come you are not eating?

sí nka nimwiruka? how come you are running?

sí omuséija nka ataríkurya? how come the man is not eating?

si kúbací baareetá embúzi why did they bring a goat?

si omwána akajahi where did the child go?

5.12 Imperatives

Imperatives may be formed by the simple root+final vowel.

soma read *tema* cut *gurúka* jump *iruka* run *teeka* cook

Vowel initial roots attract a ghost consonant (cf. section 2.5 above).

yanga refuse *yombeka* build *yeta* call

If a subject or object affix is included (they need not cooccur) the subjunctive vowel is required.

2nd Sg: *osome* read, *oteme* cut, *ogurúke* jump, *oiruke* run,
 oteeke cook *ocisome* read it *ociteme* cut it!

2nd Pl: *musome* read *muteme* cut *muguruke* jump
 mucisome read it *muciteme* cut it *muciguruke* jump it

1st Pl: *tusome*, *tuteme*, (let's read/shall we read etc.)

The negative imperative is formed with *-ta-*:

otacitéma don't you cut it
mutabitéeka don't you cook them
tutábirya let's not eat them

5.13 Miscellaneous Items

5.13.1 Discourse particles

There exists a variety of particles employed in different discourse contexts though they do not neatly fit in one word category. Besides *nka* and *si* discussed in section 5.11 above, the following particles also deserve attention.

béitu by the way
béitu embúzi zikajahi by the way where did the goats go?

héza then
héza akajira ata? what did he say then

weza {softner}
weza iróoko oyejendére never mind, you go your way

mpóra {said to a person who has had a misfortune}

manya I wonder
manya embúzi záárúire I wonder whether the goats have eaten

reero so then (Kiswahili: kumbe)
reero wáárúire so you have eaten

otyo good, perfect, agreed {expresses satisfaction}

boojo please
boojo mpa ameizi ga okunywa please give some drinking water

5.13.2 Adverbs

Manner adverbs may be formed with *ku-*, *bu-*, *ci-*, and *ma-* affixes.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>kubi</i> badly | <i>kurunji</i> well |
| <i>bwemi</i> upright | <i>bwangu</i> quickly |
| <i>busya</i> anew | <i>cimo</i> for good |
| <i>ciswahili</i> in a Swahili way | <i>maséija</i> in a manly way. |

akarya bwemi she ate upright
kuhaata bwangu peel quickly
kujunga kubi brew badly (make bad brew)
akasitama ciswahili she sat in a Swahili manner
kwatá maséija (idiom) go forth in a manly way

Place adverbs: *héihi* near *hare* far
 Time adverbs: *hati* now *kare* earlier/long ago *ira* long ago.

Intensifiers/Downtoners

muno much *kwo* indeed
kace a little *mpora* slowly

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>akamuteera muno</i> | he beat him much |
| <i>akageiba kwo</i> | he stole it really/indeed/for sure |
| <i>kugamba mpóra</i> | speak slowly/softly |

Reduplicated forms may have the same or a slightly modified meaning.

| | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>mporampora</i> | slowly |
| <i>bwangubwangu</i> | really quickly |
| <i>kwokwo</i> | really, indeed |
| <i>kubiikubi</i> | somewhat badly |

nibaraara kubiikubi they are not in very good health [lit. they pass the night badly badly i.e. they don't sleep well]

The numeral formatives are *ru-* and *ka-*
akagamba rumo he spoke once
akagamba kábiri he spoke twice

The nominal intensifier *huri* (every) may be mentioned here

| | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>huri muntu</i> | every person |
| <i>huri ciro</i> | every day |

5.13.3 Ideophones

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>kwêra peepeepe</i> | be very white | <i>kwíragura siisiisi</i> | be very black |
| <i>kutukura tukutuku</i> | be very red | <i>enkóroro koikoi</i> | a bad cough |
| <i>enseko kwekwekwe</i> | good laughter | <i>kufuka fukufuku</i> | be very cold |
| <i>kununka cuucuucu</i> | stink, smell very bad | <i>-bisibisi</i> | really unripe/uncooked |
| <i>kuhóra horohoro</i> | be very cold | <i>kunura nurinuri</i> | be really sweet |
| <i>kwoca bugubugu</i> | be very hot | <i>kwêra tiitiiti</i> | be very white |

The structure of the ideophone is largely reduplicative. In some cases the ideophone copies part of the head (cf. *tukutuku*, *horohoro*, *bisibisi*, *fukufuku*, *nurinuri*). In other cases the ideophone appears to be onomatopoeic (cf. *kwekwekwe*, *koikoi*). But the element of arbitrariness is captured very well by the two ideophones for 'be very white' (*peepeepe*, *tiitiiti*). Ideophones express intensity of the action/state described by the verb (or deverbal noun) that the ideophone modifies. The ideophone typically follows the verb in the sentence.

Glossary

Applicative extension – one set of the verb suffixes (with various forms) which typically increases the valency of the verb and expresses meanings other than causation. Contrast causative extension.

Appreciative – a derived form is appreciative if it has a more positive connotation than the underived or normal form.

Augment – the initial element (morpheme) on the noun; see also *pre-prefix*, *initial vowel*.

Augmentative – the noun form that expresses a meaning of increased size relative to the unmarked or normal form.

Continuous – the form of the verb indicating that the action or event is ongoing and not yet completed.

Causative extension – one set of the verb suffixes (with various forms) which typically increases the valency of the verb and expresses causation.

Coalescence (vowel~) – the merging of two adjacent vowels belonging to different morphemes to result in the disappearance of quality features of at least one of these vowels; e.g. *a- ma-izi* > *ameizi*.

Diminutive – the form that expresses a meaning of reduced size relative to the unmarked or normal form.

Elision – the disappearance of a sound segment, as in contexts where a derived form would surface with three consecutive vowels that are not permitted by the syllable structure of the language.

Epenthetic consonant – a consonant that surfaces in certain contexts in order to break up monotonous vowel sequences or repair other unacceptable word structures in a language, e.g. *ni-ba-e-ita* > *nibayeita* ‘they kill themselves’ where the palatal glide is conditioned by the appearance of the reflexive *-e-* morpheme

Extension (~verb) – any of the Bantu verb suffixes other than tense/aspect markers ; the common ones are applicative, causative, passive, stative, and reciprocal

Floating tone – a suprasegmental pitch feature that is not directly associated with a particular segment but which may be realised on any appropriate segment; a floating tone may mark a grammatical contrast, such as tense, or a word or phrase boundary.

Glide formation – the transformation of a vowel into a semivowel (glide);

the high front vowel [i] may become a palatal glide [j], and the back rounded vowels [u, o] may become labial glides [w] when followed by another vowel.

Imbrication - the process whereby the verb stem is modified and generally shortened by the affixation of the perfective suffix *-ire*.

Imperative - the form of the verb which indicates the course of action desired or preferred by the speaker.

Inchoative - the form of the verb indicating a resultant mental or physical state, particularly as applied to a certain class of verbs including sit, stand, be tired, (un)dress, be drunk, etc.

Initial vowel - the initial element on the noun, before the class prefix; see also *augment, pre-prefix*.

Lexical Tone - the existence of meaning differences between words by use of variations in pitch on individual sound segments, e.g. *enju* house vs *énju* grey hair

Meeussen's Rule - the second of two adjacent high tones is deleted; this is an example of tonal dissimilation. In the following examples the high tone on the object prefix surfaces if the verb root has a low tone; but if the verb root has a high tone then the object prefix high is deleted: *akacígura* (he bought it), *akacíreka* (he abandoned it), *akacitéma* (he cut it), *akacikóma* (he tied it).

Mood - a grammatical category marked on the verb's final vowel position expressing the contrast between such notions as factuality vs nonfactuality, certainty vs uncertainty.

Palatalisation - the tendency of a velar sound e.g. [k, g] to be realised much farther forward or alveolar sounds e.g. [s, z] to be articulated much farther back towards the palate depending on the phonetic environment. Palatal articulations [kj, gj, sj, zj] may be transitional stages towards a shift to palatal segments [c, ʃ, ʒ, ʝ]

Pejorative - a derived form is pejorative if it has a derogatory connotation relative to the normal or underived form.

Perfective - the form of the verb indicating that the relevant action has been completed and that this is of present relevance or orientation; in this way it establishes a connection between past time and present time.

Persistive - the form of the verb indicating that the action or event described by the verb persists from past through present time and may extend into the future.

Phonotactics – conditions or restrictions on what sound sequences are permissible in a language, e.g. three vowels in a row are not allowed in Runyambo.

Pre-prefix - the initial element on the noun, before the class prefix; see also *augment, initial vowel*

Reduplication – partial or complete repetition of a morpheme.

Spirantisation – the fricativisation of certain consonant sounds, especially plosives, as a diachronic process, or because of the effects of a neighbouring sound.

Tense – a set of grammatical contrasts marked on the verb and serving to locate in time the action or event described by the verb. As used here it includes *aspect* which is usually understood to refer to the time within the action or event.

Tonal melody – the characteristic pitch pattern associated with a language or some part of the structure of the language. In Runyambo, for instance, words with tonal contrasts will have a high – low melody (HL), never LH or HH. Similarly, tense/aspect is marked by specific tone patterns and in some cases there may be no segmental feature to identify that particular tense/aspect.

Tone – the use of pitch variations on words and phrases to mark word meaning contrasts or grammatical contrasts.

Vowel harmony – the matching of certain vowel features in a word or part of a word, e.g. in Runyambo the initial vowel (pre-prefix) is [e] if the vowel of the noun prefix is [i], [o] if the prefix has [u], and [a] if the noun prefix has [a].

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