

VERB STRUCTURE IN KITEMBO

By

Kabucungu Hand-jinga

A Linguistics Project submitted to the Graduate School in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Translation Studies

Nairobi Evangelical Graduate
School of Theology, 2005

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STUDENT'S DECLARATION

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

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

(signed)
Kabucungu Hand-jinga

June, 2005

ABSTRACT

The goal of Bible translation is to help the people to have the Bible in the language which speaks to their hearts. The Gospel of Luke in Kitembo has been published and is being used in the churches and the Tembo Christian families. But the translators need to understand the linguistic role and the use of the verb in causative, applicative, and passive constructions.

This work concerns a study of verb structure in Kitembo. The purpose is to understand the function of the verb and how it operates in the complexity of Kitembo speech.

TO

my wife, NAMUNONO Asnath

my children, Heshima, Shukuru, Musafiri, Babikana, Nakabuya, Bikifuluka

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
ADJ	Adjective
AG	Agent
APPL	Application
ASP	Aspect
AUX	Auxiliary
AVP	Agent Verb Patient
BEN	Beneficiary
C	Class
C3O	Class 3 Object
C7O	Class 7 Object
C9O	Class 9 Object
C12O	Class 12 Object
C12S	Class 12 Subject
CAUS	Causative
CL	Class
CO1	Class 1 Object
COND	Conditionary
COP	Copula
CV	Consonant Vowel
DEM	Demonstrative
DIR	Direct
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EMP	Emphasis

FFUT	Far future
FIG	Figure
H	High
HAB	Habitual
IND	Indicative
INF	Infinitive
L	Low
LOC	Locative
NBR	Number
NEG	Negative
NEUTR	Neuter
NFUT	Near future
NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
O1	First Object
O2	Second Object
OBL	Oblique
OM	Object marker
PASS	Passive
PAT	Patient
PL	Plural
PREF	Prefix
PRES	Present
REFL	Reflexive
REPET	Repetition

SG	Singular
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
SM	Subject marker
SUBJ	Subjunctive
SUFF	Suffix
SVO	Subject Verb Object
V	Vowel
VP	Verb Phrase

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Statement of the Topic and Methodology

There are some pieces of writing dealing with the economic, social, and spiritual Tembo stories. There are also some linguistic writings that are very helpful in Bible translation into Tembo language. But to my knowledge, there is no linguistic writing about verbal derivation in that language. In addition, Tembo speakers enjoy the rhythm, the accent, and the verbal harmony of their language. But it is sometimes difficult to understand the function of the verb, and how it changes according to its different use in the causative, the applicative, and the passive constructions.

So, using linguistic theory, my goals are:

- to show the internal structure of the Tembo verb
- to describe the differences between causative, applicative, and passive in Tembo verbal derivation
- to describe where the Tembo verb occurs in causative, applicative, and passive constructions
- to describe how Tembo verb derivation affects different parts of a sentence.

Being a native speaker of the Tembo language, my main method for this work will be the collection of word, phrase, sentence, and text data, will help me to discover other facts. The data are from previous linguistic works, natural texts from different genres, found in the appendix, and my own knowledge of the language.

1.1 The Description of the Tembo community

1.1.1 Location and the population

The Tembo community lives in the eastern part of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). They are Bantu people estimated at 150,000 (Grimes 2000, 103). Kitembo or Chitembo is their mother tongue. Their area is found in Sud-Kivu and Nord-Kivu Provinces especially in Kalehe, Walikale and Masisi Territories. The area of Kitembo speaking covers approximately 90 km from southeast to northwest (along the Chinganda and Luoo rivers) starting on the west side of Kahuzi mountains around the Bitale area and extending to Otobora, from the northern area of Masisi to Shabunda in the south (Schmidt 1998, 1). But because of business, studies and other reasons, the Tembo people are spread out into other areas such as Kabare (Sud-Kivu), and Walungu (Sud-Kivu) Territories.

The Tembo people are primarily peasants. They perform different activities such as agriculture, hunting, and fishing for their own consumption. But they can sell some of their products to get industrialized products. They are also socially open and manifest love, hospitality, and generosity to other peoples.

When missionaries came into the Tembo area during the Belgian colonial period, there was very little teaching of literacy to the people. This was done only for the pastors and teachers who were otherwise not able to read the Bible.

1.1.2 Language family

As noted above, Tembo is a Bantu language that is classified as Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, J, Shi-Havu (J. 50). It is most closely related to Havu, Hunde, Shi, and Fuliiru. There is 75% lexical similarity with Hunde, about 70% with Shi, 55% with

Nande, 50% with Nyanga, 45% with Lega Shabunda. It is different from LiTembo in the Ngombe group, Tembo (Tambo) in the Nyika-Safwa group, and Tembo in the Yaka group (Grimes 2000, 103). Generally, the main neighbour Bantu speaking communities of the Tembo people are Shi, Havu, Lega Shabunda (Sud-Kivu), Kano, and Nyanga (Nord-Kivu).

1.1.3 Dialects

The Tembo language has some internal dialectal variation. But the groups of Tembo people who border other Bantu-speaking groups mentioned above speak a Kitembo having certain elements of their neighbouring languages. In other words, the Tembo people of Bitale area have some Shi language elements, the ones of Ufamandu area have some Hunde elements, and the ones of Otobora area have some Kano elements. But the ones of Kalima, Mubuu and Ziralo, in the center, speak a Chitembo that is not influenced by one of the above Bantu-speaking groups. The variety of Kalima, Mubuu and Ziralo is the one described in this paper.

1.1.4 Phonology

There are 46 contrastive consonant phonemes in Kitembo. It also typically has CV and V syllable patterns in most words.

		Bilab.	Lbiol.	Alv.	Post-Alv.	Pal.	Vel.	Glott.
Plos.	Vl	p p ^w		t t ^w		c	k k ^w	
	Vd	b b ^w		d			g	
Fric.	Fl vl		f f ^w					h h ^w
	Fl vd	β β ^w	v					
	Gr vl vd			s z	ʃ			
Pren.Vd	pl	^m b ^m b ^w		ⁿ d ⁿ d ^w			^N g ^N g ^w	
	Vd	Fric/Affric	^M _v ^M _v ^w	ⁿ z	ⁿ dz			
Nas.Vd		m m ^w	M	n		ŋ		
Flaps.Vd				P				
Lat. Ap. Vd				l l ^w				
Syll. Nas.Vd	m		M	n			N	
Cent. Ap.Vd						j		
	Vl rd						ɕ	
	Vd rd						ɔ	

Fig. 1 **Tembo Consonants**

The language has also a system of five vowels, which can be short or long. They are symmetrical in inventory and in the way they are affected by their environment. They are arranged on the chart according to the position of the tongue and the lips during articulation (Burquest 1998, 4). They are written as follows:

Front

Central

Back

	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Fig. 2 **Tembo Vowels**

1.1.4.1 Orthography

The Tembo orthography has traditionally been written with the Swahili script. According to Schmidt (2000,1), it is composed of 22 consonant symbols, 5 short vowels, and 5 long vowels.

Consonants		Words	Gloss
Orthographic	Phonemic		
b	/b/	esuba	‘sun’
ch	/c/	chitonga	‘basket’
f	/f/	fuka	‘hoe’
h	/h/	hamba	‘fin’
k	/k/	kabongo	‘trunk’
l	/l/	lutabi	‘branch’
m	/m/	muliro	‘fire’
mb	/ ^m b/	mbaha	‘axe’
mv	/ ^M v/	mvula	‘rain’
n	/n/	munane	‘eight’
nd	/ ⁿ d/	ndende	‘hyena’
ng	/ ^N g/	ngoko	‘hen’
nj	/ ⁿ dz/	njoka	‘snake’

ny	/ŋ/	kinya	‘bone’
nz	/ ⁿ z/	nzenze	‘harp’
p	/p/	mupunge	‘rice’
r	/P/	rondo	‘maize’
s	/s/	singe	‘needle’
sh	/Σ/	mushingi	‘chimpanzee’
t	/t/	mutoke	‘finger’
w	/w/	ewa	‘thorn’
y	/φ/	oyu	‘that’
Vowels		words	Gloss
a		chihala	‘wing’
aa		maala	‘health’
e		murenge	‘voice’
ee		teete	‘gourd’
i		chibiso	‘broom’
ii		chiira	‘waterfall’
o		chihoho	‘leave’
oo		chikoolo	‘cough’
u		mundu	‘person’
uu		kuulu	‘leg’.

Fig. 3 **Tembo Alphabet**

In order to fully understand and appreciate the richness of the Kitembo language, it is necessary to have a basic understanding of Proto-Bantu. Proto-Bantu had 7 vowels, which were: / *, i, e, a, o, u, */. Kitembo has 5: / i, e, a, o, u /. That

means Proto *(vowel) + i have merged in Kitembo to become /i/, and Proto *(vowel) * + u have merged to become /u/. Likewise, for consonants, Proto *g has become /k/, *d has become /l/ or /r/. Similar to other Proto-Bantu languages, the descendants of *g, *j, and *p, have reduced in number in Kitembo. The rarity of /p/ and /j/ is clearly evident in the limited number of words in Kitembo which have these consonants.

Although /g/ and /j/ are numerous in the language, they never occur by themselves, but only as prenasalized consonants /ng/ and /nj/ (Schmidt 1998, 48).

Kaji (1985a, 47) also states that the consonants /g, j/, which existed in Proto-Bantu, have, over the course of history in Kitembo, been lost; but /p/ is used for some rare words. These consonants occurred not only stem-initial but also stem-medial.

Examples for / *p/

Proto-Bantu	Tembo	Gloss
*-pit-	ku-ita → kuita	'to pass'
*-padi	lu-ali → luali	'polygamy'

Examples for / *j/

Proto-Bantu	Tembo	Gloss
*-jimbo	lu - imbo → lwimbo	'song'
*-janja	n - anja → nyanja	'sea'

Examples for /*y/

Proto	Tembo	Gloss
*-yaka	mi - aka → myaka	'years'
*-yino	li - ino → lino	'tooth'

Fig. 4 Proto-Bantu examples

These consonants have dropped out in Kitembo, but can influence some places of articulation such as labialization, palatalization, and so on. According to the examples above, the two successive vowels between which the consonant has dropped out are separated from each other, except *i=i*, which have become fused into *i* (Schmidt 1998, 6). It is important to note that concerning the Proto **-yaka*, Kitembo still keeps *-y* in *myaka*.

1.1.4.2. Tone

Like most Bantu languages, Kitembo is tonal. The tone is a very important feature of Kitembo because it helps hearers to differentiate the words the speaker is saying. It has two main tones, High (H) and Low (L). High tone is represented by an acute accent (´) while the low is represented by a grave accent (`).

(1) *mwàná* ‘child’

(2) *múlùmé* ‘man’

In addition, there are many words that are phonologically identical except for their tones.

(3) *chíróngò* ‘dry soil’

(4) *chíròngò* ‘yam’

(5) *músí* ‘village’

(6) *mùsí* ‘smoke’

(7) *lúbàlà* ‘fruit’

(8) *lúbàlá* ‘forest’

(9) *éfi* ‘knee’

(10) *éfi* ‘fish’

1.1.4.2.1 Grammatical tone

For the practical orthography, it is recommended by the Tembo literacy committee, by convention, to mark tone on the first syllable of the verb or the verb root as a way of distinguishing one verb tense from another. The importance of such a convention can be seen from examples like the following:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| (11) | <i>nà-</i> | <i>málà</i> | <i>-à</i> | ‘I finished’ (recently) |
| | 1SG near PAST- | inish | -PAST | |
| (12) | <i>ná-</i> | <i>málà</i> | <i>-à</i> | ‘I finished’ (long ago) |
| | 1 SG far PAST- | finish | -PAST | |
| (13) | <i>nyì-</i> | <i>ngá</i> | <i>- málà</i> | ‘I will finish’ |
| | 1 SG FUT- | non PAST | -finish | |
| (14) | <i>nyí-</i> | <i>ká</i> | <i>- málá</i> | ‘If I finish’ |
| | 1 SG COND- | non PAST | -finish | |

As observed above, (11) is near past because it has a low tone on *nà-* (1sg). (12) is in far past because of the high tone on *ná-* (1sg). (13) is future because *nyì-* (1sg) has a low tone, while (14) is conditional because of the high tone on *nyí-* (1sg).

1.1.4.2.2 Phonetic and phonologically conditioned tone

In Kitembo, the tone is often affected by the tone of the following word. This operation affects only the high tone.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| (15) | <i>mwàná</i> | ‘child’ |
| | child | |
| (16) | <i>mwàná wà Óngó</i> | ‘the child of God’ |
| | child of God | |
| (17) | <i>kúbòkó</i> | ‘arm’ |
| | arm | |
| (18) | <i>kúbòkò kwà - ù</i> | ‘your arm’ |
| | arm of -2sg | |

In his phonetic analysis of Kitembo, Kaji (1985b, 13) discovered that in the HLH sequence, the second H is usually less high than the first because it is influenced by the L that immediately precedes the second H. Such a situation occurs in the following words:

- (19) *kúlùmá* [ˉ _ _] ‘to bite’
 (20) *kúfùbúlá* [ˉ _ _ _] ‘to pour’
 (21) *kúchìbìshá* [ˉ _ _ _] ‘to hide’
 (22) *kútànáchìhóndá* [ˉ _ _ _ _] ‘to refuse definitively’

These tones (H and L) can combine to produce a falling tone called High-Low ‘HL’ (^) and a rising tone called Low-High ‘LH’ (&). They occur in general with vowels after labialised consonants.

- (23) *kwâká* ‘to flee’
 (24) *kúmwěká* ‘to carry him’

They also occur with vowel ‘resyllabification’. In other words, when a word has the vowel /u/ with a High tone before /i, o, a/, the /u/ drops. It is replaced by the consonant /w/ while the following vowel takes both High and Low tone.

- (25) *kú-àná* → *kwâná* ‘to give’
 (26) *kú-itá* → *kwîta* ‘to kill’
 (27) *kú-àká* → *kwâká* ‘to flee’
 (28) *kú-òsá* → *kwôsa* ‘to wash’

When the nasal class markers /m/ and /n/ directly precede consonants /b, g, v, d/ at the same place of articulation, they produce a High or Low tone.

- (29) *mbènè* → *m-bènè* ‘goat’
 (30) *ngòkò* → *n-gòkò* ‘hen’
 (31) *mvìrí* → *m -vìr* ‘hairs’

(32) *ndéndé* → `n-déndé ‘hyena’

1.1.5 Morphology and Syntax

1.1.5.1 Order of constituents

Syntactically speaking, Tembo has mainly SVO (Subject Verb Object) constituent order typology. SOV (Subject Object Verb) can also occur when the NP object is replaced by pronoun. SVO in typology refers to the order in separate syntactic clauses. But it is important to note that sometimes the pronoun is a part of the verb in Kitembo.

(33)	<i>emwana</i>	<i>á-</i>	<i>berenga</i>	<i>echitabo</i>	‘The child is tearing the book’
	child	3SG-	tear	book	
	S		V	O	
(34)	<i>a-</i>	<i>chi-</i>	<i>berenga</i>		‘She tears it’
	3 SG - C7O-	tear			
	S		V		

The SVO order usually expresses AVP (Agent Verb Patient) semantic roles, when a full noun phrase occurs in the direct object position in an independent declarative clause. But (34) is not SVO, it is just SV because of the pronoun object. Actually it is just V syntactically.

(35)	<i>Tata</i>	<i>á-</i>	<i>kesá</i>	<i>mashenge</i>	‘My father is greeting my aunt’
	father	3SG-	greet	aunt	
	A		V	P	
(36)	<i>Kasongo</i>	<i>á -</i>	<i>buka</i>	<i>Kashembe</i>	‘Kasongo is healing Kashembe’
	Kasongo	3SG -	heal	Kashembe	
	A		V	P	

Regarding morphology, like many other Bantu languages, the Kitembo language is agglutinative; its words are built up by stringing morphemes together, often into quite lengthy sequences and each morpheme has a specific and fairly straightforward meaning, as seen in examples (37 and 38).

(37) *ku-* *chi-* *kángiri* *-sá* ‘to learn’

INF- REFL- learn -CAUS

- (38) *chi-lumá -basere* 'kind of snake'
 3SG - bite- parents

Kitembo is a polysynthetic language in the sense that it can express a whole sentence with just a verb.

- (39) *tw- era- kuná - i- retá* 'We effectively brought it'
 1PL- PAST EMP- C9O- bring

- (40) *a- ta- nga- nyi - bura* 'He can not tell me'
 3SG- NEG - can- 1SG -tell

1.1.5.2. Nominal Classes

There are 19 nominal classes in Kitembo as shown in Figure 5. The various columns are showing the different uses of noun classes of Tembo through some adjectives, demonstratives, and possessives.

Nbr	Cl	Noun Prefix	Noun	Gloss	Adj. 'big (s)'	Dem. 'that', 'those'	Poss. 'my'	Numeral 'one' 'two'	SM	OM
I Sg	1	mu-	mundu	'person'	munene	oyu	wanyi	muuma	mu-	mu-
Pl	2	ba-	bandu	'persons'	banene	abu	banyi	babiri	ba-	ba-
II Sg	3	mu-	muchi	'tree'	munene	oyu	wanyi	muuma	mu-	mu-,u-
Pl	4	mi-	michi	'trees'	'inene'	ei	yanyi	ebiri	mi-	i-
III Sg	5	e-	Ekoi	'stone'	linene	eli	lyanyi	liuma	e-	li-
Pl	6	ma-	makoi	'stones'	manene	amu	manyi	mabiri	e-	li-
IV Sg	7	chi-	chichii	'bean'	chiinene	echi	chanyi	chuuma	e-	chi-
Pl	8	bi-	bichii	'beans'	binene	ebi	byanyi	bibiri	e-	bi-
V Sg	9	ng-	ngai	'gorilla'	inene	ei	yanyi	nguma	Ng-	i-
Pl	10	ng-	ngai	'gorillas'	sinene	esi	sanyi	ebiri	ng-	si-
VI Sg	11a	lu-	lulimi	'tongue'	lunene	olu	lwanyi	luuma	Lu-	Lu-
Pl	11b	nyi-	nyirimi	'tongues'	sinene	esi	sanyi	ebiri	lu-	Si-
VII Sg	12	ka-	kachi	'stick'	kanene	aku	kanyi	kauma	ka-	ka-
Pl	13	tu-	tuchi	'sticks'	tunene	out	twanyi	tubiri	tu-	tu-
VIII Sg	14	bu-	butu	'nest'	bunene	obu	bwanyi	buuma	bu-	bu-
Pl	6	ma-	matu	'nests'	manene	amu	manyi	mabiri	ma-	ma-
IX Sg	15	ku-	kuulu	'leg'	kunene	oku	kwanyi	kuuma	ku-	ku-
Pl	6	ma-	maulu	'eggs'	manene	amu	manyi	mabiri	ma-	ma-
X Sg	16	a-	Anola	'here'	anene	au	mwanyi	∅	∅	∅
XI Sg	17	ku-	kunola	'here'	kunene	Oku	kwanyi	∅	∅	∅
XII Sg	18	mu-	mumu	'there'	munene	Omu	mwanyi	∅	∅	∅
XIII Sg	19	hi-	hiana	'child'	hinene	Ehi	hyanyi	Hiuma	hi-	hi-
Pl	13	tw-	twana	'children'	tunene	otu	twanyi	Tubiri	tu-	tu-

Fig. 5 Tembo noun classes

According to the Fig 5 above, all Tembo nouns belonging to class 1 are humans and class 2 contains the plural of class 1. Class 3 and its correlative plural class 4 include names for parts of things, plants especially trees and parts of the body. Classes 5 and 6, singular and plural respectively, include names of animals, birds, plants, field, inanimate things, parts of body, etc. Classes 7 and 8 include parts of the body, food, items of miscellaneous significance and are generally impersonal such as names of languages. Classes 9 and 10 include names of animals; they are invariable in the sense that they are the same in singular and plural. Class 11a and 11b consist of names of parts of the body, states, names of animal, and things. Classes 12 and 13 deal with diminutive singular and plural of things, names of plants, and inanimate things. Class 14, with 6 as its plural includes a state, location, animals' names, and inanimate names. Class 15, with 6 as its plural, includes parts of the body, and other miscellaneous objects. Classes 16, 17 and 18 refer to locations. Class 19 deals only with diminutive singular, with 13 as its plural.

1.1.6 Previous works in Kitembo

The Bible Translation Project in Kitembo started in 1994 with SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics). But before that, the Bible Society of the Democratic Republic of Congo together with some Tembo pastors started the translation of the Gospel of Mark in 1977 (Kaji 1985d, XII). However, the new translators of SIL went back to translate it in 2000. It is now ready for checking. The Gospel of Luke is already completed and published by SIL translators. There are other books of the Bible such as Acts and Jude, which are ready to be checked.

Previous work on the phonetics and phonology of Kitembo include Kaji 1978, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1985e, and Schmidt 1998, 2000. Work on the morphology

includes Kaji 1984, 1985c. Publications on the lexicon include Kaji 1978, 1985d.

Work on the verb includes Kaji 1985a, and Nkiko 1978. Work on the Tembo name includes Kaji 1985b.

There are also some other theses written by Tembo people about the history, the economic, the social, and the spiritual life of Batembo.

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF KITEMBO VERBS

In this chapter, I am going to describe the structure of the Kitembo verbs and how they are used.

2.0 Basic Structure of the Kitembo Verbs

2.1. Auxiliary verbs

Kitembo has many kinds of auxiliary verbs. They include the copula *kuba* ‘to be’, *kwema* ‘must’, and *kuhuba* ‘to repeat’.

(41) kw- *émà* *nyì-* *éndè* ‘I must go’
INF- must 1SG- go
AUX S V

(42) *ná-* *hùbà* *kú-* *bàhá* *mwa nyumba* ‘I’m coming back in the house’
1SG- repeat INF- come LOC house
S AUX V LOC

In (41) *kwéma* ‘must’ is an auxiliary because it occurs with the main verb *nyiende* ‘I go’ in present. In (42) *nahuba* ‘I repeat’ from *kuhuba* ‘to repeat’ is an auxiliary verb because it occurs with the main verb *kubaha* ‘to come back’ in infinitive. *kuba* ‘be’ is another auxiliary in Kitembo. Tembo has different forms of ‘to be’ (see Figure 6):

Tense	Verb	Glosses
Infinitve	<i>ku-bá</i>	‘to be’
Past	<i>ná-baa</i>	‘I was’
Present	<i>nyi-ri/nyi-tula</i>	‘I am’

Future *nyi-kába* ‘I will be’

Fig. 6 The verb ‘be’

So, I conclude that the verb *kuba* ‘to be’ in Kitembo is very irregular.

The places of prefixes and suffixes in auxiliaries versus ordinary verbs do not differ in Kitembo. In other words, specific prefixes precede the verb stem while specific suffixes occur after it both in auxiliary and ordinary verbs. But, the ordinary verb *em* ‘to ask for’ in (45) differs from the auxiliary *em* ‘must’ in (43) by the fact that the auxiliary is always at the beginning of the sentence with a neutral or impersonal pronoun *ku-*. The auxiliary *hub* ‘to repeat’ in (44) is also different from *hub* ‘to go back’ in (46) because the auxiliary is always followed by an infinitive. As far as meaning is concerned, the auxiliary may be grammaticalized from the main verb stem.

The auxiliary verb in (44) is also called a ‘catenative’ verb because it is seen as a link between the subject and the following infinitive *kulya* ‘to eat’ (Matthews 1999, 49).

As Auxiliaries

(43) *Kwémà u- nyi- as -e* ‘It is good of you help me’
 NEUT IND- 2SG- 1SG- help -IND

(44) *Wá - huba ku- ly -á?* ‘Do you want to eat again?’
 2SG - repeat to- eat -IND?

As main verbs

(45) *Mama á- em -a ekamba* ‘My mother is asking for a knife’
 Mother 3SG- ask for -IND knife

(46) *Wá - hub -a kwa musí?* ‘Are you going back home?’
 2SG- go back -IND at village

2.1.1 The verb stem

The stem is a form from which a word or series of words is derived by the addition of one or more affixes (Matthews 1999, 353).

In Kitembo, the verb stem never occurs by itself, but it is accompanied by affixes such as subject prefix, tense particle, and final suffix. In each verb tense, we find the stem by taking off the subject and object prefix (if any), the tense particle, and the suffix, thus leaving the stem. (As we will see later, stems can be complex themselves.)

(47) *Ná - tek -a ebichii* ‘I am cooking the beans’
 1SG- cook -IND beans

(48) *Ná - shesher - a emeshi* ‘I pour the water’
 1SG- pour -IND water

2.1.2 Inflectional affixes

2.1.2.1 *The participant, tense, and negative prefixes*

Prefixes come before the verb stem to which they are joined. These include the inseparable personal or impersonal pronouns in a language. The main prefixes in Kitembo are: *na-/nyi-* ‘I’, *wa-/u-* ‘you SG’, *a-* ‘he/she’, *twa-/tu-* ‘we’, *mwa-/mu-* ‘you PL’, and *ba-* ‘they’ for subject; and *nyi-* ‘me’, *ku-* ‘you SG’, *mu-* ‘him/her’, *tu-* ‘us’, *ba-* ‘you/them’, *chi-/i-/hi-/lu-/ka-/mu-* ‘it’, *bi-/si-/ma-/tu-/i-/* ‘them’ (object for animals and things).

(49) *Na - bah - ire* ‘I am coming’
 1SG- come -IND

(50) *Twá - balam - a* ‘We are travelling’
 1SG- travel -IND

When the subject or object of the verb is a noun, the subject marker on the verb varies according to the semantic features of the noun. In other words, if the noun is plural the prefix is plural. If it is singular, its prefix is also singular. In this case, it is important to note that there is no distinction between feminine and masculine person markers in Kitembo.

- (51) *Emulume* á- ly -a emupunge ‘The man is eating the rice’
 Man 3SG- eat -IND rice
- (52) *Emukasi* á- mu- tek -a ‘The wife is cooking it’ (= rice)
 woman 3SG- C3O- cook -IND
- (53) *Ebalume* bá - ly -a ebichii ‘The men are eating the beans’
 Men 3PL- eat -IND beans
- (54) *Ebakasi* bá- tek -a emupunge ‘The women are cooking the rice’
 Women 3PL- cook -IND rice
- (55) *Ba- ngá - tek -a emupunge* ‘They will cook the rice’
 3PL- FUT- cook -IND rice
- (56) *Ba- tá - ly -a u* ‘They don’t eat it’ (= rice)
 3PL- NEG- eat -IND C3O

It is important to note that the subject, the object, the negative, and the tense markers are the only prefixes for Tembo verbs.

2.1.3 The ‘final’ suffixes

Bantu languages generally have what are sometimes called ‘final’ suffixes.

These play a role in tense or aspect variation in Kitembo. They always occur at the end of the verb.

- (57) *Mama* a- bah - ire ‘My mother is coming’
 Mother 3SG- come -SUFF
- (58) *Ebana* bá - hat -a ‘The children are playing’
 children 3PL- play -SUFF

2.2 Tense

Payne (1997, 236) defines tense as the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered. Grammatical tense codes a temporal value that can be in the past, the present, or in the future. Using a variety of morphological and syntactical structures – tone affixes, and auxiliaries – Tembo distinguishes six tenses. Because these are all grammaticalized, I consider them to be six distinct tenses. This is diagrammed in Fig 7. The point O means the PRESENT moment when the speech is occurring. PAST shows the action that happened before the utterance, and FUTURE represents an action that may happen after the utterance.

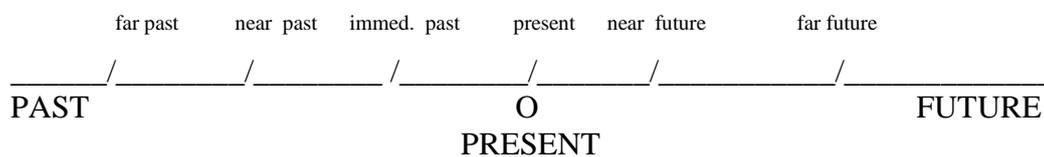


Fig. 7 **Representation of time**

As shown on the representation of time, around the present tense, the past tense has an immediate past tense, the near past tense, and the far past tense. The future tense has a near and a far future tense. I am going to analyze the verb structure with these tenses.

2.2.1 Present tense and present habitual aspect

Present tense forms are used to describe an action or situation that takes place at the moment of speaking. Comrie (1987, 37) says that the present tense is used to speak of states and processes which hold at the present moment. In Kitembo, this concept is morphologically marked with a high tone on the verbal prefix while the verb stem has either a high tone or low tone.

(59) *Emwana á- b́ng -a ekamba* ‘The child takes the knife!’
 Child 3SG.PRES- take -IND knife

(60) *Tata á- kòl - a mw’ ehwa*
 Father 3SG.PRES- work -IND LOC field

‘My father works in the field’

The Kitembo present habitual aspect describes a habitual action. This form is mostly used in Tembo proverbs. It is morphologically marked with the inflected *nde* followed by an inflected present tense verb (see Appendix 10).

(61) *Ne- nde ná - ly -a ebiryó* ‘I usually eat the food’
 1SG- HAB 1SG PRES- eat -IND food

(62) *Emulume e- nde á- bik -a unji*
 Man 3SG- HAB 3SG PRES- guard -IND other
 ‘The man usually guards another man’

In the example above, *nende* does not make sense by itself. It is not even a typical auxiliary because it only marks the aspect of the verb and is always followed by a fully inflected verb like *nalya* ‘I eat’ (see Appendix 10).

The copula *kuba* ‘to be’, like *nende*, is also morphologically marked with the inflected *-tula* followed by an adjective, to express a habitual action or condition. The difference is that *nende* has another verb following it.

(63) *Tata a- tul -a mubuya* ‘My father is usually good’
 Father 3SG- be -IND good

(64) *Ebakasi ba- tul -a banene* ‘The ladies are usually many’
 Ladies 3PL- be -IND many

As discussed in section 2.1, the copula *kuba* ‘to be’ is irregular. That explains why the verb stem of the infinitive *ba* ‘be’ becomes *tul* in habitual aspect.

There is another present habitual form in Kitembo that shows a momentary habit where the situation occurs for a short determined time. It is marked by *njire* plus the ordinary verb, which is also marked for subject. As shown in the following

examples, *njire* in (65) marks a habitual situation. It is important to note that it occurs with the prefixes *ne-* (1sg) while the main verb takes *na-* ‘I (1sg)’ as the bound subject pronouns. It is the same in (66) where *njire* takes the subject prefix, *bé-* while the subject prefix *bá-* occurs on the verb stem *-lya* ‘eat’. Then the HAB marker could really be *njire-*.

(65) *Ne-* *njire* *ná-* *kol -a* *busese* *sine* *suku*
 1SG- HAB 1SG PRES- work -IND much these days

‘I work so much these days’

(66) *Ebana* *be-* *njire* *bá -* *ly -a* *kubi* *ono* *mwesi*
 Children 3PL- HAB 3PL- eat -IND bad this month

‘The children are eating with difficulty this month’

2.2.2 Past tenses

When a grammatical morpheme specifically says that an action happened before the time of utterance, it is a past tense morpheme. The Kitembo language has three distinctive past tenses.

2.2.2.1 The immediate past tense forms

This immediate past is used for events that happened immediately before speaking. This means earlier today, just before “now”. There are different forms which are semantically the same, marked by the auxiliary *-èrà* plus the infinitive, or a verb with an *-ire* suffix, or *-ire* ‘go (PAST)’ plus an infinitive or a locative. The auxiliary *èra*, has a low tone while the suffix *-íre* is marked with a high tone on the first syllable; but both introduce an action which is completed in the past. In the verbal structure, *-íre* in (68) is different from *era* in (67) because it occurs after the verb stem as a suffix, while *era* occurs as an auxiliary verb between the prefix and the infinitive.

(67) *Nyono n- èra ku- lyá emupunge*
 Me 1SG- AUX.PAST INF- eat rice

‘I have just eaten the rice’

(68) *Tata à- l -íre ebichii* ‘My father has just eaten the beans’
 Father 3SG- eat -PAST beans

(69) *Tata à- ire ku -lyá emupunge*
 Father 3SG- go PAST INF -eat rice

‘My father has just gone to eat the rice’

(70) *Tata a- ire kwa musi* ‘My father has just gone home’
 Father 3SG- go.PAST LOC village

In the examples (69) and (70), *-ire* illustrates the near past where the action is completed.

2.2.2.2 *The near past tense form*

The near past tense in Kitembo is used to describe events that happened within a week or a day before the day of speaking. It is marked with: Subject pronoun- Verb stem *-a* (tense) plus a certain tone pattern. With this tense, the subject prefix is morphologically marked with a low tone while the verb stem is marked with a high tone, and the tense suffix with a low tone. So, this means there are 3 tones involved in near past.

(71) *Mateso à- téká -à emarondo mw’ eolo*
 Mateso 3SG- cook -PAST maize in yesterday

‘Mateso has cooked maize yesterday’

(72) *Ebanyere bà- yá - à mwa chambu mw’ eolo*
 Girls 3SG- go -PAST LOC market in yesterday

‘The girls went to the market yesterday’

2.2.2.3 The far past tense and past habitual situations

The far past tense in Kitembo is used to describe events that happened earlier than yesterday, even some years ago. Unlike the near past, the person prefix is morphologically marked with a high tone while the verb stem and the tense suffix both have low tone.

(73) *Mama* *á-* *lyà* *-à* *emupunge* *mira-mira*
 Mother 3SG- eat -PAST rice long time ago

‘My mother ate the rice long time ago’

(74) *Ebana* *bá -* *írà* *-à* *mulimo* *mubuya*
 Children 3PL- do -PAST work good

‘The children did a good work’

(75) *Tata* *á-* *fîr* *-è*
 Father 3SG- die -PAST

‘My father died (many years ago)’

(76) *Mashe* *á-* *énjîr* *-è*
 Aunt 3SG- go -PAST

‘My aunt went (long time ago)’

In (75), as in all verbs with this tone pattern, the far past *áfîrè* ‘he died’, has an aspect marked by a high tone on the subject marker *á-* meaning that the action of dying is finished. All verbs marked for far past tense are also in completive aspect.

In the far past tense, one can express habitual aspect by the past of *kuba* ‘to be’ plus the AUX *njiré*. This expresses a repeated event characteristic of a certain time in the past. In this case, there is a high tone on the subject marker of the copula and on the subject marker of the following verbs, as shown in (77) and (78)

(77) *Ná-* *ba* *-a* *né-* *njiré* *ná-* *lya* *chira* *lusuku*
 1SG- COP -PAST 1SG- REP 1SG- eat each day

‘I used to eat every day (during a known time)’

(78) *Twá ba -a twé- njiré twá- ya kwa musi*
 1PL- COP -PAST 1PL- REPET 1PL- go at village

‘We used to go to the village (during a known time)’

The high tone on the pronouns *ná-* ‘1SG’, *né-* ‘1SG’ and *ná* ‘1SG’ in (77) and *twá-* ‘1PL’ *twé-* ‘1PL’ and *twé-* ‘1PL’ in (78) before the verb stems mark a repeated action in the past. It is observed that the structure of the verbs *lya* ‘eat’ in (77) and *ya* ‘go’ in (78) is that they keep the form they would have in present tense: *nálya* ‘I eat’ in (77) and *twáyaya* ‘we go’ in (78). So, we have a verb phrase with an auxiliary *njiré*, plus COP plus verb, all inflected for person.

2.2.3 Future tenses

The future tense is used when the speaker wants to refer to events that will possibly take place after the reference time. There are two future tenses in Kitembo, the near and the far future. In general, the markers of the future in Kitembo play an important role in the verbal structure because they affect the construction of the verb. The markers *ngá-* for near future (see Appendix 7) and *ká-* for far future occur between the subject pronominal prefix and the verb stem, and they cause the high tone of the subject marker to be low.

(79) *Tata á- lyà* ‘My father is eating’ **Present**
 Father 3SG- eat

(80) *Tata à- ngá- lyà mishangya* **Near Future**
 Father 1SG- NFUT- eat tomorrow

‘My father will eat tomorrow’

(81) *Ebalume bá- kolà lwarero* ‘The men are working today’ **Present**
 Men 3SG- work today

(82) *Ebalume bà- ká- kòlà mango nyi- ká- ika*
 Men 3PL- FFUT- work when 1SG- FFUT- come

‘The men will work when I come’ **Far Future**

It is important to note that a Tembo speaker can pragmatically use the present form to express a near future (83) and (84). This happens though just when there is some lexical item or clause – like adverb that forces the interpretation to be future. The sentence (59) *Emwana ábinga ekamba* ‘The child is taking the knife’ can also be used for a near future when the action will take place just after the time of speaking.

(83) *Emwana á- lyà mango nyina á- íkà*
 Child 3SG- eat when his mother 3SG- come

‘The child (will) eat when his mother will come’

(84) *Ná- fuluka mishangya*
 1SG- come back tomorrow

‘I (will) come back tomorrow’

There is also a continuous near future in Kitembo. The continuous near-future is marked by *ngá-* plus *ba* ‘be’ in the low-tone future form, followed by a regularly-inflected verb, with high tone on subject marker (85). There is also a far future where the verb ‘be’ follows *ka-* in the future tone form (86).

(85) *Tata à- ngá- bà á- kolà emulimo*
 Father 3SG- NFUT- be 3SG- work work

‘My father will be working’ (in a few hours)

(86) *Emwana à- ká- bà á- mál -ire emulimo*
 Child 3SG- FFUT- be 3SG- finish -ASP work

‘The child will be finishing the work’ (in distant future)

(87) *Emwana à- ngá- bà à- mál- ire emulimo*
 Child 3SG- NFUT- be 3SG- finish- ASP work

‘The child will be finishing the work’

With regard to examples (85) and (86) the full forms of the AUX or COP verb *ba* ‘be’ in near and far future tense are *angába* ‘he will be’ and *akába* ‘he will be’. In (87) the main verb stem *mál* ‘finish’ is preceded by the future *àngábà* ‘he will be’;

the morpheme *-ire* marks that the work will be completed in the future. Differently from (85), the subject prefix *à-* of the verb *mal* ‘finish’ in (87) has a conditioned low-tone because of the high tone on the verb.

2.3 Aspect

I have already discussed about continuous and habitual aspect in conjunction with tense. Indeed, it is not easy to differentiate the aspect from the tense in Kitembo. However, Saeed (1997, 116) says that aspect allows speakers to view an event in various ways: as complete or incomplete, so short as to involve almost no time, as something stretched over a perceptible period, or as something repeated over a period, or as in process and developing.

Tembo doesn’t have either a perfective or an imperfect grammatical aspect as such since there are no specific morphemes or morphology for them, but these notions are inferred in specific contexts.

2.3.1 Perfective/completive aspect interpretation

Perfective or completive aspect shows that an event that took place is accomplished. Payne (1997,240) says that completive aspect expresses the completion of an event. For Comrie (1987, 16), perfective forms indicate situation of short duration. In the Kitembo language, this aspect is not marked differently from the far ordinary past discussed in section 2.2.2.3

(88) *Mama á- yà- à kwa musì* ‘My mother went to the village’
 Mother 3SG- go- PAST LOC village

Here the verb *á-yaa* ‘she went’ expresses an accomplished action but, in a Tembo speaker’s mind, she came back again.

2.3.2 Imperfective aspect interpretation

The imperfective aspect signals an action having complex internal temporal structure. Saeed (1997, 121) adds that it allows the viewing of a situation from within, marking explicit reference to the internal temporal structures. In Kitembo, it is marked no differently than the habitual past of (77) and (78). The verb *njiré* ‘repeat/do again’ can be interpreted with a habitual, continuous, or progressive meaning and marks a general imperfective.

(89) *Bá- bà -à bé- njiré bá- kòlà*
 3PL- be -PAST 3PL- REPET 3PL- work

‘They were usually working’

In (89) the action of working lasts for some period – with times during that longer period when the working perhaps was suspended but then restarted. But knowing exactly when something started or stopped is not what aspect is about.

2.4 Negative markers

A negative construction is one whose role is to assert that something is not the case (Matthews 1999, 240). It is one that is not positive. In Kitembo, the negative construction is marked by the negative prefix *tá-*, which has the allomorph *dá-* with first person singular due to voicing assimilation to the preceding *`n-* ‘1SG’ form. It generally occurs between the subject pronoun and the verb stem. It can have either a High or a Low tone according to the tense of the verb.

(90) *Nyono `n- dá- énd -é mishangya ‘I am not going tomorrow’*
 Me 1SG- NEG- go -FUT tomorrow

(91) *Ebana ba- tà - sá kifuluka ‘The children are not yet coming’*
 Childre 3PL- NEG- yet come back

(92) *Mashenge a- tá - ik -a ‘My aunt is not coming’*
 Aunt 3SG- NEG- arrive -PRES

It is important to note that (90) is a far future, (91) is a present and (92) is a near future.

2.5 Transitivity and Intransitivity

According to Soukka (2000, 159), transitive verbs have the possibility to take a complement. By complement I mean an element that completes the construction of the verb. Crystal (1994, 360) states that transitive refers to a verb which can take a direct object. Intransitive verbs refer to a verb which cannot take a direct object.

2.5.1 Transitive Verbs

Ebuteme ‘field’ in (93) is the complement of the verb *tema*. However, in many cases this complement may be implicit, implied by the situation or the context as in (96).

In Kitembo, the complement may be either inanimate NP (93 and 94) or animate in (95).

(93) <i>Malume</i>	<i>á-</i>	<i>tema</i>	<i>ebuteme</i>	‘My uncle is cutting the field’
Uncle	3SG-	cut	field	
(94) <i>Mashenge</i>	<i>á-</i>	<i>teka</i>	<i>ebichii</i>	‘My aunt is cooking the beans’
Aunt	3SG-	cook	beans	
(95) <i>Tata</i>	<i>á-</i>	<i>tuma</i>	<i>emwana</i>	‘My father sends the child’
Father	3SG-	send	child	
(96) <i>Kasongo</i>	<i>á-</i>	<i>tema</i>		‘Kasongo is cutting’ (something)
Kasongo	3SG-	cut		

2.5.2 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs in Kitembo cannot take a complement, and they do not require any other obligatory component (Soukka 2000, 159). Their typical use is to introduce circumstantial elements, especially adverbs.

(97) *N á- libita fuba*
1SG- run quickly

‘I run quickly’

(98) *Ná- kumbaala (mwa njira)*
1SG- fall (in way)

‘I fall (on the road)’

CHAPTER III

CAUSATIVE

In the previous chapter, we have discussed the Tembo verb and its inflectional structure. In this and subsequent chapters we turn to the verbal derivation of causative, applicative and passive constructions.

According to Payne (1997,178), the causative is a linguistic expression that contains in semantic/logical structure a predicate of cause, one argument of which is a predicate expressing an effect. It is used in saying who or what causes something to happen (Matthews 1997, 49). It can be seen as derived from a simple active sentence.

Palmer (1994, 218) says that the causative involves some kind of marking on the verb, whether periphrastic- this means more than one word- or morphological, an addition of a causer in the subject position, a demotion of the other arguments, and a causal meaning.

The causative form of the verb in Kitembo is made by adding a causative suffix to the verb. In Kitembo, the particular causative form depends on the base final consonant and vowel of the stem. Causation in Kitembo is strictly morphological. In other words, the causative operation does not change the number of verbs, no matter the number of arguments.

3.1 Distribution of Causative Allomorphs

There is no difference between the causative marker in transitive and intransitive verbs because the causative extension varies according to the vowel that precedes the last syllable of the ordinary verb. The suffixation of causative

allomorphs *-es/y*, *-is*, *-s* (see Appendix 21), *-y*, and *-yis* in (100), (102), (104), (106), and (108) between the verb stem and the termination *-a* gives a causative meaning.

3.1.1 With transitive constructions

3.1.1.1 Morpheme identification

There are many Bantu languages that form their causatives morphologically. In Kitembo, the causative can be formed from transitive roots by adding a suffix. In transitive sentences the subject (agent) of the caused or base predicate will be demoted to the status of direct or indirect object. In this case, the focus is generally on the causer. The following examples show the difference between non-causative and causative sentences in transitive constructions.

(99) *Mama á- tek -a emupunge*
 Mother 3SG- cook -IND rice

‘My mother is cooking the rice’

(100) *Bá- tek- es/y -á mama emupunge*
 3PL- cook- CAUS -IND mother rice

‘They cause my mother to cook the rice’

(101) *Mashenge á- bung -a eluchimba*
 My aunt 3SG- fold -IND cloth

‘My aunt is folding the cloth’

(102) *Twá - bung- is -á mashenge eluchimba*
 1PL- fold- CAUS -IND aunt cloth

‘We cause our aunt to fold the cloth.’

(103) *Emusere á- fu -a ebutea*
 Parent 3SG- pay -IND money

‘The parent pays the money’

(104) *Wá - fu- is -á emusere ebutea*
 2SG- pay- CAUS -IND parent money

‘You cause the parent to pay the money’

(105) *Kasongo á- kond -a emuchi*
 Kasongo 3SG- cut -IND tree

‘Kasongo is cutting the tree’

(106) *Mulongo á- konj- y -á Kasongo emuchi*
 Mulongo 3SG- cut- CAUS -ind Kasongo tree

‘Mulongo causes Kasongo to cut the tree’

(107) *Musa á- min -a embene*
 Musa 3SG- tie up -IND goat

‘Musa ties up the goat’

(108) *Tata á- min- yis -á Musa embene*
 Father 3SG- tie up- CAUS -IND Musa the goat

‘My father causes Musa to tie up the goat’

<u>Ordinary verb</u>	<u>Causative construction</u>	<u>Causative glosses</u>
(109) <i>Kubiká</i> put	<i>Kubik- is/y -á</i> put- CAUS -IND	‘To cause to put’
(110) <i>Kufuá</i> pay	<i>Kufu- is -á</i> pay CAUS -IND	‘To cause to pay’
(111) <i>Kutemá</i> cut	<i>Kutem- es -á</i> cut- CAUS -IND	‘To cause to cut’
(112) <i>Kukolá</i> work	<i>Kukor- res -á</i> work- CAUS -IND	‘To cause to work’
(113) <i>Kuobáká</i> build	<i>Kuobák- is/y -á</i> build- CAUS -IND	‘To cause to build’
(114) <i>kuko"dá</i> cut	<i>kuko- "j"z -á</i> cut- CAUS -IND	‘To cause to cut’

(115)	<i>kulyá</i> eat	<i>Kul-</i> eat-	<i>is</i> CAUS	<i>-á</i> -IND	‘To cause to eat’
(116)	<i>kubutá</i> give birth	<i>Kubu-</i> give birth-	<i>chis</i> CAUS-	<i>-á</i> IND	‘To cause to give birth’
(117)	<i>kuboolá</i> loosen	<i>Kuboor-</i> loosen-	<i>res</i> CAUS	<i>-á</i> -IND	‘To cause to loosen’
(118)	<i>kuhombá</i> hate	<i>Kuhomb-</i> hate-	<i>y</i> CAUS	<i>-á</i> -IND	‘To cause to hate’
(119)	<i>kulámá</i> heal	<i>Kulám-</i> heal-	<i>y</i> CAUS	<i>-á</i> -IND	‘To cause to heal’
(120)	<i>kuboná</i> discover	<i>Kubon-</i> discover-	<i>y</i> CAUS	<i>-á</i> -IND	‘To cause to discover’
(121)	<i>kubungá</i> fold	<i>Kubung-</i> fold-	<i>y</i> CAUS	<i>-á</i> -IND	‘To cause to fold’

Fig.8 Causative morphemes

From the verbs above in Fig. 8, it is clear that the causative extension *-is* occurs following the Close-Front vowel /i/ (109) and back vowel /u/ (110), and after open /a/ (113) of the verb stem. The causative extension *-es* occurs after the Mid-Front vowel /e/ (111). With regard to stem-final consonant, *-res* occurs after the Alveolar /l/ (112 and 117), *-y* occurs optionally after the Velar-Plosive /k/ (109 and 113) [see Appendix 15] and obligatorily the nasals /m, n, ng, mb/ (118, 119, 120, and 121); while *-ⁿj/ⁿz* occurs after /ⁿd/ (114) and *-chis* occurs with the Plosive-Alveolar /t/ (116).

As result, the following Patterns have been discovered:

-bik + is → bikis	-fu + is → fuis
-but + is → buchis	-obak + is → bakis
-homb + is → homby	-lam + is → lamy
-bon + is → bony	-bung + is → bungy

(125) *Kasana á- ko- res -á*
 Kasana 3SG- work- CAUS -IND

‘Kasana causes ‘someone’ to work’

Always in Kitembo the new Subject causer is added and causes the base agent to become another object in the sentence. It is also important to note that the new subject, the new object and the base object can be replaced by pronominal prefixes on the verb stem. In example (126) *emwana* ‘child’ is the base subject/agent. But in (127), because of the appearance of the new subject *mama* ‘mother’, it becomes an object that appears no matter its place before *ekamba* ‘knife’. As shown in the following examples, the base object *kamba* ‘knife’ in (126) follows the main verb. The causee object *emwana* ‘the child’ in (127) occurs immediately after the main verb. With the causative construction, the new subject *Mama* ‘Mother’ in (127) occurs in the first position of the sentence.

(126) *emwana á- ret -a ekamba* ‘The child brings the knife’
 child 3SG- bring -IND knife
 S V O

(127) *mama á- re- ch - á emwana ekamba*
 mother 3 SG- bring- CAUS -IND child knife
 S V O

‘My mother makes the child bring the knife’

When the bound pronouns are used, the subject *a-* ‘He/she’ in (129) occurs always in the first position in Kitembo, followed by the causee object prefix *mu-* ‘him/her’, then the main causative verb *recha* ‘cause to bring’. The ‘old’ or base object *ko* ‘it’ occurs as a free pronoun after the verb.

(128) *A- ka- ret -a*
 3SG- C12O- bring -IND
 S O V

‘He brings it’

- (129) A- *mu- re- ch -á ko* ‘She causes him to bring it’
 3SG- C1O- bring- CAUS -IND C12O
 S O V O

The verb is the fundamental element of the predications and its arguments determine the valency attributed to the verb. In Kitembo, different verbs can occur with different numbers or arrangements of noun phrase arguments in semantically well-formed sentences (Comrie 1992, 312). The causative brings a new participant as causer, which raises the valence of the verb.

- (130) *Matata á- li- s -á emwana embuya*
 Matata 3SG- eat- CAUS -IND child banana
 S V O O **valence=3**

‘Matata makes the child eat the banana’

- (131) *Ebakasi b- e- mba- s -á emwana eluchimba*
 ladies 3PL- PRES- dress- CAUS -IND child cloth **valence=3**

‘The ladies makes the child put on cloth’

- (132) *Kabi na Musa be- mba- s -á emwana eluchimba*
 Kabi and Musa 3PL- dress- CAUS -IND child cloth **valence=3**

‘Kabi and Musa make the child put on cloth’

In (131) there are 3 arguments, *ebakasi* ‘ladies’, *emwana* ‘child’ and *eluchimba* ‘cloth’. In (132) we have also 3, *Kabi na Musa* ‘Kabi and Musa’, *mwana* ‘child’ and *luchimba* ‘cloth’. The plural causer in (132) does increase the valence, but the fact that it is in plural does not.

In the case where the causee is not marked, it is possible to just have one overt argument as shown in (133) and (134). This all depends on whether you are talking about syntactic or semantic valence. In other words, in (133) ‘my uncle’ can cause somebody unknown to dig. So, semantically there are two participants understood, even though only one is expressed in the syntax.

(133) *malume á- chik- is -á*
 uncle 3SG- dig- CAUS -IND **syntactic valence=1**

‘My uncle causes ‘somebody’ to dig’

(134) *malume na mashenge bá- chik- is -á* **syntactic valence=1**
 uncle and aunt 3PL- dig- CAUS -IND

‘My uncle and my aunt cause (somebody) to dig’

3.2 With intransitive constructions

(Payne 1997, 171) claims that an intransitive construction describes a property, state, or situation involving only one participant. The causative creates a transitive from such roots. That is, the verb root may be intransitive, but the verb stem is transitive.

3.2.1 Morpheme identification

As stated in (3.1.1), Kitembo forms its causative morphologically. The following examples show the causative morpheme with intransitive verb roots. In Fig. 8, pg 32, all the verbs, with causative, can share the same patterns with intransitive verbs. The following examples prove clearly that observation:

(135) *emwana a- onj -ire*
 child 3SG- sleep -ASP

‘The child is sleeping’

(136) *mama á- onji- s -á emwana*
 mother 3SG- sleep- CAUS -IND child

‘My mother causes the child to sleep’

In the ordinary construction (135) the verb *aonjire* ‘she is sleeping’ does not take an object. However, in (136) the verb *aonjisa* ‘causes ...to sleep’ introduces naturally the object *emwana* ‘the child’.

(137) *Mashenge á- fuluk -a*
 my aunt 3SG- come back -IND

‘My aunt is coming back’

(138) *Malume á- fulu- s -á mashenge*
 Uncle 3SG- come back- CAUS -IND aunt

‘My uncle causes my aunt to come back’

(139) *Kasongo á- end -a*
 Kasongo 3SG- go -IND

‘Kasongo is going’

(140) *Emukasi á- en- j/z -á Kasongo*
 Wife 3SG- go- CAUS -IND Kasongo

‘The wife causes Kasongo to go’

3.2.2 *Semantic roles, syntactic roles and valence*

As with transitives, the causative of an intransitive root has an causer and a causee. The causative changes the base subject/agent to become the object/causee. In the causative of an intransitive verb, the causer appears as subject, and the causee usually as direct object. In (141), *Matata* is the subject, but in (142), he has become the causee patient/object because of the causer *Sifa*. Also, a causative of an intransitive verb can have singular or plural objects as shown in (143).

(141) *Matata á- end -a*
 Matata 3SG- go -IND

‘Matata is going’

(142) *Sifa á- en- j/z -á Matata*
 Sifa 3SG- go- CAUS -IND Matata

‘Sifa causes Matata to go’

(143) *Sifa á- en- z/j -á Matata na Maire*
 Sifa 3SG- go- CAUS -IND Matata and Maire

‘Sifa causes Matata and Maire to walk’

Example (145) is based on (144). In (145), a new subject causer *mama* ‘mother’ is added and causes the base subject *Masuku* to become the object. In (146) the number of arguments doesn’t affect the syntactic valence of the sentence. In other words, the three NP *Kabi*, *Musa* and *Sifa* remain one subject and only one argument (which includes more than one person) and the two NP *Bitu* and *Kabibi* remain one object.

(144) *Masuku á- suk -a*
 Masuku 3SG- wake up -IND
 S V
 ‘Masuku wakes up’

(145) *Mama á- su- s -á Masuku*
 Mother 3SG- wake up- CAUS -IND Masuku
 S V O
 ‘My mother causes Masuku to wake up’

(146) *Kabi na Musa na Sifa bá - onj- is -á Bitu na na Kabibi*
 Kabi and Musa and Sifa 3PL- sleep- CAUS -IND Bitu and Kabibi.
 S V O
 ‘Kabi, Musa and Sifa make Bitu and Kabibi to sleep’

With the intransitive causative construction, as with transitive construction, the verb stem is the fundamental element determining the number of arguments.

(147) *Kasongo á- su- s -á Malira syntactic valence=2*
 Kasongo 3SG- wake up- CAUS -IND Malira
 ‘Kasongo causes Malira to wake up’

(148) *Kabi na Musa bá - su- s -á Mutiya na kambale*
 Kabi and Musa 3PL- come back- CAUS -IND Mutiya and Kambale
 ‘Kabi and Musa cause Mutiya and Kambale to wake up’
syntactic valence=2

In (147) there are two arguments, *Kasongo* as subject and *Malira* as object of the stem *suk-* ‘to cause to wake up’. There are also 2 in (148), *Kabi* and *Musa* as subject and *Mutiya* and *Kambale* as object of the verb *sus-* ‘to cause to wake up’. The relevant thing to say here is that the causative increases the valence. The root by itself would take one argument; but now the causative stem takes two.

CHAPTER IV

APPLICATIVE

In the previous chapter we have seen how the causative influences the Tembo verb and affects its valence operation. Now we are going to discuss the applicative in verbal structure. The applicative is a fully productive extension in Kitembo. Its basic function is to establish a semantic role as the syntactic object of the verb, differently from what is the object of the simple root (Manganga and Schadeberg 1992, 155). Payne (1997, 186) adds that an applicative can be insightfully described as a valence increasing operation that brings a peripheral participant onto centre stage by making it into a direct object. Hyman (1982, 220) says that the applicatives are operations whereby the verb is marked for semantic role of a direct object.

There is the addition of another referent that becomes the primary object. If the base sentence had two referents (the subject and the object), the verb now has three referents (NP's). In sentence order the place of the direct object is taken by the added noun phrase and the 'old' object becomes a nominal complement. In Kitembo, the noun phrase that is added can refer to the person for whose benefit or to whose detriment the action described by the root of the verb is undertaken (Driever 1976, 39). The applicative suffix that is influenced by the preceding phonological environment in transitive constructions is the same in intransitive in Kitembo.

4.1 Applicative allomorphs

The applicative morphological form, like the causative, varies according to the vowel that precedes it in the last syllable of the verb root. In Kitembo the applicative generally has the shape *-ir*, *-is*, *-er* (see Appendix 16), *-es*, *-chis*, *-rer*.

<u>Ordinary verb</u>	<u>Applicative construction</u>	<u>Applicative glosses</u>
(149) <i>Kubisá</i> put	<i>kubis-</i> <i>is</i> <i>-á</i> put APPL -IND	‘To sweep for’
(150) <i>Kufuá</i> pay	<i>kufu-</i> <i>ir</i> <i>-á</i> pay- APPL -IND	‘To pay for’
(151) <i>Kutemá</i> cut	<i>kutem-</i> <i>er</i> <i>-á</i> cut- APPL -IND	‘To cut for’
(152) <i>Kukolá</i> work	<i>kukor-</i> <i>er</i> <i>-á</i> work- APPL -IND	‘To work for’
(153) <i>Kuobáká</i> build	<i>kuobák-</i> <i>ir</i> <i>-á</i> build- APPL -IND	‘To build for’
(154) <i>Kukondá</i> cut	<i>kukond-</i> <i>er</i> <i>-á</i> cut- APPL -IND	‘To cut for’
(155) <i>Kulyá</i> eat	<i>kul-</i> <i>ir</i> <i>-á</i> eat APPL -IND	‘To eat for’
(156) <i>Kubutá</i> give birth	<i>kubu-</i> <i>chir</i> <i>-á</i> give birth- APPL -IND	‘To give birth for’
(157) <i>Kuboolá</i> loosen	<i>kuboo-</i> <i>rer</i> <i>-á</i> loosen- APPL -IND	‘To loosen for’
(158) <i>Kuhombá</i> hate	<i>kuhomb-</i> <i>er</i> <i>-á</i> hate- APPL -IND	‘To hate for’
(159) <i>Kuboná</i> discover	<i>kubon-</i> <i>er</i> <i>-á</i> discover- APPL -IND	‘To discover for’
(160) <i>Kubungá</i> fold	<i>kubung-</i> <i>ir</i> <i>-á</i> fold- APPL -IND	‘To fold for’

Fig. 10 Applicative allomorphs

As seen in the examples above, the applicative extension allomorph *-ir* occurs when the last vowel of the verb stem is Close Front-Unrounded /i/, open central /a/ or Close-Back-Rounded /u/ (149, 150, 153, 155, 156, and 160). The applicative extension allomorph *-er* occurs with the last stem vowel is Close-mid –Front-Unrounded /e/ or Close-Mid-Back-Rounded /o/ (151, 152, 154, 155, 157, 158 and 159). That is, there is vowel harmony between the final vowel of the verb stem and the applicative suffix: Close Front and Back vowels and open /a/ take *-ir* (close) and Mid Front and Back vowels take *-er* (mid).

With regard to consonants, the last alveolar consonant // of the verb stem becomes /r/ in (152 and 157) [see Appendix 18] in applicative form, while the alveolar /t/ always becomes /ch/ as in (156) (see Appendix 19).

The following examples show how the basic transitive clause is treated in transitive clause with applicative in Kitembo:

(161) *Mama á- teka emupunge*
 Mother 3SG- cook rice
 S V O

‘My mother is cooking the rice’

(162) *Mama á- tek- er -a tata emupunge*
 Mother 3SG- cook- APPL -IND father rice
 S V BEN O1 PAT O2

‘My mother cooks the rice for my father’

(163) *Kalume á- eka ebiryo*
 Kalume 3SG- bring food
 S V O

‘Kalume brings the food’

(164) *Kalume á- ek- er -a mama ebiryo*
 Kalume 3sg- bring- APPL -IND mother food
 S V BEN O1 PAT O2

‘Kalume brings the food for my mother’

- (165) *Mashenge á- bung -a eluchimba*
 My aunt 3SG- fold -IND the cloth
 S V O
 ‘My aunt is folding the cloth’
- (166) *Mashenge á- bung- ir -a malume eluchimba*
 Aunt 3SG- fold- APPL -IND uncle the cloth
 S V BEN O1 PAT O2
 ‘My aunt folds the clothe for my uncle.’
- (167) *Ebasere bá - ong -a ebutea*
 Parents 3PL- pay -IND money
 S V O
 ‘The parents pay the money’
- (168) *Ebasere bá - holor- er -a ebaana ebutea*
 Parents 3PL- subscribe- APPL -IND children money
 S V BEN O1 PAT O2
 ‘The parents subscribe the money for the children’
- (169) *Kasongo á- kond -a emuchi*
 Kasongo 3SG- cut -IND the tree
 S V O
 ‘Kasongo is cutting the tree’
- (170) *Kasongo á- kond- er -a Mulongo emuchi*
 Kasongo 3SG- cut- APPL -IND Mulongo the tree
 S V BEN O1 PAT O2
 ‘Kasongo cuts the tree for Mulongo’
- (171) *Musa á- min -a embene*
 Musa 3SG tie up -IND the goat
 S V O
 ‘Musa ties up the goat’
- (172) *Musa á- miny- ir -a tata embene*
 Musa 3SG- tie up- APPL -IND father the goat
 S V BEN O1 PAT O2
 ‘Musa ties up the goat for my father’
- (173) *Maneno á - kesá Kashembe*
 Maneno 3SG- greet Kashembe
 S V O
 ‘Maneno greets Kashembe’
- (174) *Maneno á- kes- es -á malume Kashembe*
 Maneno 3SG- greet- APPL -IND uncle Kashembe
 S V BEN O1 PAT O2
 ‘Maneno greets Kashembe for my uncle’

(175) *Mariamum á- bisá enyumba*
 Mariamu 3SG- sweep house
 S V O
 ‘Mary sweeps the house’

(176) *Mariamum á - bis- is -á mama enyumba*
 Mary 3SG- sweep- APPL -IND mother house
 S V BEN O1 PAT O2
 ‘Mary sweeps the house for my mother’

(177) *Luka á- hukira emwana*
 Luka 3SG- cover child
 S V O
 ‘Luke covers the child’

(178) *Luka á- hukir- ir -a mama emwana*
 Luka 3SG- cover- APPL -IND mother child
 S V BEN O1 PAT O2
 ‘Luke covers the child for my mother’

4.2 Applicative with transitive roots

In examples 161 to 178, the applicative occurs with transitive roots, and creates a 3-participant clause. It may be observed in (162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176, 178) that the added noun phrase becomes the ‘first’ object following the verb, as in section 3.1.2 with causative constructions; and the ‘old’ object becomes a nominal complement. It is also important to note that the applied verbs having a –s suffix (174 and 176) have a causative form, but are applicative or benefactive in meaning.

With some transitive verbs, the applicative introduces locatives, especially *mwa* ‘in’ (180), *kwa* ‘on’, and *era* ‘at’; in this case the ‘old’ object is not put at the end. Rather, the added locative occurs in the last position, and it is not usual to add a locative to (179).

(179) *Musa á- mina embene*
 Musa 3SG- tie up goat
 S V O
 ‘Musa ties up the goat’

- (180) *Musa á- min- yir -a embene mwa nyuma*
 Musa 3SG- tie up- APPL -IND goat in house
 S V O Loc
 ‘Musa ties up the goat in the house’

4.3 Semantic roles, syntactic roles and valence

As discussed in 4.1.1, most first objects in applicative constructions have the semantic role of beneficiary (162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176, and 178).

However, (180) is locative.

The subject of the base construction does not change in the applicative.

However, a new beneficiary object always precedes the ‘old’ patient object.

It is also important to note that applied object noun phrases can be replaced by bound pronouns, prefixed to the verb stem for the subject and object. Consider the following examples:

- (181) *Emwana á- reta ekamba*
 Child 3SG- bring knife
 S (AG) V O (PAT)

‘The child brings the knife’

- (182) *A- ka- ret -a*
 3SG- C12O- bring -IND
 S O (PAT) V

‘He brings it’

- (183) *Emwana á- ret- er -a mama ekamba*
 Child 3SG- bring- APPL -IND mother knife
 S V BEN O1 PAT O2

‘The child brings the knife to my mother’

- (184) *A- mu- ret- er -a ko*
 3SG- her- bring- APPL -IND C12O
 S C1O (BEN) V O (PAT)

‘He brings it to her’

What is interesting in (184) is that the ‘old’ pronominal object is not affixed to the verb, but follows it. Locative applied objects cannot be replaced by bound pronoun prefixes; rather they are isolated between the verb and the object as shown in example (185).

(185) *Musa a- min- yir -a mu embene*
 Musa 3SG- tie- APPL -IND LOC goat

‘Musa ties the goat there’

In non-applicative clauses, the normal arrangement for transitive verbs is for the agent to bear the subject relation and the patient the object (Payne 1997, 169) as shown in the example below:

(186) *Kabanga á- teka emupunge*
 Kabanga 3SG- cook rice
 AG (SUBJ) PAT(O) **syntactic valence=2**

‘Kabanga is cooking the rice’

But it is not the same for some applicative constructions where the patient can be understood and doesn’t appear, as shown in the following pair of examples; in (188) the beneficiary is the object.

(187) *Kabanga a- tek -a*
 Kabanga 3SG- cook -IND **syntactic valence 1**

‘Kabanga is cooking’

(188) *Kabanga á- tek- er -a Kasereka*
 Kabanga 3SG- cook- APPL -IND Kasereka
 AG(SUBJ) V BEN O **syntactic valence=2**

‘Kabanga is cooking for Kasereka’

When it is overtly expressed, the patient usually takes the last position in the applicative clause and is preceded by the beneficiary. In this case, there are three overt arguments.

(189) *Kabanga á- tek- er -a Kasereka emupunge*
 Kabanga 3SG- cook- APPL -IND Kasereka rice
 AG (SUBJ) V BEN O1 PAT O2

valence=3

‘Kabanga is cooking the rice for Kasereka’

4.4 With intransitive roots

In Kitembo, the applicative extension can be added to any ordinary intransitive root. The noun phrase after the verb is ‘applicative’ highlighting a location or another infinitive verb.

4.4.1 Distribution of applicative allomorphs

The noun phrase following the verb is a locative phrase introduced by the prepositions *era* ‘at’ in (191) *mwa* ‘in’ (193).

(190) *mama á- balama*
 mother 3SG- travel

‘My mother travels’

(191) *mama á- balam- ir -a era Lilai*
 mother 3SG- travel- APPL -IND LOC Lilai

‘My mother travels to Lilai’

(192) *mama á- end- er -a kulya*
 mother 3SG- go- APPL -IND INF (eat)

‘My mother is going to eat’

(193) *Mafumo á- uluk- ir -a mwa nyumba*
 Mafumo 3SG- come- APPL -IND LOC house

‘Mafumo is coming from the house’

It may be observed in (191) that the subject *mama* is followed by the applicative verb *abalamira*, then a locative preposition *era* and the NP *Lilai*. It indicates a movement towards a place. In (192) *mama* is going to do something. In

this case, it is always the infinitive verb that is added. In both sentences (192) and (193) *Mama* and *Mafumo* are making movement.

4.4.2 *Semantic roles, syntactic roles and valence*

With intransitive verbs, the order of arguments is not different from transitive verbs with the applicative extension. The substantive or the gerund, which is not patient or beneficiary, takes the last position of the sentence. Consider the following examples:

- (194) *Toto á- libich- ir -a nyina kwa lwishi*
 Toto 3SG- run- APPL -IND his mother at river
 S V BEN LOC
Valence=1
 ‘The child runs to the river for his mother’

- (195) *Emwana á- libich- ir -a kulya*
 Child 3SG- run- APPL -IND eat
 S V INF (eat)
 ‘The child runs to eat’

Intransitive verbs with applicative extensions can describe a property or event situation involving only one participant. Kitembo, like Swahili or Lugwere (Mubbala 2003, 15) involves two NP’s but form one argument because the second argument is an oblique.

- (196) *Kabanga á- mo- er -a mukai*
 Kabanga 3SG- happy- APPL -IND his wife
 S V BEN/OBL **valence=1**
 ‘Kabanga is happy for his wife’

- (197) *Kabanga á- mo- er -a mukai mwa nyumba*
 Kabanga 3SG happy- APPL -IND his wife in house
 AG V BEN LOC **valence=1**
 ‘Kabanga is happy for his wife in the house’

The examples (196) and (197) differ from (188) because the verb *kumoa* ‘to be happy’ is intransitive.

CHAPTER V

PASSIVE

Passive is concerned with grammatical voice. Its function is to remove or demote the agent from subject position of a transitive stem and to move whichever semantic role functions as direct object of the simple stem into subject position (Driever 1976, 110).

The passive refers to a sentence, clause or verb form where the grammatical subject is typically the patient recipient, or a ‘goal’ of the action denoted by the verb (Crystal 1980, 252). In other words, in the passive sentence, it is non-agent that is marked as the subject, while the agent either has peripheral status (marked by a preposition), or is omitted altogether (Palmer 1994, 16).

Payne (1997, 204) says that a morphological passive is semantically transitive (two-participant) where an agent is either omitted or demoted to an oblique role. The Kitembo passive construction conforms to these observations.

(198) *Kalume á- tem -a ebuteme*
Kalume 3SG- cut -IND field
S-AG V O-PAT

‘Kalume is cutting the field’

(199) *Ebuteme bwá- tem- w/ibw - á na Kalume*
Field 3SG- cut- PASS- IND by Kalume
S-PAT OBL-AG

‘The field is cut by Kalume’

(200) *Ebuteme bwá- tem- w/ibw - á*
Field 3SG- cut- PASS- IND
S-PAT V

‘The field is cut’

In (198) *Kalume* is the subject/agent and *ebuteme* is the object/patient, but in (199) *Kalume* is agent in an oblique phrase, in (200) the agent is omitted, while the patient *ebuteme* becomes the subject.

(201) *Mama á- tek -a emupunge* ‘My mother is cooking the rice’
 Mother 3SG- cook -IND rice

(202) *Emupunge á- tek- w -a na mama*
 Rice 3SG- cook- PASS -IND by mother

‘The rice is cooked by my mother’

As shown in the examples above, *emupunge* ‘rice’ is the direct object in (201), but the subject in (202), while the subject *mama* ‘my mother’ in (201) becomes the oblique in (202) marked by the preposition *na* ‘by’.

5.1 Distribution of passive allomorphs

It is important to know that Tembo speakers have three main ways to form the passive. The first is *-w*, the second is *-ibw*, and the third is *-bw*. The same root can occur with any of these three forms. The morphologic form of passive varies according to the consonant that precedes the last syllable of the ordinary verb root. *-ibw* occurs when the termination *-a* of the ordinary verb is preceded by the lateral /l/ (210); *-njibw* occurs when the termination *-a* is preceded by the pre-nasalised plosive (207); *-yibw* occurs when the termination *-a* is preceded by the nasal /n/ (219); and *-chibw* occurs when the termination *-a* is preceded by the alveolar /t/ (208). The passive extension varies according to the last consonant before the termination *-a*.

<u>Ordinary verb</u>	<u>Passive construction</u>	<u>Passive glosses</u>
(203) <i>kubiká</i> put	<i>kubik-w/ibw -á</i> put- PASS -IND	‘To be put’
204) <i>kufuá</i> pay	<i>kufu- ibw -á</i> pay- PASS -IND	‘To be paid’
(205) <i>kutemá</i> cut	<i>kutem- w/ibw -á</i> cut- PASS -IND	‘To be cut’
(206) <i>kuobaká</i> build	<i>kuobak-w/ibw -á</i> build- PASS -IND	‘To be built’
(207) <i>kukondá</i> cut	<i>kukond- w/njibw -á</i> cut- PASS -IND	‘To be cut’
(208) <i>kubutá</i> give birth	<i>kubut- w/chibw -á</i> give birth- PASS -IND	‘To be born’
(209) <i>kutambá</i> visit	<i>kutamb- ir- w -á</i> visit- APPL- PASS -IND	‘To be visited’
(210) <i>kubabálá</i> hurt	<i>kubaba- sib- w -á</i> hurt- CAUS- PASS -IND	‘To be hurt’
(211) <i>kusuká</i> wake up	<i>kusu- sib- w -á</i> wake up- CAUS- PASS -IND	‘To be woke up’

Fig.11 **Passive allomorphs**

5.2 Structure of Kitembo passive

The insertion of *-w/ibw-* between the verb stem and the termination *-a* gives a passive meaning. Manganga and Schadeberg (1992, 149) say that in Kinyamwezi language the passive extension always occupies the last position before the final indicative suffix *-a* in a verb form; it always is the last in a sequence of several extensions. In Kitembo, the passive is marked by adding *-w* to any ordinary transitive verb. As discussed above, the object/patient will be promoted to the status of subject, while the agent/subject will be demoted to the status of an oblique. In this case, the

focus is generally on the promoted patient. The following examples illustrate the passive morpheme with transitive roots.

(212) *Kabira á- teka emuhaba*
Kabira 3SG- cook banana

‘Kabira is cooking the banana’

(213) *Emuhaba á- tek- w/ibw -a na Kabira*
Banana 3SG- cook- PASS -IND by Kabira

‘The banana is cooked by Kabira’

(214) *Ebakasi bá- tol -a emuhaba*
Ladies 3PL- take -IND banana

‘The ladies are taking the banana’

(215) *Emuhaba á- tol- w/libw -á n’ ebakasi*
Banana 3SG- take- PASS -IND by ladies

‘The banana is taken by the ladies’

(216) *Kabita á- kond -a emuchi*
Kasongo 3SG- cut -IND the tree

‘Kabita is cutting the tree’

(217) *Emuchi á- kond- w/njibw -á na Kabita*
Tree 3SG- cut- PASS -IND by Kabita

‘The tree is cut by Kabita’

(218) *Mutiya á- min -a embene*
Mutuya 3SG- tie up -IND the goat

‘Mutiya ties up the goat’

(219) *Embene yá - min- w/yibw -á na Mutiya*
Goat 3SG- tie up- PASS -IND by Mutiya

‘The goat is tied up by Mutiya’

(220) *Emukasi á- hut -a emwana*
wife 3SG- beat -IND child

‘The wife is beating the child’

(221) *Emwana á- hut- w/chibw -a n' emukasi*
 child 3SG- beat- PASS -IND by wife

‘The child is beaten by the woman’

(222) *Emwana a- hu- chibw -a* ‘The child is beaten’
 Child 3SG- beat- PASS IND

If the agent is not to be mentioned the passive must be used (Palmer 1994, 117), and commonly the subject of the active sentence (*emukasi* ‘wife’) is omitted in the passive, as shown in (222). It means that with the passive the subject of the ordinary construction changes its position or can be omitted. In Kitembo, the new subject (e.g patient) always occurs at the beginning of the sentence like all other subjects. It is also important to note that this new subject can be replaced by a pronominal subject prefix on the verb. Consider the following examples:

(223) *Emwana á- reta ekamba*
 Child 3SG- bring knife
 S-AG V O-PAT

‘The child brings the knife’

(224) *Ekamba ká - ret- w/chibw -á n' emwana*
 Knife C12S- bring- PASS -IND by child
 S-PAT V DAT/OBL-AG

‘The knife is brought by the child’

(225) *Ka- re- chibw -a n' emwana*
 3SG- bring- PASS -IND by child
 S V DAT/OBL-AG

‘It is brought by the child’

(226) *A- reta ekamba* ‘He brings the knife’
 3SG- bring knife

The passive always reduce the number of arguments because the agent of the simple base must be oblique or be omitted.

In the normal or ordinary arrangement for transitive sentences in Kitembo the agent or subject (first argument) is always in the first place, followed by the verb and the patient or object (the second argument) in the last position. In this case, the valence is 2.

(227) *Kabanga á- teka emupunge*
 Kabanga 3SG- cook rice
 AG PAT **valence=2**

‘Kabanga is cooking the rice’

But in the passive construction, the patient as the subject usually is in the first position, and followed by the main verb. The ‘old’ subject/agent, now an oblique, is in the last position. In this case, the syntactic Valence is 1, as the oblique agent is not required.

(228) *Emupunge á- tek- w -á (na Kabanga)*
 Rice 3SG- cook- PASS -IND (by Kabanga)
 S-PAT V OBL-AG **syntactic valence=1**

‘The rice is cooked by Kabanga’

5.3 Combination of passive and applicative

In Kitembo the passive can be combined with the structure applicative. Then, the clause structure is: Beneficiary/subject (first argument)- pronoun/ subject/ beneficiary- object/patient (second argument)- agent/oblique, while the verb structure is: -verb stem-applicative-passive- indicative/suffiixe (see Appendix # 40). In this case, the Valence is 2 because the original root is transitive.

(229) *Kasereka á- tek- er- w -á emupunge na Kabanga*
 Kasereka 3SG- cook- APPL- PASS -IND rice by Kabanga
 S-BEN V O-PAT AG-OBL

valence=2

‘The rice is cooked (by Kabanga) for Kasereka’

But as shown in (230) the combined valence is 1 because the original root is intransitive.

(230) *Tata a- balam- ir- w -a na mama*
 Father 3SG- visit- APPL- PASS -IND by mother
 S-BEN V AG OBL
 ‘My father is visited (by my mother)’ **Valence=1**

(231) *Mama á- ret- er- w -á ekamba n’ emwana*
 Mother 3SG- bring- APPL- PASS -IND knife by child
 S-BEN V O-PAT DAT/OBL-AG
 ‘My mother is brought the knife by the child’ **Valence=2**

As shown in (230), the verb *balamirwa* ‘is visited’ indicates that *tata* is beneficiary. The referent *mama* ‘mother’ with preposition *na* follows the verb and is considered as the agent/oblique. In this case, the Valence is 1. It is important to note that when the subject is also the beneficiary, the passive is formed by *-erw* or *ir- w-* in the place of *-bw/ibw* as shown in (231).

5.4 Combination of passive and causative

The passive in Kitembo can be also combined with the causative. In this case, the clause is constructed in the following manner: Beneficiary/subject (first argument)-agent/oblique, while the verb structure is: pronoun/prefix-verb stem-causative-passive- indicative (see Appendix # 40). Consider the following examples:

(232) *Kasana á- onj- is- ibw -a na Mutiya*
 Kasana 3SG- sleep- CAUS- PASS -IND by Mutiya
 S V OBL-AG **valence=1**
 ‘Kasana is made to sleep by Mutiya’

(233) *Kasana á- onj- is- ibw -á*
 Kasana 3SG- sleep- CAUS PASS -IND
 S V **valence=1**
 ‘Kasana is made to sleep’

(234) *Kabi na Muya bá- onj- is- ibw -á na Kato na Bali*
 Kabi and Muya 3PL- sleep- CAUS- PASS -IND by Kato and Bali
 S/PAT V OBL-AG
valence=1

‘Kabi and Muya are made to sleep by Kato and Bali’

Even if the original root is intransitive, the clause is also: Beneficiary/subject (first argument)- agent/ oblique, while the verb structure is: -pronoun/prefix-verb stem-causative-passive-indicative.

Consider the following example:

(235) *Kabi na Muya ba- kus- ibw -a na tata na mama*
 Kabi and Muya 3PL- grow up CAUS- PASS -ind by father and mother
 BEN/S OBL-AG

Valence=1

‘Kabi and Muya are made to grow up by the father and the mother’

It is important to note that there are no combinations of causative and applicative in Kitembo.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this work, after a rapid view of the Tembo community, and the structure of the Kitembo verb, I have tried to analyze some aspects of verb structure in Kitembo focusing on causative, applicative, and passive extensions.

I have briefly discussed the structure of Tembo verbs. I discovered that the verb *kuba* 'to be' is very irregular. In its conjugation the verb stem *ba* 'be' is completely lost in *nyiri* 'I am'. In Kitembo the tenses and moods are expressed in the inflectional verb morphology. The tone on the verbs plays an important role in tenses. The tenses in the verb morphology, especially its six distinctive tenses, make its speakers to communicate easily without ambiguity.

In the third chapter, I described the causative derivation, and have shown how the agent and the patient are affected. In the fourth chapter, I discussed the applicative. The main point here is that the focus is on the new referent that becomes beneficiary.

In the fifth chapter, I described the passive. In passive constructions, either patient or beneficiary can play the role of subject, depending on whether an application is also present.

My study has focused primarily on causative, applicative, and passive affixes. However, to understand much more about the verb structure and its derivation in the Kitembo language, it is important to consider other constructions such as reflexive, reciprocal, and associative. The further analysis of many more Tembo narrative texts

is also very important, because the text attached in the appendix of this work does not necessarily contain all the elements of causative, applicative, and passive constructions.

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APPENDIX

TEMBO NARRATIVE TEXT

Wasimba na wangunda

lion and dog
the lion and the dog

1. **Lúsuku lúuma, wasimba ábaa átamba mw' éringú lyai.**
day one, lion be.PAST walking in forest of him.

'One day, the lion was walking in his forest'

2. **Era kúmálá éndulungú sóshí árenga-renga músi.**
he finish.PAST hills all walking-walking in them

'He crossed all hills walking among them'

3. **Era kúlyá n'ényámá sá ábaa anásímire, era kwíkálá na alá**
he eat.PAST also animals that he want.PAST, he seat.PAST also where

abaa anásímire.
he want. PAST

'He ate any animal of his choice, he also sat wherever he wanted (to sit)'

4. **Ábere ésubá liménzi, era kúbúáná wa ngunda átekera ebana**
when sun stand up.PAST, he meat.PAST the dog cooking for children

'At noon o'clock, he met the dog who was cooking for his children

bai ebiryó mwa nyumba.
of him food in house

the food in the house'

5. **Wasimba era kubura wa ngunda: 'Chí wáira áolá?'**
lion he ask.PAST the dog: 'What you do.PRES there?'

'The lion asked the dog: 'What are you doing there?'

6. **Wangunga era kúteta: "Náteka biryo."**
dog he say.PAST: "I cook.PRES food."

'The dog said: 'I am cooking the food'

7. **Wasimba era kúmubúra: "Nyikásibula emeho uchiri aola, ungálola.**
lion he tell.PAST him: "If I open.PRES eyes you be.PRES there, you e.FUT

'The lion told him: 'If I open my eyes and you are still there you will see.

Woyó unyishi?
you you know.PRES me?'

Do you know me?'

8. **Wangunda era kúmwākúlá: 'Ndakwishi'.**
dog he answer.PRES him: 'I don't know.PRES you.'

'The dog answered him: 'I don't know you'

9. **Wasimba era kúteta: 'Nyonó uséne kó ánohá nyí nyitúlá**
the lion he say.PAST: 'Me you see.PRES at here me I HAB be

'The lion said: 'As you see me, I am

ena liné érúngú lyóshí.
owner thin forest whole

responsible of all this forest.

10. **Néndé náya erá nyisímíre, néndé náteta kwá nyisímíre, néndé**
I HAB go where I like.PRES, I HAB say like I like.PRES, I HAB

'I eat whatever like, I say whatever I like, I

nálya olá nyisímíre, néndé náira byóshí byá nyisímíre mw'eliné rúngú,
eat whoever I like.PRES, I HAB do whatever that I like.PRES in this forest,

eat whoever I like, I do whatever I like in this forest,

bushi nyí mwami wáli.
because I be.PRES chief of it

because it belongs to me.

11. **Rero, akaba wáhonda ulame, kanji ulamye ebana bau,**
now, if you want.PRES you heal.PRES, and you heal.PRES children of you,

'So, if you want to live and your children, leave that place

tengaá aola.

leave. PRES there

leave that place.

- 12. Wangunda omvire báchá, era kúteta: “Éwashi!**
dog he heard.PAST that, he say. PAST: ‘hum!

‘When the dog heard that he said: “ hum!

- 13. Ákábá ulí mwami w’ényamá, nési náanga, nyonó ndakwishi.**
if you be.PRES king of animals, or not, me I do.PRES not know.PRES you.

If you are the king of animals or not, I do not know you

- 14. Chíro utá mwami!” Wasimba omvire báchá, ébúté bwera kúmusimba.**
then you be.PRES not king!” lion he hear.PAST that, the anger take.PAST him.

‘When the lion heard that, he became very angry

- 15. Mw’obu búté, wasimba era kúteta: “Lwarero nakutekya bya**
in that anger, lion he say.PRES: “Today I make.CAUS you cook.INF that

‘Being very angry, the lion said: “Today I will make you to cook what

utangateka !”

you NEG can cook!”

you cannot cook!”

- 16. Tolaa abu bana bau boshi unyitekere bo anola anola!**
take.PRES those children of you all you cook. APPL me them here here!

‘Take your all children and cook them for me just now’

- 17. Wangunda omvire bacha, era kwákula wasimba: “Woyo utanyishi**
dog hear.PAST that, he answer.PAST lion: “You you not know.PRES me

‘When the dog heard that he told the lion: ‘You don’t know me

kubuya-buya.

Good-good.

Very well.

- 18. Ata chira mulume i nyikorera nyono, kanji ata chira mundu**
not every man that I work..APPL me, and not every man

‘I do not work for everybody, and I do not

i nyingatekera biryo.

that I cook.APPL food

cook for everybody

19. Emndu yeine i utula mwami wanyi, nanyi nyi nyitula mwami

person himself that HAB be king of me, and me I HAB be king

Only the man is my king, and I am the king

w'enyama soshi, bushi

of animals all, because

of all animals, because

nyi nende nechira emundu enyama era asimire.

I HAB kill.APPL man animal that he like.PRES.

I kill animals for the man that he likes

20. Kanji mwa mw'emundu mu nende naonjira nyono, kanji

and in of man there I HAB sleep me, and

And I always sleep in the house of man, and

mundu i wende wanyitekera ebiryo bya nende nalya.

person who HAB cook.APPL me food that I HAB eat

the man is the one who cooks for me the food I eat

21. Utanyishingiraa ko mukasi wau! Akaba wahonda kuba

you not play.APPL at me your wife! If you want.PRES be.INF

Do not joke with me please! If you want to become

kuuma nanyi, unyiemisaa kwa musu nyikulose enawetu.'

like me, you mefollow.PRES at village I you show.PRES my lord'

like me, follow me at home and I will show you my lord'

22. Wasimba omvire bacha ebute bwere kumisimba kanji, kuna kuteta:

lion hear.PRES that anger take.PAST him again, and he say.PAST:

When the lion heard that he became angry again, and he said:

“Uli nde u wányiakula bacha?

‘you be.PRES who you answer.PRES me that?’

‘Who are you to tell me that?’

- 23. Kutengera nábuchibwaa ndafuraa kuburwa bacha.**
 from I be.PAST born I never be PASS told that.

Since I was born, I have never been talked like that.

- 24. Lwarero wátekwa, n'ebana bau bátekwa boshi.**
 today you cook.FUT PASS, and children of you cook.FUT PASS all

Today you and your all children will be cooked

- 25. Wangunda era kumubura: 'Erekaa ulole kwa nakuira.**
 dog he him tell.PAST: 'you try.PRES you see.PRES that I do.PRES you

The dog told him: 'Try and you will see what I will do to you

- 26. Wasimba omvire bacha era kuulukirá wangunda amuite.**
 lion hear.PAST that he jump.APPL dog kill.INF him.

When the lion heard that he jumped at the dog to kill him

- 27. Si wangunda era kutangirisá akema mbu: Wuu! Wuu! Wuu!**
 but dog he start.PAST bark.INF that: wuu! Wuu! Wuu!

But the dog started to bark: 'Wuu! Wuu! Wuu!

- 28. Unao-unao, ebana bai kuna kupamukira boshi, na bachihunda ku wasimba.**
 there-there, children of him and appear.PAST all, and they jump.PAST at lion.

Suddenly his all children appeared, and they jumped at the lion.

- 29. Wamundu nai era kumvá kwa ngunda sakema-kema.**
 person also he heard how dog bark-bark

The man also heard how the dogs were barking

- 30. Unao-unao kuna kutola efumo lyai.**
 There-there he take.PAST spear of him.

He took directly his spear.

- 31. Alolire ku wasimba, ebuba bwera kumusimba, era kuhuba kwa**
 see.PAST at lion, fear it take.PAST him, he go back.PAST at

When he saw the lion, he feared, he went back

musi ábinga ebana bai boshi.
 village he take.PRES children of him all.

home to take his all children

- 35. Era kubabura mbu chira mundu atoláa efumo lyai bushi**
 he tell.PAST them that each person take.PAST spear of him because

He told them to take their spears because

wasimba akaliire busese.
 lion he be.PRES vicious very

the lion was very vicious

- 32. Boshi bera kunaenda. Wasimba ábalolire ko,**
 all they go.PAST. lion he see.PAST them at,

All of them went. When the lion saw them

ebuba bwera kumusimba busese, kuna kwaka.
 fear it take.PAST him very, and he flee.PAST.

Was very fearful and he fled.

- 33. Wanguna n'ebana bai kunakumwimisa baenda bakema busese.**
 dog and children of him and they follow.PAST him bark.PAST very

The dog and his children followed him barking very strongly

- 34. Chasinjire, bera kumureka atamire busese.**
 finally, they leave.PAST him he be PAST tired very

Finally, they left him when he was very tired

- 35. Wasimba aikire kwa wai, era kubura ebana bai mbu abuanyire**
 lion he arrive.PAST at his, he tell.PAST children of him that he have.PAST
 mate

When the lion arrived at his home, he told his children that he met

nyama isibu mw'erungu era atafuraa kulola ko.
 animal terrible in forest that he have.PAST never see.PAST at

a terrible animal he has never seen

- 36. Era kubabura: 'Kasi kuli nyama era yende yátekerwa ebiryo n'ebandu,**
 he tell.PAST them: 'So, there be.PRES animal that it HAB be cook.PASS with
 men,

He told them: 'Is there an animal whose man can cook food

kanji yaonjisibwa mwa nyumba s'ebandu!
and it make.PAST PASS sleep in house of men!

And made slept in the house of men!

37. Kutengera lwarero mumenyaa kwa wangunda i mwami wetu tuboshi
from today know.PRES that dog be.PRES king of us all

From today you have to know that the dog is the king of all of us

bushi ákáhonda kutwita lwarero tutangalama.
because if he want.PRES kill.INF us today we not can live.PRES

because if he wants to kill us we cannot live

38. Kutengera olu lusuku, wasimba n'ebana bai bera kwemerera
from that day, lion with children of him accept.PAST

From that day the lion with his children recognized

kwa wangunda i mwami w'enyama soshi.
that dog be.PRES king of animals all

That the dog is the king of all animals