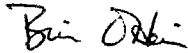


A PARTIAL GRAMMAR SKETCH OF LUNYOLE WITH EMPHASIS
ON THE APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTION(S)

BY

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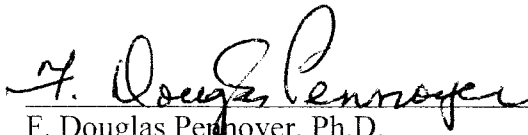
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ON THE APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTION(S)

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by

Douglas Allen Wicks

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ABSTRACT

A PARTIAL GRAMMAR SKETCH OF LUNYOLE WITH EMPHASIS ON THE APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTION(S)

Douglas Allen Wicks

This thesis provides a general grammatical description of Lunyole, a Bantu language of Eastern Uganda. After a brief description of the phonology, it describes the morphology and basic syntax of Lunyole, following Payne's (1997) functional approach. This thesis then more deeply describes Lunyole's applicative constructions in which an argument is added to the verb complex. Lunyole has two applicative marking constructions. The more productive one uses the *-ir* suffix on verbs of any valence in conjunction with a wide range of semantic roles. The other applicative construction is formed from a locative class prefix and is used only for locative arguments on unaccusative intransitive verbs. Similar locative morphemes may co-occur with the *-ir* applicative morpheme, but not as applicative markers; instead they clarify the relationship between arguments.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1s	First-person singular	INT	Intensifier
1p	First-person plural	IRR	Irrealis
2s	Second-person singular	IV	Initial vowel or augment
2p	Second-person plural	LOC	Locative
3s	Third person singular	NC	Noun class
3p	Third person plural	NEG	Negative
A	Agent	OBJ	Object
ADV	Adverb	P	Patient
APL	Applicative	PASS	Passive
ASC	Associative marker	PREP	Preposition
ASP	Aspect	PST	Past tense
BEN	Benefactive	PRF	Perfective
CAUS	Causative	PERSIS	Persistent
C1, C2...	Class 1, Class 2 ...	POSS	Possessive
C	Complementizer	PRN	Pronoun
CNJ	Conjunction	PROG	Progressive aspect
COND	Conditional	RECP	Reciprocal
COP	Copula	REL	Relativizer
DEM	Demonstrative	REQ	Request
DERIV	Derivation	REFL	Reflexive
EVD	Evidentiality marker	STAT	Stative
FUT1	Immediate future tense	SUB	Subject
FUT2	Near future tense	SUBJ	Subjunctive
FUT3	Distant future tense	T/A	Tense/Aspect
FV	Final vowel	TAM	Tense/Aspect/Mood
HAB	Habitual aspect	V	Verb
INF	Infinitive		

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Purpose

This thesis has several interconnected objectives. Primarily, it describes the role of the Lunyole applicative construction. As a basis for better understanding the applicative construction, it first describes Lunyole's basic phonological, morphological, and syntactic (morphosyntactic) structure. With these accomplished, it provides a linguistic foundation to assist in making decisions in the area of applied linguistics, including orthography development and Bible translation. Finally, I hope that this thesis will provide Lunyole data for other linguists about a language that has not been widely documented. I utilize Payne's (1997) model of language description.

1.2 Language information

The Banyole people speak the Lunyole language. The Banyole primarily reside in Eastern Uganda, in a region they refer to as Bunyole. Bunyole is contiguous to seven different language areas from two major language families—Niger Congo and Nilo-Saharan.

1.2.1 Genetic affiliation

Lunyole is a Bantu language in the Niger-Congo language family. The comparative works of two authors (Angogo, 1983; Mould, 1976, 1981) place it in the cluster of 20 or so Greater Luhya languages. By all accounts it is most similar to neighboring Lusaamia (Lugwe).

Guthrie (1948) classifies Lunyole as E35 under the name Nyuli.¹ Bastin, Coupez, and Mann (1999) classify it as J35 under the name Nyole. Grimes (1996) classifies it as a dialect of the Luhya-Masaba language group J30 under the name Nyole, but also lists alternative names Nyule, Nyuli, and Lunyole.

Mother-tongue speakers refer to their language as *Olunyole*. As a people, however, they refer to themselves as *Abanyole*, or *Abanyole abalya lwoba* (lit., ‘People who eat mushrooms’). In this sense they also refer to their language as *Olulya lwoba* (lit., ‘It [language] eats mushrooms’) (Wandera, 2004).

While speaking English, however, mother-tongue speakers, as well as Ugandans in general, refer to it as Lunyole. I follow this convention throughout this thesis.

1.2.2 Demographics

The Banyole people are found primarily in Butaleja District in eastern Uganda (see Figures 1 and 2). According to Uganda’s 2002 census (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2002) there were approximately 160,927 people living in an area then called Bunyole County (now Butaleja District), and a total of 340,507 people living in Uganda who considered their ethnicity to be Banyole.

¹ According to Heine and Nurse (2000), Guthrie “provided a geographical classification into zones labelled A-T, subdivided into numbered groups... Although this scheme is in standard referential use, most of the zones are not genetic groups” (p. 34).

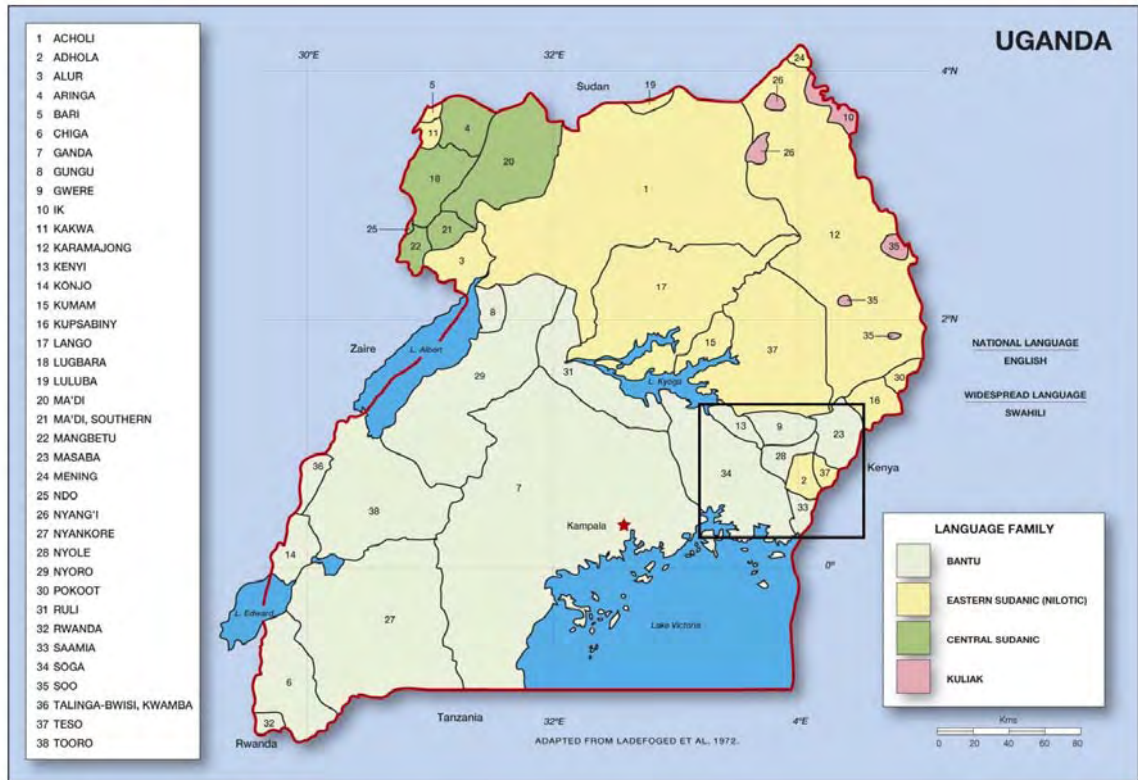


Figure 1: A current language map of Uganda (the internal square encompasses Bunyole and its surrounding language areas).

(Source: Uganda-Tanzania Branch of SIL International, adapted from Ladefoged, Glick, and Criper, 1972, and used with permission).

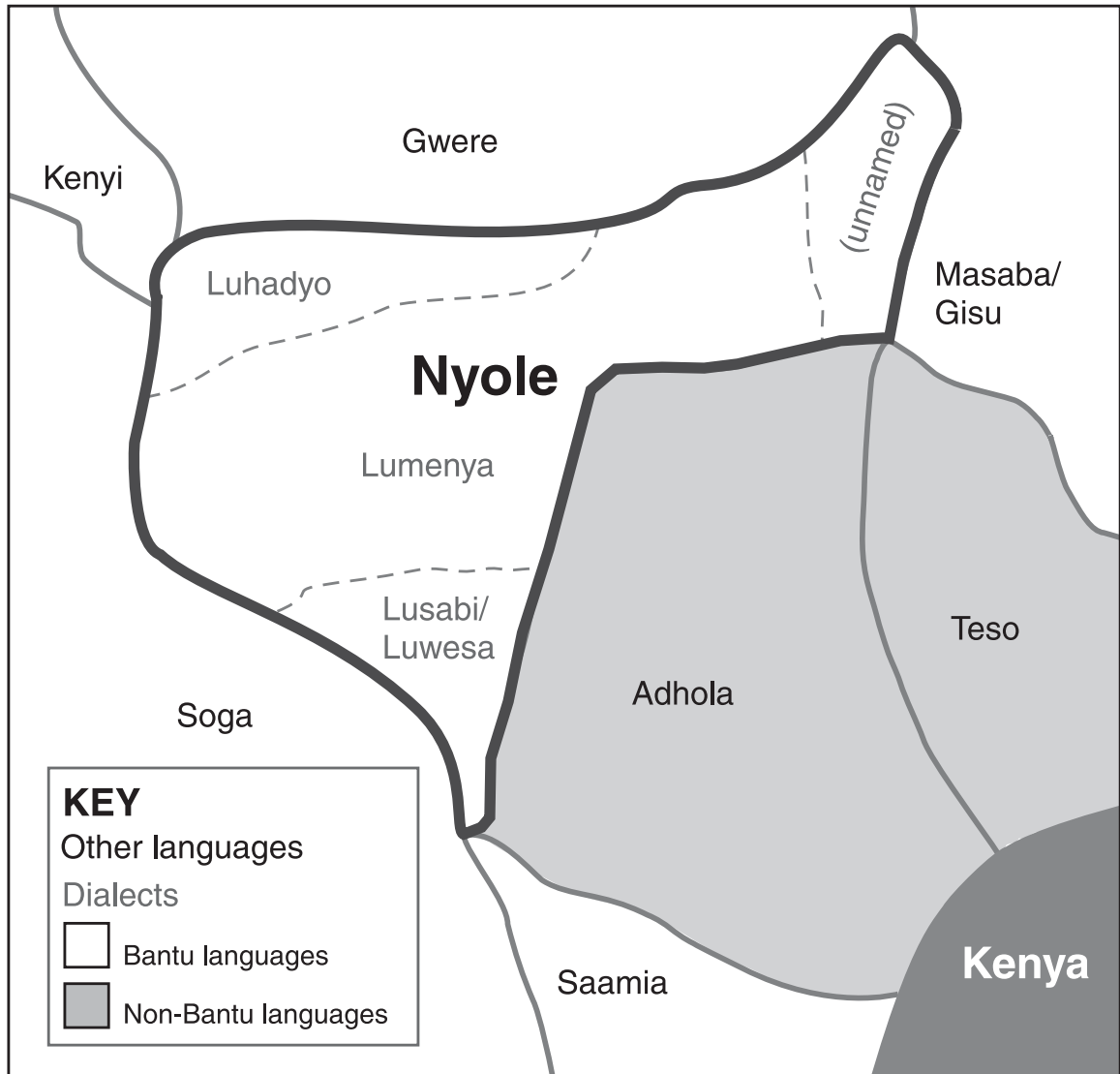


Figure 2: Map of Bunyole (Nyole) showing Lunnyole, its dialects, and surrounding languages.

The Banyole are primarily agriculturalists. To a much lesser degree they are pastoralists. Nearly every home keeps domesticated animals such as cows, goats, sheep, turkeys and chickens. The important cash crops are rice, cotton, and coffee (in order of

production value). The staple food is finger millet,² but also includes sorghum, maize, cassava, and sweet potatoes. The land in Bunyole is relatively flat, green, rolling grassland (wet savannah) surrounded and divided by papyrus-lined swamps. One of the biggest rice schemes in Uganda, the Doho Rice scheme,³ is located in the eastern region of Butaleja District. I have traveled throughout Bunyole and there is relatively little land that is uninhabited and thereby uncultivated.⁴

1.2.3 Dialects

There are four distinct dialects of Lunyole. Lumenya is the dialect analyzed in this thesis. It is the prestige dialect and is spoken by the largest number of Lunyole speakers. They live in the central area of Bunyole, which includes the commercial center of Busolwe and the government center of Butaleja.

The Luhadyo dialect is spoken to the north and northwest in Butaleja and Nawanjofu subcounties. Lusabi and Luwesa are both spoken in the southwest within the southern section of Bunyole called Budumba subcounty. The fourth dialect is unnamed and is spoken in the extreme east in Kachon'ga and Mazimasa subcounties. Neighboring Bantu languages—(Lu)Masaba, also called (Lu)Gisu, and (Lu)Gwere—have influenced this unnamed dialect (see Figure 2).⁵ The differences among the dialects are both phonological and lexical; Wandera (2004) offers some evidence of their distinctions.

² Also called African millet, *ragi*, or *koracan*.

³ A rice scheme is an elaborate rain-fed canal irrigation system for growing rice. The Uganda government constructed the Doho Rice scheme in the swampy area of Eastern Bunyole between 1976 and 1985, with assistance from Chinese experts.

⁴ For further reading on the culture in Bunyole see Whyte & Whyte (1992) and Whyte, S. (1998).

⁵ The prefix for languages is *Lu-*, from noun class 11 (see Table 3).

1.2.4 Sociolinguistic situation

Like Ugandans in general, the Banyole are highly multilingual. With at least 35 distinct languages (see Ladefoged, Glick, & Cripser, 1972) in a relatively small country, and no real *lingua franca*, the necessity for multilingualism is magnified. It is not unusual for a Ugandan to be proficient in as many as five languages: (a) his/her mother-tongue; (b) English, which is the official language and used throughout the education system; (c) Luganda, which is the closest language to a *lingua franca* in Uganda and which is spoken in and around the densely populated capital of Kampala; (d) some Swahili, which is traditionally the language of the police and military, and the *lingua franca* of neighboring Kenya, Tanzania, and the Democratic Republic of Congo; and (e) at least one other vernacular language adjacent to the home area.

Those Ugandans from remote areas who have an opportunity to travel tend to be the most multilingual because they seldom encounter an occasion to use their mother-tongue when they travel. This is in contrast to, for example, a mother-tongue speaker of Luganda who would rarely encounter one who does not understand at least some Luganda, unless he or she were to travel to the north.⁶

Lunyole is rarely spoken outside Bunyole County. Many Banyole people claim that it is easy for them to learn to speak other Bantu languages, but it is difficult for speakers of other languages to learn Lunyole. One who does not speak Lunyole and finds himself in Bunyole is likely to begin a conversation in Luganda or English, depending on the perceived status of the interlocutor.

⁶ Travel to the north of Uganda has been greatly limited over the past 20 years due to the presence and subsequent unrest brought about by the Lord's Resistance Army, a rebel group led by Joseph Kony.

Lunyole is learned within Banyole homes as the first language and is spoken freely in trading centers, schools, churches, mosques, and public gatherings. Tabb (1993) conducted a sociolinguistic survey of Lunyole and said, “No other language is used more than Lunyole in the home, the village, the market, the workplace, or for speaking with local government officials. Lunyole is the language that is spoken the most and is the language most people think in” (p. 84).

Lunyole regularly borrows lexical items from Luganda, Swahili, and English, especially in technical domains. This has been true since the late 19th century when Uganda became a British protectorate and the languages of education within Bunyole were English and Luganda.

Within Bunyole and outside the context of the educational system there is little opportunity or motivation to learn English or Luganda. Currently, because there are no educational or reading materials available in Lunyole, the children learn to read English without being able to comprehend it or speak it well.⁷ The language of instruction in the primary school classroom is Luganda, English, or Lunyole, or a combination thereof. Teachers lack training, and therefore confidence, to teach students to read and write Lunyole. The orthography is in its early stages of development and is not yet widely known.

There is currently little opportunity or motivation to learn to read and write Lunyole. The Lunyole Language Association (LLA), however, is making strides to encourage mother-tongue literacy in Bunyole. I have observed that the attitude of the

⁷ As of January 2003, the White Paper of Uganda’s Ministry of Education (Uganda Government, 1992) mandates that primary education in the first four years shall be conducted in ‘a mother-tongue,’ and in English from level five onward (p. 16). This mandate, however, has yet to be realized in Bunyole due to a lack of trained teachers and literature in the mother-tongue.

Bunyole toward their language is generally positive in spite of the ever-increasing influence of Luganda and English. Teachers and community leaders are eager to learn how to best promote their language, and there is a popular one-hour radio program in Bunyole broadcast by Radio Uganda that is aired a few times per week.

The language used in liturgies of the Church of Uganda (Anglican) and the Catholic church services throughout Bunyole is Luganda, though the local Catholic church has begun translating its liturgy into Bunyole. Preaching, however, is almost exclusively in Bunyole if the preacher is a mother-tongue Bunyole speaker. The Bunyole have access only to Luganda or English Bibles. In addition, the Bunyole Language Association and the Bunyole Bible Translation Committee have, with technical help from SIL International, begun to train literacy teachers and Bible translators.

1.3 Literature review

Relatively little has been published on the Bunyole language. The earliest documentation is Morris (1963), which gives phonetic and phonemic features of Bunyole and a brief grammatical overview. In it he also compares and contrasts Bunyole phonology with that of several other Bantu languages of Uganda.

Eastman (1972) provides the most thorough description of Bunyole before the work of Wandera (2004). Eastman's data came from Michael and Susan Whyte who collected it while conducting anthropological fieldwork in Bunyole from 1969-1971. It summarizes the phonology, provides a phonemic inventory, and offers a brief section on syntax. The syntax section addresses the Bunyole noun concord system, sentence structure, tense, and includes notes on pronouns and numerals. It also provides example

sentences and a word list of nouns according to noun class, a list of verb stems, and a short list of adjectives.

Schadeberg (1989) seeks to explain the development of the velar nasal in Lunyole, in particular the morphophonemic rule, in which $n + \eta > p$. Schadeberg calls this rule “unnatural” and “crazy” (1989, p. 172).

The most extensive publication on the Lunyole language is the *Ebibono by'Olunyole n'Olusungu Olungeresa* ‘Words of Lunyole and English’ (Whyte, 1994), published by the Lunyole Language Association (LLA) with funds from the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), compiled by Michael and Susan Whyte from 1969-1971, and 1987-1993. It lists more than 2,000 different Lunyole words each with a definition or gloss, the noun class of each noun, and the perfective ending variation for each verb. It also provides a few brief notes on the orthography and grammar.

Whyte (1998) is an extensive ethnography on how the Banyole people handle uncertainty and adversity. This work would help anyone understand the culture that underlies and permeates the Lunyole language.

More recently there have been a few smaller publications in connection with SIL linguists and their contribution to further developing the Lunyole language.⁸ SIL members Ron Moe, Scot Homer, and I, along with a number of mother-tongue speakers, had a hand in developing these publications while working with and alongside the LLA. They include the *Lunyole orthography guide* (Lunyole Language Association, 2004a), *A brief spelling guide for Lunyole* (Lunyole Language Association, 2004b), and the *English*

⁸ In this case, language development is the task of creating the necessary foundation for mother-tongue literacy and education.

to *Lunyole transition primer* (Lunyole Language Association, 2004c). More recently, a translation of the Old Testament book *Yona* ‘Jonah’ was published and distributed in 2005, and translation of other biblical books is ongoing.

Finally, Enoch Wandera (2004), during his formal training as a Bible translator, wrote the most significant work to date, a master’s thesis on tense, aspect, and mood.

1.4 Data

I moved with my family to live in Bunyole in 1999 and since that time have lived there, on and off, for a total of four years. During that time I conducted interviews, made observations, and collected various types of language data. The primary language data analyzed and used as examples here were elicited on many occasions from mother-tongue speakers of Lunyole. In addition, I analyzed a number of texts that were spoken or written by mother-tongue speakers (see the sample text in Appendix B). As I analyzed these data, I consulted *Ebibono by’Olunyole n’Olusungu Olungeresa* ‘Words of Lunyole and English’ (Whyte, 1994) and a yet to be published Lunyole (dictionary) database.⁹ The purpose of consulting these sources was primarily to confirm the semantics of a particular word in a text or to confirm the noun classes of certain nouns that are used as examples in this thesis. Finally, I am indebted to Enoch Wandera for tirelessly answering my questions of his language.

⁹ The dictionary database was started in February 2002 when the LLA gathered Lunyole speakers with interests and expertise in various semantic domains for a dictionary development workshop. This process was guided by Ron Moe, who developed a unique method for gathering words (see Moe, 2005). A group of 33 people produced and recorded more than 15,000 Lunyole words in two weeks. This database has been subsequently edited and updated by Sylvester Musimami.

1.5 A functional approach

This thesis is primarily a description of Lunyole grammar; it does not attempt to make a statement for or against a particular formal linguistic theory. I have chosen an approach based on Payne's model for describing morphology and syntax (1997). This model falls under the typological-functional theory of grammar.

Writing within a generative framework, Newmeyer (1998) believes that those who claim a functionalist approach vary greatly in their assumptions (p. 13), but he sees all functional approaches to grammar embodying the following three positions (summarized here): (a) Form and function are so tightly woven together that form cannot be separated out; (b) Formal properties of grammar are motivated by the function of conveying meaning; and (c) By integrating functional explanation with typological investigation, one can explain the commonality of certain grammatical features (p. 18). Payne's (1997) model falls under this broad definition of Functionalism. Therefore, a basic assumption in this thesis is that there is a tight bond between language form and language function. But this bond is not rigid. The relationship between form and function "is direct enough to allow communication, but flexible enough to allow for creativity, variation, and change" (Payne, 1997, p. 6).

Payne's model is both an outline for a grammar sketch and a guide for description. It has been chosen primarily for its heuristic value in sufficiently illuminating and aiding the description of the varied processes found in the grammar of Lunyole and its applicative constructions in particular.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

This chapter looks briefly at Lunyole's phonology, specifically dealing with consonants, vowels, syllable structure, tone, and several of its important phonological processes. For ease of pronunciation and description, it shows how the phonemes are represented in the orthography.¹⁰

2.1. Consonants

Lunyole has 59 consonant phonemes, as shown in Table 1. The secondary articulations of prenasalization, palatalization and labialization are used, sometimes in combination, with 22 simple phonetic segments to produce this range of phonemes. Prenasalized consonants may be either labialized or palatalized, but not both. Voiceless consonants are never prenasalized. Palatals are not palatalized but labials may be labialized. These phonemes are represented in the orthography according to the symbols in Table 2.

¹⁰ Most of the phonological information used in this thesis was gathered in the process of confirming the viability of the Lunyole orthography. The data was gathered by several SIL linguists—Ron Moe, Scot Homer, and me. The interpretation, analysis, and description, however, are solely my own, and I take full responsibility for any errors.

Table 1
Consonant Phoneme Inventory

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labiodental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>
Voiceless Plosive	p p ^w p ^j		t t ^w t ^j		k k ^w
Voiced Plosive	b b ^w b ^j		d d ^w d ^j		g g ^w g ^j
	^m b ^m b ^w ^m b ^j		ⁿ d ⁿ d ^w ⁿ d ^j		^ŋ g ^ŋ g ^w
Voiceless Fricative		f	s s ^w s ^j	ʃ	h h ^w
Voiced Fricative	β β ^w β ^j	v	z		
Voiceless Affricate				tʃ tʃ ^w	
Voiced Affricate				ʒ ʒ ^w	
				ⁿ ʒ ⁿ ʒ ^w	
Nasal	m m ^w m ^j		n n ^w n ^j	ɲ ɲ ^w	ŋ ŋ ^w ŋ ^j
Lateral			l l ^w l ^j		
Approximant	w			j	

Table 2
Orthographic Representation of Phonemic Consonants

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labiodental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>
Voiceless Plosive	p pw py		t tw ty		k kw
Voiced Plosive	bb bbw bby		d dw dy		g gw gy
	mb mbw mby		nd ndw ndy		ng ngw
Voiceless Fricative		f	s sw sy	hy	h hw
Voiced Fricative	b bw by	v	z		
Voiceless Affricate				c cw	
Voiced Affricate				j jw	
				nj njw	
Nasal	m mw my		n nw ni	ny nyw	ŋ ŋw ŋy
Lateral			l lw ly		
			r rw ry		
Approx	w			y	

There are two phonemes, /h/ and /ʃ/ that are in question as to their place of articulation. In Table 1, I have placed the phoneme /h/ as a velar, but that is a bit misleading. When it occurs between vowels, it could be more precisely labeled a glottal, though there is no point of articulation. There is certainly some historical evidence that it

used to be velar: the phoneme /h/ was labeled a velar fricative /x/ by Morris (1963), and /h/ in Lunyole was /*k/ in proto Bantu (see Hyman, 2003). There remains a phoneme /k/ in Lunyole, but it is found primarily in borrowed words and as a result of phonological processes (see 2.5.4).

The other phoneme in question is /ʃ/. I have also placed /ʃ/ in the phoneme inventory, but it could just as easily be called a secondary articulation /hʲ/. Neither Morris (1963), Eastman (1972), nor Schadeberg (1989) included /ʃ/ in his or her consonant phoneme inventory. It behaves like a secondary articulated phoneme because the following vowels are pronounced long with a few exceptions, and it is clearly a palatalized voiceless velar fricative [hʲ] in some speakers at morpheme boundaries. Within a root, however, it is not [hʲ] but [ʃ], as with the verb [ʃa:la] *hyala* ‘visit,’ and syllable-final it is not pronounced long, as with [βuʃa] *buhya* ‘dawn.’

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ is labialized [f^w] by many speakers when the sound is followed by back vowels (this is not dialect related), as noted by both Eastman (1972) and Morris (1963). The phoneme /f/ did not make it into Schadeberg’s (1989) consonant inventory, though his list includes a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ], which occurs nowhere in my data.

The phonemes /v/ and /z/ are not historically part of Lunyole’s phonology; these sounds are found only in borrowed words, and they never occur labialized or palatalized.

Both [l] and [r] are allophones of the phoneme /l/. The sound [r] follows front vowels while [l] follows central and back vowels [+front]. The orthography retains both symbols, however.

The apparent hole or gap in the inventory in Table 1, where one would expect the [kʷ] to appear, is realized in the alveopalatal voiceless affricate [tʃ].

There is a difficulty distinguishing the sound [βʷ] from [w] when it appears between vowels. In my interviews, mother-tongue speakers were divided on whether or not the phoneme /bw/ exists (there is even some uncertainty in speakers between [β] and [βʷ]). I believe there is a phoneme /bw/ in Lunyole because its underlying nature becomes clear on the surface when the phoneme is prenasalized. In (1a), the underlying phoneme /bw/ is realized as *w* between vowels, but as *bw* when the first-person singular prefix /N-/ is prefixed. And in (1b), when the root *bwa* ‘dog’ bears the class 12 prefix *aha-*, the result is *ahawa* ‘small dog.’ But when the root bears the class 9 prefix /eN-/ it becomes *embwa* ‘dog.’¹¹

- (1) (a) /ohu-wiha/ *ohuwiha* ‘to cover’ /N-/ + *wiha/* > *mbwiha* ‘I cover’
 (b) /aha-wa/ *ahawa* ‘small dog’ /eN- + *wa/* > *embwa* ‘dog’ C9

2.2. Vowels

Lunyole has ten phonemic vowels; there are five vowel sounds that are pronounced either long or short. In addition to phonemic contrast between long and short vowels, vowels are allophonically lengthened both before prenasalized consonants and following palatalized consonants. There is a phonetic range for midvowels, [ɛ] to [e] and [ʊ] to [o], but there is no phonemic distinction. The vowels are shown in (2).

¹¹ Individual Lunyole words within the text and in examples are in italics using the current Lunyole orthography and their glosses are in single quotes. Lunyole example phrases and sentences, however, are in plain text and their English gloss is in italics. In some cases, bold text is used to identify particular morphemes in question within a particular construction.

(2)		<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i> [+ round]
	Close	i i:		u u:
	Mid	e e:		o o:
	Open		a:	

There is one diphthong /ai/ found in words borrowed from other languages, as in (3).

(3)	<i>maido</i>	‘ground nuts’
	<i>naikote</i>	‘borehole’
	<i>engaito</i>	‘shoe(s)’

2.3. Tone

Common to nearly all Niger-Congo languages, Lunyole exhibits register tone rather than contour tone (Heine & Nurse, 2000). There are two tones: high (H) and low (L). Each vowel may bear a high or a low tone, but syllables with two moras (bimoraic), i.e., those with long vowels and prenasalized consonants, carry two tones. If they are dissimilar, they appear as a rising or falling tone, but they are actually a combination of two register tones. This is shown in the word *wânge* [wâ:^hge] ‘my/mine,’ where the vowel is allophonically lengthened due to the following prenasalized consonant [^hg].

Within this thesis, tone is generally unmarked except when specifically needed. In such examples, low tones are unmarked, high tones are marked with an acute accent on the vowel (ó); a rising tone is marked with caron (ǒ); and falling tone is marked with circumflex (ô).

Tone distinguishes lexical items as in (4), and grammatical features as in examples (5) to (7). Lexical items differing in tone only are relatively rare.

(4)	a.	<i>ómugangi</i>	‘gift for a visitor’
		<i>omúgángí</i>	‘healer’

- b. *ésimbó* ‘stick’
esimbó ‘maiden banana plantation’
- c. *ohúsíngá* ‘to pledge’
óhusinga ‘to defeat’

Examples (5) to (7) each show a set of tone minimal pairs distinguishing various grammatical features. Example (5a) is a possessive noun phrase and (5b) is an equative predicate nominal (see 3.4.2). Example (6a) is a subject relative noun phrase and (6b) is a complete clause. The two example sets in (7) show how tone may distinguish tense.

- (5) a. *ómupíira gwâwe*
 football theirs
Their football
- b. *ómupíirá gwâwe*
 football theirs
The football is theirs.
- (6) a. *omúsíndé á-saana*¹²
 man 3s.REL-slash
The man who slashes...
- omúsíndé asaana*
 man 3s-slash
The man slashes.
- (7) a. *g-emb-íré*
 3s.PST-sing-PRF
He sang (recent past).
- b. *g-emb-iré*
 3s.PST-sing-PRF
He sang (hodiernal past).
- c. *ba-léétá*
 3p-bring
They bring... (present)

¹² *Saana* ‘slash’ is a transitive verb, but the object is not necessarily overt. It means to cut grass using a double-edged tool with a long blade (approximately three feet long) that is slightly curved at the end.

- d. bá-leetá
 3p-bring
They brought... (past)

This is only a brief look at just a few of the components of grammatical tone. The tone system in Lunyole is yet to be fully investigated.

2.4. Syllable structure

Lunyole has an open syllable structure; it does not allow coda consonants. There are no consonant clusters, and vowels can stand alone as syllables. Because of this, there are only two potential syllable structures: V or CV (see Bastin, 2003). Example (8) shows the syllable structure, demonstrating how nasalization and secondary articulations fit into the pattern.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------|------------------------|
| (8) | [<u>a</u> .ma:.ɔ̃i] | <i>amaaji</i> | ‘water’ |
| | [o. <u>mu</u> .si. ⁿ de] | <i>omusinde</i> | ‘man’ |
| | [o.mu. <u>sa</u> :.la] | <i>omusaala</i> | ‘tree’ |
| | [o.hu.t ^w <u>i</u>] | <i>ohutwi</i> | ‘to carry on the head’ |
| | [e. <u>d</u> ^w a:li.ro] | <i>edwaliro</i> | ‘hospital’ |
| | [^m be] | <i>mbe</i> | ‘no’ |
| | [e. ^m <u>b</u> ^w a] | <i>embwa</i> | ‘dog’ |
| | [e. ⁿ <u>d</u> ^w a:si] | <i>endwasi</i> | ‘disease’ |

There are a few restrictions on how words may be structured. Close vowels (*i* and *u*) and long vowels are not found word-initial, and long vowels are not found word-final with the exception of showing emphasis and some seemingly idiosyncratic data.

Finally, in accordance with Dahl’s Law, Lunyole exhibits dissimilation, but not universally.¹³ This is shown in (9) where the Swahili and Luganda examples do not exhibit Dahl’s Law.

¹³ Dahl’s Law is a dissimilation of a voiceless stop—where consecutive plosives would otherwise be voiceless, the first becomes voiced.

(9)	‘chicken’	‘laugh’	‘three’		
	<i>kuku</i>	<i>kucheka</i>	<i>tatu</i>	(Swahili)	
	<i>enkoko</i>	<i>okuseka</i>	<i>satu</i>	(Luganda)	
	<i>engoho</i>	<i>ohujeha</i>	<i>edatu</i>	(Lunyole)	(adapted from Morris, 1963, p. 128)

2.5 Phonological processes

There are several important phonological processes in Lunyole. They are affected primarily by labialization, palatalization, and prenasalization. The following sections discuss these major phonological processes.

2.5.1 Rules affecting vowels

When palatalized consonants are followed by high vowels the palatalization on the consonant is not realized (deleted) and the vowel is pronounced long, e.g., /lʲi/ > [li:].

An alternative would be to analyze it as /lʲi/ > [li] / _i.

Vowel deletion also occurs when a high vowel that is [-back] is joined to a vowel-initial morpheme as shown in (10a) and (10b).

- (10) a. *Sihugule*¹⁴
 si-hu-gul-e
 NEG-1p-buy-FV
We did not buy (anything).
- b. *S’agule* [sa:gule]¹⁵
 si-a-gul-e
 NEG-3s-buy-FV
He did not buy (anything).

¹⁴ Throughout this thesis I indicate the surface form of each morpheme wherever possible. When the morphophonemics render the morphemes undistinguishable I include an extra line with both a surface structure and a morpheme breakdown.

¹⁵ The Lunyole orthography—therefore examples in this paper—makes extensive use of the apostrophe at word boundaries where vowel elision and compensatory lengthening occurs. In these instances, the apostrophe marks the place of the elided vowel and the remaining vowel is long, with a few exceptions. The apostrophe, however, only represents elided vowels on certain classes of relatively small words of two syllables or less, including associative markers, conjunctions, and various particles. The complications that arise from the use of the apostrophe will not be discussed in this thesis.

Otherwise, assimilation or coalescence occurs when two vowels are joined at a morpheme boundary. When the first vowel is /a-/ [-round] and the second is /o/ [+round], the first vowel assimilates to the second, which in turn is lengthened, as shown in (11a). When the first vowel is /a-/ [-high] and the second is /i/ [+high], the vowels coalesce and the result is a midvowel, which is lengthened, as shown in (11b).

- (11) a. /ga-/ C6 + /one/ ‘all four’ > *goone* [go:ne] ‘all four (C6)’
 b. /ba-/ C2 + /igula/ ‘open’ > *beegula* [be:gula] ‘they open’

2.5.2. Labialization

When two vowels meet at a morpheme boundary and the first vowel is [+round], labialization of the preceding consonant occurs. If the first vowel is word-initial it becomes a labial [w], and if it is preceded by a consonant then the consonant is labialized [C^w]. This labialization process is shown in (12a) where the second-person singular prefix /o-/ is joined with the first-person singular possessive root *ange*. In (12b) the prefix *ohu-* is joined to a vowel-initial root *emba*,¹⁶ and the first vowel *u* of the prefix disappears and the consonant *h* is labialized. In every case of labialization the following vowel is lengthened, except if the vowel occurs word-final.

- (12) a. o > w / _V /o/ + /ange/ > *wange* [wa:^ɰge] ‘mine’ C1
 b. u > w / _V /ohu/ + /emba/ > *ohwemba* [oh^we:^mba] ‘to sing’

2.5.3 Palatalization

When two vowels meet at a morpheme boundary and the first vowel is [-back] (*i* or *e*), the preceding consonant is palatalized (if the initial vowel is word-initial, that vowel becomes a glide [j]). This is shown in (13a) where the the noun class prefix *e-* is joined

¹⁶ Lunyole verb root structure is normally CVC. In this paper, when referring to a particular verb root, it may be written with the final vowel -a, which is not part of the root.

with the root *ange*, the /e/ becomes a palatal [j]. In (13b) the prefix *hi-* is joined with the root *ange* and the voiceless velar fricative [h] is palatalized and the vowel from the prefix disappears. The resulting sound is difficult to distinguish between a voiceless alveopalatal fricative [ç] and a palatalized voiceless velar fricative [hʲ]. This change is consistent throughout Lunyole, though the palatalization is more evident in some speakers.¹⁷

- (13) a. e > y / _V /e/ + /ange/ > [ja:^hge] *yange* ‘my (class 9)’
 b. i > y / _V /hi/ + /ange/ > [ʃa:^hge] *hyange* ‘my (class 7)’

2.5.4. Nasal + consonant

Lunyole has a homorganic nasal morpheme for the first-person singular and for class 9 and 10 prefix. However, when this nasal morpheme precedes a voiceless consonant, the nasal is not realized. This rule is universal (see Hyman, 2003):

- (14) /N/ > Ø / _ [p] / pasul / ‘swindle’ N+pasul-a > *pasula* ‘I swindle’
 /N/ > Ø / _ [t] / tafut / ‘interpret’ N+tafut-a > *tafuta* ‘I interpret’
 /N/ > Ø / _ [s] / sun / ‘get’ N+sun-a > *suna* ‘I get’
 /N/ > Ø / _ [k] / kakan / ‘tremble’ N+kakan-a > *kakana* ‘I tremble’

However, when a nasal joins the voiceless fricative /h/, the /h/ is assimilated as a plosive at the point of articulation and the nasal is deleted.¹⁸ This process is shown in (15).

- (15) [h] > [k] / N_ / hola / ‘do’ N+hola > *kola* ‘I do’

When a nasal prefix is joined with /m/ or /n/, the prefix is not realized, as shown in (16).

However, when a nasal prefix is joined with the velar nasal /ŋ/, the combination result is /p/, as shown in (17). This is difficult to account for historically and phonologically (see Schadeberg, 1989).

¹⁷ The decision to orthographically represent [ç] as <hy> is discussed in chapter 6.

¹⁸ The point of articulation for this phoneme was velar historically, which may explain why it assimilates at that point when nasalized. Or it could be argued that the nasal is velar, rather than homorganic.

- (16) N- + N > N
/manya/ ‘know’ /N + manya/ > *manya* ‘I know’
- (17) N- + /ŋ/ > [p]
/ŋandiiha/ ‘write’ /N + ŋandiiha/ > *pandiiha* ‘I am writing’

When a nasal precedes a voiced consonant that is [-plosive], nasalization is realized and the following consonant becomes a plosive or an affricate at its same point of articulation. In (18) this occurs at each of three different points of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, and palatal.

- (18) a. [l] > [d] / N_ [lima] ‘dig’ /N+lima/ > *ndima* ‘I dig’
b. [β] > [b] / N_ [βoŋa] ‘bundle’ /N+boŋa/ > *mboŋa* ‘I bundle’
c. [β^w] > [b^w] / N_ [β^we:ga] ‘gain weight’ /N+bwega/ > *mbwega* ‘I gain weight’
d. [y] > [] / N_ [yaba] ‘to dig up’ /N+yaba/ > *njaba* ‘I dig up’

When a nasal joins a voiced plosive then Meinhof’s Law (also called the Ganda Law) goes into effect, as in (19).¹⁹ As shown by Morris (1963), this does not occur universally in Lunyole, as we see in (20).

- (19) /olu + gingi/ > *olugingi* ‘mountain’
/eN + gingi/ > *eŋingi* ‘mountains’
- (20) /olu + banjo/ > *olubanjo* ‘bird trap’
/eN + banjo/ > *embanjo* ‘bird traps’

2.5.5 Vowel harmony

Lunyole exhibits vowel harmony. When the vowel of a verb root is a midvowel (*e* or *o*), the vowel of the suffix is mid. This is particularly evident in the applicative constructions (see chapter 5). Example (21) shows the *-ir* applicative suffix on roots with the five different vowel qualities. The suffix remains *-ir* in (21a) and (21c) but assimilates to *-er* in (21b) when the preceding vowel is a midvowel.

¹⁹ Meinhof’s Law states that when a nasal is prefixed to a voiced consonant-initial stem the consonant is dropped and the nasal assumes its point of articulation.

The perfective suffix supplies us with a complex series of morphophonemic changes. The basic form of the perfective suffix is */-ire/*, and yet this underlying form surfaces as nine other forms, as shown in (24). The examples in (24), however, do not represent perfective suffixes only; some of the examples may include others such as the applicative *-ir*, and the causative *-is*, *-isi*, in combination with the *-ire* suffix. This area of morphophonemic change on perfective verb endings, especially involving multiple extensions, needs further analysis and description.

(24)	Verb Root	Root + perfective	Gloss
a.	<i>band</i>	<i>bandire</i>	'has flooded'
b.	<i>ɲos</i>	<i>ɲohiise</i>	'has cooled'
c.	<i>amuly</i>	<i>amulisye</i>	'has sneezed'
d.	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲaaye</i>	'has given'
e.	<i>saal</i>	<i>saaye</i>	'has given birth'
f.	<i>beer</i>	<i>beeye</i>	'has assisted'
g.	<i>ly</i>	<i>liye</i>	'has eaten'
h.	<i>hangul</i>	<i>hanguuye</i>	'has sun-dried'
i.	<i>f</i>	<i>fuuye</i>	'has died'
j.	<i>hool</i>	<i>hooye</i>	'has been broken off w/hands'
k.	<i>hw</i>	<i>hooye OR hwoye</i>	'has paid bridewealth'
l.	<i>bon</i>	<i>weene</i>	'has seen'
m.	<i>asam</i>	<i>aseeme</i>	'has gaped'

CHAPTER 3

GRAMMATICAL OVERVIEW

In this chapter I discuss some of the important features of Lunyole grammar, some of which will provide a foundation for understanding the applicative constructions(s) in chapter 5. This grammatical overview covers the following areas: nominal morphology including the extensive noun class system; the noun phrase including concord marking; predicate nominal constructions; verbal morphology including tense, aspect, and mood; valence adjusting operations; and finally a few elements of the verb phrase.

Payne (1997) likens the construction of a message to the construction of a building. Just as different builders use different methods of constructing a building, so different languages use different methods to construct a message. Payne identifies “three methods by which languages are used to accomplish communicative tasks. These methods are lexical, morphological, and analytic (or periphrastic)” (pp. 9-12). Where possible, I will show which of these methods are used to accomplish various morphosyntactic functions in Lunyole.

Lunyole is typical of Bantu languages in that it is agglutinative—words are often long, consisting of multiple morphemes that each express particular syntactic meaning. It utilizes both prefixes and suffixes, but no infixes. It is a head-marking language in that

affixes are primarily found on the phrase or word of the sentence that determines the syntactic function, e.g., nouns and verbs (Nichols, 1986).

Lunyole's morphological structure is exemplified in (25) where the verb stem (highlighted) bears four prefixes and three suffixes, each with a different function:

- (25) Mu-naha-**ji-n-deet**-er-e-ho olu-ndi
 2p-FUT2-C10-1s-bring-APL-SUBJ-ASP C11-other.day
You (pl.) will bring them (oranges) for me another day.

3.1. Constituent order

The basic constituent order of Lunyole is SVO: subject, verb, and object.²⁰ It closely follows Greenberg's (1963) correlations with SVO languages in the following ways: It utilizes prepositions rather than postpositions; genitives and modifiers follow the noun; relative clauses follow the head noun; in comparative constructions the adjective precedes the marker, which precedes the standard; and inflected auxiliaries precede the verb.

The following are examples of constituent order of one and two argument clauses. Example (26) is a one-argument construction showing the SV constituent order, while (27) exhibits the basic Agent, Verb, Patient (AVP) order:

- (26) Omu-**geni** a-ta-ol-a
 C1-visitor 3s-NEG-arrive-FV
The visitor has not arrived.
- (27) Omu-**geni** a-ly-a en-yeeni
 C1-visitor 3s-NEG-eat-FV C9-fish
The visitor has eaten fish.

Question markers are expected to be sentence initial according to Greenberg's (1963) universals. In this way Lunyole exhibits some deviation from them. Question

²⁰ Word order is flexible, however, when certain arguments are focused. See section 5.2.2 on argument order. This area of Lunyole syntax needs further investigation.

markers in Lunyole are found both sentence initial and sentence final. The question word in a subject-content question is sentence initial but sentence final for object-content questions. This corresponds with the SVO word order. The following examples, both from *Olugero lw'Omuyaaye* 'The Story of Conman' (see Appendix B) are of each type: The question marker in (28) is a subject-content question with the question marker at the beginning of the sentence. Example (29) is an object-content question with the question marker occurring sentence final.

- (28) **Hi-na** ehi-n-di-ho? Hi-ŋwabo?
 C7-what C7-1s-be-LOC C7-curse
What is on me? A curse?
- (29) Ni e-namba ya e-motoka e-twih-ire sigala e-ba-aye ji-nga?
 CONJ C10-numbers C9:ASC C9-vehicle C9-load-PRF C10:cigarettes C10-be-PRF C10-how.many
What was the registration number of the vehicle that loaded the cigarettes?
 (Lit., *The numbers of the vehicle that loaded the cigarettes were how many?*)

Lunyole allows multiple objects within the basic case frame of certain ditransitive verbs. Indirect objects are found following the direct object (30a) and applied objects (see chapter 5) occur in the direct object position (30b):

- (30) a. Musimami g-a-ŋah-ire omw-ana ama-futa
 M. 3s-PST-smear-PRF C1-child C6-oil
Musimami smeared the child with oil.
- b. Musimami g-a-ŋah-i-iyē Awori omw-ana ama-futa
 M. 3s-PST-smear-APL-PRF A. C1-child C6-oil
Musimami smeared the child with oil for Awori.

3.2 Nominal morphology

In this section I discuss the various components and features of a Lunyole noun, including the initial vowel or augment, the noun class system, and various nominalization processes. The prototypical Lunyole noun comprises two obligatory morphemes: a root and a noun class prefix. The noun may also bear an augment, which is also called an

initial vowel. Derived nouns bear a derivational suffix. The structure of a basic noun is shown in (31).

(31) Noun = (IV)NC-ROOT-(DERIV)

3.2.1 Noun class system

As is characteristic of Bantu languages, each noun belongs to one of 21 arbitrary classes. Bantu languages have as many as 23 different classes available to them (Guthrie, 1971; Meussen, 1967; Welmers, 1973). This number includes both singular and plural forms of a single root. Table 3 shows the 21 different Lunyole noun classes with their prefixes and the semantic content of each class.

Table 3
Noun Classes: Prefixes and Semantic Content

Class	Augment	Prefix	General semantic content
1	<i>o-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	Persons
1a	-	∅	Various
2	<i>a-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	Regular plural of C1 and C1a
3	<i>o-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	Trees/plants, nonpaired body parts
4	<i>e-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	Regular plural of C3
5	<i>e-</i>	-	Paired body parts
6	<i>a-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	Masses, regular plural of C5, C11, and C15
7	<i>e-</i>	<i>hi-</i>	Inanimate objects
8	<i>e-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	Regular plural for C7
9	<i>e-</i>	<i>(N)-</i>	Animals, body parts
10	<i>e-</i>	<i>(N)-</i>	Regular plural for C9 and C11
11	<i>o-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	Long, thin items
12	<i>a-</i>	<i>ha-</i>	Diminutive
13	<i>o-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	Liquid diminutives
14	<i>o-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	Abstracts, regular plural for C12
15	<i>o-</i>	<i>hu-</i>	Infinitives, body parts (arm and leg)
16	<i>a</i>	<i>ɲa</i>	Location terms (near)
17	<i>o</i>	<i>hu</i>	Location terms (on)
18	<i>o</i>	<i>mu</i>	Location terms (in)
20	<i>o-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	Augmentative
22	<i>a-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	Regular plural of C20
23	<i>e</i>	-	Location terms (at/to)

Source: Adapted from Welmers (1973) and Katamba (2003).

The numbers in Table 3 follow Welmers' (1973),²¹ which is commonly used to describe Bantu noun classes. Table 3 also shows how the semantic category of the nouns in each of these categories can be somewhat generalized, but there are many instances where nouns do not match the semantic category listed (see also Katamba, 2003, pp. 115-116).²²

²¹ Lunyole has 21 of 23 noun classes in Welmers' (1973); Lunyole does not have class 19 or 21.

²² See Appendix A, Table A-1 for other a complete list of class prefixes.

These classes can be grouped into twelve pairs, as in Table 4. The singular forms do not necessarily have just one plural counterpart, nor do the plural forms have just one singular counterpart. For example, classes 1 and 1a share class 2 as their plural counterpart, and the singular class 11 has two plural counterparts, classes 6 and 10. Maho (2003) calls these polyplural classes.

Noun classes 16, 17, 18, and 23 are locative and do not have plural counterparts.²³ These locative classes are not like the others; they are pre-prefixed and form a locative noun (see section 3.3.1).

Table 4
Noun Classes in Singular and Plural Pairs

Gender	Classes	Singular/Plural Example	Gloss
I	1 & 2	<i>omuhasi/abahasi</i>	'woman'
II	1a & 2	<i>nalutu/abanalutu</i>	'green snake'
III	3 & 4	<i>omuyembe/emiyembe</i>	'orange (fruit)'
IV	5 & 6	<i>erima/amalima</i>	'season or year'
V	7 & 8	<i>ehibiriti/ebibiriti</i>	'matchstick'
VI	9 & 10	<i>enjuhi/enjuhi (identical)</i>	'bee'
VII	11 & 6	<i>oluhoola/amahoola</i>	'banana fiber'
VIII	11 & 10	<i>olunyiriri/enyiriri</i>	'row or line'
IX	12 & 14	<i>ahabindi/obubindi</i>	'small pot'
X	13 & 14	<i>otuji/obuji</i>	'small (cup of) water'
XI	15 & 6	<i>ohugulu/amagulu</i>	'leg'
XII	20 & 21	<i>ogusaaaja/agasaaaja</i>	'giant'

Proper names refer to particular persons, places, or things, but they do not normally bear noun class prefixes. Their inherent class is evident on any modifiers

²³ Class 23 is a defective noun class in that while there is evidence for it, it is scarce.

through concord marking, as well as being evident on the subject and object agreement marking on the verb. (For more on concord marking, see section 3.3.1.)

There are two classes of proper names: names of persons and names of places. Persons are generally in noun class 1, while names of most places—including towns, cities, countries, and continents—are in noun class 9.

3.2.2 Augment

The default Lunyole noun bears an augment, also called an initial vowel. The augment is determined by its particular noun class (see Table 3 in section 3.2.1). Hyman & Katamba (1994) have shown that the augment in Luganda “often involves an intricate interplay of phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic/pragmatic factors—in other words, the augment typically impacts on all parts of the grammar of a Bantu language” (p. 209). Lunyole is not unlike Luganda in this.

The basic tone of the augment on words spoken in isolation is polar,²⁴ though when used in a phrase and found sandwiched between high tones, the tone is high.

While a noun form normally bears the augment, Lunyole nouns do not bear the augment in three particular constructions: (a) when the noun is singled out from a group, or brought into focus, as in predicate nominal constructions (see section 3.4); (b) when the noun follows a locative preposition; and (c) in certain negative constructions (see 3.6.2). These three constructions are shown in examples (32) to (34).

- (32) A-hi-ta-ye hu meeza y' **o-mu-hasi.**
 3s-C7-put-PRF on C9:table C9:ASC IV-C1-woman
He put it on the woman's table.

²⁴ A polar tone is one that is high before a low tone, and low before a high tone.

- (33) A-hi-ta-ye hu meeza ya **mu-hasi**.
 3s-C7-put-PRF on C9:table C9:ASC C1-woman
He put it on the woman's table (as opposed to another's).
- (34) Si **mu-twe** gwa **mbusi** ogu-li mu lu-gudo.
 NEG C3-head C3:ASC C9:goat C3-be C18:in C11-road
It is not a goat's head in the road.

The presence of the locative prepositions *hu* 'on' (32) and (33) and *mu* 'in' (34) results in the absence of the augment on the following noun.²⁵ In example (34) the presence of the negative marker requires the absence of the augment on *mutwe* 'head.' Example (32) bears the augment on *omuhasi* 'woman' in contrast to example (33) where the absence of the augment on *muhasi* singles out (brings in to focus) the table of the woman as opposed to the table of another.

Finally, the augment may be found in all noun classes with the exception of class 23. There are, however, relatively few examples of the augment on the locative noun classes 16, 17, and 18. Two are shown in (35) and (36).

- (35) a-**ŋa**-tu
 IV-C16-place
some place (not near here)
- (36) a-**ŋa**-li-ri ŋano
 IV-C16-C5-be now
right now (lit., Where it [the sun] is now)

3.2.3 Pronouns

Pronouns include personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and relative pronouns. This section will describe the independent personal pronouns only.

Personal pronouns function as full noun phrases but are not required grammatically. They are used sparingly, primarily for emphasis or contrast, and primarily

²⁵ This is possibly a good argument for the preposition being a nominal prefix (class 16, 17, 18, or 23) rather than a separate word, though the fact that the augment is absent in other constructions lessens this possibility.

for persons, rather than for other nouns lower on the animacy hierarchy. While Lunyole has a full range of independent pronouns for every noun class, they are seldom used. (See Appendix A, Table A-1 for a complete list of independent pronouns by class). The independent pronouns for people, singular and plural, are found in (37).²⁶

(37)	Person	Singular	Plural
	1	ese	efe
	2	ewe	enywe
	3	ye	bo

Even when an independent personal pronoun is used, it registers agreement on the verb. Example (38) shows both the independent pronoun and subject agreement on the verb, a construction that shows emphasis on *enywe* ‘you (pl.).’ Example (39) is without the independent pronoun and carries less emphasis than (38), but remains grammatical. Example (40), includes the independent pronoun but is ungrammatical because it does not bear agreement marking on the verb.

(38) **Enywe** mu-na-ly-e hale
 2p:PRN 2p-FUT1-eat-SUBJ later
You (pl.) will eat later.

(39) **Mu**-na-ly-e hale
 2p-FUT1-eat-FV later
You (pl.) will eat later.

(40) *Enywe na-ly-e hale
 2p:PRN FUT1-eat-FV later
(You all will eat later.)

3.2.4 Dimunition and augmentation

Lunyole uses the noun class prefixes to form diminutives and augmentatives. Classes 12 and 14 prefixes (*aha-* and *obu-*) are singular and plural diminutives, respectively, while classes 20 and 22 prefixes (*ogu-* and *aga-*) are augmentative. Sometimes the diminutive

²⁶ Third person is noun class 1 (singular) and class 2 (plural).

connotes a good quality rather than small size, and the augmentative connotes a bad quality rather than largeness. Also, these diminutives cannot be used in conjunction with other class markers with the exception of the pre-prefixes from the locatives of classes 16, 17, and 18, (see 3.2.1). Table 5 is a list of nouns made diminutive or augmentative using the respective class prefixes.

Table 5
Noun Class Diminutives and Augmentatives

Noun	Diminutive (sg.) C12	Diminutive (pl.) C14
<i>omusaaja</i> ‘man’ (C1)	<i>ahasaaja</i> ‘small man’	<i>obusaaja</i> ‘small men’
<i>ehitabo</i> ‘book’ (C7)	<i>ahatabo</i> ‘small book’	<i>obutabo</i> ‘small books’
<i>embusi</i> ‘goat’ (C9)	<i>ahabusi</i> ‘small goat’	<i>obubusi</i> ‘small goats’
<i>olugano</i> ‘story’ (C11)	<i>ahagano</i> ‘short/good story’	<i>obugano</i> ‘short/good stories’
<i>ohugulu</i> ‘leg’ (C15)	<i>ahagulu</i> ‘small leg’	<i>otugulu</i> ‘small legs’ (C13)
<i>ohutwi</i> ‘ear’ (C15)	<i>ahatwi</i> ‘small ear’	<i>otutwi</i> ‘small ears’ (C13)
Noun	Augmentative (sg.) C20	Augmentative (pl.) C21
<i>ehitabo</i> ‘book’ (C7)	<i>ogutabo</i> ‘big book’	<i>agatabo</i> ‘big books’
<i>embusi</i> ‘goat’ (C9)	<i>ogubusi</i> ‘big goat’	<i>agabusi</i> ‘big goats’
<i>omusaaja</i> ‘man’ (C1)	<i>ogusaaja</i> ‘big/bad man’	<i>agasaaja</i> ‘big/bad man’

3.2.5 Nominalization

Lunyole has several morphological methods for deriving nouns from various roots. These nouns are formed with a root bearing a noun class prefix; some derivations require a nominalizing suffix. These nominalization processes produce the following types of nouns: verbal noun, agent, patient, product, quality, instrument, and location.

Verbal nouns (infinitives) are formed by affixing the class 15 prefix (*o*)*hu-* on a verb root. Class 15 nouns comprise verbal nouns almost exclusively.²⁷ Verbal nouns have all the characteristics of nouns: There is class 15 concord throughout the noun phrase and corresponding class 15 agreement marking on the verb. This is shown in (41) where the verb *genda* ‘walk’ bears the class 15 prefix *ohu-* and is in the place of direct object, immediately following the verb. In (42) the subject (agent) of a class 15 noun, which is derived from the verb *lwala* ‘be ill,’ marked with class 15 agreement *hwa-* on the verb. Likewise, in (43) the verb root *ega* ‘learn’ has been nominalized and includes class 15 concord throughout the noun phrase (head noun and possessive root), and throughout the clause.

- (41) N-enda **ohu**-genda
 1s-want C15-walk
I want to walk.
- (42) **Ohu**-lwala **hwa**-n-deet-eye ohu-gobola egongo mu mi-somo
 C15-sick C15-1s-bring-PRF C15-return ADV:back C18:LOC C3-studies
Sickness brought about my deterioration in school.
- (43) **Ohw**-ega **hu**-hwe si **hu**-pa ama-ani
 INF-learn C15 POSS NEG C15-1s.give C6-strength
His studies do not encourage me or I am not encouraged by his academic performance.

Agentive nouns are formed from verb roots by attaching a class 1 or 2 prefix and the word-final suffix *-i*. This process also applies to borrowed words and is a productive process.

- (44) a. *soma* ‘read’ *omusomi* ‘student’ (C1)
 b. *ɲiimi* ‘hunt’ *omuɲiimi* ‘hunter’ (C1)
 c. *iba* ‘to steal’ *omwibi* ‘thief’ (C1)
 d. *ɲandiha* ‘write’ *omuɲandiisi* ‘writer’ (C1)

²⁷ I identified only two exceptions in my data: *ohutwi* ‘head’ and *ohugulu* ‘leg.’

Patient nouns are derived from verbs in a process similar to agent nominalizations, but each bears the word-final suffix *-e* instead of *-i*. The noun bears the class prefix of the one being nominalized. The product of an action can be nominalized with the same process, using various class prefixes according to what is produced. All are human patients in (45), which take the class 1 prefix, and in (46) the products are from various noun classes.

- (45) Patient nominalization
- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. <i>hubb</i> ‘beat’ | <i>omuhubbe</i> ‘beaten one’ (C1) |
| b. <i>laam</i> ‘curse’ | <i>omulaame</i> ‘cursed one’ (C1) |
| c. <i>nyiy</i> ‘cook’ | <i>omunyiye</i> ‘cooked one’ (C1) |
- (46) Product nominalization
- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| a. <i>lim</i> ‘dig’ | <i>amalime</i> ‘cultivated land’ (C6) |
| b. <i>baaj</i> ‘craft with wood’ | <i>ehibaaje</i> ‘woodcraft’ (C7) |
| c. <i>hamb</i> ‘plait’ | <i>ehambe</i> ‘plaited one’ referring to hair (C9) |
| d. <i>golol</i> ‘iron’ | <i>olugolole</i> ‘ironed one’ (C12) |

A Lunyole verb root can be formed into a noun and the result is the instrument used to accomplish the act of the verb or the location where the action is carried out.

These nouns are formed with various class prefixes along with the suffixes *-iro* or *-o*.²⁸

Example (47) lists instrument nominalizations in various noun classes, while (48) lists location nominalizations in various classes.

- (47) Instrument nominalization
- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| a. <i>lob</i> ‘fish with a line’ | <i>omulobo</i> ‘fishing hook’ (C3) |
| b. <i>jeh</i> ‘laugh’ | <i>amajehero</i> ‘front teeth/incisors’ (C6) |
| c. <i>ηway</i> ‘wave’ | <i>ehiηwayiro</i> ‘slasher’ (C7) |
| d. <i>hubbag</i> ‘thresh’ | <i>ehihubbagiro</i> ‘threshing tool’ (C7) |
| e. <i>beeh</i> ‘carry on the back’ | <i>embeehero</i> ‘cloth for carrying child’ (C9) |

²⁸ For instrument and location nominalization, the basic suffix is *-iro*, and *-ero* is due to vowel harmony, and *-o* is a shortened form.

- (48) Location nominalization
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| a. <i>lwal</i> ‘sick’ | <i>edwaliro</i> ‘hospital’ (C5) |
| b. <i>lim</i> ‘dig’ | <i>endimiro</i> ‘field/garden’ (C9) |
| c. <i>som</i> ‘study/read’ | <i>esomero</i> ‘school’ (C9) |
| d. <i>egang</i> ‘medically treat’ | <i>egangiro</i> ‘dispensary’ (C5) |
| e. <i>seng</i> ‘sacrifice’ | <i>esengero</i> ‘place of sacrifice’ (C9) |
| f. <i>siih</i> ‘bury’ | <i>amasiihiro</i> ‘graveyard’ (C6) |

Lunyole uses a productive derivational process to nominalize—almost exclusively—adjectival roots using the class 14 prefix *obu-*, and the result is a noun of that quality, as in

(49). There are similar constructions that take an agent noun and produce the occupation of the noun, as in (50), though this is not a productive process.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (49) | Adjective root | Quality |
| | a. <i>bbala</i> ‘big’ | <i>obubbala</i> ‘bigness’ |
| | b. <i>sija</i> ‘deaf’ | <i>obusija</i> ‘deafness’ |
| | c. <i>leeji</i> ‘long’ | <i>obuleeji</i> ‘length’ |
| | d. <i>fujū</i> ‘blunt’ | <i>obufuujū</i> ‘bluntness’ |
| | e. <i>afu</i> ‘poor’ | <i>owaafu</i> ‘poverty’ |
| | f. <i>siru</i> ‘stupid’ | <i>obusiru</i> ‘stupidity’ |
-
- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| (50) | Agent | Occupation |
| | a. <i>omulogo</i> ‘witch’ | <i>obulogo</i> ‘witchcraft’ |
| | b. <i>omwami</i> ‘chief’ | <i>owami</i> ‘chieftainship’ |

Finally, when prefixes of typically nonhuman classes are affixed to human roots the result is a human with a particular characteristic, often pejorative. For example, humans may be referred to as less than human by affixing a prefix from noun classes 7 or 8 (classes typically reserved for ‘things’), thereby implying that the person is unattractive or not presentable; it is often used with a bite of sarcasm. In (51), where *omuhasi* ‘woman’ would normally be a class 1 noun, the speaker uses a class 7 prefix on the noun to imply someone who is less than a wife, i.e., like an object.

- (51) Ga-fun-ire-ŋo **ehi**-hasi ehi-mu-hum-ir-a ŋa-engo
 3s-get-ASP-C16:LOC C7-woman C7-3s-keep-BEN-FV C16-home
He got a woman to take care of his home.

By using prefixes from classes other than the normal or unmarked ones, people can be characterized in marked ways: as animals by using classes 9, which carries the connotation of a deceiver; as tall and lanky by using class 11; as small in size or status by using the diminutive class 12; and, as big and ugly, or having bad character by using the augmentative class 20.

3.3 The noun phrase

The Lunyole noun phrase may include modifiers including numbers, quantifiers, adjectives (or adjective phrase), demonstratives, possessives, and relative clauses. The adjective phrase may also include an intensifier, which immediately follows the quality it intensifies and is not marked with concord (see 3.3). An example of the head noun and its modifiers is shown in (52).

- (52) E-bbutusi e-biri em-bala obugali e-mali j-ange
 C10-boots C10-two C10-big INT C10-black C10-my
My two very big black boots

3.3.1 Noun concord

Typical of Bantu languages, Lunyole has an extensive concord marking system within the noun phrase. Concord is not to be confused with agreement. Concord is a phenomenon that exhibits a morphological connection, using class prefixes, between the head noun of a noun phrase and its modifiers. Agreement is a phenomenon that links the head of the verb phrase with its core arguments—subject and direct object. Subject and object agreement prefixes are in noun class concord with their corresponding arguments (for a complete list of subject and object agreement markers by class, see Table A-1, in Appendix A).

The class of the head noun determines the class for all its modifiers in the noun phrase, including adjective, intensifier, number, demonstrative, possessor, associative, and relativizer.²⁹ For example, in (53), the head noun *agabbutusi* ‘boots,’ is from class 22 and so its modifiers all bear class 22 concord.

- (53) **aga-bbutusi** **gago** **ago** **aga-biri** **aga-mali**
 C22-boots C22:DEM C22:POSS C22-two C22-black
Those two big black boots of his

The augmentative prefix from noun class 22 is used in (53), though the same meaning could have been communicated, though not as naturally, using noun class 10, as in (54):

- (54) **e-bbutusi** **ji-jo** **e-biri** **e-mali** **em-bala**
 C10-boots C10-DEM C10-two C10-black C10-big
Those two big black boots

The locative classes 16, 17, and 18 behave differently than the other classes.

Prefixes from these classes may appear as pre-prefixes, appearing in conjunction with the prefixes of the normal noun classes, thereby forming a locative noun. This is shown in (55), where there is concord from the class 9 noun *enyumba* ‘house’ in (55a), but in (55b), when an already inflected noun bears the locative prefix the remainder of the noun phrase bears the concord of the locative classes forming a locative noun.

- (55) a. **en-yumba** **yi-no**
 C9-house C9-this
This house
- b. **mu-n-yumba** **mu-no**
 C18-C9-house C18-this
Inside this house

²⁹ See Appendix A for a list of all the noun class prefixes for each category of modifier.

3.3.2 Modifiers

Lunyole modifiers fall into several categories: descriptive adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, possessors, demonstratives (deixis), and the relative clause. Modifiers follow the nouns they modify and their noun class prefix marking scheme is slightly different than that for nouns.

An adjective is formed from an adjectival root with a class prefix in concord with the head noun. Attributive adjectives are marked with a prefix identical to the noun prefix. The prefixes for these modifiers differ in some classes from the subject and object marking prefixes. In (56), the noun class 10 prefix *e-* on *bbutusi* ‘boots’ is identical for noun, adjective, number, and possessive, though on the possessive it is realized as a palatal approximant [y] due to the vowel-initial root (see 2.5.3).

- (56) **e**-bbutusi **e**-biri **e**-mali **j**-ange
 C10-boots C10-two C10-black C10-my
My two black boots

Lunyole has at least eight categories of quantifiers. These are differentiated from numerals described in the next section. Quantifiers can be used as modifiers in conjunction with a head noun or they can be used pronominally. In either case, the prefix is in concord with the class of the noun it represents. (Appendix A, Table A-4, is a complete list of these eight quantifiers by noun class.) They are reduplicated for emphasis: *byosibyosi* ‘every one of them’ (C8).

Example (57) offers a sample of each of the various quantity pronouns. They are formed with a quantifier root and class prefix. They can be used with an overt noun or may stand alone as pronouns.

(57)	Quantity	Structure	Example	Parsed Example
a.	<i>ombi</i> ‘both’	Obj pfx + <i>ombi</i>	<i>bombi</i> ‘both (people)’	/ba-ombi/ (C2)
b.	<i>ondatu</i> ‘all three’	Obj pfx + <i>ondatu</i>	<i>jondatu</i> ‘all three’	/ji-ondatu/ (C10)
c.	<i>one</i> ‘all four’	Obj pfx + <i>one</i>	<i>goone</i> ‘all four’	/ga-one/ (C6)
d.	<i>osi</i> ‘all’	Obj pfx + <i>osi</i>	<i>byosi</i> ‘all’	/bi-osi/ (C8)
e.	<i>ηene</i> ‘only’	Obj pfx + <i>ηene</i>	<i>lyoηene</i> ‘only’	/li-oηene/ (C5)
f.	<i>tono</i> ‘few/little’	Sub pfx + <i>tono</i>	<i>tono</i> ‘little’	/n-tono/ (C10)
g.	<i>ngi</i> ‘many/much’	Sub pfx + <i>ngi</i>	<i>bangi</i> ‘many (people)’	/ba-ngi/ (C2)

Lunyole uses a base ten counting system. Numbers one through five, which are historically pure Lunyole, may be inflected as modifiers. Numbers six through ten, which are from Luganda, are not inflected and may stand alone. The first five number roots in order are: *lala*, *biri*, *datu*, *ne*, and *taanu*. When each takes the class 9 prefix, as they are when counting, they are: *ndala*, *ebiri*, *edatu*, *ene*, and *etaanu*. Using historically pure Lunyole one could count to one billion. Beyond this, the Banyole traditionally were not specific and used *cikumi mu ganyaasi* ‘one hundred in grass,’ or ‘uncountable.’

3.3.3 Demonstratives

Lunyole has an extensive deictic system. Demonstratives point to specific nouns and assist in tracking the nouns in a discourse. They are formed with one of three demonstrative roots plus the noun class prefix of the noun being pointed to, or referred to (see Appendix A, Table A-3 for a complete list of demonstratives by class). The demonstrative roots are: near the speaker, near the hearer or within sight, and far away. While demonstratives are more typically found following the head noun as a part of the noun phrase, they may also stand alone as the head of the noun phrase, as in (58) where there are two demonstrative noun phrases:

- (58) Ama-ani ga **ji-no** ga-singa aga **ej-o**
 C6-strong C6:ASC C10-DEM C6-greater C6:ASC C10-DEM
The strength of these is greater than those.

3.3.4 Possessives

There are six possessive roots: first-, second-, or third-person, both singular and plural. The possessive root bears the possessive class prefix of the noun being possessed. (The prefix duplicated for second and third person singular. See Appendix A, Table A-2 for a complete list of personal possessives.) These possessors may stand alone, in the same form, as possessive pronouns, as in English ‘yours’ and ‘mine.’ This possessive construction always follows the noun being possessed unless the possessive construction is itself a possessive pronoun. The following shows a basic possessive noun phrase:

- (59) omu-hasi w-ange
 C1-woman C1-1s:POSS
My wife
- (60) Ama-aji g-ange ga-li ɲena?
 C6-water C6-1s:POSS C6-be where?
Where is my water?

Finally, tone plays a critical role in distinguishing a predicate possessive construction from an attributive possessive noun phrase. The only difference is the tone on the final vowel of the noun.³⁰ This is shown in the following two examples:

- (61) Ómu-píira gw-ânge
 C3-football C3-POSS
My football
- (62) Ómu-píirá gw-ânge
 C3-football C3-POSS
The football is mine.

Certain nouns—important social relationships, specifically—may take a shortened form of the possessive marker that is affixed to the noun:³¹

³⁰ Tone has not been sufficiently analyzed to include a fuller description in this paper. The tone marking in this construction is expected only to show the contrast of two otherwise segmentally identical forms.

(63)	Long possessive form	Short possessive form
	a. <i>meri wuwo</i> ‘your friend’	<i>meriwo</i> ‘your friend’
	b. <i>muganda wuwe</i> ‘his brother’	<i>mugandawe</i> ‘his brother’
	c. <i>maama wuwo</i> ‘your mother’	<i>maawo</i> ‘your mother’

3.3.5 Associative marker

The associative marker links two nouns that are associated with each other, often a semantic relationship of possession. The associative marker is formed by affixing the noun class prefix of the head noun on the root /a/ (see Appendix A, Table A-1 for a complete list of associative markers by noun class). The order of this construction is: noun (possessee), associative marker, and possessor (head noun), so the prefix of the associative marker is in concord with the class of the head noun. This construction is shown in (64):

(64)	Omu-hasi	w-a	George
	C1-wife	C1-ASC	George
	<i>George’s wife</i>		

3.4 Predicate nominals and existentials

Lunyole uses several methods to form nonverbal predicates and existentials. In this section I describe these methods and show in which context each are used.

3.4.1 Methods of forming predicate nominals

Lunyole uses three methods to form nonverbal predicate constructions: (a) the predicate is an isolated noun phrase (without the augment) [NP], (b) a juxtaposition of two noun phrases without a copula [NP NP], and (c) a copula between two noun phrases [NP COP NP]. In each case, the first (or only) noun phrase is the subject.

³¹ There are no nouns in Lunyole that are grammatically marked as inalienably possessed.

- (75) Ama-twi g-ange ma-tono *Juxtaposition*
 C6-ears C6-POSS C6-small
My ears are small.
- (76) G-a-li-nga mu-leeŋi *Copula (li) + tense/aspect*
 3s-PST-COP-PROG C1-tall
He used to be tall.
- (77) A-li-ba mu-leeŋi *Copula (ba) + tense/aspect*
 3s-FUT3-COP C1-tall
He will be tall.

Predicate locatives are formed exclusively with the copula *li* along with a locative prefix from noun classes 16, 17, or 18, followed by the locative noun phrase. These can either use a prepositional phrase as, in (78) and (79),³³ or a locative suffix on the verb as in (80), where the exact location is not overt.

- (78) Mwima a-li **hu** nyumba
 M. 3s-COP C17:LOC house
Mwima is on the house.
- (79) E-kapa yi-ri **mu** kuliiti
 C9-cat C9-be C18:LOC under.bed
The cat is under the bed.
- (80) Mwima a-li-**mo**
 M. 3s-COP-C18:LOC
Mwima is inside.

3.4.3 Existentials

The existential construction in Lunyole is formed with a semantically empty locative subject prefix from noun classes 16, 17, or 18, and a locative suffix of the same class, as shown in (81) to (83). In other words, the class of the locative subject prefix determines

³³ What I describe here as prepositions are clearly from the locative noun classes (16, 17, and 18). It is unclear, however, whether they should be analyzed as prepositions or prefixes. Nurse and Phillipson (2003) refer to “two patterns of locative formation, the use of classes 16-18 vs. the use of prepositions” (p. 7), and later say that most Bantu languages have few real prepositions (p. 9). Most Bantuists refer to morphemes like those in (78) and (79) as prepositions. The current Lunyole orthography prescribes writing this morpheme as a separate word. However, new Lunyole writers who do not have the knowledge of this spelling rule often connect this morpheme to the following noun, thereby giving weight to the argument that they are prefixes or ‘pre-prefixes’ (see 6.2).

the class of the locative suffix (C16: *ŋa-* -*ŋo*; C17: *hu-* -*ho*; C18: *mu-* -*mo*; see Appendix A, Table A-1). The choice of the class is determined by the location of the predicate; class 16 *ŋa-* ‘near’ is the default for existentials. Lunyole existential constructions in the past and present tenses are formed with the copula *li*. Future tenses use the copula *ba*.

- (81) **Da-li-ŋo** e-kapa e-yi-ri mu kuliiti.
 C16-be-C16.LOC C5-cat REL-C5-be C18:LOC under.bed
There is a cat (that is) under the bed.
- (82) **Hu-li-ho** e-bbugumu
 C17-be-C17.LOC C5-heat
It is hot or (lit., There is heat on).
- (83) **Mu-li-mo** e-kapa mu kuliiti
 C18-be-C18.LOC C5-cat C18:LOC under.bed
There is a cat under the bed.

The existential locative in (81) is similar to the predicate locative in (79), where agreement on the verb *yi-* is from class 9. In (81), however, the *Da-* prefix (C16) on the verb is an empty morpheme, i.e., it is not in concord with a noun, overt or otherwise.

The negative existential is formed using the verb *bula* ‘lack’ as in (84). The construction of the verb in existential constructions allows full tense and aspect marking as in (84) to (87).

- (84) **Mu-bula-mo** e-kapa mu kuliiti
 C18-lack-C18.LOC C5-cat C18:LOC under.bed
There is not a cat underneath the bed.
- (85) **Da-na-be-ŋo** ama-hina ohu-hyesa
 C16-FUT1-be-C16.LOC C5-dancing C15-break.day
There will be dancing through the night.
- (86) **Da-a-li-nga-ŋo** e-kapa mu kuliiti
 C16-PST-be-HAB-C16.LOC C5-cat C18:LOC under.bed
There used to be a cat under the bed.
- (87) **Hu-a-li-ho** e-bbugumu
 C17-PST-be-C17.LOC C5-heat
It was hot.

3.5 Verbal morphology

The Lunyole verb has a complex structure with a potential of 10 morpheme slots. Each slot may contain multiple morphemes. The fusion of morphemes, especially on verbal suffixes, makes parsing difficult. This section briefly discusses several verbal morpheme categories, including agreement, tense, aspect, mood, and a few of the valence-changing extensions.

The verb is marked for agreement, corresponding to the arguments of the clause. It is also morphologically marked for tense, aspect, mood, and may bear various valence increasing and decreasing morphemes. These valence-adjusting morphemes include the applicative, causative, reversive, and reciprocal.

Example (88) offers a framework of the verb root with all potential affixes.

(88)

-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
Initial NEG / ADV	Subject agreement	NEG	T/A	Object agreement	RFLX	Root	Extensions APL, CAUS, PASS	T/A	FV

The framework in (88) shows two slots for negatives for the two different negative marking strategies (see 3.6.2). The indirect object agreement slot may carry multiple objects (see 5.2.2). The extension slot covers a variety of valence-changing suffixes (see 3.5.3).

3.5.1 Agreement

The Lunyole verb is marked with obligatory subject agreement, while object agreement marking is not obligatory. The subject agreement prefix normally occurs as the first

morpheme on the verb unless there is negation or other adverbial morphemes (see 3.6).

Agreement marking is discussed further in section 5.2.1.

3.5.2 Tense, aspect, and mood

Lunyole has an extensive system of expressing tense, aspect, and mood, and not all are marked morphologically. Wandera (2004) has described it in detail, and I provide here a relatively brief description, and I include all methods of marking. I have had to separate tense, aspect, and mood, but it is clear that they are intertwined.

Table 6
Lunyole Tenses and Timeframe

Tense	Timeframe	Affixes
Far Past	From distant past to one week ago	a- OR a- + -ire (tone)
Recent Past	From one week ago to present day sunrise	a- + -ire
Hodiernal Past	From present day sunrise to five minutes ago	-ire
Immediate Past 2	From five minutes past to the present	(a)ha-
Immediate Past 1	Just a moment ago	(a)ha- + -nga
Present	Present moment	Ø
Hodiernal Future	From present time to the coming sunrise	na- + -e
Near Future	From the coming sunrise to one week from now	naha- + -e
Distant Future	From one week from now to distant future	li- + -a

Lunyole morphologically marks tense, primarily with verbal prefixes. There are five past, one present, and three future tenses, all relative to a particular reference point in time.

Lunyole tenses and time frame are shown in Table 6.

While segmental morphology may be enough to communicate most timeframes, Lunyole also uses tone to distinguish one past tense, as well as time-related adverbs like ‘yesterday’ and ‘this morning’ to further clarify the timeframe.

There are five past tenses in Lunyole, all of which are marked morphologically: two immediate pasts, a hodiernal³⁴ past, a recent past, and a distant or general past. With the exception of the immediate past tenses, the temporal boundaries for these tenses are flexible, influenced by the aspect on the verb as well as the context.

The immediate past is used to communicate that something has just happened, usually within five minutes or so. It is marked with the prefix *(a)ha-*, and to bring the immediacy even closer, the *-nga* suffix is added. These two immediate past constructions are shown in (89) and (90):

(89) **G-aha-tiina**
3s-PST1-go
He left a few minutes ago.

(90) **G-aha-tiina-nga**
3s-PST1-go-HAB
He left seconds ago.

When both subject and object are marked on the verb, the *aha-* prefix is placed between them, as in (91).

(91) **N-aha-mu-ŋa-nga** ehitabo.
1s-PST1-3s-give-HAB book
I just gave him the book (seconds ago).

The hodiernal past tense is used to mark events that happened earlier in the same day—between sunrise and up to five minutes previous. This tense is marked with the suffix *-ire* and no other tense marker.

(92) **Saaŋ-ire** mu mu-gamba
1s:slash-PRF in C3-morning
I slashed this morning.

³⁴ Crystal (1997) defines ‘hodiernal’ as a timeframe that is within the day. In Lunyole the day starts at sunrise. So 7:00 a.m. is *Esawa endala*, lit. ‘hour one.’

The recent past tense marks specific events that occurred before sunrise today and as far back as a week ago or so. It is marked with the general past tense prefix *a-* and the perfective aspect suffix *-ire*, as shown in the following:

- (93) Bbabba g-**a-it-ire** e-pologoma olw-ejo
 Father 3s-PAST-kill-PRF C9-lion C11-yesterday
Father killed a lion yesterday.

The distant past is marked the same way as the recent past, except for a difference in tone. The difference between a completed (perfective) event that happened, for example, yesterday, and an event that happened a month ago, may be distinguished by tone only. As seen in these next two examples, the tone patterns on these verbs are polar opposites (LHHHL vs. HLLLH):

- (94) Omu-goye gw-a-sítúh-íre
 C3-rope C3-PST-untie-PRF
The rope came untied (yesterday).

- (95) Omu-goye gw-á-situh-iré
 C3-rope C3-PST-untie-PRF
The rope came untied (long ago).

The tense prefix *a-*, when used with no other tense markers, marks a tense of more than a week ago. When using this marker alone, the exact time is not critical. In fact, it is used as a general past tense marker when no aspect is marked. It marks any time that is past and completed, and therefore is often used in storytelling.

- (96) Maama g-**a-lima** maido
 Mama 3s-PST-cultivate C1a:groundnuts
Mother grew groundnuts (last season).

- (97) Omw-ana oyo g-**a-soma** olw' ohu-taanu
 C1-child C1-that 3s-PST-read C11:ASC C17-Friday
That child went to school last Friday.

The present tense is unmarked in Lunyole, and is used with at least four aspects and moods: indicative, progressive (continuous), persistive, and habitual, all of which is described further in this section. Example (98) is present indicative.

- (98) A-lim-a
 3s-dig-FV
He digs (though he may not be digging now).

The unmarked present tense is also used as a historical present tense in Lunyole, which is common in narratives including storytelling. It is not marked differently than the regular present tense. It expresses time in the present tense, though it is clear that the events are past, as shown in (99) from *The Story of a Conman* (see Appendix B), which is told using the historical present tense.

- (99) G-ehal-a a-tandiih-a ohu-bala e-bbesa
 3s-sit-FV 3s-begin-FV C15-count C9-money
He sits down and begins to count money.

There are three morphological future tenses in Lunyole. These are clearly marked segmentally and are not distinguished by tone. Additionally, there are at least three auxiliary verbs that are used to form periphrastic futures that are more general in their time reference.

The hodiernal future tense distinguishes an event that will happen within the day. It is marked by the prefix *na-* and the final vowel *-e*. The near future tense marks an event that will happen between tomorrow and up to one week from now. It is marked by the prefix *naha-* and the final vowel *-e*. The distant future tense marks an event that will happen anywhere from the coming week to any time beyond that in the distant future. It is marked by the prefix *li-* and it differs from the other future tenses in that the final vowel on the verb is *-a*. Each of the future tenses are shown in the following examples.

- (100) **A-na-j-e** *Hodiernal future*
 3s-FUT1-come-FV
He will come (later today).
- (101) **A-naha-j-e** *Near future*
 3s-FUT2-come-FV
He will come (after today).
- (102) **A-li-j-a** *Distant future*
 3s-FUT3-come-FV
He will come (a long time from now).

Finally, Lunyole uses at least three auxiliary verbs and an adjectival root (meaning ‘shortly’) to communicate, even predict, a future event without tense marking on the verb. The auxiliary verbs used in this construction are: *tiina* ‘go,’ as shown in (103); *enda* ‘want,’ as shown in (104); and *ja* ‘come,’ as shown in (105). This construction is formed with an auxiliary verb marked with agreement and the main verb marked with agreement and without tense marking (present tense). The verbs *tiina* and *ja* can be used in conjunction with each other, as in (105). Finally, the root *pi* ‘short’ is used adverbally to create a future tense in (106):

- (103) N-di hu-**tiina** ohu-gula ama-gi
 1s-be C15-go C15-buy C6-eggs.
I am going to buy eggs.
- (104) Em-busi yi-**enda** hu-fa
 C9-goat C9-want C15-die
The goat is going to die (lit., *The goat wants to die*).
- (105) A-**ja** hu-**ja** ejo
 3s-come C15-come tomorrow
He is going to come tomorrow.
- (106) A-li hu-**pi** hu-**tiina**
 3s-be C15-shortly C15-go
He is about to go or *He is going shortly.*

Lunyole exhibits at least six aspects, formed by some combination of morphological or periphrastic marking, or both. They are perfective, perfect, progressive, habitual, persistive, and punctiliar.

In regard to perfective and perfect aspects, it is important to clarify the terms used in this section, because these terms have been defined differently by different linguists. For purposes here, perfective aspect describes a complete event—past, present, or future—that may or may not have current relevance. Perfect aspect describes a complete event that has a current relevance. For example, ‘He has come’ (perfect) probably implies that he is here now, whereas ‘He came’ (perfective) does not; he may or may not be here now (from Payne, 1997, p. 240).

Lunyole has both a perfective and a perfect aspect. The perfective aspect takes the basic marking for tense, and does not utilize auxiliary verbs. The following example is in the recent past tense (using *a-* + *-ire*),³⁵ and it carries no current relevant state.

(107) Hu-**a-hin-ire** ow-iire wosiwosi
 1p-PAST-dance-PRF C14-night C14:all
We danced all night.

Perfect aspect in Lunyole uses the auxiliary verbs *li* ‘to be’ for the distant past and *ba* ‘to be’ for all other tenses. (This tense-marking strategy using auxiliaries is the same throughout all aspects: *li* on the distant past and *ba* on the others.) The auxiliaries in each case are inflected for tense and the main verb bears the *-ire* suffix. Example (108) shows a relevant state using the perfect aspect; there is a connection between the rain coming and the digging being completed.

³⁵This construction is isomorphic with the recent past tense described earlier. This is a good example of the inability to completely separate tense and aspect.

- (108) E-fula aṅa y-a-gwir-iye, **g-a-li** a-lim-ire
 C9-rain at.time C9-PST-fall-PRF 3s-PST-be 3s-dig-PRF
By the time it rained, he had (already) dug.

If perfectives look at an event from the outside as a completed whole then imperfectives look at an event as an ongoing process from the inside. In Lunyole, the imperfective category comprises the habitual, progressive, and persistive aspects, and each of these is marked with relatively distinct morphology.

The progressive aspect indicates a dynamic, ongoing or continuous process; it is viewed as a single event rather than repeated (iterative) action. Lunyole progressive aspect bears only the marking for the infinitive (C15) on the main verb (verbal noun); the auxiliary verb carries the marking in the various tenses. Examples (109) to (111) show the progressive aspect in present, past, and future tenses, respectively.

- (109) **A-li hu-hola**
 3s-be C15-work
He is working.

- (110) **G-a-ba-ye a-hola**
 3s-PST-be-PRF 3s-work
He was working (recent past).

- (111) **A-na-b-e a-hola**
 3s-FUT1-be-FV 3s-work
He will be working (near future).

The habitual aspect, while similar to the progressive aspect, asserts that an event or action regularly or habitually takes place. For example, I have been regularly working on this thesis each day for the past few weeks. In this way, I am habitually writing though I will not continue the habit indefinitely.

The two methods of marking the habitual aspect on the verb are both morphological. One uses the suffix *-nga* while the other uses suffix *-irir*.

The suffix *-nga* is used primarily for habitual action over a particular time, rather than general habitual behaviour. Unlike the other aspects, this habitual aspect construction does not utilize auxiliary verbs.

- (112) Na-saana-**nga** hiisi olu g-a-ja-**nga**
 1s-slash-HAB every when 3s-PAST-come-HAB
I was slashing every time he came.

This aspect is also used to refer to events that happened habitually in the past. But there is some question as to how a recent tense (immediate and hodiernal pasts, and hodiernal future) can really bear the habitual aspect because the emphasis is on the brief timeframe rather than the extended action, and habitual actions cannot be formed in a short time.

In Lunyole, when this habitual construction is used with these recent tenses it does not necessarily communicate a habitual aspect but an ongoing action simultaneous with another event, in a somewhat regular manner, or continual over a short period of time, as shown in (113).

- (113) A-na-hol-e-**nga** ni a-duhana
 3s-FUT1-work-HAB CNJ 3s-quarrel
He will quarrel while he works.

The second type of habitual construction, marked with the suffix */-irir/*, refers to habitual or durative behavior, the kind that could be translated in English, ‘He is always...’ This same suffix, however, can imply a durative aspect, depending on the context. This is shown in example (114).

- (114) A-ly-**irir**-a ηasi w’ omu-saala ogw-o
 3s-eat-HAB-FV under of C3-tree C9-that
He is always eating under that tree (e.g., daily and over many days).

The following examples in (115) show this same morpheme expressing iterative and durative aspects:

- (115) a. *ohuhubba* ‘to beat’ *ohuhubbirira* ‘to flog’ (Iterative)
 b. *ohuṅenyuha* ‘to sleep’ *ohuṅenyuhirira* ‘to sleep in’ (Durative)

The persistive aspect marks a previous event as continuing at a particular point in time, which may be either explicit or implicit. The persistive is marked by the verbal prefix *hi-*.

- (116) Aṅa semwana a-a-fir-iye a-a-li a-**hi**-soma
 When his.father 3s-PST-lost-PRF 3s-PST-be 3s-PERSIS-read
When he lost his father he was still in school.

Finally, there is a particular aspect in Lunyole that expresses a notion of brevity of an action.³⁶ It is marked on the verb with the locative morpheme *-ho*.³⁷ Locative suffixes normally have a spatial orientation (literally ‘at/near,’ ‘on,’ ‘in,’ or ‘to’), but when this particular suffix is used aspectually it is temporal. It communicates the figurative notion of touching on something for very brief moment. Compare the examples in (117).

- (117) a. Panga ohu-bitā e Mbale
 1s:be.able C15-pass-ASP C23:LOC M.
I may be able to pass by Mbale.
- b. Panga ohu-bitā-**ho** e Mbale
 1s:be.able C15-pass-ASP C23:LOC M.
I may be able to briefly pass by Mbale.

³⁶ Wandera (2004) calls this a partitive.

³⁷ This same morpheme (or a homophonous morpheme), which may or may not be derived from the class 17 prefix, is used as an adverb of manner meaning ‘kindly.’ It is the closest expression the Banyole have to the English ‘please.’ This is shown in the following example:

mu-n-ang-ir-e-ho
 3s-1s-call-APL-SUBJ-ASP
Call her for me, please.

Mood is similar to evidentiality/epistemics and is closely linked to tense and aspect (Payne, 1997, p. 252).³⁸ Because Lunyole uses specific evidentiality markers within a more nuanced mood system, they are described separately (see 3.6.3).

I describe here five moods in Lunyole: indicative, imperative, potential, conditional, and subjunctive. There is not a clear distinction in the grammaticalization of mood. The indicative and imperative moods are unmarked, and the subjunctive mood is marked morphologically with a final vowel *-e*, though not consistently throughout all subjunctive constructions. The other moods are formed periphrastically.

The indicative mood (also called declarative) is used to form statements of fact or reality; there is no element of uncertainty in the indicative mood. In Lunyole, the indicative mood is unmarked. Wandera (2004) states that the final vowel *-a* is found on many indicatives, though it does not necessarily mark the indicative mood (p. 67). Indeed, there are instances where the indicative does not bear the final vowel *-a*. In fact, Bantuists refer to the suffix *-a* as simply the final vowel (default), not an indicative morpheme. The final vowel is not considered part of the root.

The following example is a past indicative with the final vowel *-a*:

- (118) A-ŋw-a hu-lim-a-nga aŋo.
 3s-come.from-FV C15-dig-HAB LOC
 He came from digging there.

Commands are stated in the imperative mood, and are directed to second-persons only, singular or plural. In Lunyole, the imperative mood in the second-person singular bears no subject agreement on the verb (\emptyset) and a final vowel *-a*, as in (119). Second-person plural retains the subject agreement marker *mu-*, but the final vowel is *-e*, as in

³⁸ According to Payne (1997, p. 244), the terms mood, mode, and modality may be used interchangeably though many linguists have made distinctions.

(120). However, when forming a negative imperative using the prefix *ta-* the subject agreement marker remains (121).

(119) **Saaŋ-a!**
 Ø-slash-FV
Slash!

(120) **Mu-tiin-e!**
 2p-go-FV
You go!

(121) **O-ta-lim-a olwa-leero. Saaŋa!**
 2s-NEG-dig-FV C11-today Ø-Slash
Don't dig today. Slash!

When the imperative mood is within a serial verb construction,³⁹ the verb may bear the second-person marking:

(122) **Hen-a ohu-saaŋa o-lime**
 Ø-finish-FV C15-slash 2s-dig
Finish slashing and dig.

The potential mood marks an event that may or may not happen, but the potential is there. Lunyole does not have a morphological method for expressing potential mood. It uses a lexical verb *ŋanga* 'possible/might' as a helping verb along with a main verb, like *wumba* 'mold' as (123). This helping verb may be marked for tense and aspect, as shown in (124), and may be used alone in the potential mood by affixing the stative suffix *-iha*, as shown in (125):

(123) **Omuutu ow-undi a-ŋanga ohu-wumba ama-yiga mu-somi**
 C1-man C1-other 3s-possible C15-mold C4-stones C1-student
Another man who might be able to mold cooking stones is a student.

(124) **E-fula e-ŋang-ire ohu-tonya olu-aleero**
 C9-rain C9-possible-PRF C15-fall C11-today
It might rain today.

(Wandera, 2004)

³⁹ Lunyole serial verb constructions have yet to be fully analyzed.

- (125) Bbaabba, eb-itu byosi-byosi bi-ŋang-**iha** eyi o-li⁴⁰
 Father, C8-thing C8-all-C8-all C8-possible-STAT C9:REL 2s-be
Father, all things are possible where you are.

The subjunctive mood includes future tenses, requests, indirect commands, and conditionals. The common marking between each of these is the final vowel *-e*. Future tenses are included in this list because they are nonfactual by nature and they bear the subjunctive *-e*. Not all future tenses, however, are marked with the subjunctive morpheme *-e*; the distant future tense is marked with the final vowel *-a*.

Lunyole uses the irrealis verbal prefix *ha-* along with the final vowel *-e* to form requests. The meaning of this construction can be compared to English phrases using the word ‘let,’ as in, ‘Let’s go!’

- (126) **Ha-n-gobol-e**
 IRR-1s-return-SUBJ
Let me come back or I’ll be right back.

Lunyole also uses the word *olwo* to express a request. This word is used elsewhere in Lunyole as a discourse marker as well as in response to a question, similar to the English ‘since’ or ‘because.’ Lunyole uses *olwo* as a suggestive mood, similar to a request, but softer. The final vowel on the verb marks the subjunctive in (127).

- (127) **Olwo f-e** ni m-ba ní ta-mu-we-ene
 REQ 1s:die-SUBJ ADV 1s-be ADV 1s:NEG-3s-see-PRF
May I die if I don’t see him.

Indirect commands are formed slightly differently than standard imperatives. Direct commands in the second-person singular are unmarked for person and the final vowel on the verb is *-a*. With indirect commands, however, the verb is marked with agreement and the final vowel is the subjunctive *-e*. Example (128) contains three verbs,

⁴⁰ Example from a draft translation of the Gospel of Mark. The final draft is to be published in August 2006.

two of which are marked as an imperative. The first verb bears the marking of the direct imperative—no subject agreement marking and the final vowel *-a*. The other *olome* is a softened, indirect command, and bears subject agreement marking and the subjunctive final vowel *-e* (from Wandera, 2004, p. 66):

- (128) Ø-Ja o-lom-e maawo ga-j-e
 Go 2s-tell-SUBJ your.mother 3s-come-SUBJ
Go tell your mother to come.

There are two types of Lunyole conditional mood constructions, which are both formed periphrastically. They are determined by whether the result is actual (past) or is not yet realized (future).

If the conditional clause is looking to the future, and therefore not yet realized, then the conditional clause is introduced with *singa* ‘if,’ as in (129). The order of the condition and the result is variable, as in (130).

- (129) Singa o-sigala ŋa-no, o-ne-it-iw-e
 COND 2s-stay C16-here 2s-FUT1-kill-PASS-SUBJ
If you stay here, you’ll be killed.

- (130) Si-naha-hene ohu-lima e-sabiite eyi-ija **singa** si-wu-n-jeeda
 NEG-1s:FUT2-finish C15-dig C9-week C9-come COND NEG-2s-1s-help
I won’t finish digging next week if you won’t help me.

If the conditional clause is looking back, and the condition is known to be untrue (counterfactual), then Lunyole introduces the conditional clause with the verb *ba* ‘to be’, which is inflected with subject agreement and tense/aspect. The result clause is introduced with *hani* ‘would/could.’ This can be seen in the following examples:

- (131) A-ba hu-tiina e wuhwe **hani** a-li-ye engoho
 3s-be LOC-go LOC C1:POSS COND 3s-eat-PERF chicken
*Had he gone to his in-laws he would have eaten a chicken.*⁴¹

⁴¹ It is a Lunyole custom that a visit to one’s in-laws warrants the killing and eating of a chicken.

- (132) O-**ba**-nga ni w-a-lim-ire olw'ejo, **hani** o-li hu-ηuumula
 2s-be-HAB with 2s-PST-dig-PRF yesterday COND 2s-be C15-rest
Had you dug yesterday, you would be resting.

3.5.3 Valence adjusting operations

Payne (1997) explains the notion of valence, as it relates to the verb, as both semantic and syntactic:

Semantic valence of a verb, V, refers to the number of necessary *participants* in the scene expressed by V. Syntactic valence is the number of verbal *arguments* in a clause in which V is the main predicator. Languages typically have various ways of adjusting, i.e., increasing, decreasing, or rearranging the syntactic valence of clauses. The semantic/pragmatic (i.e., conceptual) effect of increasing syntactic valence can be characterized most generally as upgrading a peripheral participant to center stage, whereas the effect of decreasing valence is to downplay a normally center-stage participant to peripheral status, or eliminating it from the scene altogether. (Payne, 1997, pp. 171-72)

This section shows how Lunyole uses various strategies to place participants at or near center stage of a discourse scene. This concept will be carried over to chapters 4 and 5 in discussing the applicative, a valence increasing operation. I briefly describe here how the causative and dative shift constructions are used as valence increasing devices, and how Lunyole uses reflexive, reciprocal and passive constructions as valence decreasing devices. Applicatives are another valence increasing device that I describe in detail in chapter 5.

Morphological causatives are formed with the verbal suffix *-isa*.⁴² It is the most productive method of forming causatives in Lunyole. It is productive on both transitive and intransitive verbs, as shown in (133).

- (133) a. *ohulya* 'to eat' *ohuliisa* 'to cause to eat'
 b. *ohumera* 'to germinate' *ohumesa* 'to cause to germinate'
 c. *ohwoma* 'to dry' *ohwomya* 'to cause to dry'
 d. *ohulira* 'to cry' *ohulisya* 'to cause to cry' (Wandera, 2003)

⁴² There are several unusual forms of the causative, including *-mya*, *-ia*, and *-sya*.

Example (134) shows an agent (man) causing a secondary agent (ox) to dig. Example (135) shows an agent (woman) causing an action on a patient (boy). Example (136) shows an indirect cause. Each bears the same morphological causative marking:

- (134) a. Omu-saaja a-lima
 C1-man 3s-dig
The man digs.
- b. Omu-saaja a-lim-isa e-ɲombe
 C1-man 3s-dig-CAUS C9-ox
The man causes the ox to plow/dig.
- (135) a. Omu-seere a-lya ebi-njanjaalo
 C1-boy 3s-eat C8-beans
The boy eats beans.
- b. Omu-hasi a-li-isa omu-seere ebi-njanjalo.
 C1-woman 3s-eat-CAUS C1-boy C8-beans
The woman feeds the boy beans.
- (136) Omu-ana o-yo a-lom-esa aba-hye mu hi-bina
 C1-child C1-DEM 3s-speak-CAUS C2-friends C18:LOC C7-class
That child causes his friends to speak in class.

In (137) the subject of the intransitive becomes the corresponding patient of the causative construction in (138).

- (137) Omu-haana o-yo g-enyuha sawa n-dala
 C1-girl C1-DEM 3s-rises C9-time C9-one
That girl rises at 7:00 a.m.
- (138) E-hide hi-mu-inyo-esa ni bu-hyeye
 C7-Bell C7-3s-rise-CAUS CONJ C14-daybreak
The bell wakes her at daybreak.

In the following examples, the agent *tandiboyi* ‘turnboy’⁴³ of the transitive verb *niina* ‘climb’ is causing the luggage (patient) to ‘climb’ onto the bus. Compare the following two examples:

⁴³ A turnboy assists truck drivers to load cargo. They were named such because they would start the vehicles by turning a crank.

- (139) Tandiboyi a-niina baasi
 C1.turnboy 3s-climbs bus
The turnboy climbs the bus.
- (140) Tandiboyi a-niin-ia emi-gugu hu baasi
 C1.turnboy 3s-climbs-CAUS C4-luggage C17:LOC C9:bus
The turnboy lifts the luggage onto the bus.

There are at least three Lunyole matrix verbs that are used in periphrastic causatives, as shown in (141) to (143). In (141) the matrix verb *gir* ‘cause’ and its complement are both marked for tense and aspect, while the other two examples use an infinitive construction (from class 15) for the complement.

- (141) A-gir-ire ne-hubb-ir-anjo
 3s-cause-PRF 1s-fall-APL-LOC
He made me fall.
- (142) A-mu-ηag-isye ohu-lya
 3s-3s-to force-PRF C15-eat
He forced him to eat.
- (143) Omu-somesa a-mu-lag-i-iye ohu-fumala
 C1-teacher 3s-3s-order-APL-PRF C15-lie.down
The teacher ordered him to lie down.

Dative shift is a valence increasing operation because it shifts an argument that is in the dative case (in Lunyole these often take a preposition) to a more central role (Payne, 1997, p. 192). This may be distinguished from the applicative in that the dative shift does not utilize any special marking on the verb. Lunyole does not have morphological case marking; grammatical role is marked by the position of the object in the clause. In (144) the indirect object is in a prepositional phrase following the direct object. In (145) the indirect object is shifted to a more central role, occurring in the direct object position adjacent to the verb. All locative morphemes, including on the verb, are absent.

- (144) A-ηa-ye-yo e-bbesa mu polojekiti
 3s-give-PRF-LOC C9-money C18:LOC project
He has given money to the project.

- (145) A-ŋa-ye polojekiti e-bbesa
 3s-give-PRF project C9-money
He has given the project money.

“Reflexive constructions reduce the semantic valence of a transitive clause by specifying that there are not two separate entities involved; rather, one entity fulfills two semantic roles and/or grammatical relations” (Payne, 1997, p. 198).

A morphological reflexive in Lunyole is formed by placing prefix *e-* directly before the verb root. When the verb root is vowel initial, a palatal approximant (glide) is inserted between the reflexive morpheme *e-* and the vowel initial root, as shown in the following:

- (146) *Omusinde geeyitire.*
 omu-sinde g-**e**-itire
 C1-man 3s-RFLX-kill-PRF
The man killed himself.
- (147) *Abaana behubba.*
 aba-ana ba-**e**-hubba
 C2-child 3p-RFLX-beat
The children are beating themselves.

Lunyole also has a periphrastic reflexive construction that is used in conjunction with the morphological method to emphasize the reflexive action. It uses a reflexive noun that is formed with a class prefix corresponding to the subject on the root *ene*, as in (149). This is identical to a form of the reciprocal suffix (see below). Lunyole makes extensive use of this construction, but is not exclusively a reflexive construction. Instead, it is used for emphasis, very similar to how English uses its periphrastic reflexive as in, ‘He *himself* is a teacher’ (see Payne, 1997, p. 203).

- (148) *Geeyitire*
 g-**e**-it-ire
 3s-RFLX-kill-PRF
He killed himself.

- (149) *Geeyitire omwene*
 g-e-it-ire omu-ene
 3s-PST-RFLX-kill-PRF C1-RECP
He has killed himself (emphatic).

The reciprocal verb is one where the two or more participants act upon each other equally. Morphological reflexives in Lunyole are formed using the the verbal suffix *-an*. Each reciprocal clause is formed with a plural subject and the verb is marked with the reciprocal suffix, as shown in the following examples:

- (150) Omu-somi ni omu-som-esa ba-hubb-**en**-e.
 C1-student CNJ C1-teacher 3p-hit-RECP-FV
The student and teacher hit each other.

- (151) Ni ba-hen-ire ohu-ta emi-hono hu ndagaano nga ba-ḡamb-**ana** mu ngalo
 When 3p-finish-PRF C15-put C4-arms LOC contract then C2-hold-RECP in C10:hand
After signing the agreement they shook (each other's) hands.

Lunyole has a morphological method of detransitivizing a verb, thereby creating a middle construction. In such constructions, the patient of the event becomes the subject, and the action becomes a state. The stative suffix *-iha* is affixed to a transitive verb, and the agentive characteristic of the verb is removed so that the verb, in effect, detransitivizes. The resulting middle construction is similar to the passive *-iwa* (see below), but in the passive form the agent remains known, but it is downplayed.

This construction can highlight the ability of the patient to take the action, as in (152), or it can express a state as a result of the action, as in (153):

- (152) a. Ebi-janjaalo ebi-o bi-nyiiy-**iha**
 C8-beans C8-those C8-cook-STAT
Those beans can be cooked (are cookable).
- b. Ebi-janjaalo ebi-o bi-a-nyiiy-**iha**-ire
 C8-beans C8-those C8-PST2-cook-STAT-PRF
The beans were cookable.

- (153) Em-basa e-bbwag-**iha**
 C9-ax C9-break-STAT
The ax is broken. (Not The ax is breakable.)

There are two morphological strategies in Lunyole to suppress the agent. One is clearly a passive construction, borrowed from Luganda or another Bantu language, using a passive morpheme. The other uses a semantically empty class 2 concord prefix *ba-* (third-person plural, but without specific anaphoric reference). This may be referred to as a ‘they passive,’ where ‘they’ is undefined. This construction is commonly found in proverbs. Examples (154) to (156) show this form of passive. Each of these examples show that even though the verb bears the third person plural subject prefix it is not in agreement with a particular noun; it is an empty morpheme:

- (154) Obu-le ow’ ama-lwa si **ba**-bu-halanga...⁴⁴
 C14-millet C14-ASC C6-local.brew NEG C2-C14-roast
Millet for local brew is not roasted... (lit., Millet for local brew they don’t roast...).
- (155) **Ba**-mu-jeha
 3p-3s-laugh
He is laughed at (lit., They laugh at him).
- (156) **Ba**-hesa aba-geni
 3p-greet C2-visitors
The visitors are being greeted (lit., They are greeting the visitors).

The second passive is formed with the verbal suffix *-iwa*, or one of its allophones.⁴⁵ Example (157a) shows a basic construction with a transitive verb and two overt participants, an agent and a patient. This same scene is expressed in (157b), but with the morphological passive construction, where the object (patient) *abageni* ‘visitors’ has shifted to the subject position in front of the verb, and there is no agent. The shifted object is marked with agreement on the verb in the place where the subject is normally marked. This passive

⁴⁴ This example is from a text on how to prepare local brew. How-to texts seem to be good sources for passive constructions.

⁴⁵ The actual form of the passive morpheme may change as other extensions are added (e.g., perfective), while vowel harmony changes the initial vowel of the suffix.

construction is also shown in (158a). The agent, if made explicit, may then be placed after the verb with a prepositional phrase as in (158b).⁴⁶

- (157) a. Bbabba a-hes-a aba-geni
 C1:father 3s-greet-FV C2-visitors
Father is greeting the visitors.
- b. Aba-geni ba-hes-ewa
 C2-visitors 3P-greet-PASS
The visitors are being greeted.
- (158) a. En-yama yi-ri-rwe
 C9-meat C9-eat-PASS:PRF
The meat has been eaten.
- b. En-yama yi-ri-rwe n' em-bwa
 C9-meat C9-eat-PASS:PRF by C10-dogs
The meat has been eaten by dogs.

3.6 The verb phrase

As we have already seen, the lion's share of the work within the verb phrase is carried by the morphology of the verb. The verb phrase is made more complex with the use of auxiliary verbs that are marked for tense and aspect, and further compounded by cliticization of negative, adverbial, and conjunction particles. In this section I describe a few of these verb phrase operations, including four different classes of Lunyole adverbs, negation strategies, and the strategies for coding the relative certainty of a statement of fact (evidentiality/epistemics).

⁴⁶ According to Wandera (personal communication, 2005), this method of passivization came through the influence of Uganda, and sounds unnatural in Lunyole, especially when used in other than the present tense and when combined with other verb extensions, as in example (158).

3.6.1 Adverbs

Adverbs in Lunyole can be divided into three categories: manner, time, and direction/location. Lunyole has several adverbs of manner, such as *pola* ‘slowly’ and *mangu* ‘quickly.’ These are not inflected, follow the verb, and may be reduplicated for intensity: *mangumangu* ‘very quickly.’ Lunyole also uses ideophones⁴⁷ as adverbs of manner. They are spoken with intensity and are often followed by a gesture—a clap of the hands, etc. These are frozen, uninflected forms that follow the verb they modify. Two examples are *bbedu* ‘filled to overflowing’ and *bbecwi* ‘completely’ or ‘totally,’ as in the following:

- (159) Ken-ire bbecwi!
 1s:finish-PRF completely
 I am completely finished!

Lunyole marks time with lexical items, like *ejo* ‘previous/next day’ and *ejuusi* ‘two days away,’ which are not inflected. Lunyole also uses noun phrases indicating future or past, *esabbiti eyijja* ‘next week’ or ‘the week coming,’ and *omwaha oguja* ‘next year.’ A method of introducing a historical or fictional discourse is with the use of the word *hale* ‘long time/long ago.’ It is like the manner adverbs in that it can be reduplicated to denote a long, long time ago or a very long duration.

Lunyole uses a morphological method of constructing temporal adverbs. The particles *olu*, *ni*, and *mu* are cliticized to verbs, showing successive or simultaneous action.

⁴⁷ Crystal (1997) defines an ideophone (coined by Doke, 1935) as “...any vivid representation of an idea in sound, such as occurs through onomatopoeia. In Bantu linguistics, it is the name of a particular WORD CLASS containing SOUND-SYMBOLIC words” (p. 189). In Lunyole, ideophones are used primarily as adverbs and adjectives.

The particle *olu* indicates movement toward something, or a successive action as in (160).

- (160) Saaṅa ohw-ola **olu** kena
 1s:slash C15-arrive until 1s:finish
I slash until I finish.

The *ni* particle shows simultaneous action. It may be cliticized to both the auxiliary and main verb, as in (161).

- (161) **Ni**-ga-ba-ye **na**-a-got-ire
 ADV-3s-be-PRF ADV-3s-lost-PRF
When he had gotten lost...

Lunyole uses both morphological and lexical methods to form adverbs of location and direction. Morphologically, the particle *olu* ‘toward’ is used to show direction, as in (162), where it follows the verb and precedes the location. This same example (162) shows how lexical adverbs may be formed with the verbs *niina* ‘climb’ and *lengerera* ‘go up’ from which the root when reduplicated is used in an adverbial function meaning ‘move uphill’:

- (162) Mw-age-ene n’ a-niinanina n’ a-lengereye olw’ e Busolwe
 1s:3s-meet-PRF ADV 3s-climb ADV 3s-go.up-PRF toward C23 B.
I met him when he (was) going up toward Busolwe.

3.6.2 Negation

Lunyole has several methods of negation, of which three are lexical, one is morphological, and two are periphrastic using negation clitics or particles.⁴⁸

There are at least three verbs that lexically negate a proposition: *bula* ‘lack,’ *ḡuma* ‘be without,’ and *haya* ‘fail to get,’ as seen in the following, respectively:

⁴⁸ There is also a polite way of expressing a negative—though it does not negate anything—which is important in places like Africa where responding with ‘No’ is avoided. It uses the persistive aspect marker (see 3.5.2) along with the auxiliary verb *li* ‘to be’ to form *hiri* ‘still to be’ or ‘not yet.’

- (163) Mwima a-**bula**-mo mu nyumba
 M. 3s-lack-LOC C18:in house
Mwima is not in the house.
- (164) Na-**ɲuma**-ɲo
 C16-be.without-LOC
There is none here.
- (165) Omw-aha guno n-a-**hay**-ire obu-le
 C3-year C3:DEM 1s-PST-not.get-PRF C14-millet
This year I did not get millet or The millet harvest was poor for me this year.

The verbal prefix *ta-* is used only to negate clauses in the irrealis mood and relative clauses, as shown in examples (166) and (167).⁴⁹

- (166) O-ba-nga n' o-**ta**-ha-lime ol-w' ejo, naha-lim-ire
 2p-be-HAB ADV 2p-NEG-FUT2-dig-SUBJ C11-ASC tomorrow 1p:FUT2-dig-PRF
If you weren't going to dig tomorrow, I would have to.
- (167) Omu-sinde a-**ta**-saan-ire ejo a-naha-lime ejo
 C1-man REL-NEG-slash-PRF yesterday 1s-FUT2-dig tomorrow
The man who didn't slash yesterday will dig tomorrow.

There are three negation clitics or particles: *si*, *ndi*, and *nasi*. Each of these negative particles is placed at the beginning of the clause and so may be found before either nouns or verbs. They are used in conjunction with any tense marking, but not with the subjunctive mood.

The *si* clitic negates indicative clauses in the future and past tenses, is also used with auxiliary verbs. The use of *si* is shown in the following examples (note that in the orthography *si* becomes *s'* before a vowel):

⁴⁹ Not all subjunctive and relative clauses are negated using *ta-*, but *ta-* is only found in these types of clauses.

- (168) **Si** mu-leme
NEG C1-lame
He is not lame.
- (169) **S'** a-na-je
NEG 3s-FUT1-come
He won't come.
- (170) **Si** n-di musaaji
NEG 1s-be C1-slash
I don't slash (I am not a slasher).
- (171) **Si** na-saaj-e
NEG 1s:FUT1-slash-SUBJ
I won't slash.

The negative particle *ndi* is used only to negate a clause of the hodiernal past, and there is always an element of contrast between the clause it is negating and another related clause, as in (172) and (173).⁵⁰

- (172) Ejo n-a-hu-lom-íre ohu-tandiha ohu-limi, lwahiina **ndi** o-tandiiha?
Yesterday 1s-PST-2s-tell-PRF C15-begin C15-dig, why NEG 2s-begin
Yesterday I told you to start digging, why haven't you?
- (173) **Ndi** tandiha ohu-lima mu mu-gamba, n-a-tandih-ire hale
NEG 1s:begin C15-dig LOC C3-morning 1s-PST-begin-PER long.ago
I did not start digging this morning, I started long ago.

The negative particle *nasi* forms an emphatic or absolute negative. Example (174) is from a text on how to make local brew.

- (174) Ehi-itu omu o-bbaah-ira **nasi** mu-bamo cumbi
C7-thing C18:REL 2s-ferment-APL NEG C18-contain C9:salt
The thing in which you ferment must never contain salt.

Finally, negative particle *kadi* functions as an emphatic negative, but it is used in conjunction with another form of negation. It can stand on its own as a one-word response in the negative to a polar interrogative. It carries the notion of complete absence, as in 'at all,' as shown in (175).

⁵⁰ This is also used as a contrast particle, similar to the English word 'although.' Also, this particle is not to be confused with other similar forms, e.g., *ndi* 'I am' or *ndima* 'I dig.'

- (175) N-a-li **si**-saanjeho **kadi** mu sabbiiti yira
 1s-PST-be NEG-1s:slash-LOC NEG LOC C9:week C9-DEM
I hadn't slashed at all that week.

3.6.3 Evidentiality

“Evidentiality has to do with how languages express relative certainty of truth” (Payne, 1997, p. 251). There are four grammatical morphemes in Lunyole that mark evidentiality. The first morpheme is the unbound morpheme *mbo*, which marks reported speech or hearsay, and even introduces indirect speech. The other two are what Payne calls a validation or veridical force, meaning the degree of commitment the speaker has in the validity of the statement (1997, p. 252). They are *po* and *ko*,⁵¹ both verbal clitics borrowed from Luganda, that mark a strong validation commitment (these carry the same amount of commitment and use varies according to dialect). The *mbo* particle, however, can appear in various places in the clause without a significant difference in meaning, as shown in the following examples:

- (176) a-lom-ire **mbo** a-na-je
 3s-say-PRF EVD 3s-FUT1-come
He said that he will come.

- (177) **mbo** omu-saani galetire omu-hasi
 EVD C1-son 3s-PST-bring C1-woman
(I hear) His son got himself a wife.

- (178) Ba-loma **mbo** sirimu a-bula-ho bu-lesi⁵²
 3s-say EVD slim(AIDS) 3s-completely lack-LOC C14-medicine
They say AIDS has no cure.

⁵¹ The morpheme *ko-* is also an adverb of time meaning ‘before’ and it also occurs verb-initial. Examples of this adverb are found in Appendix B.

⁵² *Sirimu* ‘AIDS,’ lit. ‘slim,’ may be spoken of as a human entity, and so is marked with third-person singular subject agreement on the verb. AIDS is called the slim disease because one suffering from it often becomes emaciated.

Example (178) shows redundancy—using both *mbo* along with the proverbial *ba-* ‘they’—thereby emphasizing that this is not the speaker’s view but what has been heard or read. In contrast, (179) is an example of the clitic *ko* used to mark a strong level of certainty, likely due to the fact that the statement in question was heard with one’s own ears.

(179) **Ko**-g-a-lom-ire
 EVD-3s-PST-say-PRF
He certainly said it.

Finally, *dala* is used to affirm an assertion that may seem doubtful; it is used in both questions and declarative statements, as shown in (180).

- (180) a. Omu-saaja o-no mu-lamu?
 C1-man C1-DEM C1-live
Is this man alive?
- b. Omu-saaja o-no **dala** mu-lamu?
 C1-man C1-DEM EVD C1-live
Is this man really alive?
- c. **Dala** omu-saaja o-no mu-lamu
 EVD C1-man C1-DEM C1-live
Certainly this man is alive.

CHAPTER 4

BANTU APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTION

Bantu languages utilize a wide range of verbal extensions. Schadeberg (2003) lists eleven such extensions in proto-Bantu, of which one is called the dative, or applicative (p. 72). This chapter includes a brief look at the nature of the Bantu applicative construction. I define the term *applicative* and its parameters, and I briefly review the literature related to the Bantu applicative construction. The chapter is intended to be introductory and to lay a foundation sufficient for understanding the Lunyole applicative constructions in chapter 5.

4.1 Overview of the applicative

Verbs may be divided into subcategories based on the number and types of their core arguments. For example, intransitive verbs have a subject but no additional arguments; transitive verbs have a subject and a direct object; and ditransitive verbs have a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object.⁵³ Core verbal arguments are subject, direct object, and indirect object. Noncore arguments are oblique. For example, in the sentence ‘The dog barked’ the verb ‘bark’ is intransitive because it has one core argument (the subject, ‘dog’). A noncore argument (oblique), however, could be added to this sentence: ‘The dog barked at the mailman.’ In this example, ‘the mailman’ is not a core argument of the verb, but instead is an

⁵³ Some verbs require other types of arguments such as a location (‘put’) or a proposition (‘know’).

oblique, embedded in a prepositional phrase in this case. Oblique arguments themselves have particular semantic roles such as locative, benefactive, instrumental, etc. For example, ‘Levi chopped the firewood with an ax’ has three arguments (Levi, firewood, ax), but only two (Levi, firewood) are core to the transitive verb ‘chop.’ The third argument, an instrument, is expressed as an oblique in the prepositional phrase ‘with an ax.’

In many Bantu and other languages, verbs can bear a particular affix called an applicative,⁵⁴ and this grammatical marking allows or licenses an additional core verbal argument, that is, one beyond the normal set. So a transitive verb with an applicative affix has three core arguments instead of two. In Bantu the applicative morpheme normally indicates no semantic role in and of itself; it is purely grammatical.⁵⁵ This process of adding core arguments is one of several valence-increasing operations. Consider the following examples from Ndendeule⁵⁶ (Ngonyani, 1996):

- (181) a. N-gheni a-ki-hemel-a ngoβo
 C1-guest 3s-PST-buy-FV C10cloth
The guest bought clothes.
- b. N-gheni a-ki-n-hemel-el-a mw-ana ngoβo
 C1-guest C1-PST-C1-buy-APL-FV C1-child C10.cloth
The guest bought the child clothes.

Example (181a) has a simple transitive verb with two core arguments (subject and object).

Example (181b) includes the *-el* applicative morpheme which adds a third core argument to the transitive verb ‘buy,’ in this case a benefactive argument, ‘child’ from class 1. By means of the applicative, the valence of the verb has been increased by one. There is no oblique in (181b).

⁵⁴ Also called a dative extension (Schadeberg, 2003).

⁵⁵ Though not marked, the semantic role of the added argument in Bantu is normally interpreted as benefactive if it is human, and instrumental if it is nonhuman.

⁵⁶ Ndendeule is a Bantu language (P10) spoken in southwestern Tanzania.

In (182), from Lunyole, the applicative morpheme is used along with a locative verbal suffix (from class 17) to form a locative applicative construction, in which the added argument is a locative:

- (182) a. n-agan-eene bahasi berere
 1s-meet-PRF women only
I met (saw) only women.
- b. Mu ngira n-agan-ir-ye-mo ba-hasi berere
 in C9-road meet-APL-PRF-LOC C2-women only
I met (saw) only women on the road.

Example (182a) is a simple sentence with a transitive verb (two arguments). Example (182b) demonstrates a similar sentence with the locative applicative construction where the *-ir* applicative morpheme is present along with the *-mo* locative morpheme. In this case, the latter carries the meaning ‘in,’ thereby further defining or specifying the role of the added core argument *nungira* ‘in the road,’ a locative noun. So the locative applicative may be formed by a combination of the applicative morpheme and the locative suffix, both marked on the verb, which allows a locative noun to become a core argument.

4.2 Definitions

It is critical to precisely define *applicative* at the outset. A functional definition will be a bit different than a formal, theory-based definition, though it is difficult to define the applicative in purely functional terms.

Trithart (1983) offers a simple definition: the applied affix is one “which allows the nonsubject arguments of the verb to be increased” (p. 1). A glossary of Bantu terms defines an applicative by its function, but by using formal terms: “An applicative (extension) often gives a ‘prepositional’ concept to the verb. Applicatives may be derived from most verbs with the added argument fulfilling various semantic roles....” (Rose, Beaudoin-Lietz, & Nurse, 2002).

Peterson (1999) offers a more precise definition: “[It is] a syntactic construction signaled by overt verbal morphology which allows the coding of a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core object argument” (p. 1). O’Herin (2001) says that in an applicative construction, the oblique, or noncore, argument “would not otherwise be considered a part of the verb’s argument structure” (p. 477). Finally, focusing specifically on the Bantu applicative, Schadeberg (2003) suggests that the “primary function of the (applicative) extension was to tie the nonpatient complement closer to the verb” (p. 74).

Each of these definitions are similar in that, by definition, oblique arguments are noncore arguments, but the applied affix provides the means to make peripheral, oblique, or noncore arguments into core arguments. If applicatives are approached from a purely functional perspective, however, they are not described in grammatical terms, *per se*. Instead they are described as markings that provide the means to bring peripheral or incidental participants onto center stage of a discourse scene (Payne, 1997, 2000).

Payne (2000), following Tesnière (1959), defines the applicative in terms of a valence increasing operation. Valency is a way of

conceptualizing the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations... this particular variety of valence theory presupposes a continuum between the set of what can be termed ‘native’ case frames associated with a verb, and any ‘derived’ case frames that might be available as a result of using the verb in a specially marked construction. (Payne, 2000, p. 1).

So a verb’s native case frame is one that appears with no special marking. Therefore, a verb with an applicative marking would put it outside the native, or core case frame.

Sometimes definitions become clearer when they are contrasted with what they are not. This will be important in this thesis because there are certain constructions that on the surface look like applicatives in some respects. Payne (2000) proffers a list of valence

increasing operations, all of which could be confused with the applicative: causative, dative shift, dative of interest, and possessor raising. A brief explanation should clarify how these constructions differ from the applicative. The causative adds an agent to the theme—making the agent of the core case frame a secondary agent—while an applicative adds a nonagent role. With dative shift, dative of interest, and possessor raising constructions, none include special marking on the verb, as does the applicative construction. These features distinguish the applicative from other valence increasing operations.

Therefore, following Payne (2000), I adopt the following definition: The applicative construction must exhibit two distinct characteristics: (a) Special marking on the verb that (b) introduces an increased number of nonsubject (nonagent) arguments to the native case frame. So an applicative construction functionally intensifies the relationship between the theme and its participant(s) and affects the (structural) word order of the native case frames.

A verb with a native case frame of one (single-argument; intransitive) that takes applicative marking results in a valence increase of one—becoming a two-argument verb, with the second argument being a direct object. A verb with a native case frame of two (two-argument; transitive) that takes an applicative results in a valence increase of one, a ditransitive verb. The arguments in this construction would be subject, direct object, and indirect object. A verb with a native case frame of three (three-argument; ditransitive) that takes an applicative results in a valence increase of one—a tri-transitive verb with four arguments. In some cases, multiple applicatives are placed on a single verb and result in a verb with as many as five or six arguments, all considered core arguments, i.e., without an oblique.

4.3 Forms of the Bantu applicative

There are two very different applicative forms found in Bantu languages, and their origins and behavior are different from one another.

The proto-Bantu applicative construction affixes the morpheme **-il* to the verb stem (Schadeberg, 2003). This affix introduces nonsubject arguments in various semantic roles. In the case of multiple applicatives, each affix introduces a new argument, which is commonly referred to as the APPLIED OBJECT.

In some languages, such as Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi, 1980), there is an additional form of applicative construction, which is taken from locative class prefixes. In (183a) there is an oblique argument (location) in a prepositional phrase, but in (183b) the same information is expressed using the locative applicative.

- (183) a. Úmwáana y-a-taa-ye igitabo **mú** máazi.
 Child he-pst-throw-asp book in water
The child has thrown the book in the water.
- b. Úmwáana y-a-taa-yé-**mo** amáazi igitabo
 Child he-pst-throw-asp-in water book
The child has thrown the book in the water. (Kimenyi, 1980)

The structure in (183b) fits the definition of an applicative in that it has marking on the verb (*-mo*) and the noncore argument has been upgraded to a core argument, as evidenced by its position next to the verb and the absence of the preposition.

Applied objects in Bantu languages are assigned various semantic interpretations including benefactive, goal/purpose, malefactive, instrumental, motive, locative, as in (183b), and reason, among others.

In each case there may be an alternative expression without an applicative that takes the form of an oblique (prepositional phrase) to communicate the same meaning, as

shown in (183a). Not all applicative constructions, however, have an equivalent (paraphrase) expression without an oblique (Payne, 2000, calls those without an equivalent paraphrase *obligatory applicatives*.) Also, the prepositional phrase of the alternative expression may be optional. In other words, the prepositional phrase is an oblique, not an argument of the verb.

Finally, the location of *amáazi* ‘water’ in (183b) is found immediately following the verb in the applicative construction, which is the normal position of the direct object. It is an oblique in (183a) and occurs sentence-final. The placement of the applied direct object in Lunyole, and other verb-marking methods will be discussed in chapter 5.

4.4 Literature review

Much has been written on the general subject of Bantu applicatives. Trithart (1983) wrote the first major general work on the Bantu applicative, a historical and comparative approach. She based her work on many sources, of which one was Kimenyi (1980). Baker (1988) introduced the Bantu locative applicative construction, particularly that in Kinyarwanda, to the wider linguistic world with his book *Incorporation*, explaining it through the theta theory framework of Government and Binding theory. Baker’s analysis (following Marantz, 1984) was that a preposition moves—is incorporated—into the verb complex for the type of applicative shown in (183b). Baker’s work spawned an interest in applicative constructions worldwide, with arguments both for and against his theory of incorporation.

Since that time the applicative construction has become a distinct focus, not just in Bantu (Ngonyani, 1996) but throughout other language families (Payne, 2000; Peterson, 1998). More generally, Hyman (1993) has focused on the Bantu verb stem, including his work

with Mchombo (Hyman & Mchombo, 1992). In Bantu, the theoretical discussion has drawn substantially from two languages: Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi, 1980) and Chichewa (see works by Alsina & Mchombo, 1988, 1990, 1993).

CHAPTER 5

LUNYOLE APPLICATIVES

Chapter 3 has shown the complex morphology of the Lunyole verb, especially in regard to extensions (verbal suffixes), which includes the applicative. Chapter 4 surveyed how the applicative is used in Bantu. This chapter looks at how the Lunyole applicative construction is marked morphologically, how the added arguments are expressed and marked on the verb, what types of verbs (transitivity) may bear the applicative morpheme, including multiple applicatives, and what types of semantic roles are allowed for applied arguments. With the exception of a brief explanation by Wandera (2004), there is currently no literature that addresses the Lunyole applicative construction.

5.1 Applicative morphology

There are two types of applicatives in Lunyole, each marked differently. The *-ir* applicative is used with verbs of all types and various semantic roles. The other locative applicative is used with just one particular type of verb. While each adds a core argument to the native case frame of the verb, each is used in mutually exclusive contexts and with different markings. Because these two applicative morphemes work in very different ways, I will describe them separately. This section will take a brief look at how each of these is marked.

5.1.1 The *-ir* applicative

The basic Lunyole applicative is marked with the verbal suffix *-ir*, which corresponds to the proto-Bantu applicative morpheme **-il* (Schadeberg, 2003). Certain Lunyole applicative constructions use an allophonic variation *-er* due to vowel harmony (see 2.5.5).

The morphophonemic process that occurs when combining the applicative suffix (*-ir*) and the perfective aspect suffix (*-ire*) creates an allophonic form that is difficult to identify as either *-ir* or *-er*; they combine to form *-iye/-iiye* or *-eye/-eeye* (see 2.5.7), as shown in (184).

- (184) a. A-nyiiy-**ir**-a wamwe
 3s-cook-APL-FV her.husband
 She cooks for her husband.
- b. A-nyiiy-**i**-iye wamwe
 3s-cook-APL:PRF her.husband
 She has cooked for her husband.

5.1.2 Locative applicative *-ho*

A second type of applicative uses the morpheme *-ho*, which corresponds to the locative prefix *hu-* from noun class 17. This locative applicative construction is uncommon, found exclusively on a few unaccusative verbs. Unaccusative verbs are those which have patient-like subjects (Perlmutter, 1978). There is a sense of location ‘on’ when *-ho* is used as an applicative, which corresponds to the class 17 prefix. The locative applicative morpheme *-ho* occurs verb final, without exception, even after what is commonly called the final vowel. The locative applicative using *-ho* is shown in (185), where *-ho* allows

the additional first-person singular argument *n*-. This locative applicative is discussed further in 5.5.

- (185) Etamu yi-**n**-ηah-ire-**ho**
 Pot C9-1s- burn-PRF-C17:LOC
The (food in the) pot burned on me.

The locative morpheme *-ho* may also be used on verbs other than unaccusative verbs to show a spatial relationship between arguments, but in such cases it is not an applicative. It is used this way to clarify spatial relationships, just as it does when using the morphemes *-ηo* ‘near’ from C16, *-mo* ‘in’ from C18, and *-yo* ‘to’ from C23, none of which carry an applicative function. There are occasions when the *-ir* applicative is used in conjunction with the morpheme *-ho*, but in such instances the locative morpheme is not marking an applicative according to my definition; it is used to specify the location of the action. An example of this is shown in (186) where the applicative *-er* has already added the benefactive argument *ba*- ‘them,’ and the morpheme *-ho* clarifies the location of the direct object (in this case, a nonovert noun from C7).

- (186) A-hi-ba-t-**er**-eeye-**ho**
 3s-C7-3p-put-APL-PRF-C18:LOC
He put it on for them.

It is important to distinguish when the locative morpheme *-ho* is used as an applicative and when it is used simply to clarify the location of or between certain arguments (see 5.5).

5.2 Argument marking

The applicative morpheme is one of three components of the Lunyole applicative construction. Other than applicative morphology there are two morphosyntactic features of applicatives that must be understood: argument marking on the verb (agreement) and

argument placement in relation to the verb and other arguments. This section will describe these morphosyntactic features by which the Lunyole applicative is formed.

5.2.1 Agreement

All core arguments may be marked on the verb using agreement markers; noncore arguments cannot be marked with agreement on the verb.

Subject agreement (via concord marking) on the verb is obligatory whether or not the subject is overt as an independent phrase. Object agreement is optional and is used primarily for persons (C1 and C2), but is grammatical for all noun classes.

Example (187), an applicative construction, bears no object agreement marking on the verb and the arguments are independent noun phrases (overt). In (188), which is semantically identical to (187), there is only agreement object marking (nonovert) on the verb for both objects.

(187) Omu-somi a-t-er-eeeye omu-somesa olu-papula hu mesa
 C1-student 3s-put-APL-PRF C1-teacher C11-paper C17:on C9:table
The student put the paper on the table for the teacher.

(188) A-lu-mu-t-er-eeeye hu mesa
 3s-C11-3s-put-APL-PRF C17:on C9:table
He put it on the table for him.

There are three morpheme slots available on the verb for marking object arguments. If the verb bears no tense marking, these slots follow the subject prefix, as seen in (188). The subject agreement prefix appears first, followed by tense markers, which are followed by slots for up to three object agreement markers depending on the valency of the verb. The slot closest to the verb bears agreement with the applied benefactive argument, as seen in (188) where *mu-* (3s) marks the applied argument.

Object agreement can be shown using the verb *ɲaha* ‘smear,’ which has three core arguments, as shown in (189). In this example, object agreement is marked on the verb for the direct and indirect objects. The same verb with an additional object argument marked on the verb is not grammatical due to the lack of the applicative morpheme, as seen in (190). Example (191) is grammatical due to the applicative morpheme. It shows the same verb with three object agreement markers including that for the applied argument.

(189) Musimami g-a-ga-mu-ɲah-ire.
 M. 3s-PST-C6-3s-smear-PRF
Musimami smeared it on him.

(190) *Musimami gagamupahire.
 M. g-a-ga-mu-n-ɲah-ire.
 M. 3s-PST-C6-3s-1s-smear-PRF
(Musimami smeared it on him for me.)

(191) Musimami gagamupahiiye.
 Musimami **g-a-ga-mu-n-ɲah-i**-iye.
 M. 3s-PST-C6-3s-1s-smear-APL-PRF
Musimami smeared it on him for me.

Only in situations where the speaker and hearer both have a high degree of shared information is there object marking only, as seen in (192), where all four arguments are nonovert, marked solely on the verb.

(192) **A-gu-yi-mu**-t-er-eeeye-mo.
 3s-C3-C9-C1-put-APL-PRF-C18:LOC
She put it (salt) in it (bowl) for him.

5.2.2 Argument order

In this section I posit a few rules for object order and placement. The order and placement of overt objects, including the applied object in multiple-object constructions, is a complex issue, and a full analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.

First, the more functionally prominent the argument is in the clause, the nearer to the verb it appears. Therefore, direct objects in a transitive verb construction appear immediately following the verb, followed by the complement or indirect object, as shown in (193). When arguments are moved to a more significant role in the discourse, either by dative shift or an applicative construction, those arguments appear immediately following the verb, as shown in (194), an applicative construction.

(193) Omuhaana a-ta-aye ehi-rabo mu nyumba.
 girl 3s-put-PRF gift LOC C9.house
The girl put the gift in the house.

(194) Omuhaana a-t-er-eeeye aba-geni ehi-rabo mu nyumba.
 girl 3s-put-APL-PRF C1-visitors C7-gift LOC C9.house
The girl put the gift in the house for the visitors.

In nonapplicative constructions, object agreement marking on the verb is not obligatory, as shown in (195a), or marked with agreement on the verb for focus, as in (195b). This emphasis is even greater if the object is also fronted, in which case it must also be marked with agreement on the verb, as in (195c). Focus on the subject is accomplished by putting the subject sentence final, as in (195d). This method of subject focus is rare in my data.

(195) a. Ama-aji ga-mira omw-ana.⁵⁷ No object agreement
 water C6-swallow C1-child
The water is swallowing the child or The child is drowning.

⁵⁷ Lunyole uses personification widely, so a middle verb like the English ‘to drown’ is expressed with an inanimate agent using the transitive verb *ohumira* meaning ‘to swallow.’

- b. Ama-aji ga-mu-mira omw-ana. Overt object + agreement
 water C6-3s-swallow C1-child
The water is swallowing the child.
- c. Omwana ama-aji ga-mu-mira. Overt object + agreement + fronting
 child C6-water C6-3s-swallow
The water is swallowing the child.
- d. Ga-mu-mira omw-ana ama-aji Subject emphasis (sentence final)
 C6-3s-swallow C1-child C6-water
The water is swallowing the child.

Second, the applied object in instrumental applicative constructions is found at the end of the sentence, even when the instrument is animate, as shown in (196).

- (196) Enoka a-ɲindih-i-iyē e-motoka Musa
 E. 3s-push-APL-PRF C9-car M.
Enoch used Musa to push the car.

When different semantic roles are involved in the same construction, the overt arguments are ordered according to emphasis, with the most emphasized argument following the verb; the others may then be fronted. The following three examples show the flexibility of word order. These examples are semantically identical but differ in word order, thereby emphasizing a different argument. In each case, the argument immediately following the verb is emphasized.

- (197) A-sal-ir-a bbabba wuwe engoho n' engeso.
 3s-3s-cut-APL-FV father his chicken with knife
He cuts a chicken with a knife for his father.
- (198) Bbabba wuwe a-mu-sal-ir-a engoho n' engeso.
 father his 3s-3s-cut-APL-FV chicken with knife
He cuts a chicken with a knife for his father.

- (199) Bbabba wuwe engoho a-yi-mu-sal-ir-a n' engeso.
 father his chicken 3s-C9-3s-cut-APL-FV with knife
He cuts a chicken with a knife for his father.
- (200) *Bbabba wuwe engoho a-sal-ir-a n' engeso.
 father his chicken 3s-C9-3s-cut-APL-FV with knife
(He cuts a chicken with a knife for his father.)

Object noun phrases that are in unusual order, as in the examples above, must be marked with agreement on the verb. When word order is rearranged for emphasis and there is no object agreement on the verb then the result is ungrammatical, as shown in (200).

In summary, there are several rules regarding object order and placement. The direct object is found in the position immediately following the verb, and its morpheme slot for agreement on the verb is immediately to the left of the verb root. These are, therefore, the default positions of emphasis. If the normal word order is rearranged for emphasis, the arguments must be marked for agreement on the verb. However, a direct object may be fronted to show emphasis, but there must be no arguments following the verb.

5.3 The *-ir* applicative and valency (transitivity)

As discussed earlier, the applicative construction affixes *-ir* to verbs with various native case frames and with the result that the valence of the verb is increased by one. I show here that all Lunyole verb frames (univalent, bivalent, and trivalent) may be increased with the *-ir* applicative.

5.3.1 Intransitive verbs

One-argument verbs can be categorized as having a frame that forms a proposition with only one participant, including with an agent (as with the verb ‘laugh’) or a patient (as with the verb ‘fall’).

Example (201) shows a one-argument verb with an agentive subject that may become a two-argument verb with an applicative. Example (202) shows the addition of a benefactive, but arguments with other semantic roles may also be added. Compare (203) and (204).

(201) Omwana ga-jeh-ire
 child 3s-laugh-PRF
The child laughed.

(202) Omwana ga-jeh-e-eye omulesi
 Child 3s-laugh-APL-PRF babysitter
The child laughed for the babysitter.

(203) Omwana a-lir-a
 child 3s-cry-FV
The child is crying.

(204) Omwana a-lir-ir-a mu nyumba
 child 3s-cry-APP-FV LOC C9-house
The child is crying in the house.

There is no difference on intransitive verbs that are characterized as unaccusative.

The examples in (205) show an unaccusative verb *fa* ‘die’ (205a), with the *-ir* applicative construction (205b), and with an oblique (noncore) argument of location (205c).

(205) a. Yesu g-a-f-uuye
 Y. 3S-PST-die-PRF
Jesus died.

b. Yesu g-a-tu-f-ir-iiye
 Y. 3S-PST-1p-die-APL-PRF
Jesus died for us.

- c. Yesu g-a-tu-f-ir-iiye hu musalabba
 Y. 3S-PST-1p-die-APL-PRF C17:on cross
Jesus died for us on the cross.

5.3.2 Transitive verbs

With transitive verbs, as shown in (206a), the direct object follows the verb. In example (206b) the applicative morpheme *-ir* is added and the applied object occurs in a position immediately following the verb, and the original object in the native case frame is found at the end of the sentence. This is evidence that the applied object becomes the direct object.

- (206) a. Omuhasi a-sal-a engoho
 woman 3s-cut-FV chicken
The woman cuts the chicken.
- b. Omuhasi a-sal-ir-a wamwe engoho
 woman 3s-cut-APL-FV husband chicken
The woman cuts the chicken for her husband.

There are transitive verbs in Lunyole that have no overt object. That is, they are semantically transitive but may be grammatically either intransitive or transitive (see discussion by Payne, 1997, p. 171). These include the verbs *nyiiya* ‘cook’ and *lya* ‘eat,’ among others, just as in English. While they do not behave differently than other transitive verbs, they may be mistaken for intransitive verbs. These distinctions are important when determining what the effect of the applicative is on the native case frame of a verb. I show here that transitive verbs with a nonovert (understood) object do not necessitate an applicative morpheme when that object is overtly expressed.

Examples (207a) and (207b) show how the object of the verb *soma* ‘read’ is optional. This same verb can take an applied object (benefactive), as in (207c), where the

underlying direct object is nonovert. Finally, when all objects are overt, the applied object immediately follows the verb (207d).

- (207) a. Om-wana a-soma
 C1-chid 3s-read
The child is reading.
- b. Om-wana a-soma ehi-tabo
 C1-chid 3s-read C7-book
The child is reading a book.
- c. Om-wana a-som-er-a nyiina
 C1-chid 3s-read-APL-FV his.mother
The child is reading for his mother.
- d. Om-wana a-som-er-a nyiina ehi-tabo
 C1-chid 3s-read-APL-FV his.mother C7-book
The child is reading a book for his mother.

5.3.3 Ditransitive

Lunyole has three trivalent (ditransitive) verbs, though two of them take a locative noun phrase as the third argument,⁵⁸ which causes them to behave slightly differently. The three ditransitive verbs are: *ŋa* ‘give,’ *ta* ‘put,’ and *ŋaha* ‘smear.’ Each of these may host the applicative construction, but with some restrictions.

The ditransitive verb *ŋa* ‘give’ in an applicative construction does not allow both the direct and indirect objects to be overt. At least one object must be marked by agreement on the verb. This is shown in examples (209) to (212).

- (208) Omuhasi a-ŋa-aye omu-saaja sooda
 woman C1-give-PRF C1-man C9:soda
The woman gave the man a soda.
- (209) *Omuhasi a-ŋ-er-eeeye omw-ami omu-saaja sooda
 woman C1-give-APL-PRF C1-chief C1-man C9:soda
(The woman gave the man a soda.)

⁵⁸ For purposes here, I label transitive verbs that require a third argument of location as ditransitive because the three arguments are required, though they clearly behave differently.

- (210) Omu-hasi a-mu-η-er-eeeye omw-ami sooda
 C1-woman C1S-C9-C1O-give-PRF C1-chief C9:soda
The woman gave a soda to him for the chief.
- (211) Omu-hasi a-mu-mu-η-er-eeeye sooda
 C1-woman C1S-C9-C1O-give-PRF C9:soda
The woman gave a soda to him for him.
- (212) *A-yi-mu-mu-η-er-eye
 3s-C9-3s-3s-give-APL-PRF
(He gave it to him for him.)

With the verb *ηa*, it is ungrammatical for all objects to be overt in an applicative construction, as shown in (209). However, either two of three or one of three may be overt, as shown in (210) and (211) respectively. It is ungrammatical, however, if all arguments are nonovert on the verb *ηa* ‘give,’ as in (212).

The verbs *ta* ‘put’ and *ηaha* ‘smear’ are different than *ηa* ‘give.’ These two ditransitive verbs allow all four arguments to be overt in an applicative construction, though the fourth, a locative argument, is in a prepositional phrase, as shown in (214). Unlike with the verb *ηa*, all four arguments may be nonovert, marked only with agreement on the verb, as shown in (215).⁵⁹

- (213) Omu-haana a-ta-aye ehi-rabo mu nyumba
 C1-girl 3s-put-PRF gift C18:LOC C9:house
The girl put the gift in the house.
- (214) Omu-haana a-t-er-eeeye aba-gani ehi-rabo mu nyumba
 C1-girl 3s-put-APL-PRF C2-visitorsC7-gift C18:LOC C9:house
The girl put the gift in the house for the visitors.
- (215) A-hi-ba-t-er-eeeye-mo
 3s-C7-3p-put-APL-PRF-LOC
She put it (gift) inside for them.

⁵⁹ The verb *ηaha* ‘smear’ is shown in examples (189) to (191).

5.3.4 Double applicatives

A double applicative is one in which an applicative morpheme *-ir* occurs twice affixed to a single verb, thereby adding two core arguments. Examples of double applicatives only occurred in elicited data. More research is needed to understand the contexts in which they can occur.

In the double applicative constructions, at least one of the applied objects is benefactive. Example (216) exhibits a benefactive and locative applicative, while (217) is benefactive and recipient.

(216) Ba-ga-nyiiy-**ir-ir**-a-ho aba-ana
 3p-C6-cook-APL-APL-FV-LOC C2-children
They cook on them for the children.

(217) s-o-naha-ga-mu-n-deet-**er-er**-e-ho
 NEG-2s-FUT2- C6-3s-1s-bring-APL-APL-ASP
You will not bring it (water) to him for me.

(218) A-sal-ir-a en-goho en-geso bbabba wuwe
 3s-cut-APL-FV C9-chicken C9-knife father C1:his
He cuts the chicken with a knife for his father.

Example (218) is a transitive verb with a single applicative morpheme *-ir*, which would normally allow a third argument, but instead it has four arguments and remains grammatical. This fits the definition of an applicative—a morpheme that adds an increased number of nonsubject core arguments. But it is clearly different than the double applicative construction that bear two morphemes and two arguments are added. This warrants further research.

5.4 Semantic roles of *-ir* applied objects

Applied objects may have a variety of semantic roles and interpretations: benefactive, instrumental, goal/recipient, accompaniment, and locative. As a rule, animate applied

objects are benefactive and those that are inanimate are instrumental, purpose, or reason. Goal and recipient roles have a similar animacy/inanimacy distinction, with recipients being animate. Lunyole does not allow comitative applicatives because the added argument is coagentive. It does allow accompaniment applicatives because the added argument is a patient. In this section I will show each of these semantic roles in applicative constructions and how their use is restricted.

5.4.1 Benefactive

A benefactive is defined as an action done on behalf of or for the benefit of someone or something (Crystal, 1997, p. 41). In Lunyole applicative constructions, if the applied argument is animate then it is generally a benefactive, as in (219). In (220), *ekanisa* ‘church’ is benefactive because it represents collective animacy. In (221), however, the applied argument *bbeesa* ‘money’ is inanimate and therefore not benefactive, but one of purpose or reason.

(219) G-emb-er-a omw-ami
 3s-sing-APL-FV C1-chief
She sings for the chief.

(220) G-emb-er-a ekanisa
 3s-sing-APL-FV C9-church
She sings for the church.

(221) G-emb-er-a bbeesa
 3s-sing-APL-FV C9-money.
She sings for money (for the purpose of getting money).

The applicative construction is not obligatory for expressing benefactive propositions in Lunyole. Benefactives are also formed by adding a noncore argument in an oblique in a prepositional phrase. Example (222) shows a benefactive using the *-ir*

applicative and (223) is semantically identical to example (222) but without an applicative, and the added noncore argument is expressed in an oblique.

(222) Omu-hasi a-mu-η-**er**-eye omw-ami em-busi
 C1-woman 3s-3s-give-APL-PRF C1-chief C9-goat
The woman gave a goat to him for the chief.

(223) Omu-hasi a-mu-η-aaye em-busi **hulw'** omw-ami
 C1-woman 3s-3s-give-PRF C9-goat because.of C1-chief
The woman gave a goat to him for the chief.

Finally, any attempt to put an inanimate argument as a beneficiary in an applicative construction is unacceptable, as in (224) and (225).

(224) *Musa a-leet-**er**-eeye omu-ga omu-sinde
 M. 3s-bring-APL-PRF C3-garden C1-man
(Musa has brought a man for the garden.)

(225) *Musa a-leet-**er**-eeye en-yumba enyaasi
 M. 3s-bring-APL-PRF C9-house C9-grass
(Musa has brought grass for the house.)

(226) Musa en-yaasi a-li-leet-**er**-eeye hu-simb-**ir**-a en-yumba
 M. C5-grass 3s-C5-bring-APL-PRF C15-thatch-APL-FV C9-house
Musa has brought grass for thatching the house.

The discourse scene in (225) may be alternatively expressed using a serial verb construction using *simba* ‘thatch,’ as shown in (226). In (226), the applicative morpheme on the first verb *leeta* ‘bring’ adds a core verbal noun argument that also bears the applicative morpheme, *ohusimbira* ‘to thatch for,’ which adds the applied object *enyumba* ‘house.’

5.4.2 Instrumental

The instrumental applicative is formed exactly as the benefactive, but with an inanimate object, interpreted as an instrument. The applied object noun phrase is not expressed in a preposition and is normally found at the end of the sentence, immediately following the

verb. An instrumental construction without an applicative is shown in (227) and the instrumental applicative is shown in (228). There is no marking to distinguish the semantic role of the applied argument.

(227) A-lya n' ehi-jiko
 3s-eat with C7-spoon
She eats with a spoon.

(228) A-li-**ir**-a ehi-jiko
 3s-eat-**APL**-FV C7-spoon
She eats (food) with a spoon.

(229) A-li-ir-a en-yama⁶⁰
 3s-eat-**APL**-FV C9-meat
She eats (food) with meat.

The verb structure in each of (228) and (229) is identical. However, (228) is an instrumental applicative while (229) is accompaniment. Context helps to distinguish the nature of the semantic relationship of the applied object to the other arguments.

Unlike other applied objects that occur immediately following the verb, instrumental applied objects occur at the end of the sentence. Example (230) shows an instrumental construction using a prepositional phrase. Example (231) is an instrumental applicative construction.

(230) G-a-sal-ire en-goho n' en-geso
 3s-PST-cut-PRF C9-chicken with C9-knife
She cut the chicken with a knife.

(231) G-a-sal-**i**-iye en-goho en-geso
 3s-PST-cut-**APL**-PRF C9-chicken C9-knife
She cut the chicken with a knife.

Instrumental applicatives are similar to causative constructions: both are valence increasing operations, both utilize verbal extensions (-*ir* and -*is*), and both increase the

⁶⁰ This example can be understood with a proper understanding of the lexical items. In Lunyole, *enyama* 'meat' is not included under the seemingly more general word *emere* 'food.' Only staple foods like millet, maize, and sweet potatoes are *emere*. Meat is under the general category of *eryani* 'sauce.' It is ironic that, when speaking English, the Banyole call *eryani* 'veggies' when it normally includes meat.

number of core arguments of the verb. Example (232) is a causative construction, but the difference in meaning between it and the applicative example in (231) is nuanced.

- (232) G-a-sal-i-hise en-goho en-geso⁶¹
 3s-PST-cut-CAUS-PRF C9-chicken C9-knife
 She used a knife to cut the chicken (not another instrument).

This causative construction comes very close to fitting within the definition of an applicative construction, but it carries the causative rather than the applied suffix. The difference, however, is that the applicative morpheme adds an instrument argument while the causative adds an additional agentive argument, in this case a knife. So the distinguishing feature is that the causative construction in (232) is increasing the agent-like characteristic of the instrument (the knife, in this case) rather than simply adding a nonagent instrument, as it is in (231).

5.4.3 Locative

The locative applicative using the applicative morpheme *-ir* adds a core argument of location to a native case frame. This form of the locative applicative uses the applicative morpheme *-ir* on the verb and the overt applied object (a location) is placed following the verb in a prepositional phrase,⁶² as shown in (233). Example (234) shows a similar construction with an intransitive verb.

⁶¹ We know that example (232) is causative and not applicative because it differs from example (231), which is clearly an applicative, carrying the applicative morpheme (*Gasaliye* vs. *Gasalihise*), and because it matches other causative allomorphs with the perfective ending: *ohuliisa* ‘feed’ > *ohuliihiise* ‘has fed.’

⁶² A noun phrase within a prepositional phrase is not normally a core argument, it is oblique. But it is clear that the applicative morpheme is present in (233) and (234), so we should expect an added argument. Therefore, I question whether or not this is truly a prepositional phrase (see also 6.2). It is possible that the locative preposition is actually just a noun class prefix. This can be tested by adding modifiers to the noun phrase to see whether they take locative class prefixes or normal class prefixes in concord with the head noun. If they take locative prefixes, then the noun phrases in (233) and (234) are not oblique in a prepositional phrase but are locative nouns instead. In all my data, however, very few nouns take the locative concord prefixes throughout the noun phrase (see section 3.2.1). This can be shown in the following applicative example, *Banyiyira hu mayiga gano* ‘They cook on these cooking stones.’ The

(233) Ba-ega ohu-nyiyi-**ir**-a hu mayiga
 3p-learn C15-cook-**APL** on C6:cooking stones
They learn to cook on cooking stones.

(234) Yoweri g-a-jeh-**e**-eye mu kanisa
 Y. 3s-PST-laugh-**APL**-PRF in C9:church
Yoweri laughed in church.

Another form of locative applicative with the *-ir* morpheme uses a locative suffix as well. In this construction, the location or direction of the action is emphasized, further clarifying the relationship between the argument(s) and the verb. Example (235) shows a nonapplicative construction with a locative in a prepositional phrase. Example (236) is semantically identical, but the applicative has been added and the result is a stronger emphasis on the location of the action. Example (237) bears the applicative as well as the locative suffix *-mo*, a still stronger emphasis on the location.

(235) A-loma mu hibiina.
 3s-talks in class
He talks in class.

(236) A-lom-er-a mu hibiina.
 3s-talks-**APL**-FV in class
He talks in class.

(237) A-lom-er-a-mo mu hibiina
 3s-talks-**APL**-C18:LOC in class
He talks in class.

5.4.4 Goal/recipient

Similar to the benefactive applicative construction, Lunyole uses the applicative morpheme to add a goal or recipient of an action. It is formed with the *-ir* applicative morpheme and the recipient of the action, a noncore argument, is added in the position immediately following the verb.

concord of the C6 noun *mayiga* ‘cooking stones’ is carried on to the following C6 demonstrative *gano* ‘these’ rather than from the C17 prefix *hu-*, which is commonly interpreted as a preposition. This issue needs further investigation.

Example (238) shows the native case frame of the transitive verb *tuma* ‘send’ with no applied object, while (239) shows the recipient applicative construction. The applicative is not obligatory, however. An oblique can occur with this same verb in a prepositional phrase as shown in (240).

(238) A-mu-tum-a
3s-3s-send-FV
She is sending him.

(239) A-mu-tum-ir-a omu-utu
3s-3s-send-APL-FV C1-person
She is sending him someone.

(240) Annet a-tum-a omu-utu eri Maama
A. 3s-send-FV C1-someone to Maama
Annet is sending someone to Mama.

5.4.5 Accompaniment

There are two types of accompaniment that, for purposes here, need to be distinguished: accompaniment of an agent and accompaniment of a nonagent or patient.⁶³

Accompaniment of an agent refers to an action done together that is coagentive, for example, ‘Jack and Arnold hit golf balls together.’ Accompaniment of a nonagent refers to an action in which inanimate arguments are acted upon, i.e., in a recipient or patient role, as in, ‘Arnold drinks iced tea with his lunch.’

Lunyole uses the applicative morpheme *-ir* to add nonagent accompaniment roles but not to add agent roles. This fits the definition of applicatives comprising only

⁶³ In an SIL glossary of linguistic terms (Loos, 2006), ‘accompaniment’ is defined as “the semantic role of a thing that participates in close association with an agent, causer, or affected in an event.” This is distinguished from ‘comitative,’ which refers to grammatical case.

nonsubject or nonagent roles. Accompaniment of an agent in Lunyole is formed with a prepositional phrase, as in (241), but is ungrammatical with the applicative (242).

(241) A-ly-a ni meri-we
3s-eat-FV with C1a-friend-3s:POSS
He regularly eats with a friend.

(242) A-li-ir-a ni meri-we
3s-eat-APL-FV CONJ C1a-friend-3s:POSS
*He eats for his friend (as substitute for him)./*He eats with his friend.*

But the identical construction is grammatical as a benefactive, as shown in the same example.

The *-ir* applicative adding a patient role is shown in (243). In example (244), accompaniment is expressed in a prepositional phrase.⁶⁴

(243) A-li-**ir**-a en-yama
3s-eat-APL-FV C9-meat
He is eating (food) with meat.

(244) A-ly-a ni en-yama
3s-eat-FV with C9-meat
He regularly eats (food) with meat.

5.5 Locative applicative constructions using *-ho*

The other applicative construction in Lunyole places an applicative morpheme *-ho*, derived from the locative class prefix *hu-*, on the verb, and the applied object is a location. I show here that there is only one verb type on which this locative applicative can be found, namely unaccusative verbs.⁶⁵ Before discussing this construction, I will first show constructions where *-ho* appears to be an applicative, where in fact it is not.

⁶⁴ There is a difference in meaning between examples (243) and (244) related to tense/aspect. In example (244), the person habitually eats meat with his food while in (243) the person is eating food with meat right now, but does not do it habitually.

⁶⁵ Some might argue that this locative applicative construction is actually dative of interest, a similar valence increasing operation. There are similarities between the examples in this section to dative of interest examples in other languages, including an example from Spanish in Payne (1997), *Se me quemó la cena* ‘Dinner burned on me.’ (p. 193). I have considered this possibility but have chosen to call this an

5.5.1 Apparent locative applicative constructions

There are occasions where the two applicative morphemes—the *-ir* and the locative *-ho*—are found on a single verb. Example (245) shows a single argument verb that seemingly carries two applicative morphemes, but only one object.

(245) A-ga-nyiiy-**ir**-a-**ho**
 3s-C6-cook-APL-FV-LOC
She cooks on them (cooking stones).

(246) *A-nyiiy-ir-a-ho
 3s-cook-APL-FV-LOC
(She cooks on (?).)

The morpheme *-ho* in (245) is not a locative applicative; it is a locative suffix that clarifies the position of a nonovert object *amayiga* ‘cooking stones,’ which is marked with agreement on the verb with *ga-*. But this construction is allowed only when the nonovert object is clearly identifiable. In this case it is clear that the food is cooked on *amayiga* ‘cooking stones’ from noun class 6. This is contrasted with example (246) where there is no object agreement, and therefore what you cook ‘on’ is not clear and therefore the example is ungrammatical. However, when the applied argument is marked with agreement on the verb, as in (245), it is grammatical.

On what basis is *-ho* not an applicative in (245)? The applicative morpheme *-ir* has introduced an applied object (‘cooking stones’ from class 6, marked with agreement on the verb). We have already seen that the underlying object can be nonovert, so the morpheme *-ho* is not bringing the ‘cooking stones’ to center stage; the *-ir* applicative

applicative for the following reasons: (a) The dative of interest usually involves dative case marking and Lunyole has no case marking at all; (b) Dative of interest does not bear marking on the verb; (c) The added argument in these examples are direct objects and the added argument in a dative of interest is normally the third argument in a trivalent construction (the Spanish example is an exception). This construction fits my definition of an applicative. Nevertheless, these constructions are open to being analyzed as dative of interest rather than applicative.

morpheme has already done that. The locative morpheme *-ho* clarifies the relationship between arguments. In this case, the cooking is being done ‘on’ the referenced indirect object, not ‘for’ them or ‘with’ them.

5.5.2 Locative applicatives with unaccusative verbs

Lunyole adds arguments to unaccusative verbs using the locative applicative morpheme *-ho*, but the argument is only expressed by agreement on the verb (nonovert).⁶⁶ The relationship between the verb and the applied object is not necessarily locative; it is better described as ‘with reference to.’ These are similar to English phrases like, ‘My computer died on me.’

Example (247) shows an unaccusative verb *gu* ‘fall’ with its one argument.

Example (248) shows the first-person agreement prefix *n-* may be added when the verb bears the applicative morpheme *-ho*, but is ungrammatical if the morpheme *-ho* is absent and the agreement marking is added, as shown in (249).

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (247) | Ebbesa ji-gu-ye
money C10-fall-PRF
<i>The money has fallen.</i> | <i>Unaccusative</i> |
| (248) | Ebbesa ji- n -gu-ye- ho
money C10-1s-fall-PRF-APL
<i>The money has fallen on/from me.</i> | <i>Unaccusative + applicative</i> |
| (249) | *Ebbesa ji-n-gu-ye
C10-money C10-1s-fall-PRF
<i>(The money has fallen on/from me.)</i> | * <i>Unaccusative without applicative</i> |

⁶⁶ All unaccusative verbs in Lunyole that I have identified express undesirable events—become sick, die, fall, burn food. When uttering these there is lament, which explains why the applied objects in these examples are primarily first-person.

Examples (250) to (252) show other unaccusative verbs in this applicative construction. This applicative construction is not grammatical on unergative verbs, as shown in (253).

- (250) E-tamu yi-**mu**-ŋah-ire-**ho**
 C9-pot C9-3s- burn-PRF-LOC
The pot burned on him.
- (251) *Omwana gandwayeho*
 Omw-ana g-a-**n**-lwa-ye-**ho**
 C1-child 3s-PST-1s-be.sick-PRF-APL
The child has fallen sick on me.
- (252) *Omwana gafuuyeho*
 Omw-ana g-a-**n**-f-uuye-**ho**.
 C1-child 3s-PST-1s-die-PRF-APL
The child has died on me.
- (253) *Omw-ana g-a-**n**-dulum-ire-**ho**.
 C1-child 3s-PST-1s-die-PRF-APL
(The child ran on me.)

5.5.3 Nonapplicative constructions with locatives

While the locative morpheme *-ho* is used as an applicative on unaccusative verbs, these locative morphemes are used primarily as locative or directional morphemes that clarify the action of the verb within the native case frame. In this section I show some of the nonapplicative uses of these morphemes.

Example (254) shows the basic structure of a predicate locative using a copula, where the copula bears subject agreement followed by a location in a prepositional phrase. A different locative morpheme is used in each example of (255). The location is nonovert and the copula bears the locative morpheme. This is not a valence increasing device but instead clarifies the relationship between the subject and the predicate.

(254) Mwima a-li mu n-yumba
 Mwima 3s-COP C18:LOC C9-house
Mwima is in the house.

(255) a. Mwima a-li-**mo**
 M. 3s-COP-C18:LOC
Mwima is inside.

b. Mwima a-li-**ŋo**
 M. 3s-COP- C16:LOC
Mwima is here.

c. Mwima a-li-**yo**
 M. 3s-COP-C23:LOC
Mwima is there.

For emphasis, the locative marking on the verb can appear in conjunction with the locative preposition. Compare the following two examples, where the locative morpheme adds emphasis on the location in the second:

(256) a. Yoweri g-a-jeh-e-eye **mu** kanisa
 Y. 3s-PST-laugh-APL-PRF C18:LOC church
Yoweri laughed inside church.

b. Yoweri g-a-jeh-e-eye-**mo** **mu** kanisa
 Y. 3s-PST-laugh-APL-PRF-LOC C18:LOC church
Yoweri laughed inside church.

5.6 Reduplication to show habitual action

The applicative form *-ir* may reduplicated in an applicative construction to show habitual action. Example (258) shows the applicative construction on the verb *hayuha* ‘shout’ and in (259) the applicative morpheme is reduplicated. The result is an applicative construction with the added element of habitual action. These are not double-applicative constructions (see 5.3.4) because only one argument is added.

- (257) Ba-hayuh-a
3p-shout-FV
They shout.
- (258) Ba-hayuh-**ir**-a aba-ana
3p-shout-APL-FV C2-children
They shout at the children.
- (259) Ba-hayuh-**ir-ir**-a aba-ana
3p-shout-APL-APL-FV C2_children
They are always shouting at children.

The following are examples of applicative verbs with the reduplicated applicative morpheme to show habitual or durative action:

- (260) a. *ohulabirira* ‘to constantly look after’
b. *ohugadirira* ‘to be on the look out for’
c. *ohujirira* ‘to flow continuously’ (from *ohuja* ‘to come’)
d. *ohujuhiirira* ‘to irrigate’ (from *ohujuha* ‘to pour’)
e. *ohweliririra* ‘to cry out for help’
f. *ohutangirira* ‘to lead’

This same construction is found in a derivational process where nouns are derived from applicative verbs, as shown in (261). In this case, the noun keeps the verb’s final vowel *-a* rather than the derivational suffix *-i* that is normally used in agent nominalization.

- (261) aba-dulum-irir-a
C2-rescuers-run-HAB-FV
rescuers

5.7 Frozen *-ir* forms

Lunyole has developed lexicalized verbs with the applicative morpheme. For example, the verb bearing two applicative morphemes in (262) has no object. In discourse, it is not uncommon for the applicative morpheme *-ir* to be reduplicated to show habitual, durative, or extended action (see section 5.6). So this is a frozen form of a verb with the applicative morpheme. The Lunyole verb for ‘run’ is *duluma*. So the frozen form

dulumirira has become a univalent benefactive verb form meaning ‘run for (help).’ This, then, would not be an applicative construction but a simple intransitive verb, as shown in (262).

- (262) Poliisi ba-dulum-ir-ir-a.
 police 3P-run-APL-APL-a
The police ran for help.

5.8 Summary

Lunyole applicative constructions allow nonsubject arguments to be added to the native case frame of the verb. Lunyole has two types of applicative morphemes: the basic Bantu *-ir* verb extension that is used on all types of verbs regardless of transitivity, and the locative applicative morpheme *-ho* used exclusively on unaccusative verbs. The applied objects using the basic applicative morpheme *-ir* may show agreement on the verb, and there are restrictions where the overt applied object may be found in relation to the verb. Using the applicative morpheme *-ir*, Lunyole adds nonsubject arguments of various semantic roles including benefactive, instrumental, purpose, reason, associative, location, and accompaniment of a patient role, though an agent role of accompaniment (coagentive) is ungrammatical, in addition to not being an applicative as defined here. Locative morphemes (*-ŋo*, *-ho*, *-mo*) occur in applicative constructions not as applicative morphemes to allow additional arguments but to clarify the relationship between core arguments and the verb, and not just in *-ir* applicative constructions.

CHAPTER 6

APPLICATION

The particular features of Lunyole phonology and grammar affect certain areas of applied linguistics. In this chapter I first look at the many gaps that still remain in understanding and describing Lunyole phonology and grammar. Second, I look at a few areas where the Lunyole phonology affects the development of a workable orthography. Finally, I look at several issues affecting Bible translation, such as how Lunyole's grammatical structure, including the applicative, affects the translation process and how a borrowed word carries with it a translation problem.

6.1 Areas for further study

This thesis has unearthed several specific areas that are worthy of further study. In the area of Bantu phonology, tone is a significant issue. Tone in Lunyole has not been analyzed thoroughly, and the significance of its full impact on the Lunyole language is yet to be known. The Lunyole Language Association (LLA) has chosen not to mark tone orthographically, a decision that is reflected in the current orthography. It is still to be seen how this decision will affect literacy development, especially comprehension levels when reading unfamiliar texts.

The morphophonemics associated with verb extensions (suffixes), especially related to the perfective suffix, is complex, as shown in section 2.5.7. An analysis of these extensions would shed light on the function of the applicative as it is used with other extensions, like the causative and passive.

There are no clear phonological rules to explain the following change: $a > g / _V$ (see 2.6.5). An explanation of such change would be worthy pursuing.

We have seen that the analysis of locative noun prefixes as prepositions causes problems in understanding the grammatical structure, specifically as it relates to the core arguments and the applicative construction. Nurse and Philippson (2003) have recognized this same area as needing further investigation (p. 7).

Finally, this thesis has only touched on how applicative constructions are formed and used in Lunyole. More analysis is needed in the area of how other extensions such as the causative, passive, and reciprocal interact with the applicative extension and what restricts their combination. Further study should also include how extensively double (or multiple) applicatives may be used and what restrictions there may be on this construction.

6.2 Application to orthography development

Lunyole phonology (see chapter 2) has particular characteristics that bring certain challenges to the development of a workable orthography. But it is important to understand that orthography decisions should not be made based on linguistic factors only. In my training as a linguist I was taught that, “The best orthography is the one people use.” There are many reasons why people choose not to use a particular

orthography, and they are often not linguistic reasons. Orthography decisions are best made when considering multiple perspectives, and there are many factors to consider.

Kutsch Lojenga, et al, (1999) offers six factors that should be considered when establishing an orthography. These factors are linguistic, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, educational, production, and political. In this section I look at a few particular Lunyole orthography issues and how some of these factors have influenced its development.

Since its inception in 1963, the LLA has been seeking the expertise of linguists to assist them in analyzing their language. Anthropologists Michael and Susan Whyte were first to provide linguistic assistance that resulted in several publications, including *Ebibono by'Olunyole n'Olusungu olungeresa* 'Words of Lunyole and English' (Whyte, 1994). This book includes a short section on the orthography.

Later SIL linguists worked with the LLA to work through the details of the orthography, especially the difficult area of word breaks. This resulted in the development of the *Lunyole Orthography Guide* (Lunyole Language Association, 2004a), which offers details of the linguistic factors that were considered in developing the orthography.

There are several linguistic features of the Lunyole language that were difficult to apply to the orthography. The first is whether locative class prefixes (see 3.1.1) should appear as separate words or as attached to the noun. One factor that contributed to the decision was the fact that the initial vowel on the noun is always absent when the locative prefix (preposition) is present. Example (263) shows this locative class prefix written separate and (264) shows it as one word.

(263) Em-ere yi-ri mu bbakuli
 C9-food C9-be C18.LOC C9:bowl
The food is in the bowl.

(264) Em-ere yi-ri mu-bbakuli
 C9-food C9-be C18-C9:bowl
The food is in the bowl.

The orthography committee was guided by a general principle to establish a consistent word image in order to make reading easier.⁶⁷ And because a noun could have a variety of prefixes already, they thought it best to keep the locative prefix separate in order not to muddle the single word image.

The LLA also chose to write the prefixes from locative classes 16, 17, 18, and 23 separate from the nouns. But this decision is not necessarily intuitive for new learners. (Intuition is a psycholinguistic factor.) It is yet to be seen how this spelling rule will affect literacy progress.

A second orthography related issue is related to the phoneme /l/ and its allophone /r/. The linguistic evidence clearly establishes the contexts in which each sound occurs (see 2.1). The proposal to the committee by SIL linguists was to keep both symbols: the symbol <l> would represent the phoneme /l/ in all Lunyole words and the <r> would be used in some borrowed words and proper nouns to maintain consistency across languages. But in the end the committee chose to keep both symbols in Lunyole words on sociolinguistic grounds. They wanted Lunyole, where possible, to look like English and Luganda. The result was a clear spelling rule included in the spelling guide: “The *l* and the *r* is [sic] actually one and the same sound that appears differently in different contexts. The *l* shall be written at the beginning of words and following the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*. The *r* shall be written following vowels *e* and *i*” (*A Brief Spelling*

⁶⁷ Word image is the overall look of a word.

Guide for Lunyole, 2004, p. 4). In the writing workshops that I observed, the most common spelling mistake involved the phoneme /l/.

Sociolinguistic, educational, and production factors were considered when choosing the symbols < *ŋ* > for the velar nasal [ŋ] and < *hy* > for the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative [ç].

The velar nasal is prevalent in Lunyole, and the only good option available for a symbol to represent this sound is from other Bantu languages (*ng'* and *ngh*). These were both rejected. The symbol *ng'* was rejected because it used an apostrophe (the LLA preferred to use the apostrophe differently) and the *ngh* was rejected because it was a trigraph, and when it is palatalized or labialized, it makes a long string of consonant symbols. When no other common options were available the LLA purposefully chose to use a symbol that would make their language look different from surrounding Bantu languages (a sociolinguistic factor). The symbol < *ŋ* >, however, has the extra challenge of production; it does not appear on basic typewriter keys and an ordinary computer user currently has difficulty producing it on his or her computer. It is not uncommon to see a typewritten text in Lunyole, and where an < *ŋ* > should appear an < *n* > is inserted. Then, when the typing is complete, the writer goes through the text with a pen and provides a handwritten tail. This solution is effective but not efficient, nor is it attractive.

The voiceless palatal fricative [ç] represented by < *hy* > may seem an odd choice until the rationale is made clear. First, the phoneme /h/ is the most frequent consonant phoneme in Lunyole. Second, when /h/ is followed by a high front vowel /i/, as with the class 7 prefix *ehi-*, and is then followed by a vowel at a morpheme boundary, the /h/ is palatalized [h^y]. This morphophonemic process is frequent in Lunyole. Third, there is a

basic phoneme [ʃ] in Lunyole, and so ideally any symbol chosen to represent it would also be used for the same sound that is produced morphophonemically [hʏ]. Finally, there was a precedent from Luganda, which has /k/ in similar contexts to Lunyole's /h/, and Luganda uses <ky> to symbolize this voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ] as well for the palatalized voiceless velar plosive [kʏ]. A decision to borrow the digraph *sh* from English would have been a good choice in one respect, for educational purposes, transitioning to English. But it would have lacked a consistent word image where morphemes meet. For example, when the class 7 prefix *hi-* is joined with the first-person possessive root *ange*, the result would be /hi-ange/ > *shange*, rather than *hyange*. The *hyange* spelling retains a consistent image for class 7 nouns, as in: *ehisaŋu hyange hino* 'this bag of mine.'⁶⁸

In the end, the solution was to keep the < h > in view for the reader, and show it palatalized using < hy >, with the freedom to pronounce it either [ʃ] or [hʏ].

6.3 Application to translation

In this section I look at Bible translation problems that arise as a result of the dissimilar grammatical structures between Lunyole and Koine (common) Greek, the language of the New Testament. First, I look at the disparity in the future tenses of the two languages. Second, I look at the passive constructions and how their limitations have affected translation. Third, I briefly discuss the issues surrounding a few words that Lunyole

⁶⁸ A similar issue was actually a point of contention in Lugwere, a neighboring language spoken to the north of Bunyole. The question their language association struggled with was, 'Should the palatalized velar affricate be represented by a single symbol (*c*) or should it cater to the intuition of the speaker when produced at a morpheme boundary and use a combination letter (*ky*), or both?'

translators have found necessary to borrow as they translate. Finally, I give an example of how the use of the applicative construction can strengthen a translation.

6.3.1 Future tenses and translation

Greek has just one future tense; Lunyole has three future tenses (see 3.5.2). In most cases, the context or other lexical information helps the translator determine the time frame of the future event in the source language, allowing him or her to make good decisions in the area of tense. However, there are instances, especially in relation to predictive statements, where the future time frame cannot be easily inferred. For example, in Mark 1:7, the author is speaking of John the Baptist who says, “After me will come one more powerful than I...”⁶⁹ The Lunyole translator must make a decision as to when in the future this one will be coming. Example (265)⁷⁰ shows that the translator made the decision to use the distant future tense, when there is no such distinction in Greek.

(265) *Ŋa-li-ŋo a-li-ja a-gakira obu-ŋangi*
 C16-be-C16 3s-FUT3-come 3s-surpass C14-strength
There is one who will come who surpasses me in power/authority.

Another example is from Mark 14:27 where Jesus predicts that his disciples will run from him. In context, it is not necessarily clear at the time of this statement exactly when in the future they will flee. The translator can only go further in the text to find out when the fleeing actually happened, and then make it clear in the passage in question.

(266) *Mw-esi-mw-esi mu-na-dulume*
 2p-all-2p-all 2p-FUT1-run
You all will run...

⁶⁹ All English Bible references are from the New International Version (1984).

⁷⁰ All Lunyole Bible translation citations are from unpublished drafts from the Lunyole Bible Translation Committee, and used by permission.

The struggle for the translator is in the area of precision, because the words of Jesus in Greek did not carry the precision that Lunyole requires for future tense marking. So in example (266), if the translator were to use a distant future it may be misleading. And a near future would not necessarily be accurate. Here the translator chose hodiernal, because, indeed, the disciples distanced themselves from Jesus from that moment. But it is necessary for the translator to make a judgment based on his or her interpretation.

6.3.2 Passive constructions and translation

Lunyole has two methods of forming passive constructions, where downplaying of the agent is necessary. The preferred method is an empty form of the third person plural prefix. This is often called a ‘they passive,’ a method indigenous to Lunyole (see 3.5.3) and therefore the preferred method in translation.

An issue arises, however, when the agent is clear, and perhaps even obvious, but is not mentioned or needs to be downplayed. In this situation, the ‘they passive’ would be preferred but it is not helpful. As shown in example (267), the translator chose to use a morphological passive, a construction borrowed from Luganda.

(267) Mu-batiz-iw-e Hiwumbe a-ba-sonije ohubbengahwenywe
 2p-baptize-PASS-SUBJ God 3s-2p-forgive sins your
Be baptized so God may forgive you (pl.) your sins.
(Draft translation)

The difficulty in this case is that the baptizing was being done by an individual (John), and to use a plural morpheme would not have been accurate in regard to a singular agent.

The choice to use the borrowed construction from Luganda becomes problematic when this method is combined with the perfective extension. There are already complex morphophonemics that occur when combining verbal suffixes (extensions) in Lunyole (see 2.5.7). When these are combined with a borrowed suffix to form a passive

construction, the pronunciation of the various combinations is not intuitive to the Lunyole speaker. In fact, these constructions are avoided by speakers of Lunyole (Wandera, 2005, personal communication).

Another more complex example comes from the Gospel of Mark. The scene is the Last Supper, and Jesus is speaking of a new covenant. He says, “This is the blood of my covenant which is poured out for many” (Mark 14:24). This passage combines the passive construction with a present tense that signals a future time. Clearly it is Jesus who will pour out his blood. But what is Jesus saying regarding what is in this cup? It is an issue that has distinguished denominations since the Reformation. Unfortunately, Lunyole has little capacity to express this neatly. If the present (or historical present, in this case) were to be used, the implication would be that it is being poured out at that very time. So the Lunyole translation of this passage in (268) uses the future tense which would cover the following day, the day that Jesus would shed his blood. And the borrowed passive form is used because the ‘they passive’ cannot apply, just as it couldn’t in (267).

(268) Gano nj’ amafugi g-ange aga-**naha**-juh-**iw**-e hu lw’ aba-ngi
 C6-this COP C6blood C6-my C6-FUT2-pour-PASS-FV LOC ASC C2-many
This is my blood which will be poured out for many.
 (Draft translation)

6.3.3 Borrowed words and translation

Christianity originally came to the Banyole people through the Luganda language. Due to the influence of Luganda on Christianity in Bunyole, many of Lunyole’s key biblical terms are borrowed from Luganda (and transliterated).

- (269) Key biblical terms borrowed from other languages
- a. *Kurisito* ‘Christ’
 - b. *malayika* ‘Angel’
 - c. *Masiya* ‘Messiah’
 - d. *Sitaani* ‘Satan’
 - e. *ohubatsiwa* ‘be baptized’
 - f. *sadaaka* ‘sacrifice’

One particular example is the word *Esabbiti* ‘Sunday.’ This is a Semitic word that was carried by Arabic speakers to East Africa where it was transferred to Swahili and many other East African languages. Normally this would not be a problem. But in Lunyole the seventh day of the week is understood as Sunday rather than Saturday (the first day of the week is considered to be Monday). So, in the minds of the Banyole, the *Esabbiti* ‘Sabbath’ is Sunday and has been since the arrival of Christianity in the 1870s. The problem is that Sunday is not the Sabbath, and so using the *Esabbiti* ‘sabbath’ would mislead.

This is a tricky situation for the translator. The current solution is to avoid the use *Esabbiti* for Sabbath, but instead to use the descriptive phrase *Oludaalo lwa Sabaato* ‘the day of the Sabbath.’ This is clever in that, although it still uses a borrowed word *Sabaato*, it downplays the name of the days as they are currently used, thereby avoiding the instant association with *Esabbiti* ‘Sunday.’ But it still includes a word that sounds like the word for ‘Sunday.’ How this will be received by Lunyole readers of the Bible is still to be seen. But at least this solution naturally distances itself, albeit not far, from the common word for Sunday.

6.3.4 The applicative and translation

Payne's (1997) definition of the applicative as bringing a participant or argument of a discourse onto the center stage is relevant to the translation process. The applicative construction provides the translator with a means to closely link arguments that might otherwise be seen as peripheral.

For example, in John 11:3, Lazarus, a friend of Jesus, lay sick and near death. Lazarus's sisters need to send a message to Jesus, asking him to come. A literal translation of this passage into Lunyole might look something like (270), which is acceptable in Lunyole. In this case there is no marked grammatical connection between the verb *tuma* 'to send' and *Yesu* 'Jesus.'

(270) Ba-tuma ehibono eri Yesu ni baati
 3s-send word to Jesus CONJ 3s-C
They send a word to Jesus...

In (271), however, the same verb *tuma* is used with the applicative. The applicative morpheme allows agreement marking for *Yesu* (applied object) on the verb. This construction links the message very closely to Jesus. It eliminates the use of *ehibono* 'word,' because it is implied in the sending. This translation, however, is clear only if the object agreement marker that marks the added object refers clearly to the antecedent (Jesus) from the preceding text.

(271) Ba-**mu**-tum-**ir**-a ni ba-mu-loma ba-ati...
 3s-3s-send-APL-FV CONJ 3s-3s-say 3s-C
They send (a message) for him and say to him... (Draft translation)

So this thesis provides insights which are applicable to several areas within the field of applied linguistics.

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APPENDIX A

LUNYOLE NOUN CLASS PARADIGMS⁷¹

Table A-1

Noun Class Prefixes, Copulas, and Verb Agreement Prefixes

Class	NOUN PHRASE				Copula ⁷² (contrast)	VERBAL AFFIXES				
	IV	Noun/ Adj. Pfx	Absolute Pronoun	Assoc. marker		Subject	Object	Subj. Rel.	Obj. Rel.	Loc.
1s	-	-	ese	-	-	(N)-	(N)-	-	-	-
1p	-	-	efe	-	-	hu-	tu-	-	-	-
2s	-	-	ewe	-	-	o-	hu-	-	-	-
2p	-	-	enywe	-	-	mu-	ba-	-	-	-
1 (3s)	o-	mu-	ye	wa	nje	a-	mu-	ó-	oyu-	-
2 (3p)	a-	ba-	bo	ba	mba	ba-	ba-	á-	aba-	-
3	o-	mu-	gwo	gwa	ngo	mu-	gu-	ó-	ogu-	-
4	e-	mi-	jo	ja	nje	mi-	ji-	é-	eji-	-
5	e-	-	lyo	lya	nde	li-	li-	é-	eri-	-
6	a-	ma-	go	ga	nga	ga-	ga-	á-	aga-	-
7	e-	hi-	hyo	hya	ce	hi-	hi-	é-	ehi-	-
8	e-	bi-	byo	bya	mbe	bi-	bi-	é-	ebi-	-
9	e-	(N)-	yo	ya	nje	e-	yi-	é-	eyi-	-
10	e-	(N)-	jo	ja	nje	ji-	ji-	é-	eji-	-
11	o-	lu-	lwo	lwa	nje	lu-	lu-	ó-	olu-	-
12	a-	ha-	ho	ha	ka	ha-	ha-	á-	aha-	-
13	o-	tu-	two	twa	to	tu-	tu-	ó-	out-	-
14	o-	bu-	wo	wa	mbo	bu-	bu-	ó-	obu-	-
15	o-	hu-	hwo	hwa	ko	hu-	hu-	ó-	ohu-	-
16	a-	ɲa	ɲo	ɲa	pa	ɲa	ɲa	á-	aɲa-	-ɲo
17	o-	hu	ɲo	hwa	ko	hu-	hu-	ó-	ohu-	-ho
18	o-	mu	mwo	mwa	po	mu-	mu-	ó-	omu-	-mo
20	o-	gu-	gwo	gwa	ngo	gu-	gu-	ó-	ogu-	-
22	o-	ga-	go	ga	nga	ga-	ga-	á-	aga-	-
23 ⁷³	e-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-yo

⁷¹ These paradigms (Tables A-1 to A-4) were elicited from Enoch Wandera between 2001-2003.⁷² The copula *nje* is used by some for all noun classes, with the exception of *ce* from class 7.⁷³ As noted in 3.2.1, this noun class is defective.

Table A-2
Personal Possessives⁷⁴

Class	Prefix	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
		/ange/	/o/	/e/	/efe/	/enywe/	/awe/
		‘My/Mine’	‘Your(s)’	‘His/Her(s)’	‘Our(s)’	‘Your(s)’	‘Their(s)’
1	o- (wu-) ⁷⁵	wange	wuwo	wuwe	weefe	wenywe	waawe
2	ba-	bange	babo	babe	beefe	benywe	baawe
3	gu-	gwange	gugwo	gugwe	gwefe	gwenywe	gwawe
4	ji-	jange	jijo	jije	jeefe	jenywe	jaawe
5	li-	lyange	liryo	lirye	lyefe	lyenywe	lyawe
6	ga-	gange	gago	gage	geefe	genywe	gaawe
7	hi-	hyange	hihyo	hihye	hyefe	hyenywe	hyawe
8	bi-	byange	bibyo	bibye	byefe	byenywe	byawe
9	yi-	yange	yiyo	yiye	yeefe	yenywe	yaawe
10	ji-	jange	jijo	jije	jeefe	jenywe	jaawe
11	lu-	lwange	lulwo	lulwe	lwefe	lwenywe	lwawe
12	ha-	hange	haho	hahe	heefe	henywe	haawe
13	tu-	twange	tutwo	tutwe	twefe	twenywe	twawe
14	w-	wange	wuwo	wuwe	weefe	wenywe	waawe
15	hu-	hwange	huhwo	huhwe	hwefe	hwenywe	hwawe
16	ɲa-	ɲange	ɲaɲo	ɲaɲe	ɲeefe	ɲenywe	ɲaawe
17	hu-	hwange	huhwo	huhwe	hwefe	hwenywe	hwawe
18	mu-	mwange	mumwo	mumwe	mwefe	mwenywe	mwawe
20	gu-	gwange	gugwo	gugwe	gwefe	gwenywe	gwawe
22	ga-	gange	gago	gage	geefe	genywe	gaawe
Structure >		/PFX+ange/	/PFX+PFX+o/	/PFX+PFX+o/	/PFX+efe/	/PFX+enywe/	/PFX+awe/

⁷⁴ Not included in this Appendix is a complete paradigm of possessives for each noun class. In other words, there is an individual form when a noun of one noun class possesses a noun from another.

⁷⁵ This prefix might be alternatively analyzed as [+round].

Table A-3
Demonstratives (deixis)

Class	‘this’ Near speaker	‘that’ Near hearer	‘that’ Yonder
1	ono	oyo	ola
2	bano	abo	bala
3	guno	ogwo	gula
4	jino	ejo	jira
5	lino	eryo	lira
6	gano	ago	gala
7	hino	ehyo	hira
8	bino	ebyo	birra
9	yino	eyo	yira
10	jino	ejo	jira
11	luno	olwo	lula
12	hano	aho	hala
13	tuno	otwo	tula
14	wuno	owo	wula
15	huno	ohwo	hula
16	ɲano	aɲo	ɲala
17	huno	ohwo	hula
18	muno	omwo	mula
20	guno	ogwo	gula
22	gano	ago	gala

Table A-4
Quantitative Words

Class	One	Two	Both	All three	All four	All	Few/ Little	Many/ Much
1s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1p	-	-	-	-	-	hwesi	-	-
2s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2p	-	-	-	-	-	mwesi	-	-
1	mulala	-	-	-	-	weesi	mutotono	mungi
2	balala	babiri	bombi	bondatu	boone	boosi	batotono	bangi
3	mulala	-	-	-	-	gwosi	mutotono	mungi
4	mirala	ebiri	jombi	jondatu	jondatu	joosi	mitotono	mingi
5	erala	-	-	-	-	lyosi	etotono	lingi
6	malala	abiri	gombi	gondatu	gondatu	goosi	matotono	mangi
7	hiralala	-	-	-	-	hyosi	hitotono	hingi
8	birala	bibiri	byombi	byondatu	byone	byosi	bitotono	bingi
9	ndala	-	-	-	-	yoosi	totono	nyingi
10	ndala	ebiri	jombi	jondatu	jondatu	joosi	totono	nyingi
11	lulala	ebiri	-	-	-	lwosi	lutotono	lungi
12	halala	bubiri	-	-	-	hoosi	hatotono	hangi
13	tulala	tubiri	-	-	-	twosi	tutotono	tungi
14	wulala	wubiri	-	-	-	woosi	butotono	wungi
15	hulala	hubiri	-	-	-	hwosi	hutotono	hungi
16	ɲalala	ɲabiri	-	-	-	ɲoosi	ɲatotono	ɲangi
17	hulala	hubiri	-	-	-	hwosi	hutotono	hungi
18	mulala	mubiri	-	-	-	mwosi	mutotono	mungi
20	gulala	-	-	-	-	gwosi	gutotono	gungi
22	galala	gabiri	gombi	gondatu	gondatu	goosi	gatotono	gangi

APPENDIX B

OLUGERO LW'OMUYAAYE

'A STORY OF A CONMAN'

As told by Higumbya Jacob of Nakwasi, Butaleja, Uganda (2001). Recorded and transcribed by Enoch Wandera. Used by permission.

Nitandiiha	ahagano	hano,	amasiina	gange	niise	Yakobo	Higumbya
ni-n-tandiiha	aha-gano	ha-no	ama-siina	ga-ange	ni-ese	Y.	H.
CNJ-1s-start	C12-story	C12-DEM	C6-name	C6-POSS	1s-me	Jacob	H.

As I begin this story, my names are Jacob Higumbya

era	muzeeyi	wange	nje	Kanani	Hiire	era	huli	Bahayini
era	mu-zeeyi	o-ange	nje	K.	H.	era	hu-li	Ba-hayini
CNJ	C1-old man	C1-POSS	COP	K.	H.	CNJ	2p-be	C2-hayini

and my father is Kenani Hiire and we are of the Bahayini clan,

era	muzeeyi	wa	bbaabba	nje	Higumbya	Esau.
era	mu-zeeyi	wa	bbaabba	nje	H.	E.
CNJ	C1-old man	ASC	father	COP	H.	E.

and the father of my father is Higumbya Esau.

Nitandiiha	ahagano	hano	haṅamba	hu	muyaaye
ni-n-tandiiha	aha-gano	ha-no	ha-ṅamba	hu	mu-yaaye
CNJ-1s-start	C12-story	C12-DEM	C12-concern	LOC	C1-conman

As I begin, this story concerns a conman

nigenda	ohwiba	eduuka	era	hatandiiha	haati:
ni-a-enda	ohu-iba	e-duuka	era	ha-tandiiha	ha-ati
CNJ-3s-want	C15-steal	C5-shop	CNJ	C12-start	C12-COMP

who wants to steal from a shop, and it begins like this:

Omuyaaye	gahola	bizinesi	enyene	enyingi	n'atabitamo.
omu-yaaye	a-a-hola	bizinesi	enyene	eny-ingi	ni-a-ta-bitamo
CNJ-1s-start	3s-PST-work	C10:businesses	C10-(intensifier)	C10-many	CNJ-3s-NEG-success-LOC

A conman tried his hand at so many businesses, but he was not successful in them.

Ng'aloma	ati	hiina	ehindiho?	Hinjwabo?
nga a-loma	ati	hi-ina	ehi-n-li-ho	hi-ṅwabo
CNJ 3s-speak	COMP	C7-what	C7-1s-be-LOC	C7-curse

And he said, "What is with me? A curse?"

Ngehisye	bizinesi	aye	setiina,	simbona	magoba	nigaaja.
n-gesia-aye-ho	bizinesi	aye	si-e-tiina	si-m-bona	ma-goba	ni-ga-ja
1s-try-PRF-ASP	C9:business	CNJ	NEG-C9-go	NEG-1s-see	C4-profit	CNJ-C4-come

I tried business but it did not see any profit.

Kole	tye	kombe	mugaaga?
n-hol-e	tye	ko-m-ba-e	mu-gaaga
1s-do-SUBJ	how	ADV-1s-COP-SUBJ	C1-rich

What must I do before I become a rich man?"

Ng'aloma ati nenda hutiina mu Kampala.
 nga a-loma ati n-enda hu-tiina mu Kampala
 CNJ 3s-speak COMP 1s-want C15-go C18:in Kampala
And he says, "I want to go to Kampala."

Ng'aheja ehisaŋu hihye ehyeene ehituufu, ehimunyagala
 nga a-heja ehi-saŋu hi-hye ehi-ene ehi-tuufu ehi-munyagala
 CNJ 3s-search.for C7-bag C7-POSS C7-(intensifier) C7-true C7-glitter
And he looks for himself a very good, glittering bag

Ng'aheja n' omutwalo gugwe mulala mu bupapula ow' olukumi lukumi
 nga a-heja ni omu-twalo gu-gwe mu-lala mu bu-papula owa olukumi lukumi
 CNJ 3s-search CNJ C3-10,000 C3-POSS C3-one C18:in C14-notes C14:ASC 1,000 1,000
And he looks for himself 10,000 shillings in 1,000 shilling notes,

ng'atiina e Kampala.
 nga a-tiina e K.
 CNJ 3s-go C23:to K.
and then he goes to Kampala.

Gambaaye etaayi gaataho n' ekooti,
 a-amba-aye e-taayi a-a-ta-ho ni ekooti
 3s-PST-clothe-PRF C5-tie 3s-PST-put-LOC CNJ- C5-coat
He put on a necktie, added a coat,

gaataho engayito n' ekofiira ohwo.
 a-a-ta-ho en-gayito ni e-kofiira ohu-o
 3s-PST-put-LOC C10-shoes CNJ C9-hat C17-on
and put on shoes and a hat.

Ni golire mu Kampala ng'atiina hu duuka
 ni a-a-ol-ire mu K. nga a-tiina hu duuka
 ADV 3s-PST-arrive-PRF C18.in K. CNJ 3s-go C17:on C5:shop
When he arrived in Kampala he goes to a shop

eritunda sigala mu holoselo.
 eri-tunda sigala mu holoselo
 C5:REL-sell cigarettes C18.in wholesale
that sells cigarettes wholesale.

Nga asunga omuhasi owaali n'atunda mu duuka eryo etebe
 nga a-sunga omu-hasi o-a-li ni a-tunda mu duuka e-lyo e-tebe
 CNJ 3s-request C1-female C1:REL-PST-be CNJ 3s-sell C18.in C5:shop C5-DEM C5-chair
And he requests a chair from the woman who was selling in that shop

gehala atandiiha ohubala ebbesa kwasasulire amabbokesi ga sigala
 a-ihala a-tandiiha ohu-bala e-bbesa ko-a-sasul-ire ama-bbokesi ga sigala
 3s-sit 3s-begin C15-count C10-money ADV-3s-pay-PRF C3-box C3-ASC C9.cigarettes
he sat down and began to count money before having paid for boxes of cigarettes

eyi gaali ni genda hugula.
 eyi a-a-li ni a-enda hu-gula
 C9REL 3s-PST-be with 3s-want C15-buy
that he wanted to buy.

Nga omuhasi asanyuha ati atebire omugaaga
 nga omu-hasi a-sanyuha a-ti a-teb-ire omu-gaaga
 CNJ C1-female 3s-hAPLy 3s-COMP 3s-score-PRF C1-rich
And the woman was happy that she had scored a rich (customer).

Nga amuja n'etebe eyi gamusungire
 nga a-mu-tja ni etebe eyi a-a-mu-sung-ire
 CNJ 3s-3s-give CNJ C5-chair C9:REL 3s-PST-3s-ask-PRF
and she gives him the chair that he asked for

Nga aŋo omuyaaye atandiiha ohuhola
 nga aŋo omu-yaaye a-tandiiha ohu-hola
 CNJ there C1-conman 3s-begin C15-work
Then and there the conman begins to work

ati abala bbesa n'aseega amagesi
 a-ti a-bala bbesa ni a-seega ama-gesi
 3s-COMP 3s-count C5-money CNJ 3s-create C3-wisdom
as if he counts the money while devising a plan

aganeebiremo omuhasi oyo.
 aga-a-na-ib-ire-mo omu-hasi o-yo
 C3-OBJ-3s-FUT1-steal-APL- C1-female C1-DEM
 LOC
through which he will steal from that woman.

Kogabalanga omutwalo ogwo, pwagwagamya mu hisaŋu,
 ko-a-a-bala-nga omu-twalo ogu-o po-a-gu-agamya mu hi-saŋu
 EVD-3s-PST-count-PRG C3-ten.thousand C3-DEM EVD-3s-C3-put.back C18 C7-bag
He is counting that 10,000 shillings and puts it back into the bag,

nga nundi atusayo nga nundi abala;
 nga nundi a-tusa-yo nga nundi a-bala
 CNJ again 3s-remove-LOC CNJ again 3s-count
removes it again and counts;

atyo atyo mbo bajege ti
 a-tyo a-tyo mbo ba-ŋege ti
 3s-like.that 3s-like.that EVID 3P-think COMP
like that he goes so that they may think

ali n'ebbesa enyene enyingi eji ali hubala.
 a-li ni ebbesa en-yene eny-ingi eji a-li hu-bala
 3s-is CNJ C9-money C9-INTENS C9-many C10:REL 3s-is C15-count
he has a lot of money to count.

Enyanga ni yolire nga omuyaaye aloma omuhasi ow'eduuka ti
 e-nyanga ni i-ol-ire nga omu-yaaye a-loma omu-hasi o-wa e-duuka ti
 C9-time ADV C9-arrive-PRF CNJ C1-conman 3s-speak C1-woman C1.ASC C5-shop COMP
When time came the conman says to the woman of the shop,

mbihireho ehisaŋu hyange hino
 m-bih-ire-ho ehi-saŋu hi-ange hi-no
 1s-keep-APL-LOC C7-bag C7-1p.POSS C7-DEM
"Keep for me this bag of mine

nje keje emotoka ey'ohutwiiha sigala.
 n-j-e n-hej-e e-motoka eya ohu-twiiha sigala
 1s-go-SUBJ 1s-look-SUBJ C5-car C5.ASC C15-load C1-cigarettes
so that I can go and look for a vehicle on which to load the cigarettes."

Nga omuhasi anaŋa ehisaŋu abiiha
 nga omu-hasi a-naaŋa ehi-saŋu a-biiha
 CNJ C1-woman 3s-take C7-bag 3s-keep
And the woman takes the bag, keeps it

ng'omuyaaye aja aleeta emotoka kabangali.
 nga omu-yaaye a-ja a-leeta e-motoka kabangali
 CNJ C1-conman 3s-go 3s-bring C5-vehicle pickup
and the conman goes and brings a pick-up.

Ng'alagira batandiiha ohupangaho e bbokesi ja sigala buli hiha
 nga alagira ba-tandiiha ohu-pangaho e bbokesi ja sigala bu-li hi-ha
 CNJ C1-woman C15-load C23 C5-box C9-ASC C1-cigarettes C14-every C7-type
And he orders them to begin loading the boxes of cigarettes of every kind—

sipoti, kaali, supamaci, nga emotoka yijula.
 sipoti kaali supamaci nga e-motoka yi-jula
 Sport hard Supermatch CNJ C9-vehicle C9-fill
Sportsman, Crescent and Star, Supermatch, and the vehicle is filled up.

Yali ehiri hwijula
 i-a-li e-hi-ri hu-ijula
 C9-PST-be C9-PERSIS-be C17-fill
It was still being filled

ng'aloma omuhasi ati njaliŋo ebitu ebindi
 nga a-loma omu-hasi a-ti njali-ŋo ebi-tu ebi-ndi
 CNJ 3s-speak C1-woman 3s-COMP C16-be-LOC C8-thing C8-other
and he says to the woman that there are other things

ebi gaali nigenda hu duuka erindi
 ebi a-a-li ni-a-enda hu duuka eri-ndi
 C8:REL 3s-PST-be CNJ-3s-want C17 C5:shop C5-other
he had wanted from another shop,

n'aja huloma ow'eduuka bategeragane emijendo
 ni aja hu-loma owa e-duuka ba-tegeragan-e emi-ŋendo
 CNJ 3s-go C17-speak C1:ASC C5-shop 3P-strike.deal-SUBJ C4-price
and he is to go to tell the shopowner to agree with him on a price,

emotoka n'eŋwa aŋo baje bateho hutaho.
 e-motoka ni e-ŋwa aŋo ba-j-e ba-t-e-ho hu-ta-ho
 C5-vehicle CNJ C5-come.from there 3P-go-SUBJ 3P-put-SUBJ-LOC C15-put-LOC
and when the vehicle leaves they are just going to load.

Kahowe lugesi lwa hwiba muhasi ola;
 Kahowe lu-gesi lu-a hu-iba mu-hasi o-la
 DISC C11-ruse C11-ASC C17-steal C1-woman C1-DEM
Yet it is a ruse for stealing from that woman;

Gaali ahenire ohutegeragana n'aba emotoka aŋa banamwagaane.
 a-a-li a-hen-ire ohu-tegerag-ana ni aba e-motoka aŋa ba-na-mu-agaan-e
 3s-PST-be 3s-finish-PRF C15-negotiate-RECIP CNJ C2:DEM C5-vehicle C17:REL 3P-FUT1-3P-meet-SUBJ
he had already agreed with the vehicle people where they would meet.

Aba emotoka ni basimbula omuhasi sigafayo
 aba e-motoka n ba-simbula omu-hasi si-a-a-fayo
 C2:ASC C5-vehicle ADV 3s-set.off C1-woman NEG-3s-PST-care
When the vehicle people started off the woman did not care

olwohuba mbo gaali n'ehisanju hy'ebbesa
 olwohuba mbo a-a-li ni ehi-sanju hi-a e-bbesa
 because EVID 3s-PST-be CNJ C7-bag C7-ASC C9-money
because she had the bag of money

ehi omusaaja ola gaali n'amubiihise.
 ehi omu-saaja o-la a-a-li ni a-mu-biih-ir-is-e
 C7:O.REL C1-man C1-DEM 3s-PST-be CNJ 3s-3s-keep-APL-CAUS-PRF
that the man had entrusted to her.

Nibasimbuye emotoka mbo aheja eyo sawa Ebita.
 ni ba-simb-uye e-motoka mbo a-heja eyo sawa e-bit
 CNJ 3P-set.off-PRF C5-vehicle EVID 3s-watch C23:DEM C9:time C9-pass
When they started the vehicle, she watches, and an hour passes.

Omusaaja s'awoneha;
 omu-saaja si-a-won-e-ha
 C1-man NEG-3s-see-SUBJ-STAT
and the man is nowhere to be seen;

mbo aheja esawa eyindi ebita omusaaja s' awoneha.
 mbo a-heja e-sawa eyi-ndi e-bit omu-saaja si a-won-e-ha
 EVID 3s-watch C9-time C9-another C9-pass C1-man NEG 3s-see-SUBJ-STAT
and she sees another hour passing and the man is nowhere to be seen.

Gaweene atyo ng' ahubba enduulu.
 a-a-weene a-tyo nga a-hubba en-luulu
 3s-PST-see:PRF 3s-how CNJ 3s-beat C9-alarm
She realizes how things are, and she sounds an alarm.

ng'ajo abaatu ni poliisi badulumirira.
 nga ajo aba-atu ni poliisi ba-dulum-ir-ir-a
 CNJ LOC C2-people CNJ C9:police 3P-run-APL-APL-FV
And then and there the people and police come to help her.

Nga bamubuusa baati, Hiina?
 nga ba-mu-buusa ba-ati hi-ina
 CNJ 3p-3s-ask 3p-COMPL C7-what
And they ask her, "What is it?"

Ng' abaloheesa ndolu bibaaye ng'abalaga n'ehisanju
 nga a-ba-loh-esa ndolu bi-ba-aye nga a-ba-lag-a ni ehi-saju
 CONJ 3s-3P-regenerate-CAUS already C8-be-PRF CNJ 3s-3p-show-FV CNJ C7-bag
And she tells them the things that already happened and she shows them the bag.

ehi omuyaaye amubiihise.
 ehi omu-yaaye a-mu-biih-ih-is-e
 C7:REL C1-conman CNJ 3s-3s-keep-APL-CAUS-PRF
that the conman had entrusted to her.

Wangewe, baali ti begula ehisanju
 o-ange-we ba-a-li ti ba-igula ehi-saju
 C1-1s:POSS-C1 3P-PST-be IDEO 3p-open C7-bag
My friend, when they opened the bag,

baagenemo mutwalo gula gwojene!
 ba-a-agane-mo mu-twalo gu-la gu-ojene
 3p-PST-meet-LOC C3-ten.thousand C3-DEM C3-only
they found only the 10,000 shillings inside!

Ng'ajo abapolisi babuusa omuhasi ti olwo omusaaja oyo ojiyenga
 nga ajo aba-polisi ba-buusa omu-hasi ti olu-o omu-saaja o-yo o-j-iy-e-nga
 CNJ here C2-police 3P-ask C1-woman COMP C11-since C1-man C1-DEM 2s-go-PRF-PROG
And there the police asked the woman, "Do you know that man well enough

ohumubihira ehisaju n’ohuleha gapahira sigala n’omumanyire?
 ohu-mu-bih-ir-a ehi-saju ni ohu-leha a-a-pahira sigala ni o-mu-many-ire
 C15-3s-keep-APL:BEN C7-bag CNJ C15-leave 3s-PST-load cigarettes CNJ 2s-3s-know-PRF
to keep the bag for him and let him load the cigarettes?

Ng’omuhasi agobolamo ati mbe.
 nga omu-hasi a-gobola-mo a-ti mbe
 CNJ C1-woman 3s-reply-LOC 3s-COMPL no
And the woman said, “No.”

Nga nundi bamubuusa baati
 nga nundi ba-mu-buusa ba-ati
 CNJ again 3p-3s-ask 3P-COMP
And again they ask her,

N’enamba y’emotoka etwihire sigala ebaaye jinga?
 ni e-namba ya e-motoka e-twih-ire sigala e-ba-aye ji-nga
 CNJ C9-number C9:ASC C9-vehicle C9:REL-load-PRF cigarettes C10-be-PRF C10
“What was the registration number of the vehicle that loaded the cigarettes.”

Ati simanyire.
 a-ti si-m-many-ire
 3s-COMP NEG-1s-know-PRF
She says, “I don’t know.”

Polisi ng’ eroma yiiti owo busiru wuwo
 polisi nga e-loma yi-iti o-wo bu-siru o-wo
 police CNJ C9-say C9-COMPL C14-DEM C14-stupidity C14-your
The police say, “It was your stupidity

n’obugayaafu njalala nje ebi hwibihise.
 ni obu-gayaafu njalala nje ebi hu-ib-ih-ise
 CNJ C14-carelessness C16-together COP C8:REL-C15-steal-STAT-CAUS
and your carelessness that caused these things to be stolen.

Guma huguma efe njabula anja
 guma hu-guma efe njabula anja
 2s:firm C17-firm 1p:PRN C16-lack C16:REL
You need to be strong and accept this because we certainly have nowhere

husobola ohutandihira kohuhuyeede.
 hu-sobola ohu-tandih-ir-a ko-hu-hu-yeede
 1p-manage C15-start-APL-FV ADV-1p-2s-help
to begin helping you.”

Omuhasi oyo olwo busiru wuwe
 omu-hasi o-yo olwo bu-siru wuwe
 C1-woman C1-DEM because C14-stupidity C14:POSS
That woman, because of her stupidity

njalala n’ obugayafu ng’afirwa sigala owa ebbeesa enyene enyingi.
 njalala ni obu-gayafu nga a-fir-wa sigala owa e-bbeesa en-yene en-yingi
 C16-together CNJ C14-carelessness CNJ 3s-lose-PASS cigarettes CNJ C9-money C9-INT C9-much
and carelessness loses cigarettes worth a lot of money.

omuyaaye ola hulwa amagesi gage ng’ aja geyunga.
 omu-yaaye o-la hulwa ama-gesi ga-ge nga a-ja g-a-eyunga
 C1-conman C1-DEM for C3-trickery C3-POSS CNJ 3s-go 3s -well.off
The conman, because of his cleverness, is well off.

Ahagano	hange	ah'omuyaaye	hageeme	paajo.
aha-gano	ha-ange	aha omu-yaaye	ha-ageeme	paajo
C12-story	C12-POSS	C12:ASC C1-conman	C12-end:PRF	here

And my good little story of the conman ends there.