

**UNIVERSITY OF BAYREUTH**  
**FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE**

**Morphosyntactic and Semantic Aspects of Verb Extension Systems in Bantu  
Languages: A Case Study of Kuria (E43) in Tanzania**

Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Languages and Literature in Partial  
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy in African Linguistics of the University of Bayreuth

by

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**17 February, 2017**

## STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

### Eidesstattliche Versicherung

„Ich versichere hiermit an Eides Statt, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit ohne unzulässige Hilfe Dritter und ohne Benutzung anderer als der angegebenen Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe; die aus fremden Quellen direkt oder indirekt übernommenen Gedanken sind als solche kenntlich gemacht.“

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It was not easy to attain this stage of my research without the help of several people and organisations. Special thanks go to my sponsors, the Tanzania Government (MoEVT) and DAAD for supporting my study in Germany. My deepest gratitude to my employer, the Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE) for not only allowing me to be away from my daily routine which enabled me to be fully engaged in my study but also for the immense support they accorded me during my fieldwork.

I would like to express my profound gratitude to my first Supervisor Prof. Dr. Gabriele Sommer, for accepting the request to supervise my study. This was the starting point of the journey which made me to be accepted by the DAAD committee which accorded me the chance to study in Germany. I hereby express my special thanks to her for her advice, commitment and encouragement. Her comprehensive and in-depth reading of my work along with constructive feedback have been crucial for this achievement.

I am also very grateful to my second Supervisor Prof. Dr. Dymitr Ibriszimow for being my advisor. I really appreciate his support. The door of Prof. Ibriszimow was open whenever I ran into analytical and methodological difficulties during the thesis writing stage. His steadfastness did not only encourage me to work hard but also gave me confidence to forge ahead. I am indebted to him for his enormous kindness.

I would also like to express my thanks to the experts from the Faculty of Languages and Literature within and out of the University of Bayreuth, for their cooperation and advice in the course of this thesis. I want to specifically mention Dr. Irina Turner for co-ordinating a field work seminar-class which was very useful to my study and data collection in general; Dr. Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn, Prof. Dr. Eric Anchimbe, and Dr. Rémi Tchokothe, for their advice and support in the entire process of my project. It was not easy to achieve my goal without their input and validation. I am appreciative of Prof. Rugemalira, Dr. Abel Mreta, Prof. Daniel Mkude, and Dr. Gastor Mapunda from the University of Dar es Salaam for their cooperation and support. Special thanks to Prof. Christopher Odhiambo of Moi University, Eldoret, Kenya who during his research period as

Humboldt Fellow at the University of Bayreuth read my work and gave me invaluable advice. I am also indebted to my dear brother Benedict Phaniel Lema of Dar es Salaam University College of Education for his kindness, support, encouragement, and being part and parcel of my academic career. Many thanks to him.

I also express my prompt gratitude to my lovely husband Sospeter Sasi Gitwekere for his love, care, support, encouragement and prayers during my study in Germany. As if not enough, he was playing double roles to our family: taking care of our children as a father and acting on my behalf, which was not an easy task especially in the Kuria society.

I must thank my children Jackline Robhi, Emmanuel Gitwekere and Joachim Senso for their patience, tolerance, and for accepting the challenging situation of growing up alone and taking care of themselves during my absence and appreciating my decision to be away from them for my study and for their future.

My deepest gratitude to my mother Julitha Zacharia Charwi for her prayers, and encouragement for my study. I thank her and my sister Pasira Zacharia Charwi for their kindness and support to me and my family during my absence. They left their families at certain points to stay with my family and give them support whenever necessary.

I deeply express my gratitude to my lovely friends, many of whom it would not be possible to mention. Father Dr. Venance Ndalichako and Father Dr. Francis Ng'atigwa who welcomed me at Bayreuth from Nuremberg and helped me start a new life in Bayreuth; Dr. Daines Sanga, Dr. Victoria Makulilo and her family, Dr. Magdaline Wafula, and Dr. Abdalah Mkumbukwa (who were then students at the University of Bayreuth) for heeding my requests and needs despite their busy schedules. My deepest gratitude to Dr. Gilbert Shang Ndi, Umar Ahmed, Suleiman Chembea and Musa Ibrahim who have moved with me at every step of this journey. The discussions, advice and encouragements we shared with each other enabled me to find a way forward. I will never forget their kindness and company. Special thanks also to Rose Nyakio, Lilian Ngawa, Abel Mwiburi, Goodluck Kiwory, Kimata Said Kimata, Amani, Iman and all my colleagues at University of Bayreuth for their kind support during my study.

I am very grateful to my friend and brother Mr. Afonso Teca. We assisted each other no matter how busy we were. We were not only friends but also shared the same field in African linguistics discussing different issues and finding solutions for our difficulties. Apart from academics, he was also ready to share with me the little he had that helped us survive at Bayreuth.

Finally, I would like to thank my respondents and everyone who facilitated my tasks during fieldwork. This thesis would not have come to fruition were it not for the consultants who facilitated my project by accepting to be investigated and analysed. Many thanks also to the administrators at Tarime council in Mara Region in Tanzania who gave me permission to collect data.

To my husband, Sospeter Sasi Gitwekere and my children, Jackline Robhi, Emmanuel Gitwekere and Joachim Senso for their prayers, patience, torerance and support for the entire period of my study.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, ...	class prefix
1pl, 2pl, 3pl	first, second, third person plural
1sg, 2sg, 3sg	first, second, third person singular
AAP	Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere
A.D.	anno domini (Latin phrase 'in the year of Jesus Christ')
AGR	agreement
APPL	applicative extension suffix /-er-/
AUG	augment
AUX	auxiliary verb
B	base of a verb
C	consonant
CA1	Case-assigner one
CA2	Case-assigner two
CA3	Case-assigner three
CARP	causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive
CARTP	causative-applicative-reciprocal-transitive-passive
cau	causative
CAUS	causative extension suffix /-i-/
CAUS <sub>long</sub>	long causative extension suffix /-isi-/
cf.	compare/consult/see also
D60	language classification of Giha
DP	Determiners Phrase
E21	language classification of Runyambo
F	focus
F22	language classification of Nyamwezi
FG	Functional Grammar
FOC	focus
FV	final vowel

G23	language classification of Shambala
G42	language classification of Swahili
GOAL	end point of a motion (verb)
H	high
i	external theta role
INC	inchoative
INF	infinitive
j	theta role of the direct object
k	theta role of the indirect or oblique object
L	low
LOC	Locative
M.NLU	model of natural language user
M31	language classification of Nyakyusa
MP	Mirror Principle
N	noun
NEG1	negation prefix / <i>te-</i> /
NEG2	negation prefix / <i>-ta-</i> /
NLU	Natural language user
NP	noun phrase
OB	verb beneficiary object marker
OC	verb causee object marker
OM	object marker
OM1	object marker 1
OM2	object marker 2
OM3	object marker 3
OP	verb patient object marker
OR	verb recipient object marker
p.	page
PASS	passive extension suffix / <i>-w-</i> / and / <i>-bhw-</i> /

PB	Proto-Bantu
pp.	pages
PRED	predicate
pt	patient
R	root
REC	reciprocal extension suffix <i>/-an-/</i>
ref	reflexive extension <i>/-i-/</i>
REVINT	reversive intransitive
REVT	reversive transitive
S	sentence
SAC	Shona Argument Cap
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
st	stative
STAT	stative extension suffix <i>/-ek-/</i>
T	tense
TAM	tense, aspect and mood
TSCAH	Three Structure Case Assigners Hypothesis
UTAH	the Uniformity of Theta (role) Assignment Hypothesis
V	vowel
VP	verb phrase
x	verb extension
x1	reflexive extension prefix <i>/-i-/</i>
x2	inchoative extension suffix <i>/-ek-/</i>
x3	reversive transitive extension suffix <i>/-or-/</i>
x4	reversive intransitive extension suffix <i>/-ok-/</i>
x5	applicative extension suffix <i>/-er-/</i>
x6	reciprocal extension suffix <i>/-an-/</i>
x7	causative applicative extension suffix <i>/-i-/</i>



## Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit Verbalerweiterungen (Extensionen) im Kuria. Es wird untersucht, wie sich das erweiterte Verb in gesprochenen und schriftlichen Formen von Kuria in Bezug auf morphosyntaktische und semantische Eigenschaften verhält. Die Studie befasst sich mit vier Schlüsselthemen, erstens mit den morphosyntaktischen und semantischen Implikationen der Neuordnung und Wiederholung von Erweiterungen, zweitens mit dem Ausmaß der Verwendung von Verbalextensionen in gesprochenem und geschriebenem Kuria, drittens mit prominenten Extensionen und viertens mit der Frage nach dem gleichzeitigen Auftreten von Erweiterungen im Kuria.

Die Studie zeichnet sich durch einen Mehrmethoden-Ansatz aus, bei dem sowohl qualitative, als auch quantitative Forschungstechniken verwendet werden, um die Daten zu analysieren. Unter den beiden Forschungsdesigns werden vier Techniken für die Datenerhebung verwendet, nämlich Fragebögen, halbstrukturierte Interviews, Video-Stimulus und geschriebener Text. Die Studie orientiert sich an vier theoretischen Konzepten: der Theta-Theorie und dem Projektionsprinzip von Chomsky (1981/1986), der Argumentstrukturtheorie von Babby (2009) und der Theorie der funktionalen Grammatik von Dik (1997).

Die Ergebnisse der Studie zeigen, dass die Neuordnung und Wiederholungen von Erweiterungen die Argumente morphosyntaktisch und semantisch beeinflussen und gleichermaßen zum Wechsel der Argumente führen und damit die thematischen Rollen der Ergänzungen des Verbs verändern. Somit ergeben sich unterschiedliche Bedeutungen in Abhängigkeit der verschiedenen Stellungen der Erweiterungen, da die Ergänzungen des Verbs einen Einfluss auf die Wortstellung haben. Die Studie zeigt auch, dass, obwohl Verbalerweiterungen im gesprochenen sowie im geschriebenen Kuria auftreten, mehr Erweiterungen in der gesprochenen Sprache als in der schriftlichen verwendet werden.

Darüber hinaus zeigt die Analyse, dass Erweiterungen, die nur ein Erweiterungsmorphem beinhalten, häufiger in schriftlicher (Bibelübersetzungen) als in gesprochener Form (Interviews) auftreten. Ferner zeigt die Studie, dass die Passiv-Erweiterung die dominante Erweiterung ist, sowohl im gesprochenen als auch im geschriebenen Corpus. Darüber hinaus ist das gemeinsame Auftreten von zwei Erweiterungen, nämlich Applikativ mit Kausativ (A+K), die häufigste Erscheinungsform sowohl in gesprochenem als auch geschriebenem Kuria.

## ABSTRACT

The present research centres on verb extensions in Kuria. The study investigates how the extended verb behaves in spoken and written forms in Kuria, both morphosyntactically and semantically. The study seeks to address four key issues: First, the morphosyntactic and semantic effects of reordering and repetition of extensions; second, the use of verb extensions in spoken and written Kuria, third, the issue of prominent extensions and fourth, the co-occurrence of extensions in Kuria.

This study adopts a mixed research approach in which both qualitative and quantitative research techniques are used to analyse the data. Under the two research designs, four techniques are used for data collection, namely questionnaire, semi-structured interview, video stimulus and written text. The study is guided by four theoretical concepts, namely, the Theta Theory and the Projection Principle by Chomsky (1981/1986), the Argument Structure Theory by Babby (2009) and the Theory of Functional Grammar by Dik (1997).

The findings of the study show that reordering and repetitions of extensions affect arguments morphosyntactically and semantically and equally lead to the alternation of the arguments thereby changing the thematic roles of the arguments of the verb. Since the argument relations of the verb change together with the word order, this process results in different meanings depending on the various orders of extensions. The study also reveals that although verb extensions occur in both spoken and written Kuria, more extensions are identified in the spoken than in the written data set.

Furthermore, the analysis shows that extensions involving one extension morpheme feature more in written (Bible translation) than in spoken form (interviews). The study also reveals that the passive extension is predominant in both data sets whereas the co-occurrence of two extensions, applicative + causative (A+C), is predominant in the text samples considered.



# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction and Background of the Study

### 1.1 Introduction

This study investigates five productive verb extensions in spoken and written Kuria and their morphosyntactic and semantic behaviour. It attempts to clarify certain issues which are still begging for answers such as the effects of reordering and repetition of extension morphemes in a set of combinations on the same verb. The second issue is the extent to which verb extensions are used in both spoken and written expressions of the Kuria language. Thirdly, it examines the nature of prominent extensions and lastly, co-occurrences in Kuria. The study uses four theoretical concepts as points of reference, namely: Theta Theory and Projection Principle by Chomsky (1981/1986), Syntax of Argument Structure Theory by Babby (2009), and Functional Grammar Theory by Dik (1997). This theoretical framework was used to analyse the data and to answer the research questions. The study adopts a mixed research approach which consists of qualitative and quantitative analyses. Four methods of data collection are used, namely, questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, video stimulus and written texts. The ultimate goal of this study is to comprehend how extended verbs behave and how they are used in spoken and written Kuria.

The present research is on Kuria language in Tanzania. The language (E43) is one of the Bantu languages spoken in Mara region in Tanzania and Migori County of southern Kenya. Guthrie's original reference classification (1948, pp. 42-43, 1967-1971) grouped Kuria as E43. It belongs to the Eastern Bantu group in the Niger-Congo Phylum (see more clarification of the Kuria language in Chapter Three).

With regard to the history of Kuria language and origin of the Kuria people (*Abakuria*), the Kuria society is a mixture of two groups: the first group hailed from Korea Hill while the second group migrated from Misiri to the south. Therefore, there is no consensus as to the exact origin of the Kuria society. Owing to the divergent historical claims regarding the origins of the Kuria people, it has been noted that they have no single definite culture. Rather, the cultural make-up of Kuria

reflects the composite nature of the constituent groups that form what is known today as the Kuria people and culture. This view is aptly articulated by Abuso who opines that:

It is therefore important to note that the culture of present Abakuria community is an amalgam of many different cultures which originally were in fact opposed to one another. Among the Abakuria are today found people who were originally from the Kalenjin, Maasai, Bantu, and Luo speakers (1980, p. 135).

The result of this ‘mixture’ of the Kuria people is a cultural mosaic composed of cultural practices drawn from the various constituent ethnic groups. As shown in Abuso, between A.D. 1400 and 1800 the “pre-dominantly agricultural Bantu came into contact with pre-dominantly Nilotic herdsmen” (1980, p. 135). In the culture of Kuria society there are some features which are the same as those found among the Kalenjin and Maasai. One of such includes the age-set system known as *esaaro* (singular)/*ichisaaro*<sup>1</sup>(plural) ‘circumcision periods’. This also attests to the claim that Kuria is a mixed society with Bantu and non-Bantu influences. The fact that Kuria society emerged from different sources and has been influenced by non-Bantu communities significantly accounts for the presence of some features which this study observed as hailing from other languages, especially non-Bantu, i.e. Kalenjin and Maasai. Rose (2001) argues that although Kuria language is among the Lacustrine group of languages, it differs from this group considerably:

Since Kuria has been surrounded by three groups of Nilotic speakers (Maasai, Luo and Kalenjin) for many hundred years, the possibility of influences on its tense and aspect system from these neighbouring groups is strong. I note several examples of such influence, such as the incorporation into the verbal system of a Nilotic loanword (<Proto-Kalenjin \*ŋɔ:r), and the double marking of negation with a postposed element *hai* which I suggest is borrowed from a Luo ideophone *haa* (p. 61).

As a result of these reasons, it is therefore very important to investigate the language in question, so as to find out if there is any influence of these neighbouring groups on Kuria in terms of lexicon and morphology both in spoken and written forms.

## **1.2 Background of the Study**

Nurse and Philippon (2006) show that Bantu languages are rich in morphology particularly with regard to inflectional as well as derivational morphology. Although most Bantu languages share a

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<sup>1</sup> Ruel (1996, p. 35) *esaaro* from *saara* (1) circumcision, a circumcision ceremony (2) a period when circumcision takes place (3) those circumcised at the same time, a named age-set (cf. *esaiga*).

number of characteristics, they also differ in some features. For instance, the way verb extensions work tends to vary from one language to another. However, with respect to the derivational aspect, the authors mention that among Bantu languages, extensions differ widely along the productive scale from the totally unproductive extensions to perfectly productive ones. Bantu verbs consist of roots which can accommodate various lexical and grammatical functions. Verb extension is one of the main characteristics of most Bantu languages and is realized through a number of prefixes and suffixes, sometimes known as verbal derivatives. They are closely linked with aspects of morphology, syntax and semantics. Lodhi views verb extensions as a complex phenomenon and states that “‘verb extension’ is wider than consisting of the concept of ‘verbal derivation’” (2002, p. 4). In this study, I view verb extension as a morphosyntactic process of extending the verb root by adding extension morphemes to create a new word with new meaning.

Verbs can be categorised in different groups both syntactically and semantically. Syntactically, verbs are grouped depending on the number of arguments they can take or require. For instance, whereas intransitive verbs that need one argument, transitive verbs which require two arguments. Ditransitive verbs on the other hand require three arguments. Sometimes, we can have super transitive verbs which require more than three arguments. In these cases, verbs have a number of extension morphemes that result in the need for extra arguments. Syntactic operations (suffixation of extension morphemes) can increase or decrease the number of arguments to a verb by one, that is, by changing the verb category from intransitive to transitive, transitive to ditransitive, ditransitive to super transitive and vice versa. This indicates that the argument structure of a verb can be determined both semantically and syntactically. Semantically, verbs are grouped according to their meaning. For instance, verbs can pertain to the action verb class (i.e. ‘to break’, ‘to cut’), the class of state verbs (like ‘to sleep’, and ‘to sit down’) or motion verbs (such as ‘to run’, ‘to walk’, etc). However, every event needs role players such as agent, patient, recipient and beneficiary depending on the verb’s requirement.

The Bantu verb root can take a number of verb extensions (suffixes) at the same time. Some researchers have examined these multiple extensions and the way they are organised. Their aim has been to find out which principles govern the syntactic behaviour and morphemes order. For instance, Rice (2000) and Paster (2005) claimed that combinations of extension morphemes are

based on the semantic scope of extensions. Baker (1985) and Alsina (1999) claimed that the ordering of elements follows or is determined by syntactic operations. Moreover, Arnott (1970), Hyman (2003) and Good (2005) viewed suffix or morpheme order as fixed or templatic. However, there seems to be no single autonomous principle which can explain this phenomenon. For example, Hyman states that “neither semantic scope (or 'compositionality') nor the syntactic MP [Mirror Principle, M.C.]<sup>2</sup> can account for the full range of suffix ordering facts in any Bantu language” (2003, p. 246).

Hyman provides an explanation about templatic order of extensions in Bantu languages. He proposes a fixed order of Causative-Applicative-Reciprocal-Passive (CARP) (2003, p. 260).<sup>3</sup> He gives the example of Chimwiini where the suffix ordering is strictly templatic and it is not possible to put these extensions in any other order. After having explained Chimwiini, he raises two general questions about the Bantu template morphology: Firstly, how much of the template is arbitrary or non-arbitrary? Secondly, why should there be a template at all? He provides answers to this question when he states that:

The order might have a functional basis of some sort (cf. Bybee 1985)<sup>4</sup>, or it might entirely be the result of a historical process, that was accidental from a synchronic point of view (Hyman, 2003, p. 260).

Hyman and Mchombo (1992, p. 359) as quoted in Hyman (2003, p. 260) argue that the thematic hierarchy partially accounts for suffix orders that depart from the expected Mirror Principle. Suffixes that target semantic roles higher on the thematic hierarchy should precede the suffixes that target roles lower on the hierarchy. The arguments are ordered to follow their thematic hierarchy: “Agent > beneficiary > recipient/experiencer > instrument > theme/patient > location” (Wechsler, 2015, p. 59). This means that since the causative introduces an agent, the highest thematic role, it will tend to come first. This shows that the ordering properties have become fixed according to the prototypical role functions of each of the affixes.

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<sup>2</sup> Mirror Principle is a theory developed by Baker (1985), the theory states: “Morphological derivation must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa)” (Baker, 1985, p. 375).

<sup>3</sup> C stands for long causative -is(i)- and Causative-Applicative-Reciprocal-Transitive-Passive (CARTP) T (transitive) refers to a short causative (-i-).

<sup>4</sup>Bybee (1985, p. 33) observes that derivational morphemes occur closer to the root to which they are attached than inflectional morphemes do.

The survey carried out in this study (in Chapter Two) has found out that this assumption cannot hold true in Kuria language. This is because Kuria has a short *-i*-causative which is indicated as transitive (T) under CARTP Hyman Bantu template morphology. In Kuria, the short causative *-i* alters one extra argument to a verb which is normally the causer or the agent which takes the first position and not the third position as it is placed. On the other hand, I agree with Hyman that template ordering of suffixes is arbitrary from a synchronic point of view (Hyman, 2003, p. 261). I concur with him on the basis that something which occurs arbitrarily is a matter of chance and randomness. Therefore, when a principle guides a certain order in a group of languages, the same principle does not necessarily apply to all languages.

Several scholars have investigated verb extensions in Bantu languages. For instance, Ezekiel (2007) dealt with verb extensions in Giha (D60) and found that morphology, syntax and semantics as well as predicate structure tend to constrain the order and co-occurrence of verb extensions in this Bantu language. Kaoneka (2009) investigated verb extensions in the Shambala (G23) language with a focus on derivational morphology in relation to the syntax and semantic implications of each extension. Kaoneka's findings indicated the variability of extensions and he concluded that "Hyman's templatic morphology can account for most extension ordering in Shambala as most of the possible occurrences agree with the template" (2009, p. 88). He demonstrated that a set of three extensions can be reordered but a combination of two cannot. Lusekelo (2012) investigated verb extensions in Kinyakyusa (M31) and found out that there are possibilities for two to four extensions to co-occur on a single verb. Within a set of two extensions, only two combinations can be reordered, i.e. the sequence causative-reciprocal and the sequence applicative-reciprocal, while the rest of the theoretically possible combination cannot be reordered. Wechsler (2014) dealt with the co-occurrence behaviour of valence-increasing extensions and their arguments in Manyika (S13), a dialect of the Shona language (S10). The study examined the behaviour of a set of verbal affixes in Shona and what these affixes reveal about Shona's typology is an unusual argument structure. Wechsler therefore declared that: "Verb extensions differ widely in their semantic and syntactic effect. What they all have in common, however, is their 'slot' within the Bantu verb construction" (2014, p. 8).

There are also cases of comparative studies such as Lodhi (2002), who compared verb extensions in Nyamwezi (F22) and Swahili (G42). He viewed verbal extensions as a more complex phenomenon than they appear to be. Lodhi found out that Swahili and Nyamwezi are more similar than they are different. Good (2005) compared thirty-two Bantu languages with respect to the causativization and applicativization processes and established that there are two kinds of causativization to be distinguished. The first is direct causativization which is marked by the transitive suffix (-i-) where the causer of action is also the agent of that action (no new argument introduced). The second is indirect causativization, also known as causative suffix (-is-) whereby the causer of the action is not necessarily the agent of that action. In Kuria, the short causative -i- is more often used as compared to the occurrence of the long causative -is- which seems to disappear in the language (see Chapters Five and Seven). Based on the facts above, one can appraise the necessity of the present study as it seeks to clarify some important issues and investigate the reasons for the uniqueness of the Kuria language.

Kuria language has been researched by a number of scholars dealing with different linguistic issues. Previous research specifically on verb extensions in Kuria is hard to come by. For instance, Whiteley (1955) worked on the structure of Kuria verbs. In his analysis he described verb extension morphemes in Kuria and grouped them into two, simple extensions (extensions involving a single morpheme) and multiple extensions. Whiteley (1955) acknowledged that the list of extensions which he had proposed may not be exhaustive, but that it was representative of the most frequently occurring extensions. Rose (2001) dealt with the tense and aspect system in Kuria. With regard to extensions, she acknowledged that the Kuria verb morphology is complex due to verb suffixes and should be further investigated. Cammenga (2004) researched on Kuria phonology and morphology and he viewed Kuria verb extensions as having a fixed order. Mwita (2008) dealt with verbal tone in Kuria and described a number of verb extensions which can be affixed to a verb root. However, Mwita did not concentrate on the co-occurrences of verb extensions in the language. In Zacharia (2011), I examined five verb extensions namely, causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive, and stative in Kuria with a focus on the co-occurrence and ordering restrictions of these elements. The study was based on the Morphocentric Approach/CARP Template proposed by Hyman (2003) and Mirror Principle (MP) by Baker (1985). The findings showed that different extensions guarantee different numbers of arguments which in turn correspond to their semantic roles. I found out that

there are possibilities of certain extensions to recur and to be reordered within a set of extensions. This already showed that Kuria does not seem to subscribe to the CARP template, as only some cases attest to this assumption, while others behave contrarily. This is evidenced by the combination involving applicative-reciprocal-causative ARC, which allows reordering, hence ACR and RAC. However, we need more clarification on this aspect due to its complexity in Kuria language and verb morphology. The present study is also supported by Whiteley (1955, p. 97) who acknowledged that the list of extensions which he provided may not be exhaustive but might rather serve as representative cases of the most commonly recurrent patterns (see Chapter Two). Since this study deals with verb extensions, my review is restricted to the previous studies which focused on verb extensions or/and other issues related to verb extensions such as arguments, thematic roles and their implications.

Different scholars have examined argument and argument structure from different perspectives. Alsina (1992) dealt with the argument structure of causatives in Chichewa (N31) and introduced the assumption that the causative predicate in Chichewa has a patient that forms a thematically composite argument with an argument of the base predicate. He affirmed that “the causative predicate in such languages has an internal argument, a patient, which is semantically identified with an argument of the embedded causative event structure, creating a thematically composite argument” (Alsina, 1992, p. 552). Rugemalira suggested two levels of representation: Firstly, the “argument structure specifies the number of arguments that a verb can take” (1993, p. 42). Secondly, the lexical semantic structure deals with “the meaning of the action denoted by the verb” (1993, p. 43). Keyser and Hale argued:

The term “argument structure” is used to refer to the syntactic configuration projected by a lexical item. It is the system of structural relations holding between heads (nuclei) and arguments linked to them in the roster of syntactic properties listed for individual items in the lexicon (1998, p. 1).

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1995) postulated that argument structure is a redundant level of lexical representation and should thus be omitted. Bresnan (1995) argued to the contrary. She did not reject the argument structure but claimed that what should be eliminated is the initial syntactic structure. On her part, Bresnan stated that “argument structure encodes lexical information about the number of arguments, their syntactic type and their hierarchical organization necessary for the mapping of syntactic structure” (1995, p. 1). Similarly, Wechsler discussed Shona Argument Cap

(SAC) and observed that “Shona verbs can maintain no more than three DP-arguments [Determiners Phrase, M.C.]. Any construction that exceeds three arguments is ungrammatical” (2014, pp. 24-26). He commented that the stacking potential of different verbal extensions is an empirical question and the data he provided suggest that affixation itself is in theory infinitely recursive. As can be seen, verb extensions as a morphosyntactic operation are connected to the verb’s argument structure due to the fact that they tend to modify the number of arguments required by the verb by adding or reducing one argument. As Trask states, in syntax, argument is “a noun phrase bearing a specific grammatical or semantic relation to a verb and whose overt or implied presence is required for well-formedness in the structure containing that verb” (1993, p. 20). In this study we will see how verb extensions affect or modify the verb’s argument structure by adding or reducing the verb arguments by one and changing the verb category. The study supports Alsina’s argument on how the arguments of causative combine with the argument of a based predicate to generate the composite argument. It also clarifies other productive verb extensions behaviour in Kuria (see more clarification in Chapters Five, Six and Seven of this study).

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Although it is evidently true that verb extensions have been discussed by different scholars, there are some issues which have not been sufficiently addressed. The survey conducted in this study has found out that none of the previous studies showed the extent and the manner in which verb extensions are used in spoken and written forms in Kuria. No literature concentrates on how verb extensions and co-occurrences vary in terms of frequency. For instance, causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive and stative have been regarded as productive extensions. My question therefore is: are they on the same level of productivity? The group of Bantu languages consists of languages which share some common features, but this does not mean that all languages are similar and have the same grammatical structures.

The question of combination, repetitions and reordering of verb extensions has not been satisfactorily explained cross Bantu languages. Similarly, where combinations and reordering of extensions are tolerated, their syntactic and semantic implications are not sufficiently accounted for. Since languages tend to differ in the way verb extensions are organized, an examination of the



aforementioned phenomena is essential. It is in this sense that the present study grapples with this phenomenon specifically focussing on Kuria language both in its spoken and written forms.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The objective of the study is to examine verb extensions in spoken and written Kuria and their morphosyntactic and semantic implications. Specifically, it sets out to clarify four main issues under this objective. Firstly, it examines the effects of reordering and repetition of extension morphemes and their morphosyntactic and semantic implications on the same verb. Under this objective, the study intends to show how extensions can change the meaning of the verb in a combination of other extensions according to its position. Secondly, the study scrutinizes the extent to which verb extensions are used in spoken and written Kuria. Under this umbrella the study investigates how extended verbs behave in these two different systems of communication. Thirdly, the study identifies the predominant extensions and, lastly, their co-occurrences in Kuria.

#### **1.5 Research Approach**

The mixed methods research approach has been adopted in this study to achieve the set objective. That is to say, both qualitative and quantitative research techniques have been used to collect as well as analyse the research data. Qualitative research technique was adopted for descriptive purposes, i.e for clarifying some issues embedded in the research questions under the natural setting of data from the field. The quantitative research technique was necessary because the study intended to find out the extent to which verb extensions are used in spoken and written forms and to examine the prominent extensions and their co-occurrences in Kuria. In this case, counting the number of extensions and calculating percentages of extensions in each form was needed. Under the two research techniques, four methods were used for data collection, which included the questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, video stimulus and written text. The data collected through the questionnaire method was intended to answer theoretical questions while the data from semi-structured interview, video stimulus and written text answered questions related to language use. Morphosyntactic parsing analysis was used to enable the researcher to match the morphemes and their semantic representation for easy clarification.

Before proceeding to the last section which presents the organization of the work, I would like to explain two important issues about the Kuria language. One, although Kuria language has its specific phonemes, orthographically I will use conventional graphemes to represent phonemes in Kuria examples and quotations in this study, i.e. the consonants /β/ represented as <bh>, /ɣ/ as <gh>, /ŋ/ as <ng'>, /r/ as <r>. Secondly, Kuria language is a tonal language. Tone in Kuria has extensively been dealt with in Mwita (2008). Therefore, in this study I will not deal with Kuria tone because the study is about verb derivation and its morphosyntactic and semantic implication in the first place. I will show through two examples in Chapter Five (section 5.1.1) how tone is used in the language. Tone is not marked in the other cases/examples but it should be noted that Kuria “has two basic surface tones, high (H) and low (L)” (Mwita, 2008, p. 7).

## **1.6 Organization of the Work**

Apart from this introductory chapter, Chapter Two presents the reviewed literature and the theoretical framework. The chapter is subdivided into sections and further into subsections. The first section presents the Kuria sound system, noun classes and Kuria verb structure. The second is the literature review on Kuria which is related to the verb extensions. This is then followed by the literature review on verb extensions in Bantu languages and in other Niger Congo languages. The last part of the chapter presents the theoretical framework of the present study.

Chapter Three provides information on the Kuria language and society. The chapter is categorised into sections which include the origin of Kuria language and culture, Kuria language in contact with other languages and the features and use of Kuria language.

Chapter Four presents the research methodology. It provides the structure of the study from the design to the analysis. It explains how and why a certain approach was adopted and how the data was collected and analysed. It describes the sample size and sampling procedures with regard to the research respondents. The last section introduces the methods of data analysis.

Chapter Five presents the analysis of multiple extensions and their semantic scope. The chapter has three main parts which are divided into sections and subsections. The first part discusses single

or mono-morphemic extensions. It presents the reordering of extensions in the multiple extensions in the second part while the third part provides the analysis of recurrences of extensions.

Chapter Six takes into account the theoretical dimension of the analysis of multiple extensions and their argument relations by applying principles and rules under theoretical concepts.

Chapter Seven analyses the verb extensions in spoken and written Kuria. It shows the occurrences of verb extensions and how they are used in these two forms. The chapter has different sections and subsections. The first two sections (7.1 and 7.2) analyse the differences of occurrences of single or mono-morphemic extensions in spoken and written Kuria. Section 7.3 presents the variation in co-occurrence patterns in both forms. In the last section (7.4), the chapter presents the differences of extended verb behaviour in spoken and written Kuria.

Lastly, Chapter Eight provides the summary and conclusion of the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

This chapter surveys the aspect of verb extensions in various Bantu languages. It aims at providing a picture of what has been done on verb extensions in relation to their arguments and the gap to be filled by this study. The chapter consists of two parts, namely: literature review and theoretical framework. While the literature review section examines literatures on verb extensions in Bantu and Niger Congo languages, the theoretical framework part presents theoretical concepts which are used to analyse and answer research questions in this study.

#### **2.1 Literature Review**

This section is divided into five subsections. The first subsection introduces aspects of Kuria phonology and morphology and more specifically the phoneme system, Kuria noun classes and Kuria verb structure which is the most important part in this research. The second subsection, surveys research contributions on Kuria verb extensions. The third subsection reviews the available literature on verb extensions in Bantu languages. The fourth part surveys the literature review on verb extensions in other Niger Congo languages while the last subsection examines characteristics of spoken and written languages.

##### **2.1.1 Kuria Phonology and Morphology**

Although Kuria phonology and morphology have been extensively dealt with by Cammenga (2004), Mwita (2008) and Zacharia (2011), I would like to present some important issues, i.e. the phonemes of the language and morphemes in Kuria verb structure in this subsection. The aim is to enable the reader to follow the discussion and arguments through semantic representation of morphemes presented in this study, because the study is based on morphosyntactic parsing analysis (segmentation data analysis). It will also be useful in presenting a picture of Kuria verb derivational morphemes and their behavioural patterns. This can be seen in both pre- and post-root domains in Kuria verb structure. This implies that the section will not dwell much on Kuria phonology and morphology in general but rather present Kuria vowels and consonants, noun classes, and the verb structure.

### 2.1.1.1 Phonological Aspect

This section presents consonant and vowel phonemes that can be found in the Kuria language.

#### 2.1.1.1.1 Consonants and Glides

The consonants and glides (semi-vowels) are classified according to the physical mechanism of articulation, i.e. their place and manner of articulation. The basic system of phonemes in Kuria consists of twelve consonants /t, k, tʃ, β, s, γ, h, m, n, ɲ, and r/ and two glides [w] and [y] (Mwita, 2008, p. 14). See Table 2.1.

**Table 2.1 Kuria Consonants and Glides**

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives		/t/		/k/	
Prenasalised Plosives	[mb]	[nt] [nd]		[ŋg]	
Affricates			/tʃ/		
Prenasalised Affricates			/ntʃ/		
Fricatives	/β/	/s/		/γ/	/h/
Prenasalised Fricatives		[ns]			
Nasals	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/	/ŋ/	
Trill/ rolled		[rr]			
Flap		/r/			
Glides	[w]		[y]		

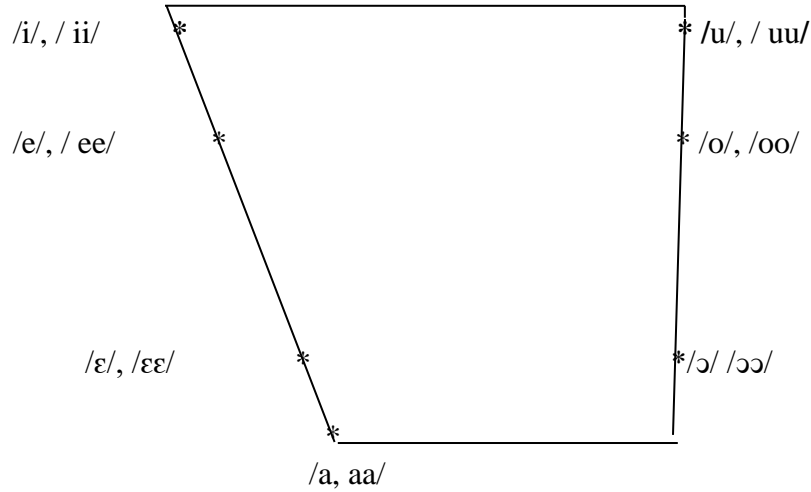
Source: Adapted from Mwita (2008, p. 14)

Table 2.1 indicates underlying Kuria consonants which comprise of two voiceless plosives /t, k/; one voiceless affricate /tʃ/; four fricatives: two voiceless /s, h/ and two voiced /γ, β/; four nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ and one flap /r/. The language also has prenasalised sounds like [mb], [nt], [nd], [ŋg], [ntʃ], and [ns]. Some of them occur as allophones of an underlying voiced counterpart, for example, /mb/ as a voiced counterpart of /β/; /nd/ as a voiced counterpart of /r/ and /ŋg/ as a voiced counterpart of /γ/.

#### 2.1.1.1.2 Vowel system

The Kuria vowel system consists of fourteen underlying segments, viz. seven short vowels and seven corresponding long ones (Cammenga, 2004, p. 35), see Figure 2.1:

**Figure 2.1 Kuria Segments: Vowels**



Source: Adapted from Cammenga (2004, p. 35)

## **2.1.1.2 Morphological Aspects: Kuria Segmental Morphology**

### **2.1.1.2.1 Kuria Noun Classes**

Kuria has twenty noun classes that are arranged in singular and plural pairs. In Kuria a noun consists of three parts, i.e. the augment or pre-prefix, the class prefix and the root. Consider the examples of Kuria noun classes in the Table 2.2.

The augment is a copy of the vowel in the class prefix due to vowel harmony (Zacharia, 2011; Charwi, 2012; 2013). The second part is the class prefix based on morphological and semantic criteria. The last part is the root of a noun. This part is the base of the noun. Some nouns can have zero or empty class-prefix such as class 9 and augment such as class 17 and 18 but not the root (see Table 2.2).

**Table 2.2 Kuria Noun Classes, Subject Concord Elements and Object Concord**

Class Number	Pre-prefix (Augment)	Class Prefix	Example	Gloss	Subject Concord	Object Concord
1	o-	/-mo-/	/omoonā/	“child”	a-	/-mo-/
1a	∅	∅	/sookoro/ /niḡa/	“grandfather” “mother”	a-	/-mo-/
2	a-	/-ḡa-/	/aḡaana/	“children”	ḡa-	/-ḡa-/
2a	∅	/ḡa- /	/ḡasookoro/	“grandfathers”	ḡa-	/-ḡa-/
3	o-	/-mo-/	/omote/	“tree”	ḡo-	/-ḡo-/
4	e-	/-me-/	/emetē/	“trees”	ḡe-	/-ḡe-/
5	i-	/-ri-/	/iriḡi/	“egg”	re-	/-re-/
6	a-	/-ma-/	/amaḡi/	“eggs”	ḡa-	/-ḡa-/
7	e-	/-ke-/	/ekeḡaambo/	“language”	ke-	/-ke-/
8	i-	/-ḡi-/	/iḡiḡaambo/	“languages”	ḡi-	/-ḡi-/
9	e-	∅	/eḡata/	“duck”	e-	/-ḡe-/
9a	e-	/N-/	/eembeyo/	“seed”	e-	/-ḡe-/
10	i-	/ḡi-/	/iḡiḡata/	“ducks”	ḡi-	/-ḡi-/
10a	i-	/ḡi-/	/iḡiḡimbeyo/	“seeds”	ḡi-	/-ḡi-/
11	o-	/-ro-/	/oroḡayo/	“hedge”	ro-	/-ro-/
12	a-	/-ka-/	/aḡaḡuḡa/	“small bottle”	ka-	/-ka-/
14	o-	/-ḡo-/	/oḡokaano/	“sesame seed”	ḡo-	/-ḡo-/
15	o-	/-ko-/	/oyosoma/	“to read”	ko-	/-ko-/
16	a-	/-ha-/	/ahase/	“place”	ha-	/-ha-/
17	∅	/ko-/	/ḡuusukuuri/	“in/at school”	ko-	∅
18	∅	/mo-/	/moonse/	“inside”	mo-	/-mo-/
19	i-	/-hi-/	/ihiḡeyo/	“small seeds”	hi-	/-hi-/
20	o-	/-ḡo-/	/oyoḡeyo/	“large seed”	ḡo-	/-ḡo-/

see also Mwita (2008, pp. 28, 40f.)

Table 2.3 presents the noun class pairings (singular and corresponding plural forms) in Kuria in which a singular noun class is matched with the plural noun class. See Table below:

**Table 2.3 Kuria Noun Class Pairings**

Class Number	Singular	Gloss	Pairs	Class Number	Plural	Gloss
1	/-mo-/ /omoonto/	'person'	←→	2	/-βa-/ /aβaanto/	'people'
3	/-mo-/ /omote/	'tree'	←→	4	/-me-/ /emetε/	'trees'
5	/-ri-/ /iriyena/	'stone'	←→	6	/-ma-/ /amayena/ /amatwi/	'stones' 'ear'
7	/-ke-/ /eyeento/	'thing'	←→	8	/-βi-/ /iβiinto-/	'things'
9	∅ /eβata/ /N-/ /eembeyɔ/	'duck' 'seed'	←→	10	/ʃi-/ /iʃiβata/ /iʃimbeyɔ/ /iʃimβayɔ/	'ducks' 'seeds' 'hedges'
11	/-ro-/ /oroβayɔ/	'hedge'				
12	/-ka-/ /ayafuβa/	'small bottle'				
15	/-yo-/ /uyutwi-/	'ear'				
				19	/-hi-/ /ihifβa/	'small bottles'

Source: Adapted from Mwita (2008, p. 29)

#### 2.1.1.2.2 Kuria Verb Structure

Kuria verb structure has been investigated by several authors including Whiteley (1955); Cammenga (2004); Mwita (2008) and Zacharia (2011). In this subsection I will start with the presentation of Kuria verb structure (as given by Cammenga, 2004, p. 245) before I present the contribution of the ongoing study to Kuria verb structure.



**Table 2.4 Kuria Verb Structure<sup>5</sup>**

<i>Pre-root domain</i>										<i>Root</i>	<i>Post-root domain</i>						
Pre-object domain					Object domain					Root	Extension domain				Tense		
f	a	n2	sm	n1	x1	op	ob	or	oc	root	x2	x5(x5)	x6	x7	t	x8	fv
										inc	x3						
										rd	x4						

Source: Adapted from Cammenga (2004, p. 245)

Although Table 2.4 has been referred to the Kuria verb structure, I have noted that there are two important pieces of information missing. The first one is the tense marker in pre-root domain while the second are the two slots after the final vowel (FV) which are subject marker 2 (SM2) and the auxiliary verb (be) (AUX). I would like to clarify these issues in this section. The second subject and auxiliary verb which comes after the final vowel are not given attention by scholars. This section provides examples of the Kuria verb which attached the subject and auxiliary verb after the final vowel as part and parcel of the verb structure. I divide the Kuria verb structure into three parts, namely: a pre-root domain, the root and the post-root domain in order to show what lies within an individual slot.

**Table 2.5a Pre-Root Domain**

Pre-object domain						Object domain			
FOC	AUG/ INF	NEG1	SM1	T	NEG2	REFL	OM1 patient/ theme	OM2 beneficiary	OM3 recipient/ causee
ne-	V-/ -ko-	te- ... hai	see Table 2.2	-ka-/ ∅ -ra- -ri-	(-)ta-	-i-	see Table 2.2		

Table 2.5a is the first part of Kuria verb structure which shows the additional slot ‘T’ for tense marker. Next below is the middle/central part of the verb structure. It indicates a different sample of the Kuria verb root structure.

<sup>5</sup> In the Table 2.4 Cammenga used *f* to refer to focus *ne-*, *a* for augment, *n1* for negation marker 1 *te-*, *n2* for negation marker 2 *ta-*, *op* for object marker of patient, *ob* for beneficiary, *or* for recipient, *oc* for causee. ‘x’ for extension and number 1-8 to specific extensions as: 1 - reflexive, 2-4 statives, 5 - applicative, 6 - reciprocal, 7- causative, 8- passive and t for tense.

**Table 2.5b Root Domain**

Verb Root			
C	-h-	ha	‘give’
CV	-re-	rea	‘eat’
CVC	-rebh-	rebha	‘pay’
VCVC	-ighor-	ighora	‘open’
VCVCV	-ahuri-	ahuria	‘shout’
CVCVC	-ghoghon-	ghoghona	‘gnaw’
CVVCVC	-ghankan-	ghankana	‘tremble’
CVCVVCVC	-turuung’an-	turuung’ana	‘welcome’

Source: Mwita (2008, p. 63, 65f.)

Table 2.5b presents the different types of Kuria verb root structure, starting from single form shape to multiple (see Mwita 2008, p. 63 for more details).

**Table 2.5c Post-Root Domain**

Extension domain				Tense and Passive Extension				
STAT -ek- inchoative	APPL -er- applicative	REC -an- reciprocal	CAUS -i- causative	T tense marker	PASS -w-, -bhw- passive	FV final vowel	SM2 subject marker 2	AUX auxiliary verb
REVT -or- reversible transitive								
REVINT -ok- reversible intransitive								

Source: Cammenga (2004, p. 245) with two additional slots

The last two slots in the Table 2.5c, namely, subject marker 2 and auxiliary verb after the final vowel are added by the present study. As revealed in the analysis, the two slots occur when the verb is in the infinitive and is focussed. I agree with Cammenga that the Kuria verb is complex due to the fact that it comprises a lot of information at once; not only from a morphological point of view, but also syntactically and semantically. The analysed data in this study reveals that the Kuria verb morphology is even more complex than it was previously established. It comprises of twenty slots which are categorised into three major domains (see Tables 2.5a-c in comparison with Table 2.4). The slot which is missing in the pre-root domain given by Cammenga (2004, p. 245) is Tense. This means that Kuria has two slots on tense marker, one is in pre-root domain and the

second is in post-root domain. The ongoing study has added two slots on top of what had been suggested by the above-mentioned scholars. The two slots are: one, the slot of the second subject marker which appears after the final vowel (fv); and the second, is the slot of the auxiliary verb which comes next after the second subject marker. Some scholars who have researched this language have not paid close attention to these two morphemes in the Kuria verb structure. Onyango (2015, p. 58) considers these two morphemes as a single morpheme. See the example below:

1. *Thatha n-ko-θ-rug-a-**are***  
Mother-Foc-AGRs-θ-eat-fv-Asp [sic!]  
Mother[sic!] is cooking (right now)

In the example above, Onyango considers the two morphemes **-a-re** (which are bold) as a single morpheme in example 1. In this study the SM2 and AUX have been justified by both spoken and written data as analysed in this study. However, it should be noted that not all slots can be filled by morphemes of one verb at once, but whenever they occur they appeal to this structure with the exception of object markers and three extensions. These include the applicative, reciprocal and causative which can be reordered. See Ranero, Diercks and Paster (2013, p. 6) and Chapter Five in this study respectively.

The slot of subject marker 2 can be filled by any personal pronoun both in the singular and the plural, and the subject marker of non-personal in Kuria depends on the noun classes. In Kuria, the auxiliary verb *re* 'is/are' (the verb to be) is positioned at the end within the verb structure and it is preceded by the subject marker 2 after the final vowel of the preceding lexical verb in the infinitive. See examples in Table 2.6 on the next page.

As I have stated earlier, this study deals with five productive verb extensions, namely, causative, applicative, reciprocal, and stative which are in the extension domain and passive which occurs in the tense domain, i.e between a tense marker and the final vowel. See Tables 2.5c and 2.6. This means that the present study is dealing with the post-root domain more specifically on the extensions (see Chapters Five and Six in this study).

**Table 2.6 Kuria Verb Structure with Examples**

Pre-Root domain							Root	Post-root domain									
Pre-object domain						Object domain	Root	Extension domain					Tense+Ex				
Foc	aug/ inf	neg 1	sm 1	T	neg 2	ref	OM1 OM2 OM3	root	st at	ap pl	rec	ca us	t	pa ss	fv	sm 2	au x
<i>N</i>	<i>ko</i>							<i>angor</i>			<i>an</i>				<i>a</i>	<i>bha</i>	<i>re</i>
They are helping each other (example 263)																	
<i>N</i>	<i>ko</i>							<i>oroki</i>		<i>er</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>i</i>			<i>a</i>	<i>bha</i>	<i>re</i>
They are showing/directing (make someone know how to do something) each other (example 66)																	
<i>N</i>	<i>go</i>							<i>tom</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>k</i>					<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>re</i>
S/he has been used to (example 241)																	
<i>N</i>	<i>ko</i>							<i>mah</i>							<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>re</i>
I can see (example 246)																	
<i>N</i>	<i>gu</i>							<i>shauri</i>			<i>an</i>				<i>a</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>re</i>
We are advising each other (example 232)																	
<i>ni</i>			<i>ndi</i>				<i>mu</i>	<i>riuuk</i>				<i>i</i>			<i>a</i>		
I will reincarnate (someone) (example 230) Yohana ‘John’ 6:54 (1996, p. 219)																	
			<i>a</i>	<i>ra</i>			<i>mo</i>	<i>tem</i>				<i>i</i>			<i>a</i>		
He is making him to drum (example 227)																	
			<i>a</i>	<i>ra</i>			<i>mu</i>	<i>ibhuruk</i>				<i>i</i>			<i>a</i>		
He is making him to jump																	
											caus	re c					
<i>n</i>	<i>ku</i>							<i>gw</i>			<i>isi</i>	<i>an</i>			<i>a</i>	<i>bha</i>	<i>re</i>
They are making each other to fall (down)																	

## 2.2 Previous Studies on Verb Extensions in Kuria

Though the Kuria language has been researched by a number of scholars dealing with different linguistic topics, previous research on verb extensions in Kuria is relatively limited. There are some issues in this dimension which require more investigation. The different aspects of Kuria which have been researched include: The structure of Kuria verbs by Whiteley (1955), tense and aspect system in Kuria by Rose (2001), Igikuria phonology and morphology by Cammenga (2004), verbal tone in Kuria by Mwita (2008) and verb extensions and co-occurrence and ordering restrictions in Kuria by Zacharia (2011<sup>6</sup>). However, there is need for more clarification particularly on the aspect of verb extensions especially with regard to the reordering and repetition of extensions morphosyntactically and semantically due to their complexity in Bantu in general and in the Kuria language in particular. This need had already been evoked by Whiteley (1955, p. 97)

<sup>6</sup> Zacharia (2011) is my MA study.

who acknowledged that the list of extensions which he provided might not be exhaustive but was rather representative of the most commonly occurring patterns (see extensions in the following paragraphs). Since this study deals with verb extensions, my review below is restricted to previous studies which focus on verb extensions or other issues related to verb extensions such as arguments, thematic roles, and their implications.

### **2.2.1 Whiteley (1955)**

Whiteley (1955) deals with Kuria verb structure. He shows how the root of a verb can be extended by using suffixes and analysed in a specific group of meaning. He explains that “extended radicals are treated in traditional grammars as ‘derived forms of the verb’ and are normally grouped under such headings as ‘applied (prepositional), causative, reciprocal, tenacious’” (Whiteley, 1955, p. 96). In his analysis, Whiteley demonstrates that the causative form includes compulsive, permissive, persuasive and helpful causation as well as simple causation. He also argues that, “on a semantic level, it may be noted that in general multiple extended radicals are further removed from the simple radical than simple extended radicals, and all such may cover an extremely wide range of meaning” Whiteley (1955, p. 96). His argument appropriately captures the status of radical extensions but it is too general. Since it is generally accepted that the semantics of any derived verb is rooted in the meaning of a verb; we need an analysis which elaborates this argument on a step by step basis, so as to examine the contribution of each extension to the verb and how they affect each other in a set of multiple extensions. This is because the number of extensions (multiple extensions) can be seen at the syntactic level as if they were suffixed at once, which is not true. Verb extension is a systematic process which goes together with syntactic and semantic changes. This is what the ongoing study intends to show (see more clarification in Chapters Five and Six of this study).

Whiteley (1955, p. 97) shows the summary of occurrence of simple<sup>7</sup> and multiple extensions respectively, with examples (-er-), (-i-), (-an-), (-u-), (-ek-), (-or-) such as: (Examples from Whiteley 1955, p. 97)

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<sup>7</sup> Whiteley does not explain what does he mean by ‘simple’, but in simple extensions he shows that extensions involve one morpheme while in ‘Multiple’ he shows extensions more than one (Whiteley, 1955, p. 97).

2. *-er-* (from the verb *hika* ‘arrival’)
- a) *abhagheni bhane wao hano bareehekera*  
My guests will arrive here at your place
- b) *omokari arabararogera abaan(a) ibiakorea*  
The woman is cooking food for the children

Multiple extensions are (-erer-), (-iri-), (-eran-), (-eru-), (-ibu-), (-erani-), (-anu-), (-eker-), (-ekan-), (-ekani-), (-oru-), (-uri-). Example *-er-u-* from (Whiteley, 1955, p. 100).

3. *-eru-*  
*nakwerua na taata*  
I’m bereaved of my father.

Having examples without an explanation is like an incompletely delivered message. Linguistically, examples support arguments (explanation) and vice versa. One of the weaknesses of Whiteley’s work is that he did not explain the extensions and what they mean. He did not name the extensions neither single (which he calls simple extension) nor multiple extensions. Apart from that, his study did not explain the effects of the co-occurrence of extension syntactically and semantically; and this is one of the issues tackled by the present study. There is need to explain the meaning and functions of simple and multiple extensions. As I have stated in Chapter One, one of my objectives is to analyse the effects of multiple extensions on the basis of morphosyntactic and semantic categories (see section 1.4 of this study).

Whiteley acknowledged that the list of extensions above may not be exhaustive, but is representative of the most recurrent extensions. However, in his analysis he did not explain in detail the ordering and semantic behaviour of these extensions in spoken and written Kuria but only concentrated on their common occurrence. Therefore, there is need to examine the multiple extensions to see in which way they co-occur and how they behave in these two forms of communication. Apart from that, the on-going study clarifies both simple and multiple extensions and their possibility of reordering and repetition to the same verb.

### 2.2.2 Rose (2001)

Rose dealt with tense and aspect in Kuria. In her study, she acknowledged that Kuria verb morphology is complex:

Two factors make the morphological analysis of Kuria especially challenging. It is a highly agglutinative language, with up to 13 morphemes per word: (ex. /o-ko-tɔr-er-i-a-tɔr-er-i-

an-i-βo-a/ ‘to be chopped repeatedly, while something else is going on or being done simultaneously’). As well as morphological fusion (sometimes called “imbrication” in Bantu linguistics) involving the “extension suffixes, the perfective tense suffix and the final vowel” (2001, p. 66).

Her acknowledgement that Kuria has a complex verb morphology especially at the level of combination of suffixes inspired me to investigate the multiple extensions.

### 2.2.3 Cammenga (2004)

In the same way as Whiteley (1955) and Rose (2001), Cammenga (2004, p. 243) also showed that Kuria verb morphology is complex due to its highly agglutinative structure and morphological fusion that may occur in post-root domain. In his investigation of Kuria phonology and morphology, he showed that verbal derivation is affected primarily through suffixation, except in the case of the reflexive extension (which is an infix in pre-root position).

Cammenga (2004, pp. 247-258) dealt with verb derivation in the Kuria language and argued that as many as five extension affixes may co-occur in a verb form. He dealt with the following extensions: reflexive *-i-*, stative *-ek-*, reversive-transitive *-or-*, intransitive *-ok-*, applicative *-er-*, reciprocal *-an-*, causative *-i-*, synchronizing *-er-an-i-* and passive *-(β)o-* (he called it grammatical suffix which functions as passive voice) (Cammenga, 2004, pp. 247-258). He went forward to argue, as seen in the example below, that “the order in which extension suffixes occur is fixed” (Cammenga, 2004, pp. 247-258):

**Table 2.7 Order of Extension Suffixes in Kuria**

x2-4	x5 (x5)	x6	x7	x8
-ek	-er (-er)	-an	-i	-(β)o
-or				
-ok				

Source: (Cammenga, 2004, p. 257)

From the table above, the symbols refer to the following extensions as taken in Cammenga (2004, p. 247).

x2	stative <i>-ek</i>	x3	reversive-transitive <i>-or</i>	x4	intransitive <i>-ok</i>
x5	applicative <i>-er</i>	x6	reciprocal <i>-an</i>	x7	causative <i>-i</i>
x8	passive <i>-(β)o</i>				

Source: (Cammenga 2004, p. 247)

The order/slots of extensions in Kuria given by Cammenga above require some modification and clear explanation because not all extensions are fixed i.e. *er-an-i-* can change their positions such as, *-er-i-an*, *-an-er-i-* and *-i-an-er-*, the same extensions can be reordered to give different meanings (see Chapters Five and Six). His claim needs further investigation and exemplification because he does not conceive the possibility of the extensions being reordered (reversive orders). In addition to that, he showed that there is a possibility of the applicative to recur though he did not state the function of the second applicative or the argument which is introduced by this extension. Moreover, he did not show the repetition of other extensions and their syntactic and semantic implications. This observation is addressed in the present study in Chapter Five.

Cammenga (2004, p. 297) categorised verb derivation into two kinds of processes. First, primary derivation through affixation to the basic verb. The second is the secondary derivation which can be done through derivation of verbal stems from adjectival roots through inchoative suffix /-(V) h/; reduplication of (part of) the stem; and the last is the extension affixes x1-7 (reflexive, inchoative, reversive, applicative, reciprocal, causative and passive [grammatical suffix]) (Cammenga, 2004, p. 297).

In view of the above, Cammenga (2004) did not explain in detail about Kuria verb extensions, as he simply showed some of the extensions which occur in the Kuria language. He called for further research on the syntax and semantics of Kuria verb extensions. He concluded that, “it may be observed in conclusion that at least the following aspect of Kuria invites further research: the semantic and valency effect of verbal extension, its tense system, the full extent and limits of primary and secondary morphological derivation, the history of the language, ..., its syntax, ...” (Cammenga, 2004, p. 334). From Cammenga’s conclusion one can see the necessity of the present study which seeks to capture some recommended issues like the effect of multiple extensions syntactically and semantically. More importantly, the present study also explores how the structures under investigation are actually used in spoken and written forms of Kuria.

#### **2.2.4 Mwita (2008)**

Mwita (2008) dealt with verbal tone in Kuria. In his analysis, he also explained about suffixes which can be used to extend a verb that he referred to as the post-root morphemes. Mwita (2008,



p. 50) presents eight extensions which consist of seven single extensions (different extensions involving one extension morpheme) and one pattern of multiple extensions. See examples taken from Mwita (2008, p. 50):

4. a. /-ek/      stative (st)
- b. /-or/      reversive-transitive (rt)
- c. /-ok/      reversive-intransitive (ri)
- d. /-er/      applicative (ap)
- e. /-an/      reciprocal (rec)
- f. /-i/        causative (cau)
- g. /-erani/    synchronizing (syn)
- h. /-(β)o/    passive suffix (pas)

Mwita (2008, p. 50) posited that the order in which the extension suffixes occur is fixed as shown in Table 2.8 below:

**Table 2.8      Order of Extension Suffixes in Kuria**

root	st, rt, ri	ap	rec	cau	pas
	-ek	-er(er)	-an	-i	-(β)o
	-or				
	-ok				

Source: Mwita (2008, p. 50)

The same problem can be noticed in the works of Cammenga (2004, p. 257) and Mwita (2008, p. 50) when they described Kuria verb extensions, considering the Kuria extension order as a fixed one. Their arguments can be valid to some extent because it is fixed for some extensions like stative and passive, which always occur in the first and last positions respectively in the co-occurrences, while other extensions are free to move to different positions in the multiple extensions. I argue in the theoretical analysis of the co-occurrences of extensions that Kuria extensions allow variant orders and this goes together with semantic re-adjustment (see Chapters Five and Six of this study).

Apart from that, I have established another problem with Mwita’s approach in relation to his definition of stative and passive. Mwita (2008, p. 51) defined the stative suffix as ‘agentless passive’, a statement with which I agree. However, he contradicts this meaning when stating that, it is when the speaker is “avoiding naming the agent of action or if the agent is unknown to the speaker” (Mwita, 2008, p. 51). This statement shows that there is an agent and it is not agentless;

because, the main difference between passive and stative is that in their process, the passive needs an agent for the event action while the stative does not need the agent because it is a state of being (like a situation). Although Mwita tried to explain the meaning and functions of each extension (Mwita 2008, pp. 50-58), he did not investigate multiple extensions in the way the extensions co-occur and their implication with the exception of one combination of the applicative, reciprocal and causative (*-erani-*) known as synchronizing suffix. Mwita explained that “when they occur together they express simultaneity of the action expressed by the core meaning of the root and some other action or event” (2008, p. 56). The present study intends to bring out further clarifications on this phenomenon. (See Chapters Five, Six and Seven of this study for more clarification.)

### **2.2.5 Zacharia (2011) (The same person as Charwi)**

I examined five verb extensions namely, causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive and stative in Kuria, with a focus on the co-occurrence and ordering restrictions of extensions in my MA thesis (2011) which was based on the Morphocentric Approach/CARP Template proposed by Hyman (2003) and Mirror Principle (MP) by Baker (1985). The findings of the study showed that different extensions guarantee different numbers of arguments, which in turn correspond to semantic roles. In general terms, valency increaser extensions viz. causative, applicative tend to have more arguments than the valency decreaseers extensions, i.e. passive and stative.

I also showed that there are possibilities of certain extensions to recur on the same verb after the intervention of other extensions. This means that Kuria does not seem to totally subscribe to the CARP template, as only some cases attest to the assumption while others violate it as evidenced by the combination involving the applicative-reciprocal-causative ARC, which allows free ordering, hence ACR, and RAC. However, the concept of reciprocity in Kuria seems to present some challenges when it occurs in certain extension suffixes in that it relates mostly to the simultaneity of events rather than to co-action between two participants. The language tends to accommodate up to four extensions (such as applicative, reciprocal, causative, and passive) to a single verb, but with repetition, the number of extensions can go beyond four depending on the number of extensions which recur. In my previous study (Zacharia, 2011), I did not, however, examine the effect of different orders of the same extensions, i.e. applicative-reciprocal-causative

(ARC) to the same verb morphosyntactically and semantically. Neither did I show to what extent the verb extensions were used in two forms of communication (spoken and written Kuria) nor explain which extensions are more likely to co-occur with and to what extent. This applies to five extensions (causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive and stative) which are productive. Therefore, these issues are expected to be taken up by this study.

As I announced earlier, I use my previous study as the basis on which to build the present study by examining aforementioned issues (see Chapter One) which are still begging for answers. Foremost, my previous study granted some insight into how some extensions in a certain combination can be reordered. These are aspects that were not adequately analysed so as to establish their morphosyntactic and semantic impacts on the same verb. That is why this phenomenon has been selected and the present study elucidates these issues (see Chapters Five and Six of this study). One of the contributions of this study to Bantu linguistics is to demonstrate that there are some theories which cannot adequately cover some issues in languages due to their specificities. The second contribution is to show how extended verbs behave in spoken and written in Kuria (see Chapter Seven).

### 2.2.6 Ranero, Diercks and Paster (2013)

Ranero, Diercks and Paster (2013) worked on Kuria double object marking. In their analysis they use two valency increasers namely, applicative and causative. They found out that arguments which have been introduced by the suffixes such as applicative and causative, i.e. beneficiary, instrument, goal, causee, theme, patient, can be all marked on the verb. See examples (5) and (6) as taken from in Ranero, Diercks and Paster (2013, p. 8):

5. Omo-óná n-aa-ráágír:- íy- í ómo-kamá i-nyáámú áma-béére  
 1-child FOC-1SA.PST-eat.APPL-CAUS-FV 1-chief 4-cat 6-milk

‘The child fed the cat milk for the chief.’

6. Omo-óná n-aa-**mu-gé-gá**-ráágír:- íy- í  
 1-child FOC-1SA.PST-1OM-4OM-6OM-eat.APPL-CAUS-FV

‘The child fed it (the cat) it (the milk) for him (the chief).’

Ranero, Diercks and Paster (2013) found out that in Kuria it is possible to have double object to the same verb. They argue that: “it is possible to double an object in a ditransitive if the doubled object corresponds to the inner OM and an additional (undoubled) OM is present on the verb” (Ranero, Diercks and Paster, 2013, p. 6). Furthermore, they showed that Kuria language is among the Bantu languages which allow free order of arguments, and not only lexical argument which can be re-ordered and made to appear in any order but also the OMs within the verb structure can be re-ordered. See example below for free OM and lexical arguments to a verb, as taken from (Ranero, Diercks and Paster, 2013, pp. 8, 24) respectively).

7. Omo-óná n-aa-**mu-gá-gé-ráágír**:- íy-í  
 Omo-óná n-aa- gé-**mu-gá-ráágír**:- íy-í  
 Omo-óná n-aa- gé-**gá-mu-ráágír**:- íy-í  
 Omo-óná n-aa-**gá-mu-gé-ráágír**:- íy-í  
 Omo-óná n-aa-**gá-gé-mu-ráágír**:- íy-í

‘The child fed it (the cat) it (the milk) for him (the chief).’

- |            |                              |                  |                  |                  |
|------------|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 8. Omo-óná | n-aa-ráágír:- íy- í          | <b>ómo-kamá</b>  | i-nyáámú         | áma-béére        |
| 1-child    | FOC-1SA.PST-eat.APPL-CAUS-FV | 1-chief          | 4-cat            | 6-milk           |
| Omo-óná    | n-aa-ráágír:- íy- í          | <b>ómo-kamá</b>  | <u>áma-bééré</u> | i-nyáámú         |
| Omo-óná    | n-aa-ráágír:- íy- í          | i-nyáámú         | <b>ómo-kamá</b>  | <u>áma-bééré</u> |
| Omo-óná    | n-aa-ráágír:- íy- í          | i-nyáámú         | <u>áma-bééré</u> | <b>ómo-kamá</b>  |
| Omo-óná    | n-aa-ráágír:- íy- í          | <u>áma-bééré</u> | <b>ómo-kamá</b>  | i-nyáámú         |
| Omo-óná    | n-aa-ráágír:- íy- í          | <u>áma-bééré</u> | i-nyáámú         | <b>ómo-kamá</b>  |

‘The child fed the cat milk for the chief.’

They showed that it is possible for the ditransitive and tritransitive<sup>8</sup> verb to have doubled object corresponding to the inner OM but not to the transitive verb. The argument introduced by applicative is doubled in the example below as taken from Ranero, Diercks and Paster (2013, p. 8).

9. Omo-óná n-aa- **gá-mu-gé- ráágír**:-íy- í                      **ómo-kamá** i-nyáámú áma-béére  
 1-child      FOC-1SA.PST-6OM-1OM-eat.APPL-CAUS-FV    1-chief    4-cat      6-milk<sup>9</sup>

‘The child fed it (the milk) to the cat for the chief.’

<sup>8</sup> Tritransitive verbs are verbs which have more than three arguments. In this study I call them super transitive verbs.

<sup>9</sup> Ranero, Diercks and Paster (2013) used SA to refer subject agreement, PST as past.

As we have seen in this language the objects can be arranged in a free order and not only the object but also the object marker within the verb can be re-ordered. In their literature, Ranero, Diercks and Paster (2013) have only used two extensions (applicative and causative) while we have at least five productive extensions (causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive and stative) in Bantu languages.

## **2.3 Literature Review on Verb Extensions in Bantu Languages**

Verb extension has been investigated by different scholars. In this study, I view verb extension as a morphosyntactic operation in which arguments can be added to or reduced from the verb depending on the types of operation morphemes (suffixes) attached to the verb root.

### **2.3.1 Overview of Verb Extensions in Bantu Languages**

Verb extension has been taken as a point of reference from different perspectives by many scholars. It has been established that many Bantu languages and other languages from the Niger-Congo family allow multiple extensions to a verb root. Researchers are interested in finding out the principles which control combinations and ordering of verb extensions; For instance, Rice (2000) and Paster (2005) claim that combinations of extension morphemes are based on the semantic scope; Baker (1985) and Alsina (1999) argue that the ordering follows syntactic operations. Moreover, Arnott (1970), Hyman (2003), and Good (2005) view suffix ordering as fixed, i.e. TDNR template by (Arnott, 1970), CARP template by (Hyman, 2003), and claim that there is no way one can change the order of suffixes. However, some of these scholars converge at some point and agree that there should be a mix (combination) of theories and principles which explain suffixation. See examples from individual studies below.

#### **2.3.1.1 The Order of Extensions in Bantu Languages**

Empirical studies regarding ordering of extensions have been conducted for some individual Bantu languages while others are comparative studies. Examples are studies on Giha (D60) by (Ezekiel, 2007); Shambala (G23) by (Kaoneka, 2009); Nyakyusa (M31) by (Lusekelo, 2012) and Shona (S10) by (Wechsler, 2014). Some other scholars deal with comparative studies, such as Nyamwezi (F22) and Swahili (G42) by (Lodhi, 2002), and Good (2005) who took into account thirty-two languages in 2005. Ezekiel (2007) showed that morphology, syntax and semantics as well as

predicate structure tend to constrain the order and co-occurrence of verb extensions in Bantu languages. Kaoneka (2009, p. 77) showed that in Shambala (G23), there are multiple extensions to a single verb. He comments that “although many Bantu languages follow exactly Hyman’s templatic CARP in extensions co-occurrence, Shambala deviates from it as it exhibited a free order in the co-occurrence of APPL-REC” Kaoneka (2009, p. 100).

Ezekiel describes verb extensions in Giha (D60). In his analysis he found that no single principle is autonomous as he stated below:

The study has tested three approaches on ordering and co-occurrence of verb extensions, viz. Mirror Principle, Templatic Morphology and Predicate Structure Constraints against ordering and co-occurrence of verb extensions. The study has revealed that none of these approaches is autonomous in explaining the restrictions on the co-occurrence of extensions in Giha and Bantu languages as whole (2007, p. 90).

The present study subscribes to Ezekiel’s assertion because languages are more specific and unique in terms of principles and grammatical rules although they have some features in common by virtue of pertaining to the same group.

Kaoneka (2009) investigates verb extensions in the Shambala language. The study focuses on derivational morphology in relation to syntax and semantic implication of each extension. He dealt with six extensions: Causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive, stative and intensive. The study was subjected to the Mirror Principle by Baker (1985), Lexical Mapping Theory by Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), Template Morphology by Hyman (2003) and Predicate Structure by Rugemalira (1993). The use of multiple theories and principles justifies the earlier statement that the phenomenon of verb extension in Bantu languages can only be explained by a combination of theories and principles and this could also be language-specific rather than generic. Kaoneka’s study has been selected because it takes account of the same extensions with which the present study deals.

Kaoneka (2009, p. 77) analyses the co-occurrences of two to four extensions whereby the combination of two extensions have fixed order which also accept CARP template. On the other hand, he gave the co-occurrences of three extensions which are not fixed. For instance, he finds some combinations of two affixes which are attested in the language: causative-applicative,

causative-reciprocal, stative-intensive, and causative-passive. He argues that any change in the ordering leads to ill-formed constructions. The ordering of three extensions is also attested in the language: causative-applicative-reciprocal is allowed as exemplified in Kaoneka (2009, p. 84);

10. *boha*        ‘to bark’        (Kaoneka (2009, p. 84 example no. 52.a)  
 ‘wana            wa - za - boh - ez - e - an - a        makui  
 ‘the children    SM-PST-bark-CAUS-APPL-REC-FV        dogs  
 ‘the children caused the dogs to bark against each other’.

The pattern causative-applicative-reciprocal (CAR) can allow the reciprocal to be affixed before the applicative (CRA) and the applicative before reciprocal. The causative, on the other hand, should precede all and occur closer to the root. He explains, however, that there are some verbs which allow free ordering of the three extensions like: applicative-causative-reciprocal (ACR), causative-applicative-reciprocal (CAR) and causative-reciprocal-applicative (CRA). Another combination is intensive-applicative-reciprocal (IAR); this order is fixed and there is no way it can be reordered and still retain the well-formedness of the construction. The findings above tell us that there are variations even within particular languages with respect to the behaviour of verbs regarding verb extensions, as Kaoneka notices free variations among some verbs in Shambala (G23), i.e. *boha* ‘to bark’, *kinda* ‘to obstruct’ and *isha* ‘to graze’ (Kaoneka, 2009, pp. 84-85). Although Kaoneka indicates the variability of extensions above, he also states that, “Hyman’s templatic morphology can account for most extension ordering in Shambala as most of the possible occurrences agree with the template” (Kaoneka, 2009, p. 88). He goes further to assert that, “on the other hand, templatic default ordering fails to account for occurrence of the Rec-Appl, which is possible in Shambala and does not follow Hyman’s template” (Kaoneka, 2009, p. 88).

Kaoneka (2009, p. 86) demonstrates that while some languages end with three as upper limit of extensions like Runyambo (E21) (Rugemalira, 1993), Shambala gave allowance for up to four extensions on a single verb, although some of the extensions are restricted. In most cases, the combination of four extensions involves causative-intensive-applicative-reciprocal, and intensive-causative-applicative-reciprocal (Kaoneka, 2009, p. 95). Kaoneka (2009) showed that there is a possibility of the combination of four extensions to be reordered; specifically, the intensive may change position with the causative without altering the meaning. See examples taken from Kaoneka (2009, p. 87) below:

11. a) wavyye wa- za-mem-**ez-esh-e-an-a** ngahu  
the women SM-PST-full-CAUS-INT-APPL-REC-FV baskets  
‘The women made each other’s basket completely full.’
- b) waishi wa-za-ighut-**iz-ish-i-an-a** chuma  
herders SM-PST-satiated CAUS-INT-APPL-REC FV cattle  
‘Herders made each other’s cattle over satiated.’
12. a) wavyye wa-za-mem-**esh-ez-e-an-a** ngahu  
Women SM-PST-full-INT-CAUS-APPL-REC-FV ngahu [baskets, M.C.]  
‘Women made each other’s basket more full’.
- b) waishi wa-za-ighut-**ish-iz-i-an-a** ngoto  
herders SM-PST-satiate-INT-CAUS-APPL-REC-FV ngoto [sheep, M.C.]  
‘Herders made each other’s sheep over satiated.’

The examples show that there is reordering in multiple affixation in Shambala. The Kuria language which is under investigation in the present study shares some features with Shambala including the reordering of two extensions in the co-occurrences of four extensions while the remaining two are fixed. However, it differs on how the co-occurrence of two extensions behave.

Kaoneka (2009) showed that there is no way the combination of two extensions can be reordered, but there is a possibility for three to four extensions to be reordered. What I see here is specific for Shambala, because, the lesser the number of extensions, the more the possibility of reordering and the more the extensions the lesser the possibility of reordering. If two extensions in a combination of three can be reordered, why is it not possible for a combination of two extensions to be reordered?

Lusekelo (2012) dealt with verb extensions in Kinyakyusa (M31). His study demonstrated that in Kinyakyusa there are possibilities of two to four extensions to co-occur on a single verb. Within a set of two extensions, only two combinations can be reordered, which are causative-reciprocal and applicative-reciprocal while the rest cannot be reordered. This can be seen in Kuria verb extensions (see Chapter Five and Seven in this study). Kinyakyusa seemed to differ from Shambala to some cases.



Lodhi (2002) compared verb extensions in Nyamwezi (F22) and Swahili (G42). He considered verbal extensions as a more complex phenomenon than it appears to be. He thus stated that “‘verb extension’ is wider than consisting of the concept of ‘verbal derivation’” (Lodhi, 2002, p. 4). Mieke (1989, p. 23) as cited in Lodhi (2002, p. 4) stated that “it includes all the post-radical or pre-final elements of a verbal stem”. Lodhi investigated verbal extensions morphologically and recommended further investigation on syntactic categories and semantics. He opined that “I believe the question of verbal derivation in Bantu needs to be addressed as syntactic and semantic categories” (Lodhi, 2002, p. 24). In addition, the author did not explain the effects of reordering of extensions and how such extensions could co-occur. The present study examines a number of these issues on verb extension(s) on the basis of syntactic and semantic aspects as suggested by Lodhi.

Hyman (2003) dealt with suffix ordering in Bantu. He proposed the order of CARP/CARTP on how Bantu suffixes can be organised. In his survey, he found two explanations given by two scholars showing how Bantu suffixes are guided. One given by Bybee (1985) is semantic in nature; and the one given by Baker (1985) is based on syntax. Hyman stated that:

Standing in opposition to both of the above characterizations is the possibility that affix ordering - or at least certain aspects thereof - is directly determined by the morphology proper. That is language can impose specific morphotactic constraints for which there is no synchronic extra-morphological explanation. If correct, one would expect cases where equivalent affixes arbitrarily appear as AB in one language but as BA in another (2003, p. 245).

Hyman (2003, p. 260) provides an explanation to the order of extensions in Bantu and proposes a fixed order (CARP Template) as an autonomous morphology. His argument supports the assertion by Abasheikh (1978, p. 28) as quoted in Hyman (2003, p. 258) that “suffix ordering in Chimwiini is strictly templatic” (Hyman, 2003, p. 258). Hyman proceeded to argue that:

In Chimwiini, unlike some other Bantu languages, the order of the extensions is restricted. The following ordering of the extensions mentioned above is as follows:  
-Verb Stem -Causative-Appplied-Reciprocal-Passive.  
It is not possible to put these extensions in any other order (2003, p. 258).

I agree with Hyman that some Bantu languages have a fixed order like Chimwiini; but others have different orders of extensions, such as the Kuria language, which allows some extensions to change positions along with their semantic re-adjustment.

In the words of Hyman (2003),

“neither semantic scope (or 'compositionality') nor the syntactic MP can account for the full range of suffix ordering facts in any Bantu language. Instead each suffix system represents a language-specific resolution of a basic tension between competing pressure for affix ordering to be compositional vs. the pressure affix ordering to be fixed (invariant)” (Hyman, 2003, p. 246).

This conclusion implies that a single theory or principle cannot sufficiently handle the complexities associated with the phenomenon of verb extension in the Bantu languages, hence the need to consult different theories and principles when processing and analysing empirical data.

Good (2005) in his comparative study of thirty-two Bantu languages, finds out that there are two kinds of causativization; the first is direct causativization, which is marked by transitive suffix (-i-) wherein the causer of action is also the agent of that action (no new argument is introduced). The second is indirect causativization, which is also known as causative suffix (-is-) whereby the causer of the action is not necessarily the agent of that action (Good, 2005, p. 8). The language in question has two causative forms namely, long causative -is- and short causative -i-; it is normal in Kuria for the short causative -i- to play two roles, one can introduce a new argument as a causer and on the other side the causer is the agent.

Good (2005, p. 57) further argues that the uses of the different causative forms can be conditioned semantically, phonologically and lexically. I raise a number of questions concerning Good's findings since he remains silent on the effects of these two forms of causative extensions. Apart from these grounds, there is a more complex pattern where the two forms of causative (-is-i-) are used consecutively and not in the opposite order. This being the case of double causative to the same verb root; will they behave in the same way or not when there is the intervention of the applicative? What will be their impact in terms of their argument's hierarchy? From Good's arguments, there are two problems; one, both causative and transitive have been treated as causative in many Bantu languages because they have the same functions, although they appear

on different sides of the applicative. This leads to some misinterpretations about the suffix ordering in Bantu languages. Secondly, Good (2005) investigated only three extensions with two functions (causativization and applicativization) which do not suffice to generalize on the suffix ordering of Bantu languages. Therefore, there is need to investigate at least productive extensions in Bantu languages. The present study deals with five productive verb extensions in order to find out how they relate to one another, and the possibility of reordering of a set of suffixes and repetition of extension to the same verb.

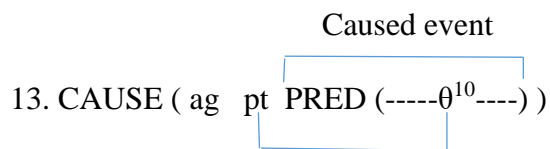
In their analysis, McPherson and Paster claim that, “the tension between the CARP template and Mirror/Scope leads them to constraint-based analysis in which each of these principles of affix ordering plays a role in the determination of correct surface forms” (2009, p. 63). McPherson and Paster dealt with the combinations with only two extensions while some Bantu languages including Nyakyusa (Lusekelo, 2012) and Kuria (Zacharia, 2011) allow up to four extensions. We need to examine more than two extensions and see how multiple extensions behave and their possible effect of reordering and repetitions both syntactically and semantically.

### **2.3.1.2 Argument and Argument Structure in Bantu Languages**

The concepts of argument and argument structure have been investigated by various scholars from different perspectives (Alsina 1992; Rugemalira 1993; and Wechsler 2014). Alsina (1992) dealt with the argument structure of causatives in Chichewa (N31). He made the assumption that the causative predicate in Chichewa has a patient that forms a thematically composite argument with an argument of the embedded predicate. Rugemalira (1993) brought in the idea of Predict Structure Constraints which posits two levels of representation: the argument structure which specifies the number of arguments that the verb can take and the lexical semantic structure which deals with verb and meaning of the action denoted by the verb. As I have said earlier, verb extension is a morphosyntactic operation in which a number of arguments can be added or reduced. Therefore, it is important to have a look at the argument concept as one of components of this operation.

The analysis of Alsina (1992) indicated that the complex predicate as shown in example 13 is a result of sharing thematic roles or fusion of two thematic roles (Alsina, 1992, p. 521). He demonstrated that “the combination of this causative morpheme with another predicate creates a

new argument that acts as semantic argument both of the CAUSE predicate and of the embedded predicate” (1992, p. 521).



Source: Alsina (1992, p. 521)

He stated that “the causative predicate in such languages<sup>11</sup> has an internal argument, a patient, which is semantically identified with an argument of the embedded causative event structure, creating a thematically composite argument” (Alsina 1992, p. 552). He also shows that according to the theory, the causee is the patient of the causative predicate when it is expressed as an object but not as an oblique. I agree with and justify Alsina’s argument in this study on how arguments of causative and other productive verb extensions behave in Kuria.

Rugemalira (1993) investigated the productive verb extensions in Runyambo, namely applicative, causative, reciprocal, passive and stative. He intended to challenge the common view that the extensions are potentially a resource for increasing the number of verb arguments and demonstrated that the extensions form part of a set of interrelated mechanisms within Bantu languages which ensure that the verb arguments remain distinguishable from each other.

He categorized these extensions into two groups; one is transitivity which consists of the applicative and causative extension as valence increasers; it can co-occur, but can never be repeated. The second group is de-transitivity, which consists of reciprocal, passive and stative as a valence decreaser. In his study, he brought out the Idea of Predicate Structure Constraints which posits two levels of representation. The first is the argument structure which specifies the number of arguments that the verb can take (i.e. valency). In linguistic expressions this realizes a verb’s participant roles. Rugemalira showed that the important information carried by the argument structure is the total number of arguments that the verb permits. The second level is the lexical

<sup>10</sup> θ and pt “this sharing of thematic roles, or fusion, is shown in (...) by the line connecting the two thematic roles involved.” (Alsina 1992, p. 521).

<sup>11</sup> Languages such as: Chichewa, Shona, Swahili, Kinyarwanda and Tharaka (Good, 2005, p. 518)

semantic structure which provides information concerning the participant roles required by the verb and meaning of the action denoted by the verb (Rugemalira 1993, pp. 42-43).

Rugemalira (1993) also discussed the co-occurrence of extensions and confirmed a strong restriction against repetition in derivation in Runyambo. This is different from Kuria where the repetition of extension after one extension is very common; a single verb can have more than one extension (both valency increaser and decreaser) which recurs, as shown in chapter five of this study. In his conclusion, Rugemalira (1993, p. 207) illustrated that the means for expanding predicate structures have inbuilt restrictions which are part and parcel of the mechanisms for argument differentiation. As he argued, transitivizer extensions can co-occur but cannot be repeated:

14. *sara* 'to cut'  
 a-ka-ka-n-sar-iz-a omwana [isoce] [ahamutwe] (Rugemalira, 1993)  
 he-pst-it-me-cut-A+C-FV child hair on head  
 X Y Z B T M<sup>12</sup>  
 'He cut the child's hair on the head with it for me'

In the example above, Rugemalira demonstrated that "two of the arguments (Y and Z) are realized as pronominal affixes, one of which (Z) must be a first person affix. Of the omissible arguments, one must be an inalienable part (T) and the other a participant locative (M)" (1993, p. 207). Rugemalira argues that the number of arguments for the unextended verb *sara* 'to cut' is four (x, B, T, and M) (see example below from Rugemalira (1993, p. 129) example number 426a)

15. a-ka-sar-a omwana [isoce] [aha-mutwe]  
 he-pst-cut-FV child hair L<sup>13</sup>-head  
 'He cut the child's hair from the head'

The suffixation of two extensions, the applicative and causative, raises the number of arguments to six. At that point, the structure has reached the limit of expandability since neither applicative nor causative can be repeated. By verifying this, Rugemalira concluded that:

Argument differentiation demands that the number of arguments in any predicate structure be kept to the necessary minimum. If one predicate structure rather than two must be employed, then the most likely arguments to get early discharge will be the omissible ones (1993, p. 208).

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<sup>12</sup>Rugemalira (1993) refers to T as *isoce* 'hair' and M for *ahamutwe* 'on head'.

<sup>13</sup> Rugemalira (1993) refers to L as locative.

In Kuria causative and applicative are valence increasers (as called transitivizer by Rugemalira) and once attached to the verb root they require an extra argument for each, regardless of the number of arguments the verb has. This is not allowed in Runyambo as argued by Rugemalira (1993, p. 206).

Wechsler (2014) dealt with the co-occurrences (he calls it stacking) behaviour of valence-increasing extensions and their arguments in Manyika (S13), a dialect of Shona (S10). The study examined the behaviour of a set of verbal affixes in Shona. He focused on the valency increaser extensions, namely applicative and causative, which tend to change the status of the verb from intransitive to transitive and transitive to ditransitive. He also put emphasis on the argument limit and asymmetrical object phenomena involving case. Wechsler declares that, “Verb extensions differ widely in their semantic and syntactic effect. What they all have in common, however, is their ‘slot’ within the Bantu verb construction” (2014, p. 8).

In his discussion, Wechsler (2014) showed that Shona demonstrates a peculiar restriction on the co-occurrence of some extensions like causative and applicative, exhibiting an inability to co-occur where their co-occurrence will result in arguments exceeding three. Wechsler shows that the productive extensions in Shona are causative, applicative, passive, neuter and reversible. Although he did not work on all 15 verbal extensions of Shona, at least one verbal extension of each includes the three major types: affixes that add arguments, affixes that take away arguments and affixes that do neither of the two.

Wechsler (2014, p. 21) gave examples in which valence increaser extensions were combined with valence decreaser extensions. When he tried applicative and causative (which are both valence increasers) the sentence becomes un-grammatical, making him to assume that the co-occurrence of causative and applicative was not acceptable in Shona. See example 16.

16. sunga      ‘tie’  
\*Ta-sung-is-ir-a                  vavhimi    vasikana    mbudzi  
1PL (1)-tie-CAUS-APP-FV    hunters    girls        goats  
‘We made the hunters tie the goats for the girls.’

He stated that:

From this data alone, it might appear that Shona’s restriction is templatic. Under this account verb would have only one “slot” for each verbal extension that increases valence (causative and applicative), and an additional slot for each of the other extensions, as opposed to an explanation where there is *one recursive slot* for all verb extensions (2014, p. 22).

However, Wechsler disproved this hypothesis by giving an example where two valence increasers can be affixed together (Wechsler, 2014:22), see example 17:

17. *donha* ‘fall/drop’  
Musikana a-donh-es-se-a Tinotenda poto ye-mvura  
girl 3SG(1)-fall-CAUS-CAUS-FV Tinotenda pot POSS-water  
‘The girl made Tinotenda drop the water pot.’

In my view, this illustrates that the problem is not the competition for the slot because the repetition of causative shows that there is a slot for the valence increaser. However, Wechsler acknowledges that “the applicatives and causatives can stack under certain circumstances” (Wechsler, 2014:22-23). See example 18. This observation further justifies the view that rules and principles can hardly handle all intricacies associated with verb extensions in Bantu, both cross-linguistically and within a specific language. Again, this underlines the need to study languages as unique in some respects; and that a variety of theories and principles need to work together as well.

Wechsler (2014, pp. 24-26) also discussed Shona Argument Cap (SAC): Shona verbs can maintain no more than three arguments and any construction that exceeds three arguments is ungrammatical. He comments that, “the stacking potential of different verbal extensions is an empirical question and this data suggests that affixation itself is in theory infinitely recursive” (Wechsler, 2014, p. 26). The study also showed that there is repetition of extensions even to the adjacent morpheme (see example 17).

Wechsler (2014, p. 30) gave another example whereby the causative and applicative co-occur and the sentence is grammatically correct. See example 18,

18. *bika* ‘cook’  
mai va-ka-bik-is-ir-a mwana chikafu  
mother 3PL(1)-pst-cook-CAUS-APP-FV child meal  
‘The mother had a meal cooked for the child (by someone).’

Wechsler argued that “when there are too many arguments anticipated by the verb and its affixed verb extensions, omitting some to get the argument count back down to three solves the problem entirely” (Wechsler, 2014, p. 30).

Wechsler (2014, p. 31) discussed various argument structure theories as advanced by different scholars, and consequently presented data that disapproves some of them, for instance, a templatic stacking limitation that prohibits specific verbal extension from co-occurrence. In this theory, he argued that there would either be an individual “slot” for each verbal extension or each kind of verb extension. If there were slots for different kinds of extensions, all of the valence-increasing affixes would be competing for the same position and the valence decreasing affixes would do the same. And if there was one slot for each verbal extension individually, many stacked forms would be possible but the number of any given affix would be limited to one. He proposes the Three Structure Case Assigners Hypothesis (TSCAH) to the DP-arguments of Shona Verbs. These are: Case-assigner one (CA1) which traditionally assigns case to the subject (nominative case), Case-assigner two (CA2) and three (CA3) which assign case to the verbal objects (accusative case). He also counteracted Bliss’s argument about Shona in relation to Manyika from Bliss’s Theory (2009), and showed that in the analysis that they have something in common (Wechsler, 2014, p. 36). But Bliss’s theory does not examine intransitive verbs. What this study has in common with Wechsler (2014) is to show verb suffixes that change the argument structure of the verbs, repetition of extensions, and the valence increaser extension being allowed to co-occur (see more clarification in Chapters Five to Seven of this study).

In the above section, I have discussed a number of issues related to verb extensions and arguments in Bantu languages. In the following, I look at other Niger Congo languages which also deal with verb extensions. The point is that some scholars have used the same theories which I reviewed in Bantu literature while others used different ones. Therefore, my intention is to find out the state of affairs outside the sphere of Bantu languages under the same principles and guidelines.

### **2.3.2 Overview of Verb Extensions in other Niger-Congo Languages**

Multiple extensions have also been investigated in other Niger-Congo languages. Among these are languages from West Africa. Damonte (2007), for example, examined the Mirror Principle and



the order of verbal extensions in Pular language (which is spoken in Guinea); Paster (2005) worked on the combinations of suffixes in Pulaar language spoken in Senegal (the Gombe Fula and Fuuta Tooro dialects) while Arnott (1970) researched on the verbal systems in Fula (consisting of six dialects). Although these scholars worked on related languages they argued against each other's positions. For example, Damonte argued against Paster, Baker and Arnott that neither Mirror Principle nor Semantic Scope has control over the order of suffixes. His evidence showed that verb affixes in Pular occur in fixed order which is not based on semantic scope but rather matches the underlying order of their complements. Paster concluded that the orders of verb suffixes enter into semantic relation with each other while Arnott claimed that the order is fixed under the TDNR<sup>14</sup> formula. Below is a summary of their discussions.

### 2.3.2.1 The Order of Multiple Extensions in Niger-Congo Languages

Arnott (1970) examined the verbal systems of Fula<sup>15</sup>. In his research, he dealt with nineteen verb extensions by giving the shape of the different extensions. He categorized two shapes of the extension morphemes, whereby I-X and XIX have the shape of consonants (-C-) and the others are vowel-consonant (-VC-) correlated with the type of radical. There is also a free variation of the extensions with the -C- structure whereby an extension with -C- structure takes a vowel before it is attached to a verb root. Examples of these are:

19.	Form (-C- shape)	Title
I	-t-, -it-/ut-	Reversive
II	-t-, -it-/ut-	Repetitive
III	-t-, -it-	Reflexive
IV	-t-, -it-	Retaliative
V	-t-, -it-/ut-	Intensive
VI	-d-, -id-/ud-/od-	Associative
VII	-d-, -id-/ud-/od-	Comprehensive
VIII	-n-, -in-	Causative
IX	-r-, -ir-	Modal
	(-d-) -or-/ir-	
X	-r-, -ir-	Locative

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<sup>14</sup> Arnott (1970, pp. 333, 366) reported that in the Gombe Fula dialect, the order of affixes is largely fixed. The first four suffixes to come after the verbal stem are consonantal suffixes ordered according to the formula 'TDNR' whereby /-t/ suffix precedes the /-d/ suffix, which precedes the /-n/ suffix, which in turn precedes the /-r/ suffix.

<sup>15</sup>The name Fula is sometimes used as a cover term for all of the Pulaar dialects plus other languages known by such names as Fulfulde, Fulani, and Fulbe (Paster, 2005).

(-d-) -or-  
 XIX -d- -id-/-ud- Denominative

20. Form (-VC- and other shapes) Title  
 XI -an- Dative  
 XII -law-, -ilaw- Celerative  
 XIII -oy- Distantive  
 XIV -kin-, -ikin- Simulative  
 XV -indir- Reciprocal  
 XVI -ootir- Reciprocal

21. Extensions involving reduplication

XVII 2(R+-i-) + -n- Iterative  
 XVIII 2 R + -tir- Iterative-Reciprocal

Arnott (1970, pp. 334-370) explained how these extensions are used, the conditions and their functions for a single extension. In his discussion, he showed that there are possibilities of two or three extensions to be combined. He was also informed by his consultants that there are also accumulations of more than three extensions, although they are very rare and practically limited by the number of objects that can conveniently depend on a single verb. Below are some examples of the combinations of extensions (in Roman figures).

**Table 2.9 Co-occurrence of Extensions in Fula Languages**

Two extensions							
I, VII	I, IX	V, XI	VI, IX	VI, X	VI, XIII	-	
-it-id-	-it-id-	-t-an-	-od- or-	-od-or-	od-oy-		
Three extensions							
I, VII, XI	I, IX, XI	V, VII, XI	II, XV, XII				
-it-ir-an-	-it-ir-an	-t-id-an-	-t- indir -ilaw-				
Four extensions							
I, IX, XI, XIII	I, XI, XII, (XIII)	V, VII, XI, XII	V, VII, IX, XI	I, IX, VII, XI	XIX, I, VIII, IX		
-it-ir-an-oy-	-it-an-ilaw-(-oy-)	-t-id-an-ilaw-	-t-id-ir-an-	-t-ir-id-an-	-d-it-in-ir-		

Source: Arnott 1970, pp. 365-370

In the combination of extensions, Arnott showed that they mostly follow their serial number as given above but those which are consonantal, especially I-X consisting basically of a single

consonant, should be arranged as -t- extension and will precede a -d- extension; either or both of these will precede -n-, and any or all of the three will precede -r-. These can be summarized as T-D-N-R formula, while -an-, -law- and -oy- follow in that order (Arnott 1970, p. 366). Paster (2005, p. 155) equally reported that “in the Gombe Fula dialect, the order of affixes is largely fixed.”

Arnott (1970) in his discussion further gave us the formula T-D-N-R in which extensions should be ordered. This is what I can relate to the template proposed by Hyman (2003) in which extensions should be ordered. For example, Paster (2005) studies Pulaar language by selecting some verb extensions from Arnott’s study, and she found out that the order is based on scope relations. Paster (2005) examines combinations of suffixes including those governed by TDNR. In her investigation, she dealt with eleven suffixes from Gombe Fula dialect and six suffixes from the Fuuta Tooro dialect. She found out that many of the verb suffixes enter into semantic relation with each other. Paster claimed that:

If it is true that their order is fixed, then the behaviour of these suffixes contradicts the claim of Rice (2000) that affixes are ordered according to their relative semantic scope and that templatic (fixed) affix order results only when affixes in question do not have a scope relationship. (Paster, 2005, p. 155)

Paster focused on the consonantal suffixes which are the examples from Arnott (1970) in which two or more of these suffixes are combined. She raised one issue: when a set of homophonous extensions is considered, how do we determine what constitutes a separate morpheme? For example -t- suffixes have different meanings and some of them overlap. Paster argues further that:

If order is scope-based, we predict the opposite ordering of these affixes should correspond to the opposite scope relation between the two ... in the case of Causative-Separative, however, it is impossible to find an ordering alternation corresponding to meaning change because it is apparently impossible for Separative to have a scope over Causative. That can be explained by the fact that Separative generally applies to the verb whose semantics involves putting things together (Paster, 2005, p. 175).

Paster also discovered that whenever Modal has scope over Repetitive, then Modal -r- suffix after the Repetitive is predicted by the Scope Hypothesis. But when the Repetitive has scope over Modal -r- is ordered after Repetitive again. Paster showed that this was the first example seen in which the order of suffixes does not correspond to their scope (2005, p. 179).

Paster (2005, pp. 181-182) encountered other problematic orders whereby the Causative has a scope over Modal even in the opposite order. Since there is a clear scope relationship between the Causative and Modal, the Scope Hypothesis predicts that we should find only the scope-based order. She asserted that the fact that the opposite order is also allowed will need to be accounted for via a mechanism other than that used to generate scope-based order. Paster came up with the idea that Fuuta Tooro can be analysed as a mixed Scope-Template system similar to Mirror-Template system in Chichewa described by Hyman (2003) whereby the affix order is determined via the interaction of constraints representing the Mirror Principle (Baker, 1985) and language specific morphological template. In her discussions of the Fuuta Tooro data, Paster (2005, p. 155) observed that “scope relations do play a crucial role in the ordering of these suffixes.” (Paster, 2005:155). This can also be seen in Paster when he argued that, “a scope-based analysis is not only consistent with Arnott’s (1970) Gombe Fula data, but it also accounts for more of the data than did Arnott’s own accounts involving fixed ordering” (Paster, 2005, p. 189).

The result of the study of Fuuta Tooro Pulaar revealed that the Scope Hypothesis is very useful in accounting for the order of consonantal suffixes in that dialect. Paster insisted that not only the scope hypothesis is introduced by Rice (2000) but also the previous proposal relating affix order to scope (Baker 1985, Bybee 1985, Condoravdi and Kiparsky 1998). Even the majority of Arnott’s (1970) examples do obey the ‘TDNR’ in that they are also consistent with the Scope Hypothesis.

As one can discern from the principles which guide the suffixes, both in Bantu and other languages from Niger Congo, some languages demand a fixed template, for instance CARP by Hyman 2003 in Bantu languages and T-D-N-R formula by Arnott (1970) in other Niger-Congo languages outside Bantu. On the other hand, some need a mixture of principles to explain the order. Let us examine one empirical study about the order of arguments before I conclude this part.

### **2.3.2.2 The Order of the Arguments in Niger-Congo Languages**

Damonte (2007) dealt with the order of complements where he showed that there is extensive literature on the order of verbal extensions in Pular. However, not much has been written on the order of the complements introduced by these affixes. In his analysis of the order of complements, Damonte (2007, p. 351) demonstrated that “the benefactive complement occurs immediately after

the verb, before the direct object of the verb, while instrument complement follows the object in its unmarked position.” He finds out that no exhaustive research has been carried out on the order of all possible combinations of complements introduced by verbal extensions in Pular. But he showed that there is at least one case in which the unmarked order of the complements is not the mirror image of the order of the affixes. Damonte (2007, p. 351) gives the example below:

22. *Mi def-id-ir-ii e Rabiadou uurere nden*  
 I cook - Com-Ins-Past with Rabiadou pot Det  
 “I cooked together with Rabiadou with a pot”

*A feature-based Mirror Principle*

All exponents of the same syntactic feature are associated with the same syntactic position (Damonte, 2007, p. 340).

Damonte (2007, p. 340) stated that the hypothesis above (*A feature-based Mirror Principle*) is implicitly working on functional projections rather than explicitly. There is no parallelism between the order of the affixes and the order of the complements. With reference to Ngonyani (2000), he suggested a fuller discussion of the test and its validity for Bantu languages.

The aim of selecting this language and the authors is to share with the reader the two templates. The two templates T-D-N-R and CARP give us a picture of arrangement order. For instance, Arnott’s template (T-D-N-R) is arranged on the basis of phonological and morphological aspects as explained above where all extensions indicate which consonant will take the first position, (T-); and the co-occurrences of three extensions will precede -R-. On his part, Hyman’s template (CARP) has been arranged on morphological basis that reflects the hierarchy organisation of arguments (the order of thematic roles)<sup>16</sup>. This means that the extensions which introduce the first argument which is normally the causer or agent is the one which takes the first position (C-causative), and for the extensions which introduce the beneficiary will follow, that is (-A-applicative) given that the beneficiary is in the second position in hierarchy. From the templatic point of view it works in some languages but not for all due to the fact that languages are more specific rather than generic. The present study of Kuria relates to Paster’s study in which extensions are not controlled by one principle but rather a combination of principles. Therefore,

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<sup>16</sup> Wechsler (2015:59) presents the thematic roles hierarchy as agent > beneficiary > recipient/experiencer > instrument > theme/patient > location.

there is need to investigate different languages so as to verify and justify this assumption of the order of extensions in certain combinations.

## **2.4 Characteristics of Spoken and Written Languages**

This section describes the differences and similarities of spoken and written language systems. Spoken and written language are two forms of communication in human interaction, but they differ in the way they operate due to the specific nature of their system. Although both use language as a means of communication (sending message and receiving feedback) there are certain points where they differ while sharing similar rules in certain circumstances. This section is divided into two subsections, namely, the description of similarities of spoken and written language and the presentation of differences between them.

One of the objectives of this study is to find out how extended verbs behave and the extent to which verb extensions are used in spoken and written forms in Kuria. Therefore, it is very important before starting the analysis to have an idea of the differences and similarities of these two forms; not necessarily in Kuria or in Bantu but in language in general. Chafe and Tannen state that,

[I]inguists have been late to realize that differences between spoken and written language are worth their attention. For more than two thousand years the systematic study of language in the West focused largely on language as it was written, a natural enough bias (1987, p. 383).

Chafe and Tannen's argument inspired me to investigate into how the extended verb behaves in these two systems which differ at some points. Before getting into detail with regard to differences, let us start by looking at the similarities between these two forms.

### **2.4.1 Similarities of Spoken and Written Languages**

Spoken and written language are both ways of presenting someone's ideas, opinions or thoughts. The main function of language is to communicate between two people or a group of people (in my case). Therefore, successful communication is when two communicators understand each other. This can be used in different ways by speech or by writing. As Halliday argued, a language has three strata, namely, "meaning, wording, and expression; and expression may take the form either

of sound or writing” (1990, p. 14). Regarding written language, he went on to explain that: “Writing is a part of language. More specifically, it is one kind of expression in language—an alternative sound” (Halliday, 1990, p. 14). Halliday assumed that whatever is spoken can also be written—that writing is simply an alternative form of expression to speech (Halliday, 1990, p. 29).

Chafe and Tannen (1987) showed that the strategies associated with writing could also be found in spoken language. They stated that the “way of speaking could be a preparation for expository writing, and that strategies associated with orality could be found in writing” (Chafe and Tannen 1987, p. 394). From their views, one can see how they try to connect these two forms, as they conclude that,

[u]nderstanding the relationship between ordinary and literary language is at the heart of the health’s parallel investigations of the uses of and attitudes toward language among Black and White-class communities ... Central to both studies is the observation that no written materials have meaning, use, or currency apart from oral interpretation (Chafe and Tannen, 1987, p. 396).

Chafe and Tannen attempt to show the connection of spoken and written and the importance of spoken language in the interpretation of the written language. This means that they can be considered as two sides of the same coin and cannot be separated, although they may diverge from each other at some point.

#### **2.4.2 Differences between Spoken and Written Languages**

Although expression can be presented in the form of written or spoken language, these two forms differ on how they operate. The differences between spoken and written language can be categorized in relation to a number of factors, such as age, universality, structure and linguistic basis, change, record keeping, generation of feedback, contextual influences and the level of complexity. For instance, in terms of age, spoken language is older than written dating back to the very origin of human existence, whereas written language is a later development. As Halliday comments:

Linguistics has played a significant part in sanctifying the written language. It is only after language is written down that it becomes an object accessible to conscious attention and systematic study; so grammar begins with writing, and it codifies the written language. The so-called ‘traditional grammar’ that came into the ‘grammar school’ was a theory of written language (1990, p. 97).

Spoken language is more universal compared to written language. Everyone is endowed with the capacity to speak but writing demands specific skills, techniques and training. Thus, the latter requires particular principles and stricter rules. In the spoken language, the speaker needs an immediate participant partner, while in written forms the writer and the reader are not necessarily meeting at the same place and time.

On the basis of linguistic issues, in spoken expression there are some features which cannot be found in written and vice versa such as prosodic features, i.e. intonation, stress, and pitch, and sometimes facial expressions or corporal gestures. For instance, someone can agree or disagree by nodding or shaking his or her head respectively, a paralinguistic feature which is not possible in written language. Written language should be punctuated systematically and well organized to allow for the logical flow of thoughts and ideas in a text. This has also been explained by Halliday (1990). Although Halliday viewed spoken and written as alternative uses of language, he discussed some features which are not found in written language, such as prosodic and paralinguistic features which distinguish these two forms. He argued that “prosodic features are part of the linguistic system; they carry systematic contrasts in meaning, just like other resources in the grammar, and what distinguishes them from these other resources (such as word endings) is that they spread across extended portions of speech, like an intonation contour, for example” (Halliday, 1990, p. 30). Written language is more precise, for example, though certain punctuations like a ‘comma’ can be replaced in oral utterance by a pause, the demarcation is subtler in the written, giving room to different punctuation signs that mark different kinds of pause.

In record keeping, written language has been used for cross linguistics research as a source of data such as previous studies are used in some researches, because it is easy to keep record for subsequent users. Meanwhile, it is not possible to preserve the spoken with the aid of various technological methods of tape-recording. Another difference can be seen in getting feedback: in spoken language the speaker gets feedback immediately while in the written form the feedback is not usually instantaneous. There is usually a time-lapse between script and the response. This occurs for instance when someone reviews or uses the document as a source of data in a subsequent research. In other cases, the writer might not get any feedback at all, because not all readers intend to give feedback.



Another difference is about structure and syntactic categories as can be seen in Chafe and Tannen (1987, p. 383) where they investigate the relation between spoken and written language in different sources. The research aimed at describing the structural differences between spoken and written forms and the influence of context on construction and use of these two forms. They found some features which differentiate both forms of communication. For instance, in France, students “asked to speak and write about a set of pictures, finding that the number of words and the verb/adjective ratio were higher in speaking, whereas the type/token ratio was higher in writing” (Chafe and Tannen, 1987, p. 384). They also reviewed another study by Harrell (1957) that deals with comparison of oral and written expressions and they established that written expression contained more adverbial and adjectival clauses, while spoken speech had more nominal clauses (Chafe and Tannen, 1987, p. 384).

Another difference is contextual influences whereby the speaker(s) and interlocutor(s) are conditioned by specific factors. They depend on the topic, relationship, time, location and their intentions. The spoken language is more context-bound than the written language. By this I mean that the spoken language depends much more on context than the written language. Chafe and Tannen (1987) argue that “the orality-literacy hypothesis posits that writing makes possible verbatim memory and abstract and sequentially logical thought, and that written discourse is decontextualized or autonomous, whereas non-literate culture is associated with constructive memory and concrete and rhapsodic thought and that spoken is context-bound” (pp. 391-392).

Other scholars such as Bleich (31[1987]) and Bruner (41[1978]) as cited in Chafe and Tannen (1987, p. 392) argued that “if nonliterate people do not perform on experiments in a way that experimenters feel exhibit abstract or logical thought, it is not because they are incapable of such thought but because they do not deem it appropriate to talk in that way in such a situation” (1987, p. 392). Thus, their argument is that sometimes in spoken language people do not speak in logical sequence and in an abstract manner because they do not think it is appropriate to speak in that way.

On the other hand, Chafe and Tannen (1987, p. 391) believe the contextual influence increases the controversy and divides the body of literature concerning spoken and written language as

exemplified in three research endeavours: the classicist body of knowledge (Ong, 1958 – 1982), anthropologist (Goody 1968 – 1982), and psychologist (Olson 1977). However, I will not go into the detail of these literatures. Rather, it would be more incumbent on me to find out how context influences these forms.

In terms of complexity, Halliday (1990, p. 62) argued that spoken and written expressions differ in terms of density in which the information is presented. Halliday views the written language as dense and the spoken language as sparse (1990, p. 62). Halliday went on to assert that:

We could have looked at the same phenomenon from the other end. We could have said that the differences between spoken language and written language is one of intricacy, the intricacy with the information is organised. Spoken language is more intricate than written (1990, p. 62).

In concurrence to the above view, Halliday stated that,

(...) the phenomenon of intricacy—which is in fact a related phenomenon, but seen from the opposite perspective. From that point of view, it will appear that spoken language is more complex than written. The conclusion will be that each is complex in its own way. Written language displays one kind of complexity, spoken language another (1990, p. 62).

From Halliday's point of view, both spoken and written are complex phenomena in their peculiar ways. He argued that, "the complexity of written language is lexical while that of spoken language is grammatical" (Halliday, 1990, p. 63). He viewed the lexical as 'content words'. This is also supported by Chafe and Tannen (1987) when they concluded that,

(...) it does seem plausible to suppose that different conditions of production as well as different intended uses foster the creation of different kinds of language. ... Conversation is after all, the one kind of language that all normal people produce quite naturally most of the time; all other kinds whether spoken or written, require some special skill or training (p. 390).

In a general sense, this section intends to present a summarised picture of these two forms of communication. As the survey and discussions above have shown, spoken and written language are both essential in human communication and are related to each other. Although they share certain traits in common, they differ to a large extent. I agree with Halliday's view that spoken and written expressions are complex in their own ways. This might be connected to a number of factors. Foremost amongst these factors is the level of understanding of the addressee/audience of

the message both in spoken and written. Another factor is the intention of the message. The present study examines how extended verbs behave and the extent to which they are used in spoken and written Kuria. Therefore, it is connected to this section in one way or another. In any communicative situation, people use words and more specifically verbs. These verbs are associated with a number of nouns or noun phrases which are in turn extended or reduced by some operations (suffix/affix-driven). Thus, my intention is to find out how these systems affect the process of verb extensions and vice versa. See Chapter Seven for discussion and clarification.

## **2.5 Summary, Knowledge Gap and Conclusion on Literature Review**

It is evident that the issue of the order of verb extension morphemes and its effects has been discussed by different scholars. Based on the evidence from the researchers, we have witnessed different principles which guide extension morphemes. However, this survey has proven the point that languages are more specific rather than universal. As such, one principle does not suffice to explain the order of extensions in some languages. Therefore, we need to accommodate a number of theories which can account for a set of issues. I adopt different theories to analyse the data in this research.

The survey has revealed that the issue of reordering and repetition is possible in some Bantu languages such as Nyakyusa (Lusekelo, 2012) but this is not the case with some other languages such as Runyambo (Rugemalira, 1993). The chapter also reveals that the order of extensions is arranged on a certain basis such as TDNR (Arnott, 1970), i.e. the order of extensions follows phonological and morphological principles, while CARP (Hyman, 2003) is based on morphological principles. Still other theories explain the occurrence of extensions due to their semantic scope or scope relations.

One of the gaps which the present study sets out to fill is the effect of reordering and repetition of extensions on the same verb in Kuria. It has been observed that in Kuria some extensions allow reordering and hence create another order of the same extensions with different meanings. This means that some of the extensions are not controlled by CARTP template, although others accept it.

Another gap which was identified through this survey is that none of the reviewed works shows how verb extensions are used in spoken and written forms. Most scholars have investigated verb extensions on the basis of one form of communication such as using questionnaires, focus group discussion and interviews. In view of this fact, we need to find out the extent to which verb extensions and the co-occurrences of extensions are used in both spoken and written forms. In other words, we need to find out whether there are variations in using some extensions.

It has also been revealed that most Bantu languages such as Giha (D60) by (Ezekiel, 2007); Shambala (G23) by (Kaoneka, 2009); Kuria (E43) by (Zacharia, 2011); Nyakyusa (M31) by (Lusekelo, 2012); Shona (S10) by (Wechsler, 2014) allow multiple extensions. However, no study has reserched on the extensions which are most likely to co-occur and the extent to which they occur. Some of the verb extensions such as causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive and stative have been claimed to be productive extensions in Bantu languages. My interest lies in investigating whether they occur at the same level of productivity.

This section has surveyed a number of previous studies on various Bantu and Niger Congo Languages. As we have seen, a lot of issues have been discussed from a variety of perspectives. Although I attempted to analyse most of them, I could not go through all what has been written on the topic. Therefore, it should be noted that the reviewed aspects are the ones closely related to my project. Although a number of relevant issues have been dealt with in the reviewed studies, we still need more clarification on verb extensions in both spoken and written forms. For example, some of the studies have merely described verb extensions co-occurrences and ordering restrictions; but we need to explain as well how different extended structures are used in real life communication (language use).

This chapter also surveys spoken and written language, examining how these two forms are related to each other. As the survey and discussions above have shown, spoken and written language are both essential in human communication and are related to each other. Although the concept of verb extensions in Bantu languages has been well researched, some important issues have not been taken into account (as I explained above). See Chapter Seven for discussion and clarification.

After having engaged with the review of related literature, I now address the second part of this chapter, the theoretical framework, as announced in the introduction.

## **2.6 Theoretical Framework**

This section presents the theoretical framework on which this study is anchored and which guides in data analysis and discussion. My theoretical framework is both a discursive and eclectic approach as I will be using more than one theory. Rather, the study is supported by four theories, namely, the Theta Theory and Projection Principle by Chomsky (1981/1986), The Theory of Functional Grammar by Dik (1997), The Syntax of Argument Structure by Babby (2009). These theories are given priority because they are relevant and consistent with my research which has two dimensions: one theoretical and the other related to language use. Hence, theories are used accordingly: The Theta Theory, The Syntax of Argument Structure and the concept of Projection Principle are used in the first dimension which intends to show how syntactic elements (arguments) are projected from final verb's argument structure representation (see Chapters Five and Six). The theory of Functional Grammar on the other hand is used in the second dimension which examines the extent to which extended verbs are used in spoken and written communication (see Chapters Six and Seven). This section is divided into five subsections: the first four sections explain theories and concepts, while the last subsection presents the summary of the theories and how they are connected to the present study.

### **2.6.1 Theta Theory ( $\theta$ -Theory)**

Theta Theory was developed by Chomsky in standard formulation of Government and Binding Theory in (1981) to identify the relations held by arguments and a verb in a sentence. The Theta Theory provides the information about the roles played by a certain verb under its fundamental principle known as Theta Criterion. The theory deals with argument structure of a predicate by distributing and assigning different roles to a verb and assigning different names to the roles. It explains the way arguments are determined; how they can be distinguished, and the way they interact syntactically to create meanings. Chomsky argues that "Theta Theory is concerned with the assignment of thematic roles such as agent-of-action" (1981, p. 5). The theory helps to elaborate the structural conditions in relation to each other more specifically on 'argument of' relation. The fundamental principle of the theory is Theta Criterion, in which roles are identified

and the latter being named by theta role assigning (Chomsky, 1981, 1982, 1986; Williams, 1995, pp. 99-105).

Theta Criterion is a fundamental principle of the Theta Theory ( $\theta$ -Theory) in which number and type of arguments of a verb are identified. The main task of the Theta Criterion principle is to separate the arguments from adjuncts (see Appendix No. 1); and all arguments must be realised. It sorts out grammatical and ungrammatical sentences under biuniqueness condition on theta role ( $\theta$ -role) assignment by forcing the requirement of the lexicon to be projected to the syntactic level (Chomsky, 1981, 1982, 1986) According to the Theta criterion, “each argument bears one and only one  $\theta$ -role, and each  $\theta$ -role is assigned to one and only one argument” (Chomsky, 1981, p. 36). The theta criterion is like a principle of a game where we have players and actors who are supposed to play certain roles in the game. The number of players is well known, who is playing in which position and how each is related to the other. It is the task of theta criterion to make sure each argument in the sentence is assigned to one theta role and each role to have some argument to play roles.

The  $\theta$ -Theory is selected due to the necessity of the study. The study deals with verb extensions, in which the functions of extensions are combined with the core meaning of a verb and hence needed to be analysed as one (single) unit. The main reason is that, each verb in any human language is associated with arguments (participants), in other words each verb has its own requirement. For instance, the intransitive verb has different requirements compared to transitive and ditransitive verbs (see explanation below and Chapters Five and Six). On the other hand, each extension also has its requirements. When an extension is suffixed to a verb we combine all requirements to arrive at the derived verb as a final verb argument structure representation. The theory under the theta criterion gives the information about the roles (requirements) to be played by the derived verb (the final verb’s argument structure representations). The theta role assignment names these roles which are given by theta criterion.

As illustration, consider the following examples from Kuria language: in example (23) the verb *kebha* ‘cut’ has two roles, namely, the one who cuts (agent) and something which is being cut (patient). While in (24) the verb has three roles, namely, agent, patient and an additional one, i.e.

the one who is benefitting from the action (beneficiary). What explains this difference? One can see it is because of the affixation of the applicative extension which adds its requirement ('additional argument') on top of the requirement of the verb *kebha* 'to cut'.

23. *O-mo-ghaikoro a-ra-kebha* *i-nyama.*  
 AUG-CL1-female 3SG-PRES-cut-FV AUG-CL9-meat

The woman is slicing meat.

24. *O-mo-ghaikoro a-ra-kebha-er-a* *o-mo-ona i-nyama.*  
 AUG-CL1-female 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-FV AUG-CL1-child AUG-CL9-meat

The woman is cutting meat for the child.

When the theta criterion provides the roles, the theta role assignment names those roles. The Theta Theory states that "each argument bears one and only one  $\theta$ -role, and each  $\theta$ -role is assigned to one and only one argument" (Chomsky, 1981, p. 36). One of the contributions of this study to the Theta Theory is that some arguments have two theta roles, thus contravening this principle.

Argument and argument structure are key terms in this study. The theories which are adapted explain and show how these terms are affected by each other and their relations. This will also be seen in the discussion of the next theory (The Syntax of Argument Structure). Syntactically, verbs are categorised in different groups according to the number of arguments required (transitivity criterion). This means that the needs of a verb will take it to a certain group of verb. For instance, intransitive verbs require one argument (it is also known as mono-valent), transitive verbs need two arguments (di-valent); ditransitive verbs take three arguments (tri-valent) while super transitive verbs need more than three arguments. This study deals with the valences (arguments) of the verb under the process of verb extensions, i.e. morphosyntactic process because it deals with the morphosyntactic operations (which are extension morphemes or affix-driven operations) in which the number of arguments to a verb is adjusted. The affix-driven operations adjust the number of a verb's arguments in the sentence by adding or reducing the arguments by one. Then under the concept of Theta role assignment each argument is assigned/named according to its role in relation to the verb event or action; this relation is known as 'arguments of' relation.

Syntactically, words or constituents in a sentence have a way in which they interact and connect directly to the verb, which in turn creates a grammatical expression. In any sentence, there is a verb (predicate) to which other words are addressed in relation to. It is this relation that the theory addresses in this study: the ‘argument of’ relation under the structural condition. Any argument in the sentence must be recognized in relationship to others. As Williams’ asserts:

Although we speak of a Noun Phrase as “having a theta role” it is important to realize that the “argument of” relation is a relation, a relation between a verb and a Noun Phrase, and it is this relation that the theory characterizes not the “having of a theta role” (1995, pp. 101-102).

Among these participants are the noun phrase (NP), prepositional phrase (PP) and sometimes adverbial and adjectival phrases; some are even a sentence (S). But ultimately, what matters is the way they interact and relate to one another.

The verb is the most central part in the sentence especially in Bantu languages in the sense that when it is missing the expression can be considered less as a sentence than a group of words or a phrase. The verb is the heart of the sentence. The on-going study applies the Theta Theory to show how the verb’s roles are distinguished and projected to syntactic structure in cooperation with other principles from other theories (the Syntax of Argument Structure) which together show how verb extensions affect morphosyntactic and semantic aspects in Bantu (and more specifically in Kuria).

### **2.6.2 The Concept of Projection Principle**

The Projection Principle was developed under the theories of Principle and Parameters and The Government and Binding Theory used for derivation of phrase structure by Chomsky (1986). It is among general principles that contribute to eliminate phrase structure rules (Chomsky, 1986, p. 84). As formulated by Chomsky (1986, p. 84) under this principle the properties of lexical items are preserved during the phrase structure construction. The principle states that “lexical structure must be represented categorically at every syntactic level” (Chomsky, 1986, p. 84).

Chomsky goes ahead to assert that “a consequence of the projection principle is to put informally, that if some element is ‘understood’ in a particular position, then it is *there* in syntactic



representation, either as an overt category that is phonetically realized or as an empty category” (1986, p. 84).

As can be seen in examples (23) and (24) above, the syntactic elements are projected from the lexicon properties. The present study is dealing with verb extensions in Kuria. Extension morphemes are syntactic operations which tend to modify the argument structure of a verb. As explained above, each extension has its own function(s) so that when it is suffixed to a verb root the argument structure of that verb combines the core needs of the verb without the extension plus the latter’s needs. Therefore, in this study the process is done under the projection principle with the theta criterion to build up the syntactic elements in the sentence. Consider the following Kuria verbs with their core argument structure.

25. i.	<i>lala</i>	‘sleep’	requires one argument (patient)
ii.	<i>bhina</i>	‘sing’	requires two arguments (agent and theme)
iii.	<i>kebha</i>	‘cut’	requires two arguments (agent and patient)
iv.	<i>hancha</i>	‘love’	requires two arguments (experiencer and stimulus)
v.	<i>bhoha</i>	‘tie’	requires two arguments (agent and patient)
vi.	<i>ghota</i>	‘catch’	requires two arguments (agent and patient)
vii.	<i>ha</i>	‘give’	requires three arguments, a giver (agent), a receiver and something to be given (theme)
viii.	<i>ghuria</i>	‘sell’	requires three arguments, a seller (agent), a buyer/purchaser and something to be sold (patient)

As seen above, the requirement of participants (arguments) to those verbs are not equal due to the fact that their semantic properties are different. Therefore, we will expect different syntactic structures of the sentences with those verbs, because the arguments are projected from the lexical property (lexical semantics) of the verb.

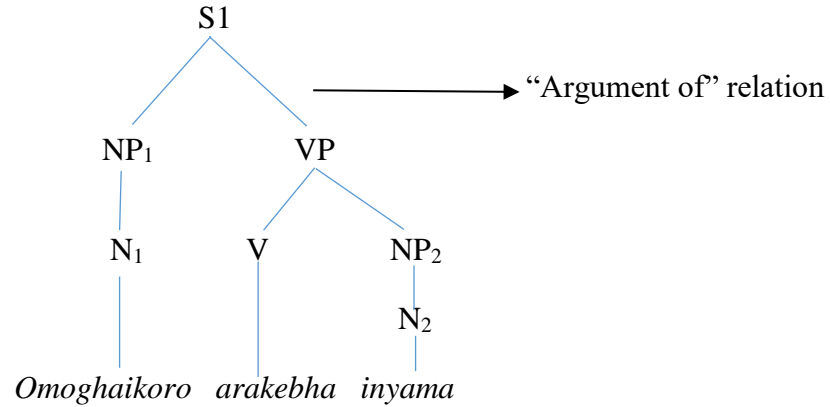
### 2.6.3 The Relevance of the Theta Theory and Projection Principle to the Present Study

I would like to present one example of the argument of relation to show how these arguments are projected based on the above-mentioned examples (23) and (24) again.

<i>O-mo-ghaikoro</i>	<i>a-ra-kebha</i>	<i>i-nyama</i>	(From 23 above)
AUG-CL1-female	3SG-PRES-cut-FV	AUG-CL9-meat	

The woman is slicing meat.

26.

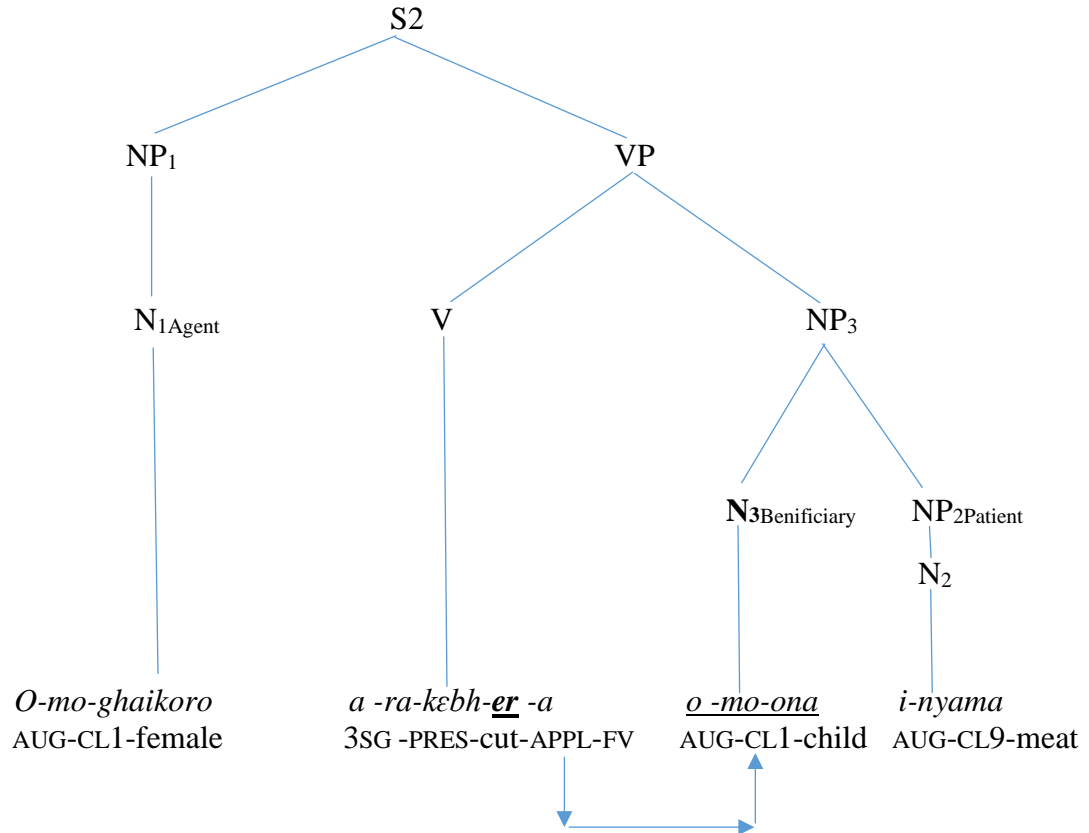


From the figure above, it can be observed that we have two NPs number 1 and 2. NP<sub>1</sub> is the external argument; it has been projected to the Sentence as a sister node of verb phrase (VP) while NP<sub>2</sub> is the internal argument which has been projected from the VP and is a sister node of the verb.

The second example below has the same process, but the difference is that VP has two internal arguments (the previous one and the new) which have been introduced by applicative extension and projected to a syntactic structure as the third argument of the verb (NP<sub>3</sub>). Therefore, NP<sub>3</sub> provides one noun (N<sub>3</sub>) and NP<sub>2</sub> as one of requirements of the verb. The new argument introduced by the applicative is also within the VP so it is the internal argument. Examine the example below.

*O-mo-ghaikoro a-ra-kebher-a o-mo-ona i-nyama* (24)  
 AUG-CL1-female 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-FV AUG-CL1-child AUG-CL9-meat  
 The woman is cutting meat for the child.

27.



As it can be seen in the figure above, the extra argument which is *omoona* ‘a child’ is a new argument which has been introduced by the applicative extension and has been suffixed to the verb root. Hence the argument structure of the verb in the second example requires three arguments, i.e. the agent, beneficiary, and patient. The new argument is the beneficiary of the event *kebha* ‘cut’ action. All arguments are projected from the verb properties. (See more clarification in Chapter Six of this study.)

#### 2.6.4 The Syntax of Argument Structure Theory

The Syntax of Argument Structure is a morphosyntactic theory introduced by Babby (2009) in Russian and Slavic linguistics. In the theory Babby shows that there is connection between argument structure and the syntactic elements in a sentence; although it is not systematically predictable from the verb’s meaning. Babby claims that the syntactic elements in the sentence can be well explained with a morphosyntactic theory rather than with syntactic theories. The main reason is that syntactic theories leave aside operations (canonically affix-driven operations) which are very important in mapping these elements. Babby (2009) states that:

While current theory acknowledges the importance of argument structure and productive morphological processes, it nevertheless continues to be essentially syntactocentric and has therefore failed to produce a fully integrated, balanced theory of the relation between argument structure, the productive affix-driven operations that alter it, and the syntactic structures it projects (Babby, 2009, p. 1).

The key hypothesis of the theory is that “*a sentence’s core syntactic representation is the direct projection of the main verb’s final argument structure representation*” (Babby, 2009, p. 1). Babby shows that there is a connection between the two levels, namely, the morphological and the syntactic levels. What we can discern on the syntactic level are core arguments which have been projected from the lexical properties; as premised by the basic hypothesis that, “*the former determines the latter*” (Babby, 2009, p. 1). The second is a crucial assumption that, “*function words and productive affixes have their own argument structure, which interact with the lexical verb’s argument structure, producing a single derived composite argument structure*” (Babby 2009, p. 2). Under this assumption Babby claims that,

(...) active sentences are thus not transformed into passive ones by syntactic operations. More specifically, the verb stem’s initial (underived ‘active’) argument structure is made passive by an affix-driven argument-structure level rule and the passivized verb’s *final derived passive argument structure* projects to syntax as a passive sentence (p. 2).

The theory’s assumption is based on the composition that productive affix-driven operations and the core verb have their own argument structures. When they combine they generate the final verb’s argument structure representation which in turn projects the syntactic elements onto the syntactic structure.

As I stated earlier, the present study deals with verb extensions; in examining the effects brought to a verb by the extension morphemes both morphosyntactically and semantically. The study adopts this theory on the basis of two main points; one is that it is a morphosyntactic theory that maps the final verb’s argument structure representation and the core syntactic elements that it projects onto syntactic structure (Babby, 2009, p. 1). The theory shows how the final verbs’ argument structures are derived: “The derived argument structure of [[[V-af]-af] ...-afn] is the derivation’s final diathesis (argument structure representation), which projects to syntax” (Babby, 2009, p. 3). As Babby claims this is a morphosyntactic rule (in the first place) and cannot be analysed by syntactic rules (Babby, 2009, p. 3).

Secondly, it is the internal structure of the verb's diathesis. The theory indicates that the verb's argument structure has an internal structure which clearly represents its theta role selection and its category selection (Babby, 2009, p. 13). As Babby states, "(...) the information encoded in V's final diathesis includes: its syntactic category (syntactic features), its *valence* (the number, the type and obligatoriness of its arguments), the binary-branching and grammatical relations of the sentence it projects, the lexical (quirky) cases and preposition it selects and other unpredictable properties" (Babby 2009, p. 13). Although Babby argues that theta selection and category selection cannot be systematically predicted from their lexical meaning, he proceeds to state the following: "far from simply being a repository of unsystematic, unpredictable properties, diathetic representation is in fact the seat of syntactic structure in the sense that its internal organisation determines the projection sentence's syntactic organisation" (Babby 2009, p. 13). This point is also related to Theta Theory by Chomsky (1981) which provides the information of the number and type of arguments required by a certain verb under the fundamental principle of Theta Criterion.

In this study, there are two types of arguments which I refer to as *core arguments* (arguments which are projected by the core verb's argument structure) and *processed arguments* (which are not basic but rather arise from some operations such as affix-driven). Pylkkanen (2002, p. 2) identifies them as true and additional arguments respectively. Therefore, the verb argument structure is modified by morphosyntactic operations. It should be noted that each suffix has its own argument structure which in turn adds to or reduces the argument from the verb.

The theory also shows that the argument structure of the verb and their suffixes share the same universal hierarchical internal organization which is accounted for by the aspect of syntactic structure. Babby asserts that,

V's *initial* diathesis is altered in highly restricted ways by the diathesis of the first paradigmatic affix it composes with; [V-af-]'s derived diathesis is further altered by the diathesis of the next paradigmatic affix and so on. The derived argument structure of [[[V-af-]-af-]-af<sub>n</sub>] is the derivation's *final diathesis* (argument structure representation), which projects to syntax (Babby, 2009, p. 3).

Multiple extensions to a single verb root are examined in this study under the principles articulated above. This is mainly because the main idea is to show how the verb’s argument structure representation projects the syntactic structure.

As I have explained earlier, verbs can be categorised into different groups according to different criteria. On the basis of syntax, the transitivity criterion leads to the distinction between intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, and ditransitive verbs. Babby’s assertion above takes on the ditransitive verb by reflecting the principle when he comments that “*The Syntax of Argument Structure* is devoted to presenting empirical evidence that argument structure has the 2x4 bipartite organization represented by the *diathesis*” (Babby, 2009, p. 4). See example below:

**Table 2.10 The Diathesis of a Ditransitive Verb**

I	j	k	-
N	N	N	V
1	2	3	4

Source: (Babby, 2009, p. 4) for the diathesis of a ditransitive verb

The linear representation above shows that all verb predicators and productive affixes have the skeletal 2x4 which is equal to eight structures and their preliminary valency is up to three. As can be seen above, there is a gap at  $\{-^{\wedge}V\}_4$  reserved for other level operations for active roles.

Babby (2009, p. 15) presents the internal organization of the argument structure as follow:

- i. It has two horizontal tiers: the upper tier theta selection, whose order is determined by the uniformity of theta (role) assignment hypothesis (UTAH) and lower category selection tier.
- ii. **i**, **j**, and **k** in the upper tier are variables representing theta roles: **i** is the external theta role which is agent; **j** is the theta role of the direct object (theme); and **k** is the theta role of the indirect or oblique object.
- iii. Each diathesis thus has four bipartite positions: three argument positions and V’s right-most position.
- iv. There are eight slots or cells in every diathesis, not all of which are filled.
- v. While the contents of the eight slots can be operated on and altered by diathesis-based operations, there are no operations that can alter the diathesis’s basic 2x4 skeletal frame.

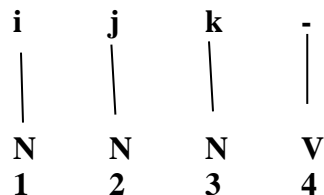
- vi. All V's and paradigmatic affixes have a 2x4 diathesis no matter what their valence is since there are diathesis-level operations that make use of unoccupied slots.
- vii. Empty diathesis positions, i.e., {-^}, are not projected to syntax.  
Source: Babby (2009, p. 15)

Furthermore, Babby (2009) shows that the recent generative theory's leading idea is that syntax is a projection of the lexicon. Babby aimed at exploring this hypothesis and proposes an explicit theory of the mapping between the lexicon and morphosyntactic structure. He argues that "this hypothesis is correct if by 'lexicon' we are referring to the *predicate argument structure*, which is an integral part of the lexical entry of every verb and, more generally, of every *predicator* in the mental lexicon" Babby (2009, p. 11).

Babby pinpoints that syntactic rules do not alter a sentence's basic (core) grammatical relations and the cases that lexicalize them. In other words, operations that alter core grammatical relations must by hypothesis be diathesis-level operations. He postulates that the lexical semantic representation maps onto verb's diathesis, which in turn, maps onto syntactic representation. The theory focuses on the mapping between V's diathesis and the core syntactic structure it projects.

The summary of the theory, that is, the 2x4 representation of V's diathesis encodes the systematic mapping between the diathesis's four ordered positions and the homologous positions in its morphosyntactic projection. Babby (2009, p. 17) gives an example of a ditransitive verb below: 28. (a) encodes the right-to-left order in which verb merges syntactically with its three arguments, which is made explicit by the diathesis-to-syntax projection 'rules' in (b). The results in (c) are binary-branching syntactic representation from bottom-to-top building up of the hierarchically structured.

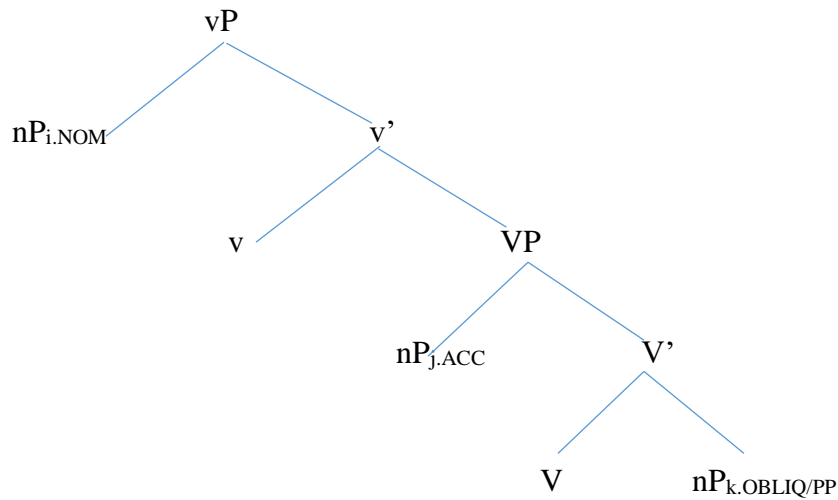
28. (a) Representation of a ditransitive verb's diathesis:



(b) Projection of position in V's diathesis to homologous positions in its syntactic structure: merger

- i.  $\{k^{\wedge}N\}_3 + V \rightarrow [v' V nP_{k.oblique}]$
- ii.  $\{j^{\wedge}N\}_2 + V' \rightarrow [vp nP_{j.ACC} V']$
- iii.  $\{i^{\wedge}N\}_1 + VP \rightarrow [_{VP} nP_{i.NOM} [_{v'} V VP]]$

(c) Denotes projection from positions in the diathesis to corresponding positions in syntactic structure.



Source: Babby (2009, p. 17 his examples 4a-c)

### 2.6.4.1 The Hierarchical Organization of Argument Structure

Apart from the number of arguments carried by the verb, the theory also deals with the hierarchical organization of the argument structure. One of the hypotheses of this theory is that argument structure has the internal structure of diathesis as can be seen in example 28 (a) above.

Babby (2009, p. 18) used two notation examples of argument structure from Williams (1981) and Bowers (1993) before he concluded his notion. He demonstrated that Williams had hierarchical structure in mind when he posited the existence of the external argument as a component of a verb's argument-structure representation. According to his elaboration, Williams notation ( $i =$  external argument) encodes partial hierarchical structure i.e., the external argument (VP- external) vs. the internal argument (VP-internal). Babby represents Williams' notation in example (29) below:

29. Williams 1981:  $V(i(j, k))$

Source: Babby (2009, p. 18)



Babby concludes that Williams trod on the right track but he did not go far enough. Babby's examples from Russian, Turkish, and French demonstrate that there must be additional hierarchical structure imposed on V's two internal arguments and this was implicit in Bowers' 1993 notation (see example 30).

30. Bowers 1993:  $V(((i) j) k)$

**Source:** Babby (2009, p. 18)

From example 29, Babby shows that **k** is the first argument to merge with **V** and therefore is the most deeply embedded argument in syntactic structure, in example 28. (c); and **j** is the next merging with [**V+k**] and projecting to specifier VP; **i** merges last and is external, i.e, which projects to spec-vP which is VP-external (2009, p. 18).

Babby (2009, p. 18) argues that a single tier representation of argument structure like (29) and (30) does not encode enough information to account for V's projected syntactic structure because two verbs can have the same theta tiers (identical hierarchically ordered set of theta roles), but they project sentences with entirely different morphosyntactic structures. According to his argument example (30) is the correct representation of V's theta tier but it is only half of the story: a second c-selection (categorical selection (sub-categorization)) tier is needed. Ultimately, he affirms that we cannot account for a sentence's word order in a free word-order without reference to higher functional heads like T (tense) and C (complementizer).

#### **2.6.4.2 The Relevance of the Syntax of Argument Structure Theory to the Present Study**

This theory is relevant to the present study for four main reasons. Firstly, it shows how the final verb's argument structure is derived (the core verb's argument structure with the argument structure of suffixes or extensions). Secondly, it shows how the core verb's argument structure is affected by the argument structure of suffixes. Thirdly, it maps the final verb's argument structure representation to the syntactic structure. Lastly, it accomplishes the Theta Theory by adding category selection to the verb.

Furthermore, the theory insists that the core sentence's grammatical relations have been derived from the lexicon, in which case the former determines the latter. This study which analyses the

morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of the verb extension system in Kuria, is based on five productive extensions, namely: causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive and stative as affix-driven. It demonstrates how these operations function with regard to the verb root. Each extension has its own function of adding or suppressing the argument of the verb attached to it. Therefore, the sentence's syntactic arguments depend on the kind of operation that has been taken into account. The theory deals with verb stem and the affixes-driven which create the final verb's argument structure representation that later maps to syntactic structure. Thus it is quite relevant to the present study. The theory specifies argument(s) which are required by the core verb and which are generated by suffixation (extensions). These include the number(s) of arguments carried by a single verb before and after extensions; the kind of argument (whether it is external or internal argument) and the kind of structure (whether it is the initial argument structure or derived argument structure). See Chapters Five and Six for more clarification.

As I explained earlier, this study has two dimensions, theoretical dimension and language use dimension. The theories above (The Theta Theory, The Syntax of Argument Structure and the concept of Projection Principle) are used to accomplish one dimension which is more theoretically oriented. My intention in the second dimension is to find out how extended verbs are used in the Kuria society, both in spoken and written communication. At this point, one can see the need of an additional theory which would accommodate the second dimension given that the study intends to examine the nature and the extent to which what we have been examining above is practically used. In other words, the preceding theories cannot accommodate this dimension because they are too abstract to be used in a real and more practical situation. Thus, I cannot use the above theories adequately to explain how language is actually used in society. Therefore, adopting another theory is a necessity. In this case, the study adopts the theory of functional Grammar by Dik (1997).

### **2.6.5 The Theory of Functional Grammar (FG)**

The Theory of Functional Grammar propounded by Dik (1970s and 1980s) is among the theories that attempt to correlate form (language) and its function. It links language and other aspects of human mind in its communicative context and interpersonal functions. In the words of Thompson (2003), functionalist research mainly attempts “to clarify the relationship between form and

function, and to determine the nature of the functions which appear to influence grammatical structure” (p. 53).

The present study also takes into account the dimension of language use. My intention is to show how verb extensions are used in spoken and written Kuria. The theory has been chosen because it is appropriate to this aspect of the study. Although the study examines how verb extensions behave in spoken and written forms, it is very important to take into account the context of the use, i.e. the language as a linguistic expression and its context of usage. This is best articulated in one of the key questions that underlie the theory of Functional Grammar: “How do speakers and addressees succeed in communicating with each other through the use of linguistic expressions” (Dik, 1997, p. 1)? This was the starting point for the constructivists to formulate models of the natural language user (M.NLU) that can perform the same task as the natural language user (NLU).

Dik shows that as one thinks about model NLU, one realises that NLU is much more than a linguistic animal (Dik, 1997, p. 1). In his opinion, “there are more “higher” human functions involved in the communicative use of language than just the linguistic function” (Dik, 1997, p. 1). The model of NLU incorporated at least five capacities, namely, a linguistic capacity, an epistemic capacity, a logical capacity, a perceptual capacity and a social capacity (Dik, 1997, p. 1). Dik continues to show that the effort to develop a theory of Functional Grammar “is meant to reconstruct part of the linguistic capacities of NLU” (1997, p. 1).

The Theory of Functional Grammar has two views, namely, Formal Paradigm and Functional Paradigm. The formal paradigm “is regarded as abstract formal object (e.g. as a set of sentences), and grammar is conceptualised primarily as an attempt at characterizing this formal object in terms of rules of formal syntax to be applied independently of the meaning and uses of the construction described” (Dik, 1997, pp. 2-3). As for the Functional Paradigm, “a language is in the first place conceptualised as an instrument of social interaction among human beings, used with the intention of establishing communicative relationship” (Dik, 1997, p. 3).

The present study combines the two views and finds out how the abstract ideas can be realised in the real situation or in different contexts. For instance, the idea of verb extensions affects the

argument structure of a verb by adding or reducing the number of arguments connecting directly to the syntax whereas the semantics of linguistic expressions is too abstract when compared to social interaction. I argue that the form and functional paradigms are two sides of the same coin and there is no way you can separate them. My argument is based on a couple of points: firstly, language is a vessel which carries different meanings in different contexts. The meanings will be considered successful only if the speaker and the addressee understood each other. On the other hand, language is a system with its own rules and principles which aims at sending a clear message to the addressee. In turn, the speaker expects feedback since communication is a two-way traffic. See more clarification in Chapter Seven of this study.

Under the functional paradigm, the theory states that:

Within this paradigm one attempts to reveal the instrumentality of language with respect to what people do and achieve with it in social interaction. A natural language, in other words, is seen as an integrated part of the communicative competence of NLU (Dik, 1997, p. 3).

There is no way you can talk about communicative competence and leave aside the rules and principles of the language. One can see the needs for expressive accuracy and precision in any social interaction. In the functional paradigm Dik states that:

Verb interaction i.e. social interaction by means of language, is a form of structured cooperative activities. It is *structured* (rather than random) activity in the sense that it is governed by rules, norms, and conventions. It is *cooperative* activity in the obvious sense that it needs at least two participants to achieve its goals (1997, p. 3).

From a functional point of view, Dik provides two rule systems which stress the connection between linguistic patterns and social convention as follows: (i) “the rule which governs the constitution of linguistic expressions (semantics, syntactic, morphological, and phonological rules); (ii) the rule which governs the patterns of verb interaction in which these linguistic expressions are used (pragmatic rules)” (Dik, 1997, pp. 2-4)

Although the Theory of Functional Grammar has two principles as proposed by Dik (1997, p. 4), the study experiences the challenge on how to interpret the two principles. The two principles occasionally appear to contradict my arguments in this study as stated below. The first principle states that:

A theory of a language should not content to display the rules and principles underlying the construction of linguistic expressions for their own sake, but should try, wherever this is possible at all, to explain these rules and principles in terms of their functionality with respect to the ways in which these expressions are used (Dik, 1997, p. 4).

The second principle states that:

Although in itself a theory of linguistic expressions is not the same as theory of verbal interaction, it is natural to require that it be devised in such a way that it can most easily and realistically be incorporated into a wider pragmatic theory of verb interaction. Ultimately, the theory of grammar should be an integrated subcomponent of our theory of NLU (Dik, 1997, p. 4).

The present study analyses the collected data based on one of the Dik's questions as to: '*What is the relation between the system of a language and its use?*' My main priority in this research is not to delve deeply into the analyses of distinctions between language and its usage. Rather, I intend to examine how verb extension morphemes as one of the operations in a system of language affects the three levels of language, namely, morphology, syntax and semantics, in their forms and their usage in both spoken and written language forms. This ties in with the point earlier stated in Chapter One that the investigation intends to clarify how extended verbs behave in spoken and written expressions. As has been revealed in the surveyed literature, the spoken language is context-bound because it is based on interaction, the relationship of the speakers and addressee, the context and time. On the other hand, the written form requires one to follow the rules and principles of good writing such as accuracy, consistency, logicity and punctuation. From there, one can see how the two aforementioned forms point to different conceptions of language.

In the above discussion, I have explained the three relevant theories and one theoretical concept underlying the way in which each one is appropriate for the data collection and analysis in this research. Thus, Theta Theory, Projection Principle and The Syntax of Argument Structure Theory and the Theory of Functional Grammar are adopted in this study given, amongst other reasons, that they have some components in common such as projection principle and theta roles.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

As the introductory part announces, the chapter consists of two parts, namely: the literature review and theoretical framework. The first part aims at finding the gap(s) (see section 2.4 of this chapter)

in which two fundamental issues have been revealed. One is more theoretically oriented: the issue of reordering and repetition of verb extensions in Bantu languages and more specifically in Kuria, still needs to be investigated. The second is related to language use: the knowledge on how verb extensions behave in spoken and written Bantu (particularly Kuria) is still insufficient (if not inexistent) and the extent to which verb extensions are used in spoken and written forms still needs ample clarification. It is for this reason that this particular study finds its impetus. In addition to these, the variation of verb extensions and co-occurrences in the Bantu languages has not been given much scholarly attention. These are the core issues explored in this study.

The theoretical framework constitutes the second part of this chapter. Here three theories were identified and analysed in respect of their relevance to data analysis: The Theta Theory and Projection Principle by Chomsky (1981/1986), The Syntax of Argument Structure Theory by Babby (2009), and The Theory of Functional Grammar by Dik (1997). The reviewed literature reveals that most of the theories used to analyse verb extensions are based on how the principles explain and guide the order of extension morphemes. This study finds out that this phenomenon cannot be guided by a single principle across the entire Bantu linguistic landscape. Rather, it is underpinned by a combination of principles depending on the specific language. Therefore, in this study the theoretical concepts are chosen not only to guide the order but also to show how the extension morphemes can modify the verb's argument structure and the mapping of the final verb argument structure representation to the syntactic elements in the sentence. Far from operating independently, the theories complement each other and this greatly serves the purpose of my analysis.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Kuria Language and its Social Context

This chapter provides information on the Kuria language and society. It traces and provides ample explanations for issues such as: the origin of Kuria and the Kuria community; the geographical scope of Kuria linguistic community; the contact of Kuria with other languages and the societies; the speakers of the language; the various Kuria ethnic groups and their categorization and lastly, the use of the Kuria language in contemporary times. This is meant to contextualize the language under study.

#### 3.1 Kuria Language

Kuria is a Bantu language spoken in the Mara region of Tanzania, specifically in Tarime and Serengeti Districts and Migori county (former Nyanza Province) of southern Kenya. The original geographic classifications carried out by Guthrie (1948/1967), Maho (2006, p. 645), Mwita (2008) and Zacharia (2011) show that Kuria (E43) belongs to the Eastern Bantu group of the Niger-Congo Phylum along with Zanaki (E44), Nata (E45), Ngorimi, and Simbiti in Tanzania. However, the later modification of Guthrie's classification by Maho (2009) shows that Kuria is (JE43), Zanaki (JE44), Ikoma and Nata (JE45), Ngorimi (JE401), Simbiti (JE431), Ikizu (JE402), Suba (JE403) and Sweta (JE434) in Tanzania (Maho, 2009, p. 62). Though the Kuria people are a Bantu speaking community, their geographical neighbours on the Kenyan side include the Luo and Maasai who are non-Bantu speakers.

The word 'Kuria' refers both to the language as well the people. Originally, the language was known as *Igikuria* while *Abakuria* referred to the people, a view aptly observed by Muniko, Magige and Ruel:

Strictly the language is called *Igikuria*, the people themselves *Abakuria*. However, in conformity with normal Bantu usage we omit the prefixes and use Kuria as noun for both people and language and as an adjective (1996, p. iii).

Moreover, the online version of *The Ethnologue*<sup>17</sup> lists alternative names of the Kuria language as *Egikuria*, *Igikuria*, *Ikikuria*, *Kikuria*, *Kikuria cha Juu*, *Kikuria cha Mashariki*, *Kurya* and *Kurye*.

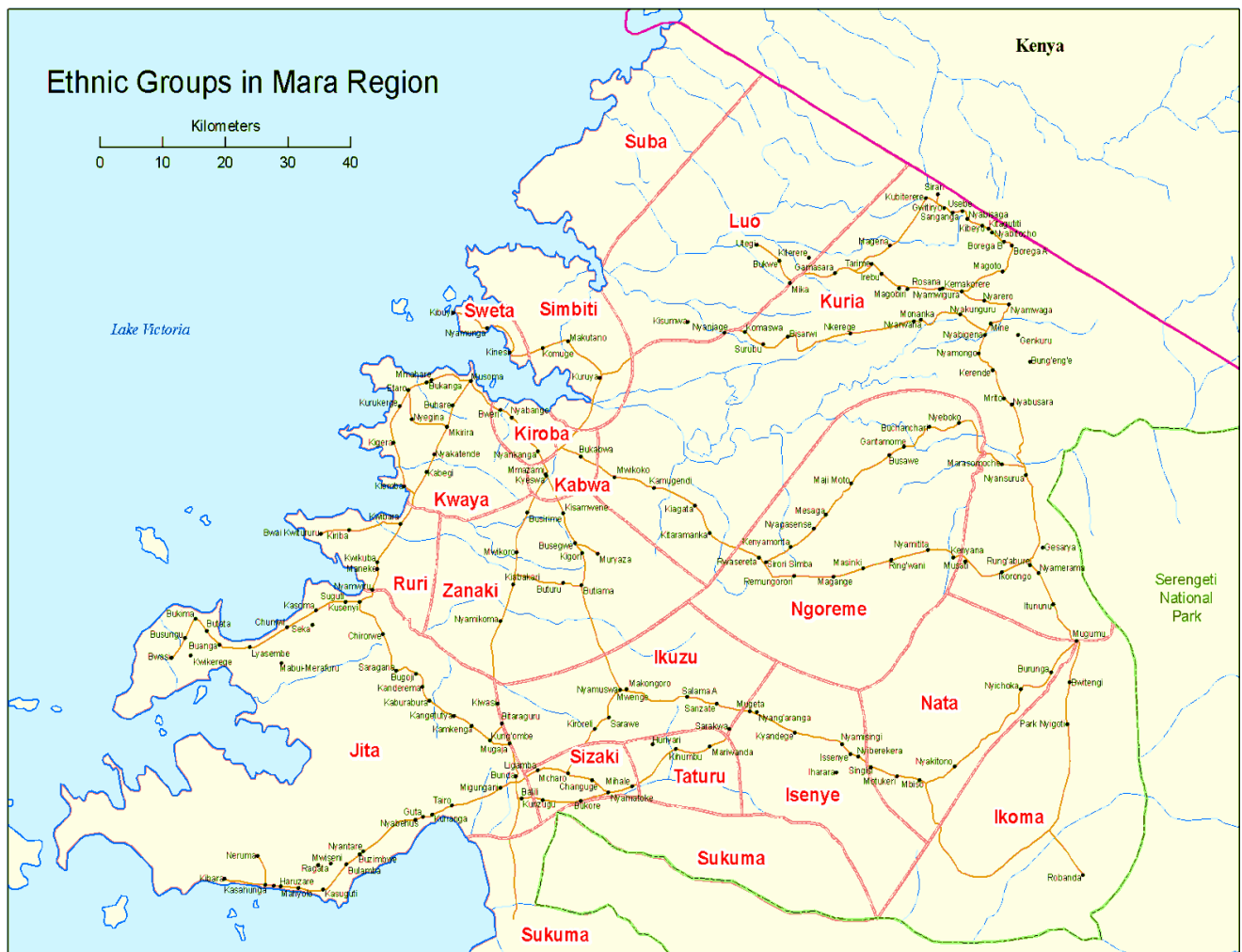
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<sup>17</sup> <http://www.ethnologue.com/language/kuj>

The speakers of the language refer to themselves as *Abhakuria* and their language as *Ighikuria*. In this study, the language is referred to as Kuria. The Kuria language is ordinarily used in day-to-day communication by the people in their economic, political, religious and social engagements in the community.

In Tanzania, Kuria is predominantly spoken in the northern part of Mara region specifically in Tarime and Serengeti district, as shown in the map below.

**Map 3.1 Ethnic Communities in Mara Region**



Source: Hill, D. *et al.* (2007, p. 21).



According to the Tanzania 2012 Population and Housing Census (2013), Mara region is made up of seven district councils, namely, Tarime, Serengeti, Musoma, Musoma municipal, Bunda, Rorya and Butiama district. (See the table below and their population indicating both genders.)

**Table 3.1 Population of Mara Region by Sex, Average Household Size and Sex Ratio**

No.	District/Council	Population (Number)			Average Household Size	Sex Ratio
		Total	Male	Female		
1	Tarime District Council	339,693	162,986	176,707	5.2	92
2	Serengeti District Council	249,420	121,399	128,021	6.0	95
3	Musoma District Council	178,356	87,324	91,032	6.3	96
4	Bunda District Council	335,061	162,241	172,820	5.9	94
5	Musoma Municipal Council	134,327	62,694	71,633	4.9	88
6	Rorya District Council	265,241	126,247	138,994	5.0	91
7	Butiama District Council	241,732	117,129	124,603	6.0	94
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1,743,830</b>	<b>840,020</b>	<b>903,810</b>	<b>5.6</b>	<b>93</b>

Source: 2012 Population and Housing Census (2013, p. 182).

### 3.1.1 Origin of the Name “Kuria”, Migration History of the Group and Their Language

According to Abuso (1980) the origin of Kuria people can be traced in relation to two narratives. As he stated below:

The inhabitants of Bukuria are today known as the Abakuria (i.e. the people of Kuria). The origin of the name Kuria is a thorny point in Kuria history. There are two views which need to be reconciled. The first is that which connects the name with that of the supposed eponymous ancestor of all the Abakuria people (p. 73).

In the first narrative, Abuso explains that sub-tribes such as Abanyabasi, Abakira, Abagumbe, Abairegi, Abatimbaru and Abanyamongo belong to one ancestor known as Mokuria/Mukuria who lived in Misiri<sup>18</sup> with his two wives, Omosai the elder and the young was Omochuma. When Mukuria died, his descendants later migrated from Misiri and after many wandering on the other side of Lake Victoria, they eventually reached and settled in Bukuria (1980, pp. 73-74). The ancestors of the Abagusii, together with those of the Abakuria, Abalogoli, Ababukusu, and Abasuba, originally migrated from ‘Misiri’ but lost track of each other in the area of Mount Elgon.

<sup>18</sup> Abuso (1980, p. 69) states that “Misiri in this context does not seem to refer specifically to modern Egypt (which is known as Misiri). Rather its description by the various people who claim origin from there tends to fit in well with the geographical region to the north of East Africa”.

The Abagusii and Abalogoli are believed to have veered off along Nzoia River Valley to the northern shoreline of Lake Victoria between A.D. 1500 and 1560 Abuso (1980, 69). During the movement, many people including the Abaluyia, Abagusii, Abakuria, Zanaki and Kalenjin settled on the way in different parts of the present day East Africa, Ethiopia and Sudan (Abuso, 1980, p. 69). There were also other ethnic groups like the Luo and the Maasai who settled in those regions much earlier and claimed them as their homeland although they were not associated with the Misiri historical trajectory. As explained by Abuso, a cross-section of the Abakuria only vaguely recalls their alleged point of origin as shown in the statement:

‘It was east of River Nile’. ‘It was in northern Africa’. ‘It was in the direction of northern Africa’ and so on. They are even not sure of why their ancestors left Misiri. Some of them say that they left Misiri because there wasn’t enough land there for them all (1980, p. 70).

There are a number of reasons attributed to the migration of the people from one place to another. Two of the most recurrent reasons include ethnic conflicts due to population explosion caused by other immigrants who also settled in the region and persistent drought owing to insufficient rainfall in the region that made life unbearable (Abuso, 1980, p. 70). The search for a better climate could particularly be the main reason behind the Kuria’s settling around the Equator region that supports agriculture and animal husbandry due to reliable patterns of rainfall.

The second narrative expounded by Abuso holds that, “the origin of the name Kuria connects the name with the period Abakuria people were living in Musoma district for the first time - between about five to three generations back, that is between 1774 and 1858” (1980, p. 76). The Kuria people claim that there were some Kuria living in Musoma district (currently in Tanzania) around 1774 and 1858, particularly around Korea hill north of River Mara. Gradually, Korea was corrupted to ‘Kuria’ hill and the people came to be known as the Abakuria. As stated by Abuso:

Indeed, many of the people who now form Abakuria society claim in their traditions that their ancestors not only sprang originally from the north, beyond Mt. Elgon, but that their ancestors also roamed the wide area to the north and south of Lake Victoria before they finally settled in their present country of Bukuria (1980, p. 23).

Accordingly, the two historical views indicate that the present Kuria society could be regarded as ‘a mix’ of two distinct groups with different points of origin, one associated with Misiri and the other identified with Korea hill. This position is aptly summarized by Abuso when he asserts that:

From the survey it has been quite clear that most of present Abakuria do not have any common historical origin; they appear to have sprung from all sorts of directions, although a number of them claim to have originally come in the dim past from yet-unidentified 'Misiri' (1980, p. 135).

The history of Abakuria implies that the Kuria society emerged from two directions: one group from Korea Hill and another group migrating from 'Misiri' although it is not yet very clear what the real origin of the Kuria society is.

### **3.1.2 Kuria Language and its Culture**

As argued in the foregoing, the origin of Kuria society was a gradual process that had profound impacts on the culture of the people:

Wasomaji mkumbuke kuwa kabila la Wakuria zamani za miaka 1200 na zaidi lilikuwa wachungaji wa ng'ombe na kuhama, yaani Nomads. Na njiani kabla ya kufika katika nchi hii wakaiga ukulima kwa majirani. Waongozaji waliowawezesha kufika katika nchi hii ni 'Abagambi' na Abanaabi (Chacha, 1963, p. 4).

It should be recalled that Abakuria were formerly nomads since the eleventh century. They are claimed to have adopted agriculture from the various communities including the Abagambi and Abanaabi with whom they came into contact during these movements.

In the Swahili quotation above, Chacha reminds readers of the customary nomadic life of the Kuria society around 1200 and above that brought them into contact with agriculturalists. This confirms the view that agricultural and nomadic cultures infused the Kuria society thereby influencing the development of the Kuria language (1963, p. 4). This view is also expressed by Abuso (1980):

In trying to find out the identity of the ancestors of the Abakuria, it is important to take into account the dual nature of Abakuria culture today. On the one hand the Abakuria are linguistically a Bantu-speaking community with closest affinity to the Gusii and Zanki in Kenya and Tanzania respectively. On the other hand, culturally, the Abakuria are a Nilotic-community closely resembling the Masai and Kalenjin group, this peculiarity being much more demonstrated in the use of age-set and generation-sets, which are cyclic like those of the other Nilotic speakers (p. 70).

With time the population of the Kuria began to increase whereas the land remained inelastic. Consequently, they started dispersing to different places to find new areas for settlements and pasture for their cattle. That was the time when the Kuria society was divided into different clans

and later subdivided into sub-clans known as *ibhisaku* (sg.), *egesaku*<sup>19</sup> (pl.) ‘door’. As Cammenga explains:

Socially then the Kuria are traditionally sub-divided into clans, each of which is identified with its own animal totem. These are further sub-divided into sub-clans, which in turn are split up into sub-sub-clans, etc., until one reaches the minimal social constituents, the (extended) family living in its own homestead (2004, p. 18).<sup>20</sup>

This section does not explain in detail the sub-divisions of Kuria society because this has already been explained in Chacha (1963, pp. 7-14), Cammenga (2004, pp. 18-19) and Mwita (2008, pp. 3-4). Rather, it provides just one example of the clan and its sub-divisions up to the family level. Generally, there were seventeen (17) clans, namely (in plural), *Abakenye*, *Abasweta*, *Abanyanongo*, *Abairege*, *Abanyabasi*, *Abakira*, *Abarenchoka*, *Abanchari*, *Abatimbaru*, *Abatobori*, *Abahunyaga*, *Abamera* *Abakene*, *Abasimbeti*, *Abakiroba*, *Abaasi*, and *Abagumbe* (Chacha, 1963, pp. 7-14). Before I show the dissemination of one clan, I would like to explain in brief how the division was done using *Abakenye* as example, starting from the low levels to the higher levels.

*Ichika* ‘families’ are close members who were born by the same mother (one wife). Chacha illustrates for instance, that Nyakisagane was born with Chacha, Chacha was born with Kisieri, and Kisieri was born with Marwa, and Marwa was born with Moherai, and Moherai was born with Gweso (1963, p. 17). Therefore, *Gweso/Abahirigweso* is the name of the ‘family’ *Eka*. Gweso was born with Nkombe who is known as *Irighiha*<sup>21</sup> meaning ‘one amongst three rock fires’ the source of the family (1963, p. 17). Nkombe was born with *Muhiriokarai*, this is *egesaku* ‘door’ and means ‘ancestor’. *Muhiriokare* was born with *Mukenye*. This is the origin of the clan *Abakenye* which settled in *Bukenye*. Therefore, the distribution was done to all 17 clans (see Chacha, 1963, pp. 7-14)). For more distribution to the family level see one example of *Wakenye* in the table below.

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<sup>19</sup> Ruel et al (1996, p. 19) show that, “*egesaku* (1) a door or doorway (2) people descended from the same ancestor, a lineage or clan (the most general term for a descent group).”

<sup>20</sup> Mayor, M. (2012) totem refers to “an animal, plant etc. that is thought to have a special spiritual connection with a particular tribe” (p. 1866).

<sup>21</sup> According to Ruel et al. *Irighiha* (1) a cooking stone (one of three making up the hearth, *amaghiha*); (2) a group of people sharing descent from a common ancestor, with a closer kinship solidarity than those of an *egesaku*, lineage (1996, p. 66).

**Table 3.2 Clans, Sub-clans and their Families in Kuria Society**

Clan/Location	Ibhisaku ‘doors’	Amagiha ‘3 rock fire’	Ichika ‘families’
Abhakenye/Bukenye	I. Abatirienyi	a. Rohore	1. Abhahirichacha
			2. Abhahirimatiko
		b. Marosi	1. Abhahirinyagetebe
			2. Abhahirihegera
	II. Abhahiriokare	a. Nkombe	1. Abhahirigweso
			2. Abhahirikerengu
			3. Abhahirimatiko
		b. Wambura	1. Abhahirisiong’o
			2. Abhahirimbuche
			3. Abhahirimaseke
			4. Abhahirigachuma
		c. Nyahende	1. Abhahirinyankarra
			2. Abhahiritaragwa
	III. Abhahirimarwa	a. Kubhugha	1. Abhahirisira
			2. Abhahirimaghoghe
			3. Abhahirisese na Abhahirigirobhi
			4. Abhahirimwitagisieri
		b. Maissa	1. Abhahirimaghighe
			2. Abhahirinyaghosaima
		c. Nyandandu	1. Abhahirichogho
			2. Abhahiriwerengo
	IV. Abahirihemba	a. Buseni	1. Abhahirimesanga
			2. Abhahiribihenyeye
			3. Abhahirimuringo
			4. Abhahirimaheri

Source: Adapted from Chacha (1963, pp. 7-14).

### 3.2 Kuria Language in Contact with other Languages

The Kuria society exercised mixed economy; namely, agriculture, animal husbandry and craft industries. Although some people are workers, i.e. administrators and businessmen and women, these are very few in number compared to the other groups. There is a correlation between the nature of activities, socio-economy status and language use. This means that socio-economic factors affect the kind of Kuria language people use in rural and urban spheres. For instance, in urban areas the larger part of the society works in formal and semi-formal sectors as well as in urban markets. These socio-economic sectors comprise people from a different socio-cultural

background, most of them being non-Kuria speakers. Therefore, their language of communication is Swahili and occasionally English. Although Kuria is used among people in this sector, it is limited to a few people who mostly share personal ties. This leads to language contact, i.e. Kuria and Swahili, Kuria and other languages (languages of non-Kuria speakers). The Kuria language in rural areas is used more frequently compared to the urban areas where Swahili is more frequently used. Since Swahili is the national language of Tanzania, it also affects Kuria in rural areas because almost everyone speaks Swahili proficiently. As will be pointed out in this study, Swahili has influenced Kuria language considerably (see Chapter Seven for further clarification). Therefore, the way Kuria language is used in the Kuria community tends to differ according to the area (urban/rural) due to language contact and socio-economic status of the speakers.

On the other hand, the Kuria society is not isolated. Speakers are in contact with other languages, both at the borders and within the community. For instance, Kuria language is surrounded by both Bantu and non-Bantu languages such as Kiroba (no number given), Simbiti (J31), Kabwa (JE405), Zanaki (JE44), Ngoreme (JE401), Nata (JE45), Sukuma (M13A), Maasai and Luo, respectively (see Map above). Normally, when two or more people who speak different languages come into contact, their languages tend to influence each other. Consequently, the Kuria language has been influenced by other languages and vice versa in several aspects. Members of the Kuria society use language in their daily communication, in economic activities, political discussions (administrative/government and political matters) and in social activities such as meetings and socio-cultural ceremonies.

### **3.3 Features and Use of Kuria Language**

Language as a means of communication is an important phenomenon as it links an individual with a group of people in the society. It is also a means of social and cultural identity of the community. Yet, one language can be used in different ways in various areas in the community resulting in the development of dialectal differences or diatopic variations.

### 3.3.1 Diatopic Variation

Although this study is not dealing with historical differences of the language, it suffices to show one feature of dialect differences. As in any dialect, speakers vary the way they use language to express themselves. The variation can be phonological as observed by Chacha:

Kwa kutengana kwa miaka mingi na kukaa karibu na makabila mengine utaona kuna tofauti kidogo ya kwa Wakuria walio kandokando mwa ziwa Victoria na Wakuria walio mipakani mwa Wamasai kwa msemu na matamshi. Mgeni ni vigumu kuelewa ingawa ajue lugha hii. Wakuria wa magharibi husema polepole, na Wakuria wa mashariki husema kwa haraka haraka. ... Tena Wakuria wa magharibi hutamka: Omochacha, uruchancha, ekechencho na mengineyo; na Wakuria wa mashariki hutamka: Omosacha, urusanacha, ekesencho, n.k. (1963, p. 14)

Owing to their dispersal and settlement in different regions where they came into contact with other communities, there are noticeable differences, particularly in certain words and their pronunciation among the Kuria people. This is true among the Kuria on the shores of Lake Victoria and those neighbouring the Maasai. For instance, the eastern Kuria are known to be faster in speech compared to their western counterparts. Moreover, while those in the west would say Omochacha; urunchacha, and ekechencho, their eastern counterparts would say Omosacha, urusanacha, ekesencho, etc.

In the quotation above, Chacha comments that due to the separation between cross sections of the Kuria people, there is a marked difference between those who lived along the Lake Victoria and those bordering the Maasai. For instance, the Western Kuria speakers pronounce: *Omochacha*, *uruchancha*, *ekechencho* and Eastern Kuria speakers pronounce *omosacha*, *urusancha*, *ekesencho*, etc. (Chacha, 1963, p. 14). The above examples clearly show that there is a co-variation of uses of one sound in one area rather than other sounds (geographically determined or diatopic variation). For instance, Western Kuria society uses /ch/ an affricate instead of /s/ which is a fricative sound used by the Eastern Kurias.

### 3.3.2 Diastratic Variation of Language and Gender in the Kuria Society

The term gender in linguistics can be defined in different ways as a socio-cultural construct; as biological and physiological difference; and as grammatical identification of words. This study adopts Chambers, Trudgill and Schilling's perception of gender as social category:

The physiological distinction between females and males, with “gender” referring to the social and cultural elaboration of the sex differences - a process that restricts our social roles opportunities, and expectations. Since the process begins at birth, it could be argued that “gender” is the more appropriate term to use for the category than “sex” (2002, p. 423).

Gender is pertinent in distinguishing between the roles of males and females in the family, specifically on how the Kuria people value each group. Kuria is clearly a patriarchal society and males are accorded preferential treatment right from the family level. This leads the one gender (male) to be imposing and assume exclusive rights of decision making, thereby reducing females to passive positions where they are expected to be submissive to men’s authority (Wambura, 2016, p. 38). This deeply gendered discrimination is apparently reflected in the language use between males and females in relation to social and cultural issues affecting the society. As Newman et al. (2008, p. 233) argue, “gender differences in language use reflect a complex combination of social goals.” More importantly, these social goals and gender distribution also affect individual personalities as could be reflected across language uses between men and women where men demonstrate possession of power against women who are reduced to mere objects in almost all faculties as argued by some of the respondents: This will be discussed in Section 7.5 in Chapter Seven of this study:

*(Abhakari)Bhono tebhareng na haki hai, warengenghotomerwa ghekebhakuri tu egheka. Kama chombo fulani tu cha kutumika. (Code-switching to Swahili language). (M2)*

So they (women) did not have any right, they were used like home vessels (utensils).’ From Swahili ‘It was like the used tool.’

The assertion above was made by M2 in the domain of ‘how Kuria customs, norms and tradition contribute to the Kuria social development’. It is found in the data which was collected by the semi-structured interviews method. M2 showed how the Kuria norms, customs and traditions discriminate against females in Kuria and hamper their social development as compared to the male gender. Perceptions of male superiority and discrimination against women was not only articulated by male respondents but was also evident in women’s discussions as captured from a female consultant (F1) below;

*Omanyere omoghaka ono angere tosomboraini hayo iigho omanyere mbe omoghaikoro tana sauti hai hano waya ghotara aghotebhia igha tatanora oghende hano ukuya uyi tenena shida nauwe. (F1)*



You know, this man has refused; we have been discontented with each other but as you know a woman has no voice (power of decision); when you try to mention it (something), he says you just leave and go wherever you want, I don't need you anymore.

The effect of gender discrimination among the Kuria people could be felt across social, economic and political spheres. Women are seldom involved in decision-making because they are ruled by men. One of my respondents explained to me that parents and mostly fathers do not allow their daughters to go to school. This lack of exposure to formal education hinders the social and political development of women not only at the family and group levels but also at the national level. Below is one of my respondents explaining how her husband treated their daughter:

*Bhoono mbe hayotore igho nkorekerenatore. Kobhakuria tetona haki hai. Nkuyaore koghamba igha tegha omoona ono asome, omoghaka anga igha omoona wa ekeghaikoro hano aihikere nigha atetwe. (F1)*

So now we are here just because we are living. We don't have right in Kuria society. When you say, let us allow this child (a girl) to study, the man refuses by saying no, when a girl is mature she should be married.

In that case, Kuria women largely have no power, their ideas cannot be considered even at the family level however good and constructive they may be. They are often treated as mere objects in the society that are meant to be used by men and not as human beings who deserve respect and value. This explains the socio-cultural differences between men and women in the Kuria society. These observations concur with Newman et al. (2008, p. 233).

Owing to the imbalanced social construct and exposure to formal schooling in the Kuria community, men tend to enjoy more freedom that helps them to be more confident and creative than women. This also leads to lack of self-esteem and confidence among women, thereby hindering their creativity. This view could not have been expressed better than in the work of Carli (1990):

Women generally have lower status than men, as is evidenced by the findings that stereotypical feminine traits are evaluated less favorably than masculine traits ... and that women are considered to be less competent than men (p. 941).

Newman et al. (2008), in their investigation on gender differences in language, argue that the extent to which men and women use language is different due to the fact that "language is an inherently

social phenomenon and can provide insight into how men and women approach their social worlds” (2008, p. 212). In this relation, the language of women in Kuria society is limited to polite expression used in seeking advice or other situations that reflect their inferiority status. Very rarely do they make recourse to forceful or commanding expressions (see Chapter Seven of this study). This could sharply be contrasted with men’s language that is normally harsh and commanding or directive to women on what or what not to do. Based on available evidence, I also argue that this gender discrimination in the Kuria society has made women to be less talkative than men. (See Chapter Seven of this study.)

From the foregoing, we cannot avoid connecting language use and society values. Therefore, socio-cultural behaviour accordingly tends to shape a person’s way of speaking, or expressed somewhat differently, how one communicates often reflects his/her behaviour. On the other hand, in view of language as an individual identity, Chambers et al. posit that:

The term “identity” functions outside of linguistics to cover a variety of concepts; for our purposes, we will understand identity to mean the active negotiation of an individual’s relationship with larger social constructs, insofar as this negotiation is signaled through language and other semiotic means (2002, p. 475).

De Saussure (1916, p. 8) as cited in Chambers and Schilling, espouses the view that: “Speech has both an individual and a social side, and we cannot conceive of one without the other” (2013, pp. 6-7). I agree with de Saussure’s assertion and hold the view that individual difference can influence someone’s self-perception, regardless of social stratification of the larger society. But sometimes the social factors tend to overlap with what someone used to be. As established by this study, language is innate even though it can also be influenced by human nurture, i.e. social experience and day-to-day life. The kind of environment that shapes a person’s experiences tends to overlap to some extent with their innate creativity and this makes one exhibit other kinds of habits external to their inner self. The main issue here is the context of culture. This means that not all women in the Kuria society can speak or express themselves like men, because of the nurture (the social experiences) that they were exposed to in the course of their life. From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that gender discrimination may have led to an inferiority complex among females in the Kuria society.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented some sociocultural information on the Kuria language and society by showing the origin and the history of migration of Abakuria and their cultural context. As further argued in this chapter, the Kuria society traces its origin to different sources and its culture is an amalgamation of varied features from the agricultural and nomadic societies, thus making its societal structure and its language unique in various aspects. Therefore, language is related to culture and culture in turn reflects the society. By the same token, the way language is used also reflects societal trends and norms. The discussion above shows that to some extent, social cultural construct affects language use in the Kuria society. The society tends to discriminate against the female, hence creating inferiority complex in them which has an impact on the way they use language. In short, language and society are inseparable entities. Language is foundational to every society and one cannot imagine a society without language, an indispensable aspect of culture. (See Chapter Seven of this study.)

The chapter gives insight into how gender definitions, perceptions and functions affect language use in Kuria society. I will connect this issue with the ongoing study on verb extensions. This is based on the premise that verb extensions, as morphemes which combine with other morphemes to form words, might, in one way or the other, be affected by gender (male and female) roles. (See this argument in Chapter Seven for more clarification.)

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Research Methodology**

This chapter provides the methodological background of the study. It does not only give information on how the research was conducted, but also how data were collected, processed and analysed. Specifically, it describes the activities carried out during the fieldwork in the Kuria community, Tanzania. The chapter is divided into seven sections: the study area; research design used by the study; data collection techniques; sample size and sampling procedures; the method of data analysis, fieldwork challenges and lastly, an overview of observation during the fieldwork.

#### **4.1 Study Area**

The fieldwork was conducted in Mara Region, particularly in Tarime district, home to the Kuria people. Data were collected from four areas of Kuria speaking people: Nkende, Msati, Kemakorere and Rosana (see the map in Chapter Three). While the Nkende and Msati are located in the urban area of Tarime district, Kemakorere and Rosana are in the rural areas.

The purpose for the choice of these two diverse areas of habitation was to see the extent to which verb extensions are used by the people who live in urban areas and their linguistic repertoire, due to their exposure to other languages from their rural counterparts. Socio-cultural contacts are very rare in the rural areas, where Kuria people live as extended family clusters scattered over a vast area with distances ranging between 5 and 10 kilometers. Spatial distribution in the rural setting, therefore, limits socio-cultural interactions with non-Kuria speakers. Although Tarime is dominated by Kuria speakers, there are also a number of people who do not speak Kuria in the urban area. Because they reside in an urban setting, the Nkende and Msati communities experience a relatively wide variety of language contact with other language communities, some of which are non-Bantu such as Luo and Maasai. Their exposure is due to the socio-economic and administrative issues. This can be contrasted to the rural communities that live in scattered settlements with most of their leaders hailing from the same Kuria community.

## **4.2 Research Approach**

To achieve the objectives set out by this study (see section 1.4 in Chapter One), a mixed methods research approach was adopted. “A mixed methods approach involves an integration of qualitative and quantitative research and data in a research study” (Creswell, 2014, p. 14). The approach was adopted to cater for the second dimension of the study which deals with language use. Therefore, to have an adequate database for this study, multiple methods for data collection were involved such as questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, video stimulus, field notes (tape-recorded interviews) and written text (Bible). These methods are examined in closer detail in the following sections.

### **4.2.1 Questionnaire**

A questionnaire was chosen because it accords a researcher the chance/opportunity to create questions or statements according to practical research needs. Under this method, I intended to examine five productive extensions, namely causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive and stative. It focuses on their co-occurrences, the reordering and repetition of extensions, and their morphosyntactic and semantic implication on the same verb. As a native speaker of Kuria language I constructed Kuria sentences with the targeted extensions like co-occurrences of two, three, and four verb extensions, with their reversive order (see Appendix No. 2). After that, I went to the field to test the meaning and acceptability of the sentences in Kuria language with Kuria native speakers. The main goal was to capture all possibilities of verb extensions which can co-occur and be reordered to the same verb and the verb extensions which can re-appear to the same verb or the same combinations. The sentences representing the possible occurrences were tested with four respondents, two females and two males from different communities. The data collected under this technique was analysed to answer one of the theoretically oriented research questions, i.e., the effects of reordering and repetition of extensions morphosyntactically and semantically to the same verb. Although I am a native speaker of Kuria language, I could not rely on introspective data alone because a scientific research needs to be tested and re-tested to confirm the reliability and validity of the data; and this was very important to avoid biased dispositions in my procedure and results.

The questionnaire focussed on verb extensions in Kuria language. It was divided into four parts based on the number of extensions (see Appendix No. 2). Sentences with the verbs with single and two extension morphemes were grouped together (in Part A). The second part consisted of the sentences with three extension morphemes to the verbs. The third consisted of sentences with four extension morphemes to the verbs while the last part presented verbs with repeated extension(s). In the last part of the questionnaire, I also gave my respondents a chance to construct sentences by using ten verbs (see Appendix No. 2) with repeated extensions. My intention here was to see how they use verbs with a number of extensions in the sentence.

I administered the questionnaire to my respondents face to face and one after another by reading the sentences and putting a tick where the sentence was regarded as correct/acceptable and a cross in a bracket if it was not regarded as correct/acceptable. I also took notes on explanations given by my respondents. I decided to administer the questionnaire to my respondents in the above-mentioned manner to avoid waiting for feedback over a long period of time. Secondly, this helped me to clarify and elaborate on certain aspects of the questionnaire whenever need be so that it should not be wholly or partially misconstrued.

#### **4.2.2 Semi-Structured Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews were carried out in which the respondents were asked to explain their views on how Kuria traditions, customs and norms contribute to or hinder their social development. Although I was eager to know their attitudes on this issue, my main goal was to prompt them into talking and using verb extensions in their discourse.

The utterances were then used to further investigate the actual usage of verb extensions in spoken Kuria. After having recorded these interviews, I selected some of the sentences used in the text with verb extensions as examples for further investigation. I gathered spoken data with this method together with the use of a video stimulus (see section 4.2.3 in this chapter and Appendices No. 3 and 4). I counted the number of verb extensions used by all respondents in their speech and later compared the results with the number of verb extensions used in written texts, i.e. in the Kuria Bible translation as one of the few texts available in the language. (See section 4.2.4.)

### 4.2.3 Video Stimulus

Video stimulus method was also among the techniques that enabled me to gather data on verb extensions used by my respondents. The aim of using video stimulus was to instigate my consultants to talk since I intended to later examine verb extensions using this data (their verbal productions). Thus, my task was to make them talk on video by explaining and describing the ongoing practices in the society. I started by requesting the permission to use the video clips from the members of the two groups to whom I recorded videos, by explaining the aims of the video clips. With their approval, I organized members into two groups. While the first group included craftsmen and their aides in a construction site in Tarime at *Majengo Mapya* Street, with whom I recorded one video clip (V<sub>1</sub>). The second group consisted of teachers and pupils at Buhemba Primary School in the same locality, with whom I recorded video two (V<sub>2</sub>) and video three (V<sub>3</sub>). After the recording process, I pre-watched all clips before taking them to my respondents. From the video clips, I got a number of verbs that were likely to be used by my respondents in the generated conversations. Then, after data collection, I selected one sample (M2<sup>22</sup> from age group 'A') from among twelve respondents to see how many verbs were actually used by him out of what I expected, before the analysis.

The recorded short video clips showed people undertaking different activities in varying situations. The respondents were asked to describe them. This enabled me to make my respondents use many different types of verbs and to observe how they realized extensions to some verbs in spoken Kuria. As explained above, the videos were divided into three groups, namely, Video one (V<sub>1</sub>), Video two (V<sub>2</sub>), and Video three (V<sub>3</sub>). During the categorization process, I used different criteria for grouping them. These included languages used in the video; kinds of activities which were performed in the video; level of the participants and the reality of the activities and environment used to record the video. My main goal of doing this was to grant the group members a chance to interact in a normal way and in real-life situations. During the data collection process, I reduced the volume of the video clip to zero (0) so as to prevent the voice from the video from influencing my respondents while watching and describing the video clips.

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<sup>22</sup> M2 is one of the respondents from Rosana village; he is a male from age group A (Aged 30s).

#### 4.2.3.1 Video one (V<sub>1</sub>)

Video one was selected on the basis of language criteria and the activities carried out by the group members. Although I did not plan to analyse the video clips as a source of my data I intended to have some parts of the video where Kuria language was used just to have an idea of how they used language at their jobsite. Two languages were used in this video, namely Kuria and Swahili, although there were also instances of code-switching to other languages like Dholuo. This also reflects the language used by the communities in Tarime. It should be noted that these languages were used for communication purposes among the group members in the video clip but not in my study. I rather used only the text (which I transcribed from their talks) for my analysis in this study. The first video on a construction process lasted for 13 minutes and 18 seconds and involved 13 people: two women and eleven men, performing different activities during the whole process. Out of about 30 shown activities that related to the use of 30 verbs, only 20 verbs were used by M2. But it should be noted that apart from the expected verbs, my respondents were also using other verbs such as, *homa* ‘plaster’, *ruta* ‘pool’, *harahara* ‘scrape’, *swala* ‘wear’, *iha* ‘rooted’, *ghenderia* ‘continue’, *honyora* ‘uncover’, *rengera* ‘repeat’, *bhonda* ‘throw something (like ball) to someone’, *chubhuria* ‘peal’, *kana* ‘go rapidly up a tree’, *kunama* ‘come in’, from which I extracted different categories of verbs and their arguments, verbs with extensions and multiple extensions, as shown in Tables 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3:

**Table 4.1: Activities and Verbs in Video 1.**

Video one (V <sub>1</sub> )			
Serial No.	Activities performed	Expected Verb to be used	Verb used by respondent M2
1	House building, Fetching some water, Preparation of septic tank, Mixing sand and cement	oghotahuria - to scoop	X = verb not used
2		oghotamboka - to cross	X = verb not used
3		oghotema - to nock/hit	X = verb not used
4		oghotora - to put	+ = verb used
5		okobhanga - to arrange	X = verb not used
6		okobherekera - to call	+ = verb used
7		okoghamba - to speak	+ = verb used
8		okoghenda - to walk	X = verb not used
9		okoghota - catch	+ = verb used



10		okoghwa - to fall	+ = verb used
11		okooha - to give	+ = verb used
12		okohaghacha - to build	+ = verb used
13		okohoma - to pour	+ = verb used
14		okomaha - to see	+ = verb used
15		okoghachia - to hook on to	+ = verb used
16		okoorkia - to direct/show	+ = verb used
17		okorekera - to throw	X = verb not used
18		okoreng'ana - to be same level	+ = verb used
19		okowansa - to start	X = verb not used
20		ughuchora - to collect	+ = verb used
21		ughuichoghana - to mix	+ = verb used
21		ughuichuria - to fill	X = verb not used
22		ughuitweka - to take upon oneself	+ = verb used
23		ughusumacha - to speak	+ = verb used
24		ughutuka - to dig	+ = verb used
25		ughuisabha - to wash/clean	+ = verb used
26		ukubhima - to measure	+ = verb used
27		ukuimeera - to stand	X = verb not used
28		ukuimukia - to take	+ = verb used
29		ukurina - to climb	X = verb not used
30		ukuruta - to pull	X = verb not used
<b>Total</b>		<b>30</b>	<b>20</b>

#### 4.2.3.2 Video two (V<sub>2</sub>)

This video was shot at Buhemba Primary School and comprised of 10 pupils and 8 teachers. Pupil participants were selected from the same level (standard six) by virtue of the fact that, belonging to a higher grade, they were expected to demonstrate some degree of maturity compared to their lower classes counterparts. All the actors in the video spoke in Swahili while performing different kinds of school activities including cooking, playing, cultivating and teaching (see the table below). I found that for the pupils it was easier to perform different kinds of actions which could not be easily performed by elders. Due to that, this video lasted forty-seven (47) minutes and twelve (12) seconds. In total, out of sixty-one (61) verbs that were expected, only thirty-nine (39) were used by M2.

**Table 4.2: Activities and Verbs in Video 2.**

Video two (V <sub>2</sub> )			
Serial No.	Activities	Expected Verb	Verb Used
1	Cooking, playing, cultivating, mango plucking, and teaching	oghokebha - to cut	+ = verb used
2		oghokenya - to run	+ = verb used
3		oghokora - to do	+ = verb used
4		oghooka - to burn	X = verb not used
5		oghosoha - to inter	X = verb not used
6		oghotamboka - to cross	X = verb not used
7		oghotema - to hit	+ = verb used
8		oghotora - to put	+ = verb used
9		oghuikara - to sit	X = verb not used
10		oghuisabha - to wash/clean	+ = verb used
11		oghusughatera - to come close	+ = verb used
12		oghuswara - to wear	X = verb not used
13		okobhandika - to attach	X = verb not used
14		okobherekera - to call	+ = verb used
15		okobhoha - to tie	X = verb not used
16		okochimukia - to boil	X = verb not used
17		okoghachia - to hook/put	+ = verb used
18		okoghamba - to speak	+ = verb used
19		okoghenda - to walk	X = verb not used
20		okoghota - to hold/catch	+ = verb used
21		okoghoterra - to keep holding	+ = verb used
22		okoghwa - to fall	+ = verb used
23		okoha - to give	+ = verb used
24		okohara - to run after	+ = verb used
25		okohenchera - to cook	X = verb not used
26		okohenia - to remove something on the way	+ = verb used
27		okoheta - to pass through	X = verb not used
28		okohincha - to sway to and fro	+ = verb used
29		okohoya - to play	+ = verb used
30		okoibhuruka - to jump	+ = verb used
31		okoimerrra - to stand	X = verb not used
32		okomaha - to see	+ = verb used
33		okong'ona - to reprove	X = not used
34		okoogha - to weed	+ = verb used
35		okooghia - to wash	+ = verb used
36		okoonyoma - to crouch	X = verb not used
37		okoorkia - to show	+ = verb used
38		okorekera - to thrown	+ = verb used
39		okorema - to cultivate	X = verb not used
40		okotema - to hit	+ = verb used

41		okowansa - to start	X = verb not used
42		ughuchora - to collect	+ = verb used
43		ughukundikiria - to cover	X = verb not used
44		ughusumacha - to talk	+ = verb used
45		ughutwa - to pick	+ = verb used
46		ukuhuta - to rub	+ = verb used
47		ukuibhuruka - to jump	+ = verb used
48		ukuighia - to teach	+ = verb used
49		ukuiha - to remove	+ = verb used
50		ukuiheka - to cook	+ = verb used
51		ukuihinya - to bend	X = verb not used
52		ukuihonchora - to turn back	X = verb not used
53		ukuimikia - to take	+ = verb used
54		ukuimuria - to peel	+ = verb used
55		ukuinaara - to go around	+ = verb used
56		ukunywa - to drink	+ = verb used
57		ukurighia - to find	X = verb not used
58		ukurina - to clump	+ = verb used
59		ukurughia - to chase away	X = verb not used
60		ukurusia - to take out/to put off	+ = verb used
61		ukuruta - to pull	X = verb not used
<b>Total</b>		<b>61</b>	<b>39</b>

#### 4.2.3.3 Video three (V<sub>3</sub>)

The main activity in video three (V<sub>3</sub>) that lasted for eight (08) minutes and thirty-three (33) seconds was based on reading whereby teachers were helping some students to read in front of their peers and to each other. The topics were on Citizenship (*Uraia*), Social Studies (*Maarifa ya Jamii*), and Education for HIV/AIDS prevention (*Elimu ya Kujikinga na UKIMWI*). There were ten students and two teachers. The language used was Swahili, which is the medium of instruction in primary schools in Tanzania. From this video clip, I expected fifteen (15) verbs but I got only seven (7). As I explain above, it should be noted, in all videos (V<sub>1</sub>, V<sub>2</sub>, and V<sub>3</sub>), not only the expected verbs were used but also other verbs. See the table below about (V<sub>3</sub>):

**Table 4.3: Activities and Verbs in Video 3.**

Video Three (V <sub>3</sub> )			
	Activities	Expected Verb	Verb used
1	Teach how to read a book, reading a book	oghoseka - to laugh	X = verb not used
2		oghosoma - to read	+ = verb used
3		okobhaanga - to arrange	X = verb not used
4		okoghachia - to hook/put	X = verb not used

5		oghokaribhisa - to welcome	X = verb not used
6		okoorokia - to show	+ = verb used
7		ughotegheera - to listen	+ = verb used
8		ughuikara - to sit	+ = verb used
9		ughusughatera - to come close	X = verb not used
10		ughusumacha - to talk	+ = verb used
11		ughutigha - to stop	X = verb not used
12		ukuighia - to teach	+ = verb used
13		ukuighwa - to hear	X = verb not used
14		ukuimeera - to stand	+ = verb used
15		ukuiyagha - to scratch	X = verb not used
<b>Total</b>		<b>15</b>	<b>7</b>

#### 4.2.4 Written Text

Under this method, I used Kuria New Testament Bible *Endaghano Ehya* (1996). The Kuria Bible that is used as written data in this work is a translation done by the Bible Societies of Kenya and Tanzania. It was first published in 1954 and its fourth edition was published in 1996. The main aim of the translation endeavour was to make the Bible accessible to the Kuria native speakers most of whom do not have proficient level of the English language both in written and spoken speech. The original version from which the Kuria Bible was translated is the Greek version. However, this original text was mediated by the English and Swahili versions in which the translators were certainly more conversant. A key detail in the translation is the fact that it was actually carried out by native speakers of the Kuria language such as William Maswi from Kenya and Maroa Biraye and Maroa Kubio from Tanzania. By virtue of being native speakers of Kuria, they master, to a certain extent, the mindset, culture and traditions of the people and are attuned to the nuances of the Kuria language and its different registers and usages. Thus, their main aim was to make the Bible not only readable but contextually understandable to the average Kuria<sup>23</sup>.

The main reason for my selection of the text was the lack of other available documents in Kuria language. Owing to time constraints facing this study, I selected twelve chapters (books) from The Kuria New Testament Bible, four at the beginning, namely: The Gospel according to Matthew

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<sup>23</sup> This information was provided by two priests, Rev. Lucas Chacha from Tanzania and Rev. Samuel Habuba from Kenya.

(Mt), The Gospel according to Mark (Mk), The Gospel according to Luke (Lk), and The Gospel according to John (Jn). Four in the middle, namely: Thessalonians 1 (Th. 1), Thessalonians 2 (Th. 2), Timothy 1 (Tm. 1) and Timothy 2 (Tm. 2). The last were the four books at the end of the New Testament Bible, namely: Peter (Pet.), John (Jn), Jude (Jude) and The Revelation (Rv).

I chose twelve Books from the Bible in order to have a wide but manageable data that represents various expressions of Christian teaching, ranging from testimonies to letters that address challenges to the Church as an embodiment of Christian faith. Out of the twelve chapters chosen, I examined the occurrences of five productive verb extensions in Kuria, namely causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive, and stative together with their co-occurrences. The analysis was done by counting the number of verb extensions and finding their percentages for reasons of comparison. The data obtained through this technique were analysed together with those obtained through semi-structured interviews and video stimuli. Data obtained from these methods were significant in answering two of the questions raised by this study: firstly, the extent to which verb extensions and the co-occurrence instances were used in spoken and written Kuria and secondly, the predominant extension and the co-occurrences pattern in Kuria.

### **4.3 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure**

In a research project, sample size and sampling procedure draw vital consideration before a researcher embarks on the data collection process. It is expected that the sample size and sampling procedure would be in line with the purpose of the study, research questions, research design and data collection methods. This study adopted the purposive sampling technique based on the view that it provides the researcher with a sample which is fundamental to the quality and reliability of data gathered. The sample size for this study was categorised into two groups. The first group included four (4) respondents, two males and two females; who were engaged through the questionnaire method, but three respondents among these were also in the second group. The second group was composed of twelve (12) respondents who were involved through semi-structured interviews and video stimulus technique. Therefore, the total sample size of this study was thirteen (13).

It should be noted that I also worked with another group of people for the video shooting in the field ( $V_1$ ,  $V_2$ , and  $V_3$ ). However, I do not count them as my respondents based on the fact that a respondent is a person who responds to the questions (research questions in my case). I did not collect data directly from them although my respondents used the video (shot with their assistance) to generate the data which I later used in this study. It is true that they played a role in calibrating the attention of my respondents and in one way or another stimulated the respondents to talk and express their views. In this case, I regard them as a stimulus to my respondent and not as my respondents. This group comprised of people who were involved in the video clips. For instance, in video clip one ( $V_1$ ) there are thirteen (13), consisting of eleven males and two females. In video clip two ( $V_2$ ), there were eighteen participants, including eight teachers (six males and two females) and ten pupils (five males and five females). The last video clip three ( $V_3$ ), had twelve participants, comprising two male teachers and ten pupils; but all those who were part of the  $V_3$  also took part in the  $V_2$ . This group was a mixture of both Kuria and non-Kuria speakers.

One can note the gender disparity in the  $V_1$  and  $V_2/V_3$ . This is due to the nature of activities carried out in the videos. In  $V_1$  the process of house construction in Mara region is mostly undertaken by men and the two women were only there to assist them in auxiliary activities, i.e. one was fetching water while the other was filling the floors of the rooms with soil to level them. In the other two video clips, it was due to the nature of the activities that I intended to capture/analyse, i.e. running, cooking, playing, cultivating, mango plucking, teaching (in video two) and teaching/reading (in video three).

#### **4.3.1 Respondents in Semi-Structured Interviews and Video Stimulus Method**

The sample representation in the two methods was categorized in three groups according to the age of the respondents. Group 'A' comprised of respondents in their 30s; group 'B' in 40s and group 'C' in 50s and above. I decided to have different respondents at least from these three age group categories so that they could represent the age and gender stratification of the Kuria community. In each group, there were four (4) respondents (two males and two females). I used code M for male and F for female. The codes were numbered 1 to 6; this means that, code number 1 and 2 (M1, M2, F1 and F2) are in group 'A' and 3 and 4 in group 'B' and 5 and 6 are in group

‘C’. I also purposefully selected diverse genders to avoid gender bias and to have equal numbers in each age group set. Below is a short description of the respondents in their respective groups.

#### **4.3.1.1 Group ‘A’ (Aged 30s)**

In this group there were two males (M1 and M2) and two females (F1 and F2). There were three respondents from Rosana and one from Kemakorere villages.

##### **4.3.1.1.1 M1 (from Rosana Village)**

M1 was 30 years old. He was living in Rosana village. In his explanation in both semi-structured interviews and video stimulus he used 1613 words.

##### **4.3.1.1.2 M2 (from Rosana Village)**

M2 was born and was living in Rosana village. During data collection, he used 3993 words in total.

##### **4.3.1.1.3 F1 (from Kemakorere)**

F1 was born at Kebhweye. She was living in Kemakorere. She used 2348 words during data collection.

##### **4.3.1.1.4 F2 (from Rosana)**

F2 was 30 years old in 2014. She was living in Rosana village. During data collection she used 1121 words.

#### **4.3.1.2 Group ‘B’ (Aged 40s)**

This group also had four respondents with equal gender composition. Two respondents were from Nkende community, one from Rosana and one from Kemakorere villages.

##### **4.3.1.2.1 M3 (from Kemakorere)**

M3 was 41 years old; he was born at Kemakorere Village. He used 2145 words during data collection.

#### **4.3.1.2.2 M4 (from Nkende)**

M4 was 48 years old. He used 4983 words during data collection.

#### **4.3.1.2.3 F3 (from Rosana)**

F3 was 45 years old. She lived in Rosana village. During data collection she used 2187 words.

#### **4.3.1.2.4 F4 (from Nkende)**

F4 was 49 years old. She was born in Nyarero village. She used 2943 total number of words in her talk.

#### **4.3.1.3 Group 'C' (Aged 50s and above)**

Group 'C' included different age categories compared to the above-mentioned two groups which had similar age characteristics, i.e. 30s and 40s. Members in this group were in their 50s and 70s. The group had four respondents; one from Msati, two from Rosana and one from Kemakorere villages.

#### **4.3.1.3.1 M5 (from Rosana)**

M5 was 75 years old. He was living in Rosana village. He used 1852 words during data collection.

#### **4.3.1.3.2 M6 (from Msati)**

M6 was born in 1938 (76 years old) in Nyamongo village in Tarime district. But by the time of research, he was living and working in Msati. He used 4718 words during data collection.

#### **4.3.1.3.3 F5 (from Rosana)**

F5 was 55 years old; she was born at Nyarutu village in Tarime district, but she was living at Rosana. She used 877 words.

#### **4.3.1.3.4 F6 (from Kemakorere)**

F6 was born in 1942 (she was presently 72 years old). She used 1201 words.



### **4.3.2 Respondents in Questionnaire Method**

Under the questionnaire method I used four respondents, two males and two females. Three respondents in this method were among the twelve respondents who were involved in the semi-structured interviews and video stimulus. Males were (M4) and (M6). The female was (F4). Additionally, there was another female respondent from Rosana village (F7) who was not in the other groups. The latter was 52 years old.

### **4.4 Data Analysis Procedures**

The recorded data from twelve respondents were transcribed and the verbs with extensions were marked and counted. Some sentences with the verb extensions were used as examples in Chapter Seven of this study. These data were used together with the data from written text method, the written data from the Kuria Bible. Then, the selected examples were further analysed based on morphosyntactic parsing and interlinearization (segmentation data analysis). Under this process, the words in the sentences were segmented into morphemes in order to match morphemes with their semantic representations.

The data collected from written text, semi-structured interviews and video stimulus were marked and counted separately. The calculation was done based on different categories of verb extensions. Verbs with a single extension morpheme were counted separately from the co-occurrences; and later counted based on specific extensions, i.e. causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive and stative extension. The verbs with co-occurrences of extensions were grouped into three categories, namely the co-occurrences of two extension morphemes, three, and four extension morphemes; and verbs with two extension morphemes, that were calculated separately from three and four extension morphemes. These were also later grouped into more specific groups based on the kinds of extensions which had co-occurred. Selected sentences were examined and described accordingly under the guidance of different theoretical concepts in relation to the relevant thematic areas reflecting the objectives of the study.

Another type of data was that gathered through questionnaires. This was already in form of text but there were little modifications from the field. The same method of analysis (morphosyntactic

parsing) was employed to analyse sentences which were used as examples in Chapters Five and Six of this study.

#### **4.5 Challenges**

During data collection I faced two major challenges: one was the consistency of time duration of the process through recording and the second one was availability of electricity. It was not easy to control time during data collection. Some respondents talked for only a few minutes compared to others who went on for much longer time, thereby causing time inconsistencies. This arguably contributed to the differences in the occurrence of verb extensions between respondents. For instance, a respondent who spoke for an hour was likely to use more verb extensions than one who spoke for only fifteen minutes. To solve this challenge, I worked on the percentages of verb extensions from the total number of words used by respondents. This was also the case in the data collected from the texts in written documents (see more clarification in Chapter Seven).

The second challenge involved availability of electricity during data collection, especially in the rural areas where the supply is either not stable or not available at all. I navigated through this problem by hiring a car from the villages to the town where I rented one meeting room and a generator, using the latter whenever power went off. Since I was collecting information from twelve respondents, it was also time intensive as I had to fit into their individual schedules.

#### **4.6 General Remark**

My intention in the data collection was to get adequate data for this study. The methods of data collection selected for the study have provided enough data to answer my research questions. The collected data under four techniques, namely, questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, video stimulus and written text have been used successfully to answer research questions thus, to achieve the intended goal of the study. The data collected under three techniques namely, semi-structured interviews, video stimulus and written text were employed in language use dimension (see Chapter Seven) while the data from the questionnaire were used to clarify issues related to theory (see Chapters Five and Six).

## **4.7 Conclusion**

The chapter presented the methodology of this study. It offered a detailed view of the activities carried out in the field and the ways they were handled, showing how a mixed methods research approach was necessary. The chapter also presented the area of the study, the research methods of data collection, namely: questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, video stimulus and written text. It specified the method of data analysis from audio to text data, whereby the morphosyntactic parsing was adopted in the analysis of the data. It has concluded by summarizing how challenges were overcome or handled.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Extensions and their Semantic Scope in Kuria

This chapter analyses and discusses multiple extensions and their semantic scopes in relation to the argument position. Here, I examine the possibility of multiple extensions and how they are re-ordered and reappear within a set of combinations. The main objective of this chapter is to show how one extension can behave in a set of extensions, i.e. when it appears in different positions together with other extensions. The chapter starts by introducing five productive extensions in Bantu languages, namely, stative, applicative, reciprocal, causative, and passive. This is followed by the examination of the co-occurrence of two, three and four extensions respectively in one set of combinations and their reversed order. The last section analyses recurrence of extension(s).

One of the main characteristics of Bantu languages is the co-occurrence of extensions. Hyman (2003, p. 260) provides an explanation for the order of extensions in Bantu languages. He proposes a fixed order (CARP/CARTP Template) of the Bantu suffix ordering as autonomous morphology. Hyman uses Chimwiini (G412) as an example of languages in which the suffix ordering is strictly templatic and it is not possible to put extensions in any other order than CARP. I will demonstrate in this chapter that this is not the case with Kuria, although there are some combinations which are in accordance with the CARTP template. In this chapter, the analysed data reveals that in Kuria a number of extensions can be reordered and recur in the same verb.

#### 5.1 Verb Extensions in Kuria Verb Structure

In Chapter Two Section 2.1.1.2.2, I presented the Kuria verb structure showing a number of slots within the structure. In this chapter I would like to refer to the last part known as post-root domain in which this study is dealing with a number of extensions as I present here below.

**Table 5.1 Post-Root Domain (also see Table 2.5c in Chapter Two)**

Root	Extension domain				Tense and Passive Extension				
	STAT <i>-ek-</i> intransitivity/ inchoative	APPL <i>-er-</i> applicative	REC <i>-an-</i> reciprocal	CAUS <i>-i-</i> causative	T tense marker	PASS <i>-w-</i> , <i>-bhw-</i> passive	FV final vowel	SM2 subject marker 2	AUX auxiliary verb

Source: Cammenga (2004, p. 245) with two additional slots

It is very important to explain in brief how the Kuria verb extensions are organised within the verb structure and how they are related to CARP/CARTP given by Hyman (2003). In the same dimension, it is essential to identify the difference between Kuria verb extensions and the Bantu suffix template and delineate the contribution of this study to the Bantu linguistic knowledge. In this chapter we will see how some extensions allow movement from one position to another which in turn leads to semantic role re-adjustment, generating new meaning from the previous order. The five extensions regarded as productive in Bantu can be represented as in Table 5.1. Out of the five productive extensions, the order is fixed for two extensions, namely, stative and passive. Within the structure three extensions namely, applicative, reciprocal and causative are not fixed and can exchange their position within their slots. The analysis of this chapter intends to show how these extensions differ from the Bantu Template CARP/CARTP as given by Hyman. I will argue that some existing principles can fully explain the order of extensions in some but not all languages given and that each language is specific and peculiar. In Kuria we have two causatives, the long causative (-isi-)<sup>24</sup> and short causative (-i-). (see section 5.1.4 in this chapter and section 7.2.3 in Chapter Seven). However, the long causative seems to disappear and what remains recurrent is the short causative which is referred to as ‘Transitive’ by Hyman in a set of CARTP.

In any natural language, the verb is associated with a set of arguments depending on the verb’s core meaning. According to Bearth, at the basic level of the sentence structure the first criterion to consider is the number of noun phrases (arguments) required by a verb. He argues that “the structural and semantic subclassification of the verbs is a principal key to understanding elementary syntactic structure” (Bearth, 2006, p. 122). Therefore, the argument (valency) is amongst one of the important elements in a sentence. Verb arguments can be categorized into two groups, core arguments and processed arguments. Pylkkänen (2002, p. 2) calls them true and additional arguments, respectively. Each argument in a sentence has its own function syntactically and semantically and any of these can be subjected to morphosyntactic processes. This means that the morphosyntactic operations (extension morphemes) can affect any of these arguments, either core or processed arguments.

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<sup>24</sup> In this study I would like to differentiate between the two causatives namely, the long causative (-isi-) which will be referred as CAUS<sub>long</sub> while the short causative (-i-) will be represented as CAUS.

The core or processed arguments can be understood by using the theory of *The Syntax of Argument Structure*: a morphosyntactic theory introduced by Babby (2009). This theory deals with “mapping between a verb’s argument structure representation and the core syntactic structure of the sentence it heads” (Babby, 2009, p. 1). The theory shows the relationship of the syntactic elements in the sentence and the semantic properties of a verb. Its primary hypothesis states that “*a sentence’s core syntactic representation is the direct projection of the main verb’s final argument-structure representation*” (Babby, 2009, p. 1). This means that what is within the verb as representation is what we can see at the syntactic structure of a sentence, “the former determines the latter” (Babby, 2009, p. 1). Babby shows how the functions of the canonical affix-driven argument structure merge with the core verb’s properties. In this regard, he notes that:

The crucial assumption here is that function words and productive affixes have their own argument structure which interacts with the lexical verb’s argument structure, producing a single derived composite argument structure. For example, the active ~ passive alternation results from different affix-driven argument-structure level operations on the same verb stem’s initial argument structure (Babby, 2009, p. 2).

One of the keywords to be understood prior to the analysis in this chapter is ‘semantic scope’ as presented/outlined below. I adopt Baker’s (1992, p. 102) and Rice’s (2000, p. 24) views on this concept. Baker explains that “morpheme order correlates with semantic scope in a simple and predicated way: the morpheme further from the verb stem is interpreted as having scope over the morpheme closer to the verb stem” (1992, p. 102). Rice on his part explains the ‘semantic scope’ as:

In the first sense, in which I use the term, it concerns semantic compositionality. In particular, given three items X, Y and Z, item X and Y combine with each other and then combine as a unity with Z. The semantic of Z is added to that of X and Y as a unit (2000, p. 24).

This chapter presents the analysis of the verb extensions more specifically on reordering and repetition of extensions. The analysis shows how suffixes or morphosyntactic operations (which Babby refers to as canonical affix-driven) work. It examines the effects of extension morphemes (when) reordered and recurring within the same verb; and their effects on the arguments that are altered by these extensions and whether they should also be reordered or not. What are the syntactic and semantic differences between these different combinations? For instance, what happens when the valency increaser extension recurs in the same verb? Do we need to add another argument to

the verb or not? What does this imply morphosyntactically and semantically for the argument introduced? And lastly, what is the effect if the valency decreaser recurs? In the data analysis, the morphosyntactic operations (verb extensions) are highlighted (bolded) so as to be easily identified. As I stated in Chapter Four, the data analysis method is based on morphosyntactic parsing in which the morphemes are segmented so as to match with semantic representation and to capture the meaning of the Kuria sentences.

This section deals with five productive single (mono-morphemic) extensions and their functions in the sentence. It aims at giving the meaning and functions of each individual extension before analysing their combination with other extensions. Focus here is laid on the most productive extensions in Bantu, namely, stative, applicative, reciprocal, causatives and passive.

### 5.1.1 Stative

According to Trask, the stative denotes “a form or construction which expresses a state of affairs, rather than an event” (1993, p. 259). It demonstrates the existence of a certain state. It does not need the agent since it is a condition on its own. Stative and passive sentences look similar in syntactic functions. Doke (1935, pp. 150-151), Lodhi (2002, pp. 5-6) and Schadeberg (2006, p. 75) call it Neuter. Schadeberg (2006, p. 75) shows that, the Proto-Bantu reconstruction of Neuter is *\*-ik-*. Syntactically, the stative extension suppresses the subject and transfers the object to the subject position. One of the functions of the stative extension is to derive an intransitive verb from a transitive verb by reducing the number of the verb’s arguments, semantically, called agent or actor or causer. It indicates a condition without referring to an agent. Examine the examples below from Kuria.

31. *Mwita a-rá-bhún-á é-me-te*  
 Mwita 3SG-PRES-break-FV AUG-CL4-tree  
 Mwita fells the trees.

32. *É-me-te ghé-bhón-ek-a.*  
 AUG-CL4-tree CL4-break-STAT-FV  
 Trees are felled.

The stative extension reduces the number of arguments from two to one in examples (31) and (32).

The argument *emetε* ‘trees’ is an internal argument in (31) but after the stative extension has been affixed it has become the external argument. Syntactically it is the subject of the sentence, semantically it acts as the patient. While Mwita appears as agent in (31), it is suppressed by the stative extension and therefore does not appear in sentence (32).

As I stated earlier, Kuria is a tonal language. Tone is used in both finite and infinite verbs. It influences phonological and morphological processes, as explained by Mwita (2008) below:

Phonological processes such as spreading and doubling lead to the diversity of surface tonal patterns. Other factors such as syllable type and length of verb dictate how tones are distributed. It has also been shown that the rightmost primary H tone in the macrostem undergoes unbounded spreading up to the penult, except for the Imperatives (p.174).

Morphologically tone in Kuria can also be seen from the uses of two negative morphemes in Kuria verbs /te-/ and /ta-/. Mwita (2008) shows that: “While /te-/ triggered a H tone in the pre-macrostem domain, /ta-/ did not contribute any high tone (p. 302). For more clarification on the basic principles of tone assignment in Kuria verbs, see Mwita (2008, pp. 85-174).

### 5.1.2 Applicative

Meinhof (1899) as cited in Rugemalira (1993, p. 56) reconstructs applicative extension in Proto-Bantu as *\*-id-*, while Schadeberg (2006, p. 74) reconstructs it as *\*-il-*. Other terms used in making reference to the applicative are: dative (Schadeberg, 2006, p. 74), directive and instrumental objective, prepositional, relative and applied (Doke, 1935, pp. 52-53). The term applicative has been defined by Trask as “a construction found in certain languages, notably Bantu languages, in which an underlying indirect or oblique object realised as a surface direct object, the verb usually bearing a distinctive inflection expressing the semantic relation borne by the surface direct object” (Trask, 1993, p. 18). The underlying form of the applicative in Kuria is *-er-* but it appears in other forms (allomorphs) as *-ir-* due to vowel harmony and *-eey-* when it is in perfective tense. Examine examples (33) and (34):

- |                                  |                  |                 |                    |
|----------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 33. <i>U-mu-kungu</i>            | <i>a-ra-h-a</i>  | <i>o-mo-ona</i> | <i>a-ma-bherε.</i> |
| AUG-CL1-woman                    | 3SG-PRES-give-FV | AUG-CL1-child   | AUG-CL6-milk       |
| A woman gives milk to the child. |                  |                 |                    |



34. *U-mu-kungu a-ra-h-e-er-a Mokami o-mo-ona a-ma-bhere.*  
 AUG-CL1-woman 3SG-PRES-give-APPL-FV Mokami AUG-CL1-child AUG-CL6-milk

A woman gives milk to the child on behalf of Mokami.

The applicative, like the causative extension, is a valency increaser and has several functions. Syntactically, it modifies the number of the verb's arguments by introducing a new argument. This leads to a change in the verb category, for instance, from intransitive to transitive, from transitive to di-transitive and from ditransitive to super transitive verb, due to the number of arguments which are required (see examples in 37 and 38; 39 and 40; 33 and 34 respectively). In Kuria it is possible for the valency increaser to be affixed to a ditransitive verb, which makes the verb to have four arguments as, for instance, in examples (33) and (34). The new argument *Mokami* is added to a set of internal argument(s) as beneficiary. Semantically, the applicative extension plays different roles such as beneficiary, goal, malefactive, instrumental, patient, recipient, reason and locative (Rugemalira 1993; Schadeberg 2006; Zacharia 2011; Lusekelo 2012).

### 5.1.3 Reciprocal

Reciprocal extension is one of the valency decreasing extensions which tend to suppress arguments syntactically but not semantically (see my argument in Chapter Six). In other words, we can say that the reciprocal extension reduces the valency of a verb just as it does to other extensions such as reflexive, passive and stative; although they differ to some extent. Trask defines reciprocal as “a construction involving such an anaphor, expressing the action of two entities on each other, or of several entities on one another” (Trask, 1993, p. 229). One of the characteristics of the reciprocal extension is that it takes a subject, which is a co-joint NP or a single plural subject (Payne, 2002; Schadeberg, 2006). Payne (2002, p. 201) states that “lexical reciprocals are verbs for which reciprocity is a built-in component of their semantics.” The reciprocal extension is also known as associative extension and is reconstructed as *\*-an-* (Schadeberg 2006, p. 76).

35. *Chacha a-hanch-a mo-kae.*  
 Chacha 3SG-love-FV CL1-his wife

Chacha loves his wife.

36. *Chacha na mo-kaε bha-hanch-an-a.*  
 Chacha and CL1-his wife 3PL-PRES-love-REC-FV  
 Chacha and his wife love each other.

In example (35) there are two arguments *Chacha* and *mokaε* ‘his wife’. Reciprocal extension suppresses one argument in (36), i.e. *mokaε* ‘his wife’, and raises it to subject position to form a coordinated noun phrase (NP). A clause which contains a reciprocal involves two participants who act upon each other. Syntactically, they act as the subject while semantically they are agent and patient at the same time. So from examples (35) and (36) one can see the reciprocal has reduced one argument of the verb syntactically, but semantically the reduced or suppressed argument is maintained; it is just a matter of changing position from the internal argument (object) to the external argument (subject) of the verb.

#### 5.1.4 Causative

Causative is an argument structure changing extension that adds one argument to the total number of arguments of a verb. It conveys the verb meaning of causing someone to do something or causing something to happen. Trask defines causative as “a transitive construction, related to a second, simpler, transitive or intransitive construction, from which it differs by the additional presence of an agent NP perceived as the direct instigator of the action expressed in the simpler construction” (Trask, 1993, p. 38). Bastin (1986) as cited in Schadeberg (2006, p. 73) gives two causative extensions *\*-i-* and *\*-ici-* reconstructed for Proto-Bantu, whereby *\*-i-* is used after a consonant, while *\*-ici-* is used after a vowel. Schadeberg further shows that “the long causative extension was used after the short root of the =CV-, and the short causative was used after the long verb stems of the shape =CVC(-VC)-” (2006, p. 73). The analysis of the data shows that Kuria exhibits this observed morphological behaviour. In Kuria, there are two forms of the causative, the long form (*-isi-*) and the short form (*-i-*). As can be seen in examples (38) and (40) the long causative (*-isi-*) is added to the root *ghw-* with the underlying form (*gu-*) which is CV-. However, the analysis in Chapter Seven shows that the short causative form (*-i-*) featured more than the long causative (*-isi-*) in the data (see more clarification in section 7.2.3 in Chapter Seven).

37. *O-mo-ona*      *a-ra-ghw-a*  
 AUG-CL1-child    3SG-PRES-fall-FV  
 The child is falling.
38. *Mwita*    *a-ra-ghw-isi-a*                      *o-mo-ona*  
 Mwita    3SG-PRES-fall-CAUS<sub>long</sub>-FV      AUG-CL1-child  
 Mwita makes the child to fall.
39. *O-mo-ona*      *a-ra-kebha*                      *i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL1-child    3SG-PRES-cut-FV                      AUG-CL9-meat  
 A child is slicing the meat.
40. *Mwita*    *a-ra-kebha-i-a*                      *o-mo-ona*                      *i-nyama*  
 Mwita    3SG-PRES-cut-CAUS-FV      AUG-CL1- child      AUG-CL9-meat  
 Mwita makes the child to slice the meat.

The causative extension as valency increaser has impact both syntactically and semantically on the verb to which it is affixed. The causative tends to change the status of the verb. Syntactically, from intransitive (one-place predicate) to transitive (two-place predicate) as in example (37) and (38), from transitive to ditransitive (three-place predicate) as in (39) and (40). Ditransitive verbs are changed to super transitive verbs where the verb requires more than three arguments. The argument introduced by causative is the subject of a sentence. Semantically, *Mwita* is the initiator of the action or the causer/agent in (38) and (40), and as such, adding a new semantic role to the verb has led to a change in verb meaning. At the same time, it affects the previous agent which was *omoona* ‘the child’ to become the causee.

The verb *ghwa* ‘fall’ is an intransitive verb that requires one argument, i.e. *omoona* ‘the child’, but in (38) the presence of the causative morpheme has introduced a causer, i.e. the one who makes the child to fall. In this case, the child is the causee and the patient of the verb cause and event action respectively. While in (39) the verb *kebha* ‘slice’ is a transitive verb that requires two arguments, i.e. the agent *omoona* ‘the child’ and the patient *inyama* ‘meat’, in (40) the causative morpheme on the verb has introduced the causer *Mwita* who makes the child slice the meat.

### 5.1.5 Passive

Passive is among valency decreaser extensions, whose main function is to reduce the number of arguments of a verb. The passive has been reconstructed as *\*-ʊ-* when it occurs after consonants and *\*-ibʊ-* when it occurs after vowels (given by Stappers 1967 as cited in Schadeberg, 2006, p. 78). Like other Bantu languages, Kuria has two forms of the passive, namely short (*-w-*) and long (*-bh-w-*) passive although they are not on the same level of productivity (see section 7.2.1 in Chapter Seven). I adopt Lodhi's (2002), Trask's (1993) and Doke's (1935) views on the passive. Lodhi looks at the concept of passive from the syntactic and semantic points of view as he sees it as a grammatical form that "indicates that the subject is acted upon by an agent" (Lodhi, 2002, p. 5). Doke similarly defines it as being "acted upon, affected or produced by outside force or agency" (Doke 1935, p. 162). Trask views the concept of passive from a syntactic point of view as "a construction in which an intrinsically transitive verb is constructed in such a way that its underlying object appears as its surface subject, its underlying subject being either absent (a 'short passive') or expressed as an oblique NP (a 'long passive', or 'passive-with-agent'), the construction usually being overtly marked in some way to show its passive character" (1993, p. 201). Synthesizing these three definitions, the passive can be described as a situation in which the patient has been subjected to the agent, and it appears as a surface subject, but the agent is un-expressed or is optional to short passive and oblique to the verb by long passive. A construction or an expression may be termed passive as illustrated in example (42) when the object of a formerly active clause in (41) takes the subject position in (42) (see examples below).

41. *Mwita a-ra-kebha o-mo-ona*  
 Mwita 3SG-PRES-cut-FV AUG-CL1-child

Mwita cuts the child.

42. *O-mo-ona a-kebhw-a (na Mwita).*  
 AUG-CL1-child 3SG-cut-PASS-FV (by Mwita)

The child was cut (by Mwita).

One of the effects of the passive extension is to decrease the valency of the verb; secondly, it raises one argument (usually the patient) from lower position to a higher position (subject position). In examples (41) and (42) the passive has changed the agent *Mwita* to an adjunct (see Appendix No.

1) because Mwita now is an optional syntactic element and not an argument anymore. Passive and stative behave in the same way by affecting the agent and raising the patient to subject position. But the difference is that while normally the passive needs the presence of an agent to perform its function, this does not seem to be the case with the stative in Bantu languages where it indicates a condition of being in a certain state.

## **5.2 Multiple Extensions**

The data used in this chapter was extracted under the questionnaire technique. It should be noted that although the questionnaire contained all possibilities of the co-occurrences of verb extensions, here I would rather use only sets which have reversed order and a set of the co-occurrences which is regarded as grammatically correct in Kuria. This is because the chapter investigates and discusses the effects of reordering and repetitions of extensions to the same verb.

### **5.2.1 Co-occurrence of Two Extensions**

This section analyses the co-occurrence of two extensions and their reverse ordering. Extensions which can be reordered in a set of two extensions in Kuria are: Applicative + Reciprocal (A+R)/ Reciprocal + Applicative (R+A) and Reciprocal + Causative (R+C)/Causative + Reciprocal (C+R). While the three extensions can be reordered, the stative and passive in Kuria are fixed. Whenever they appear in a set of extensions, their position remains as a fixed order for the first and last positions respectively.

#### **5.2.1.1 Applicative-Reciprocal (A+R)/Reciprocal-Applicative (R+A)**

The main function of extensions is to add or reduce the number of arguments of the verb. Applicative and reciprocal are two extensions with different functions. The applicative is a valency increasing extension while the reciprocal is the valency decreasing extension. This section shows how they operate in different kinds of verbs. See the next subsections.

##### **5.2.1.1.1 Applicative and Reciprocal (A+R)**

The co-occurrence of applicative and reciprocal (A+R) leads to the meaning ‘doing something for each other or on behalf of each other’ (benefactive and substitutive applicative as discussed by Marten and Kula [2014]). Another meaning is locative, i.e. ‘doing something for each other or on

behalf of each other at a certain place’. Examine the examples below based on the verbs *hoocha* ‘bring back’, *kebha* ‘cut/slice’ and *ha* ‘give’ without and with extensions:

43. *Mwita a-ra-hooch-a a-bha-ana*  
 Mwita 3SG- PRES-bring back- FV AUG-CL2-child

Mwita brings back the children.

44. *Mwita a-ra- hooch-er-a Chacha a-bha-ana*  
 Mwita 3SG- PRES-bring back-APPL-FV Chacha AUG-CL2-child

Mwita brings back the children on behalf of Chacha.

45. *Mwita na Chacha bha-ra-hooch-er-an-a a-bha-ana*  
 Mwita and Chacha 3PL-PRES- bring back -APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL2-child

Mwita and Chacha bring back the children on behalf of each other.

The order of applicative and reciprocal in Kuria reveals that the reciprocal has scope over applicative because the applicative is attached to the verb root before the reciprocal. The verb *hoocha* ‘bring back’ (from a journey or on the way to a place) is a transitive verb that requires two arguments syntactically (subject and object) and semantically (agent and theme), respectively. The addition of applicative as a valency increaser in (44) has added one argument (*Chacha*) which is beneficiary. When the reciprocal extension is added as in (45) the beneficiary *Chacha* which was introduced by applicative is suppressed. Examine examples (46) to (48) below for the verb *kebha* ‘cut/slice’ without and with extension(s):

46. *O-mo-ona a-ra-kebha-a i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL1-child 3SG-PRES-cut-FV AUG-CL9-meat

A child is slicing meat.

47. *O-mo-ona a-ra-kebha-er-a o-mo-ona i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL1-child 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-FV AUG-CL1- child AUG-CL9-meat

A child is slicing the meat for another child.

48. *A-bha-ana bha-ra-kebha-er-an-a i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL2- child 3PL-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL9-meat

Children are slicing the meat for each other.

The applicative as a valency increaser introduces one argument *omoona* ‘a child’ which is beneficiary in (47); and the reciprocal suppressed the new argument *omoona* in (48) by upgrading it to subject, to join the agent (make co-agent) (which is also *omoona* ‘a child’), and this makes it a plural argument *abhaana* ‘children’. This is because, in this case, the reciprocal acts on the meaning of the verb root and the argument introduced by applicative extension. As can be seen above, what has been introduced by the applicative is affected by the reciprocal. This reciprocity usually demands a plural subject or co-joint NP for reciprocity action. This indicates that there should be two or more arguments acting upon each other in the position of the subject. In this case, the subjects in (48) are both agents and beneficiaries, semantically speaking.

The results of the two examples in (45) and (48) show that the total number of arguments has remained the same as the basic sentence in examples (43) and (46) respectively. This is because, although the applicative is a valency increaser, it co-occurs with the valency decreaser extension, hence what has been introduced by applicative *Chacha* (the processed argument) in example (44) has been suppressed by reciprocal and upgraded to the subject position in example (45) and (48). Although a number of scholars have referred to the reciprocal as a valency decreaser, my view is that the reciprocal seems to have two functions; firstly, as valency decreaser (syntactically) and secondly, as valency changer of an extension’s position (semantically). This is because what is suppressed in the internal argument is taken (upgraded) to subject position (see more discussion on this issue in Chapter Six). Before demonstrating the other order of the applicative and reciprocal extensions, let us examine another example ‘ditransitive verb’ with the same order (A+R) using the verb *ha* ‘give’.

The verb *ha* is a ditransitive verb that requires three arguments semantically known as the agent, the recipient/goal and the theme. When we attach the applicative to a verb, the verb needs one extra argument due to the applicative functions. Consider the example below with the verb *ha* ‘give’:

- |     |                              |                  |               |                    |
|-----|------------------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 49. | <i>Mwita</i>                 | <i>a-ra-h-a</i>  | <i>Chacha</i> | <i>i-bhi-tabho</i> |
|     | Mwita                        | 3SG-PRES-give-FV | Chacha        | AUG-CL8-book       |
|     | Mwita gives books to Chacha. |                  |               |                    |

50. *Mwita a-ra-h-e-er-a Chacha i-bhi-tabho ghwi-tirisa*  
Mwita 3SG- PRES-give-(add.v)-APPL-FV Chacha AUG-CL8-book CL17-window  
Mwita gives Chacha books at the window.

51. *Mwita na Chacha bha-ra-h-e-er-an-a i-bhi-tabho*  
Mwita and Chacha 3PL-PRES-give-(add.v)-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL8-book  
*ghwi-tirisa*  
CL17-window  
Mwita and Chacha give books to each other at the window.

In example (49) the arguments *Mwita*, *Chacha* and *ibhitabho* ‘books’ are the core arguments of the verb *ha* ‘give’, but the presence of the applicative *-er-* in (50) leads to an extra argument *ghwiritirisa* ‘at the window’ which is locative. At the same time, in example (51) the reciprocal extension suppresses one argument which is *Chacha* and takes it to the subject position to create the coordinated subject NP of the sentence.

It should however be noted that the applicative extension can introduce other semantic roles like beneficiary, goal, locative, manner, means, and reason depending on the verb meaning. Since the applicative is polysemous, it brings scope ambiguity in the sentences in example (50) and (51). For instance, in example (50) the new argument *ghwiritirisa* ‘at the window’ can have/entails a number of roles, i.e. as means ‘through the window’, as locative ‘to the window’ (where the action takes place), as the goal ‘where the theme (books) should be put by Mwita on behalf of Chacha’.

#### 5.2.1.1.2 Reciprocal and Applicative (R+A)

The reciprocal and applicative (R+A) reverses the previous order (A+R) whereby the reciprocal is the first to be attached to the root. The main function of reciprocal is to modify the verb arguments by reducing the number of arguments, and at the same time raising the object to the subject position to create plural form or coordinated subject NP. Consider the verb *hoocha* ‘bring back’ without and with extensions:

52. *Mwita a-ra-hooch-a a-bha-ana*  
Mwita 3SG- PRES-bring back- FV AUG-CL2-child  
Mwita brings back the children.



53. *Mwita na a-bha-ana bha-ra- hooch-an- a*  
 Mwita and AUG-CL2-child 3PL- PRES-bring back-REC-FV

Mwita and the children bring back each other.

54. *Mwita na a-bha-ana bha-ra-hooch-an-er-a*  
 Mwita and AUG-CL2-child 3PL-PRES- bring back-REC-APPL- FV  
*gho-ke-wansa*  
 CL17-CL7-playground

Mwita and the children bring back each other at the playground.

In these examples, suffice it to underline that some sentences can serve as illustrations but in real life, they are hardly used. The direct translations of Kuria into English might not make as much sense as in the source language due to its specific structure and idiomatic system. For example, “bring back each other” would preferably be replaced by “accompany each other” and “at the playground” would be substituted by “to the playground”.

The example in (52) has two core arguments semantically: agent and theme. When the reciprocal is attached to the verb root in (53) it suppresses one argument *abhaana* ‘the children’ (semantically known as theme) and raises it to the subject position to have coordinated NP argument *Mwita na abhaana* ‘Mwita and children’ which act upon each other as a requirement of reciprocity action. This makes the sentence (53) to have one argument syntactically that is the subject of the sentence.

Then the introduction of applicative to the verb root in (54) demands an extra argument to the verb, which is normally for valency increaser extensions. The argument *ghokewansa* ‘at the playground’ has been added to the sentence as a requirement of the verb due to the applicative extension. The new argument *ghokewansa* ‘playground’ semantically functions as locative and indicates where the action takes place. In the co-occurrence of reciprocal and applicative (R+A), the applicative can only introduce other two functions, i.e. reason or instrument and not any other.

Also consider example (55) below with co-occurrence of (R+A) in the verb *kebha* ‘cut/slice’ where the applicative introduces the reason as argument of the verb “cut/slice”. (Let us assume children were playing with a knife and one cuts the other.)

55. *O-mo-ona*      *a-ra-kebh-a*      *o-mo-ona*  
 AUG-CL1-child    3SG-PRES-cut-FV    AUG-CL1-child

A child is cutting another child.

56. *A-bha-ana*      *bha-ra-kebh-an-a*  
 AUG-CL2-child    3PL-PRES-cut-REC-FV

Children are cutting each other.

57. *A-bha-ana*      *bha-ra-kebh-an-er-a*      *i-nyama.*  
 AUG-CL2-child    3PL-PRES-cut-REC-APPL-FV    AUG-CL9-meat

Children are cutting each other because of meat.

In example (56), when the reciprocal is attached to the verb root it suppresses one argument *omoona* ‘the child’ (semantically known as patient) and raises it to the subject position to have the plural argument *abhaana* ‘the children’ that act upon each other as a requirement of reciprocity action. This makes the sentence to have one argument syntactically, but semantically one argument with two roles: agent at the same time as patient. The applicative morpheme leads to the need of an extra argument to a verb in (57) which is *inyama* ‘meat’ as reason or motive for cutting each other.

Therefore, I argue that the applicative is a polysemous extension, but when it co-occurs with the reciprocal, it tends to narrow down its scope on what it can introduce to a verb. For instance, it can introduce only four semantic roles out of a number of roles. Before examining the differences between the two orders A+R and R+A, let us consider one example of the co-occurrence of R+A to the ditransitive verb *ha* ‘give’.

58. *Mwita*    *a-ra-h-a*                      *Chacha*    *i-bhi-tabho*  
 Mwita    3SG-PRES-give-FV      Chacha    AUG-CL8-book

Mwita gives Chacha books.

59. *Mwita*    *a-ra-h-a-an-a*                      *i-bhi-tabho*  
 Mwita    3SG-PRES-give-(add.v<sup>25</sup>)-REC -FV      AUG-CL8-book

Mwita is giving out/handing over books.

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<sup>25</sup> The additional vowel to the monosyllabic root for strengthening (add.v)

As in any other natural human language, word formation comprises morphemes of a language. Therefore, lexicalization is unavoidable sometimes because extension morpheme is also a meaningful unit in the language. Then, during the affixation process, some morphemes can be lexicalised and made to become part of word morphemes (in this case *-an-* has become the part of verb *haana* ‘giving out/handing over’). In that case, the reciprocal morpheme is no longer fulfilling its grammatical/derivational function in example (59).

From there, when we add the applicative extension *-er-* the result is an extended verb with the co-occurrence of two extensions *-an-er-* (R+A). In Kuria the co-occurrence of reciprocal and applicative conveys the meaning that X and Y are acting upon each other because of something, by using something (instrument) or being at a certain place (location). But in (60) there is no meaning of ‘each other’ due to the lexicalisation process. Therefore, the omission of reciprocal function gives room to the applicative to introduce a beneficiary role which is not typical of the co-occurrence of R+A. Consider example (60).

60.	<i>Mwita</i>	<i>a-ra-h-a-an-er-a</i>	<i>Mokami</i>	<i>i-bhi-tabho</i>
	Mwita	3SG-PRES-give-(add.v)-REC-APPL-FV	Mokami	AUG-CL8-book
	Mwita is giving out/handing over books on behalf of Mokami.			

Due to the fact that applicative is the polysemous extension, it can give different roles. Therefore, what should be added is a matter of choice of the speaker or the user of the language depending on the context. But in the case of the co-occurrences of reciprocal and applicative (R+A), the applicative extension is not free like when it is single (one extension) on the verb. In Kuria when applicative is preceded by reciprocal, it introduces locative, instrument and reason or cause semantic roles, depending on the requirements of the verb (see other examples such as *hoocha* ‘bring back’ and verb *kebha* ‘cut’ in examples (54) and (57) respectively).

### 5.2.1.1.3 Summary of (A+R) and (R+A)

For easier cross-checking of the differences, I would like to bring some examples together in order to allow us to see how different orderings lead to structural and semantic changes in the sentence. Examples are indicated by their original numbers in brackets to avoid confusion and if one needs further clarification, it will be easy to go back.

(45) *Mwita na Chacha bha-ra-hooch-er-an-a a-bha-ana*  
 Mwita and Chacha 3PL-PRES- bring back -APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL2-child

Mwita and Chacha bring back the children for each other.

(54) *Mwita na a-bha-ana bha-ra-hooch-an-er-a gho-ke-wansa*  
 Mwita and AUG-CL2-child 3PL-PRES-bring back-REC-APPL-FV CL17-CL7-playground

Mwita and children bring back each other at the playground.

(48) *A-bha-ana bha-ra-kεbh-er-an-a i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL2- child 3PL-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL9-meat

Children are slicing the meat for each other.

(57) *A-bha-ana bha-ra-kεbh-an-er-a i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL2- child 3PL-PRES-cut-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL9-meat

Children are cutting each other because of meat.

The difference between sentences in A+R in examples (45) and (48) and R+A in (54) and (57) is that, in (45) and (48) the event action is accomplished by acting upon each other. This means that the argument in the subject position is the semantic agent and beneficiary of the event action; and the argument is a coordinated NP in the subject position. For instance, in (45) *Mwita* was agent and *Chacha* was beneficiary, and then, when they combine, they share the two semantic roles together. That means they both become agent and beneficiary at the same time. This also happened to example (48). While in example (54) and (57) due to the fact that the affixed reciprocal first suppressed the argument *abhaana* ‘the children’ and upgraded it to the subject position in (54), then, the applicative which has a scope over reciprocal has introduced a new argument which is locative *ghokewansa* ‘at the playground’. In (57) the applicative introduces the reason for the event action. Before the applicative, they were agent and patient. Thereafter, they also combine their semantic roles and become both agent and patient at the same time. That is why you can see in examples (48) and (57) the arguments are arranged in the same way but differ in meanings. In example (48) the *inyama* ‘meat’ is a core argument while in (57) it is the processed argument introduced by the applicative as the reason/cause of the action.

Furthermore, in A+R the reciprocal has semantic scope over the applicative because it reciprocalised the applicative (the meaning of verb root with applicative extension is affected by the reciprocal). In R+A the applicative has scope over reciprocal (verb root with reciprocal affected by applicative).

My argument here is that the semantic properties of a verb have a considerable chance of determining the function(s) which should be offered by a certain extension, i.e. to polysemous extensions like applicative; or to reject a certain extension. On the other side, the extension in the co-occurrence tends to give a certain meaning depending on the adjacent extension(s) and its function.

Therefore, reordering the applicative and the reciprocal (A+R) gives different meanings to the same verb by introducing different semantic roles depending on the position of the extension to the verb root. The preceding extensions combine with the root to provide specific meanings which further combine with other extensions. In the examples above, we could see that it is not only the last extension which determines the syntactic profile but all extensions together have some contributions to the structure of a sentence. I agree with Schadeberg's assertion that "the last extension determines the syntactic profile of the B" (2006, p. 73) (whereby B means verb base). However, Schadeberg's assertion needs some modifications because all extensions within a certain combination contribute to shape a syntactic profile of a verb and not only the last extension. For instance, in R+A pattern the applicative usually affects the verb root with the reciprocal (first extension) because it has a scope over the reciprocal. The syntactic profile of this verb will not be the same as the one which has only one extension such as the applicative.

### **5.2.1.2 Reciprocal and Causative (R+C)/Causative and Reciprocal (C+R)**

Reciprocal and causative do have different functions: causative is a valency increaser while reciprocal is a valency decreaser. Each extension plays a role in the verb. Let us see how these two patterns manifest in a sentence through the following subsections.

### 5.2.1.2.1 Reciprocal and Causative (R+C)

The function of the reciprocal is to suppress one of the internal arguments (arguments which are within the verb phrase), while the causative affects both external (argument which is a sister node of maximal projection) and internal arguments. It introduces one argument (which is an external argument) syntactically known as subject but semantically known as causer. By doing this, it affects the previous subject (semantically, agent) and changes it to the causee of the causation action in the internal arguments (see more clarifications on external and internal arguments in Chapter Six). Consider the verb *hoocha* ‘bring back’ in the sentences below.

61. *Mwita a-ra-hooch-a a-bha-ana*  
 Mwita 3SG- PRES-bring back- FV AUG-CL2-child  
 Mwita brings back the children.

62. *Mwita na a-bha-ana bha-ra-hooch-an-a*  
 Mwita and AUG-CL2-child 3PL-PRES-bring back-REC-FV  
 Mwita and the children bring back each other.

63. *Nyangi a-ra-hooch-an-i-a Mwita na a-bha-ana*  
 Nyangi 3SG-PRES- bring back-REC-CAUS- FV Mwita and AUG-CL2-child  
 Nyangi caused Mwita and the children to bring back each other.

As I explained in the preceding examples, the verb *hoocha* ‘bring back’ in (61) is a transitive verb that requires two arguments, the agent and the theme semantically, which are coded as subject and object syntactically. Therefore, the suffixation of the reciprocal suppresses one argument in (62) and the verb remains with one argument which is in the co-joint NP form *Mwita na abhaana* ‘Mwita and children’. Then the suffixation of causative as a valency increaser leads to the addition of one extra argument in (63) which is the causer *Nyangi* (who caused Mwita and the children to bring back each other.) Let us consider the verb *kebha* ‘cut/slice’ in (64), (65) and (66).

64. *O-mo-ona a-ra-kebha-a o-mo-ona*  
 AUG-CL1- child 3SG-PRES-cut-FV AUG-CL1- child  
 The child is cutting another child.

65. *A-bha-ana*                    *bha-ra-kεbh-an -a*  
 AUG-CL2- child            3PL-PRES-cut-REC-FV

The children are cutting each other.

66. *Mokami a-ra-kεbh-an-i-a*                    *a-bha-ana*  
 Mokami 3SG-PRES-cut-REC-CAUS-FV    AUG-CL2- child

Mokami causes the children to cut each other.

In example (65) the reciprocal suppresses one argument *omooona* ‘the child’ and generates the plural subject *abhaana* ‘the children’. The presence of causative in (66) leads to the introduction of a new argument *Mokami* and causes the previous subject *abhaana* ‘the children’ to become the causee of the causation process.

Examples (63) and (66) in this analysis have shown that causee is a co-joint NP argument which has been caused by the introduction of the reciprocal. (Previously they constituted the subject of the reciprocalised verb.) The subject of the co-occurrence of R+C is in a singular form in this case, although the causative can introduce the plural (form) argument. Let us consider the use of the verb *hancha* ‘love’ with R+C pattern.

67. *Mwita a-hanch-a*                    *Robhi*  
 Mwita 3SG-love-FV            Robhi

Mwita loves Robhi.

68. *Mwita na Robhi bha-hanch-an-a*  
 Mwita and Robhi 3PL-love-REC-FV

Mwita and Robhi love each other.

69. *Nyakorema a-hanch-an-i-a*                    *Mwita na Robhi*  
 Nyakorema 3SG-love-REC-CAUS-FV    Mwita and Robhi

Nyakorema caused Mwita and Robhi to love each other.

In example (67) the stimulus *Robhi* becomes experiencer in (68) given that both now share the semantic roles for being in the position of the subject. In other words, all items subsumed under the subject are affected by the event and are made to experience the latter. Since the verb *hancha* ‘love’ is a mental/emotional phenomenon, then they (Mwita and Robhi) are both experiencers and

stimuli in the reciprocity action. In this case, the causative as a valency increaser tends to introduce the new argument *Nyakorema* which is a causer (semantically) and subject (syntactically) in example (69). Thus, the first extension being reciprocal needs the experiencer and stimulus to form a coordinated noun phrase that can act upon each other. Therefore, in (69) the causative has a scope over the reciprocal so the causation occurred on the verb root with the reciprocal whereby ‘Mwita and Robhi’ becomes the causee of the process. Also consider examples (70), (71) and (72) which show the same pattern to the verb *ghoota* ‘catch’.

70. *Mwita a-ra-ghoot-a Robhi*  
 Mwita 3SG-PRES-catch-FV Robhi  
 Mwita catches Robhi.

71. *Mwita na Robhi bha-ra-ghoot-an-a*  
 Mwita and Robhi 3PL-PRES-catch-REC-FV  
 Mwita and Robhi catch each other.

72. *Nyakorema a-ra-ghoot-an-i-a Mwita na Robhi*  
 Nyakorema 3SG-PRES-catch-REC-CAUS-FV Mwita and Robhi  
 Nyakorema caused Mwita and Robhi to catch each other.

In (71) the reciprocal extension suppresses the patient/theme *Robhi* and generates a co-agent NP subject. In example (72) the causative as a valency increaser leads to the introduction of a new argument which is the causer *Nyakorema* who initiates the action on the causee (*Mwita* and *Robhi*) (which was the coordinated NP subject in (71)) to act upon each other. This is due to the role and position of causative which has a scope over the reciprocal. In this way, it seems to causativise the meaning of the verb with reciprocal.

#### 5.2.1.2.2 Causative and reciprocal (C+R)

Causative and reciprocal (C+R) is another order of the previous order (R+C). Let us examine examples (73) to (84) to see how it works on the verbs *hoocha* ‘bring back’, *hancha* ‘love’, *ghoota* ‘catch’ and *kebha* ‘cut/slice’. Let us start with the verb *hoocha* ‘bring back’.



73. *Mwita a-ra-hooch-a a-bha-ana*  
 Mwita 3SG- PRES-bring back- FV AUG-CL2-child

Mwita brings back the children.

74. *Nyangi a-ra- hooch-i- a Mwita a-bha-ana*  
 Nyangi 3SG- PRES-bring back-CAUS-FV Mwita AUG-CL2-child

Nyangi causes Mwita to bring back the children.

75. *Nyangi na Mwita bha-ra- hooch-i-an- a a-bha-ana*  
 Nyangi and Mwita 3PL- PRES-bring back-CAUS-REC-FV AUG-CL2-child

Nyangi and Mwita cause each other to bring back the children.

The presence of causative and reciprocal in (75) leads the verb to maintain the number of arguments as in the basic form in (73). As can be seen, what is added by causative in (74) which is *Nyangi* affects the previous agent *Mwita* in (73), making it to become causee and patient of the causative action. Then in (75) the causee has been taken away by the reciprocal and upgraded to the subject position. The verb remains with the two arguments syntactically as in the basic sentence in (73) but with other meanings which have been brought by the causative and reciprocal ‘cause each other to bring back’. This is due to the presence of co-events (to cause and to bring back) among the subject argument syntactically and co-agents semantically who now are causer and causee at a time. The results show that during reciprocalization, whenever there are two arguments i.e. causee and patient as internal arguments, the causee argument is the one which is suppressed and upgraded. This implies that the argument which is closer to the verb is the one subjected to reciprocalization. The next illustrations focus on the verb *hancha* ‘love’ with C+R pattern.

76. *Mwita a-hanch-a Robhi*  
 Mwita 3SG-love-FV Robhi

Mwita loves Robhi.

77. *Nyakorema a-hanch-i-a Mwita Robhi*  
 Nyakorema 3SG-love-CAUS-FV Mwita Robhi

Nyakorema causes Mwita to love Robhi.

78. *Nyakorema na Mwita bha-hanch-i-an-a Robhi*  
 Nyakorema and Mwita 3PL-love-CAUS-REC-FV Robhi

Nyakorema and Mwita cause each other to love Robhi.

The information in example (77) shows that the causative introduces the causer or initiator *Nyakorema* who causes *Mwita* to love *Robhi*. In (78) the addition of the reciprocal extension leads to the reciprocalization of the causative. Here it should be noted that reciprocity exists between *Nyakorema* and *Mwita* while *Robhi* is a stimulus of the mental event.

As can be seen in the examples above, when we compare (67) to (69) and (76) to (78) we can see that syntactic relations of subject and object accumulate different semantic roles when the order of extension changes. For instance, in the case of R+C (67) to (69) in (39) the subject is the causer of the causing event while the object is the causee of causing event and also the experiencer and stimulus of the reciprocal mental/emotional event. Meanwhile in the C+R of example (78), the subject is both causer and causee of the reciprocal causing event and experiencer of the mental event. The object is the stimulus of the mental event. Let us consider another example of the verb *ghoota* ‘catch’ with causative and reciprocal (C+R) pattern:

79. *Mwita a-ra-ghoot-a Robhi*  
 Mwita 3SG-PRES-catch-FV Robhi

Mwita catches Robhi.

80. *Nyakorema a-ra-ghoot-i-a Mwita Robhi*  
 Nyakorema 3SG-PRES-catch-CAUS-FV Mwita Robhi

Nyakorema causes Mwita to catch Robhi.

81. *Nyakorema na Mwita bha-ra-ghoot-i-an-a Robhi*  
 Nyakorema and Mwita 3PL-PRES-catch- CAUS-REC-FV Robhi

Nyakorema and Mwita cause each other to catch Robhi.

In example (81), the reciprocal has scope over the causative because the reciprocal follows the causative. The causative as a valency increaser introduces the causer *Nyakorema*, in (80) and the reciprocal as a valency decreaser suppresses one argument, semantically causee *Mwita*, by taking it to subject position which makes it a co-joint subject NP in (81). *Nyakorema* and *Mwita* as a

coordinated subject NP plays a dual role: as a causer and causee of the causation action to perform the event action (catch).

In brief, C+R (*-i-an-*) conveys the meaning that the subject syntactically (coordinated NP [causer and causee]) or plural NP semantically, cause each other to do the event action. The subject is the doer of all action causation and event action. While in R+C (*-an-i-*) the subject (syntactically) and causer (semantically), causes the object which is a coordinated NP to catch each other. In this order the action is done differently: when the causer is there for causative action the object is there for event action.

The co-presence of several extensions is the encoding of co-events, in (81) for instance: causation event which is particular because it is both reciprocal and a mental/emotional event. The issue of reordering extensions and the arguments can also be seen in Chapter Seven on how projection principles and theta role assignment function. The order of extensions varies according to the semantic roles associated with subject and object. Consider the causative and reciprocal (C+R) pattern on the verb *kebha* ‘cut/slice’ in the sentence below:

82. *O-mo-ona*            *a-ra-kebha*            *i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL1- child    3SG-PRES-cut-FV    AUG-CL9-meat

The child slices meat.

83. *O-mo-ona*            *a-ra-kebha-i-a*            *o-mo-ona*            *i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL1-child    3SG-PRES-cut-CAUS-FV    AUG-CL1- child    AUG-CL9-meat

The child causes the child to slice meat.

84. *A-bha-ana*            *bha-ra-kebha -i-an-a*            *i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL2- child            3PL-PRES-cut-CAUS-REC-FV    AUG-CL9-meat

The children cause each other to slice meat.

The basic sentence in (82) has two arguments, i.e. *omoona* ‘the child’ and *inyama* ‘the meat’, the same as arguments in the last sentence in example (84). The causative introduces one argument while the reciprocal suppresses one argument, making the sentence remain with two arguments,

same as in example (82). However, the sentences differ in meaning because the examples have undergone morphosyntactic processes initiated by the extension morphemes.

This reveals that the different orders assign different meanings because the extension process is procedural (follows a certain procedure or steps), although finally they appear together on the surface structure as if they were produced by a single process. Some verbs like in (82) cannot accept reciprocal because the reciprocal extension needs arguments which can act upon each other. But in some instances (e.g. 84), there is no difficulty because the causative in (83) introduces the new argument which gets influenced by the reciprocal and eventually becomes reciprocalised. It therefore appears that different extension orders lead to different processes and these processes in turn lead to different roles and different meanings.

### 5.2.1.2.3 Summary of (R+C) and (C+R)

The different orders of (R+C) and (C+R) have revealed that the different positions of extensions bring about different meanings. The last extension has a higher semantic scope than the preceding ones. Generally, the order of the extensions has to do with the realization of the arguments: which semantic roles are assigned to which syntactic relation? Let us take a close look at the summary of examples from both sides with different verbs.

- (63) *Nyangi a-ra-hooch-an-i-a Mwita na a-bha-ana*  
 Nyangi 3SG-PRES-bring back-REC-CAUS-FV Mwita and AUG-CL2-child  
 Nyangi causes Mwita and children to bring back each other.

- (75) *Nyangi na Mwita bha-ra- hooch-i-an-a a-bha-ana*  
 Nyangi and Mwita 3PL- PRES-bring back-CAUS-REC-FV AUG-CL2-child  
 Nyangi and Mwita cause each other to bring back the children.

- (69) *Nyakorema a-hanch-an-i-a Mwita na Robhi*  
 Nyakorema 3SG- love-REC- CAUS-FV Mwita and Robhi  
 Nyakorema causes Mwita and Robhi to love each other.

- (78) *Nyakorema na Mwita bha-hanch-i-an-a Robhi*  
 Nyakorema and Mwita 3PL-love-CAUS-REC-FV Robhi  
 Nyakorema and Mwita cause each other to love Robhi.

The difference in R+C and C+R is that, in R+C the reciprocity is between the object syntactically (the internal arguments) while in C+R the reciprocity is between the subject syntactically. This is the external argument. For instance, the meaning created by R+C in (69) *Nyakorema* as (causer semantically) the subject syntactically, causes Mwita and Robhi (syntactically object of the predicate) to love each other; while the other pattern of C+R shows that Nyakorema and Mwita (as subject/causer and causee) cause each other to love Robhi as stimulus/patient.

- (72) *Nyakorema a-ra-ghoot-an-i-a Mwita na Robhi*  
 Nyakorema 3SG-PRES-catch-REC-CAUS-FV Mwita and Robhi  
 Nyakorema causes Mwita and Robhi to catch each other.

- (81) *Nyakorema na Mwita bha-ra-ghoot-i-an-a Robhi*  
 Nyakorema and Mwita 3PL-PRES-catch-CAUS-REC-FV Robhi  
 Nyakorema and Mwita *cause* each other to catch Robhi.

- (66) *Mokami a-ra-kεbh-an-i-a a-bha-ana*  
 Mokami 3SG-PRES-cut-REC-CAUS-FV AUG-CL2- child  
 Mokami causes children to cut each other.

- (84) *Abhaana bha-ra-kεbh -i-an-a i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL2- child 3PL-PRES-cut-CAUS-REC-FV AUG-CL9-meat  
 The children cause each other to slice meat.

As it can be seen from (63) to (84), the co-occurrence of R+C and C+R provides different meanings due to the different positions in which they are placed inspite of the fact that each extension performs its distinctive function(s). For instance, in (72) syntactically, the subject of the sentence (Nyakorema), the causer is introduced by the last extension (causative) and in turn affects the previous subject (coordinated NP subject which was formed by reciprocal) to be object of the verb cause, semantically causee and theme at the same time. In (81) the subject of the sentence is coordinated NP (Nyakorema and Mwita) provided by the last extension (reciprocal). Nyakorema is introduced by the causative and affects Mwita who was the agent (of the event action or basic verb) to be the causee but is later suppressed by reciprocal (taken to the subject position for the second time) to make co-joint NP the subject; who now have the dual action ‘to cause each other’ and the event action ‘to catch Robhi’ at the same time.

On the other hand, the event action (catch) is between (the object) Mwita and Robhi (as a causee and theme at once) in (72); while in (81) it is between (the subject) Nyakorema and Mwita (as the causer and the causee at the same time to catch Robhi). Therefore, the meaning of R+C is Nyakorema causes Mwita and Robhi to catch each other; while in C+R it is Nyakorema and Mwita cause each other to catch Robhi. Elements of these patterns will further be shown in the course of the next chapter.

## 5.2.2 Co-occurrences of Three Extensions

The results of the analysis in this chapter show that not only two extensions can be reordered but also the co-occurrence of three extensions. The chapter examines the co-occurrence of three extensions, namely, applicative, reciprocal and causative (ARC) which can formulate other four sets of extensions by reordering. The other patterns are: Reciprocal, applicative and causative (RAC); Applicative, causative and reciprocal (ACR); Causative, reciprocal and applicative (CRA). Then, there are two different orders of reciprocal, applicative and passive (RAP) and applicative, reciprocal and passive (ARP).

### 5.2.2.1 Applicative, Reciprocal and Causative (ARC), Reciprocal, Applicative and Causative (RAC); Applicative, Causative and Reciprocal (ACR); and Causative, Reciprocal and Applicative (CRA)

#### 5.2.2.1.1 Applicative, Reciprocal and Causative (A+R+C)

The pattern of applicative, reciprocal and causative (A+R+C) has different functions: when applicative and causative introduce a new argument the reciprocal reduces one argument. In Kuria the (A+R+C) pattern sometimes makes the sentence to have a scope ambiguity with regard to some verbs such as *ghoota* ‘catch’, *ha* ‘give’ *kebha* ‘cut’ etc. This pattern (i.e. A+R+C) contains a verb or verbs that show simultaneity of action. Consider the verb *hoocha* ‘bring back’.

85. *Mwita a-ra-hooch-a a-bha-ana*  
 Mwita 3SG- PRES-bring back- FV AUG-CL2-child

Mwita brings back the children.

86. *Mwita a-ra-hooch-er- a Chacha a-bha-ana*  
 Mwita 3SG- PRES-bring back-APPL-FV Chacha AUG-CL2-child

Mwita brings back the children on behalf of Chacha.

87. *Mwita na Chacha bha-ra-hooch-er-an-a a-bha-ana*  
 Mwita and Chacha 3PL-PRES- bring back -APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL2-child

Mwita and Chacha bring back the children on behalf of each other.

88. *Nyangi a-ra-hooch-er-an-i-a Mwita na Chacha*  
 Nyangi 3SG-PRES-bring back-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV Mwita and Chacha  
*a-bha-ana*  
 AUG-CL2-child

Nyangi brings back her children and the children of Mwita and Chacha.

The verb *hoocha* ‘bring back’ requires two arguments in (85), but due to the presence of two valency increasers, applicative and causative, and one valency decreaser, reciprocal, the sentence/verb has remained with three arguments in (88). The applicative introduces one argument in (86), then the reciprocal suppresses one argument and in (87) making the sentence to have a coordinated NP subject, ‘Mwita and Chacha’. The affixation of the causative introduces one extra argument *Nyangi* to the verb in (88). In Kuria the combination of ARC has a special meaning which refers to the simultaneity of actions. Mwita explains:

When they occur together they express simultaneity of the action expressed by the core meaning of the root and some other action or event. The combination of morphemes has idiosyncratic, non-compositional meaning (2008, p. 56).

As can be seen in example (88), there is causative suffix but there is no causation at all in the sentence rather than that it introduces the new action which goes together with the core meaning of the verb (‘simultaneity’ of action). Consider the verb *kebha* ‘cut/slice’ with the same pattern to see the manifestation of A+R+C in (89) to (92).

89. *Marwa a-ra-kebh-a i-nyama*  
 Marwa 3SG-PRES-cut-FV AUG-CL9-meat

Marwa is slicing meat.

90. *Marwa a-ra-kebher-a Mokami i-nyama*  
 Marwa 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-FV Mokami AUG-CL9-meat

Marwa is slicing the meat for Mokami.

91. *Marwa na Mokami bha-ra-kebher-an-a i-nyama*  
 Marwa and Mokami 3PL-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL9-meat

Marwa and Mokami are slicing the meat for each other.

92. *O-mo-ona a-ra-kebher-an-i-a Marwa na Mokami i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL1-child 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV Marwa and Mokami AUG-CL9-meat

The child is slicing meat for her/himself and on behalf of/or for Marwa and Mokami.

The verb “slice” in (92) is a transitive verb that requires two arguments. In (90) the applicative introduces one extra argument but it has been suppressed by the reciprocal in (91). The introduction of the causative in (92) adds one extra argument *omoona*, ‘the child’. But due to the special meaning of this pattern of three extensions (ARC) in Kuria there is no meaning of causation in the sentence. The causative meaning - ‘causes someone to do something’ - is overlapped by the applicative meaning, as one can see in (92). What is presented is someone doing something for her/himself and for someone else. On the other hand, the sentence can be interpreted in another way whereby the verb ‘slice’ will be taken as the extra action/sub-action (which someone does on the way as he/she is performing the main action) and not the main verb of the agent. The order is grammatically acceptable but the semantic representation is difficult to identify, especially the causative extension in example (92). Let us consider another verb *ghoota* ‘catch’ with the (A+R+C) pattern before shifting the focus to ditransitive verb.

93. *Mokami a-ra-ghoot-a Mwita*  
 Mokami 3SG-PRES-catch-FV Mwita

Mokami is catching Mwita.

94. *Mokami a-ra-ghoot-er-a Mwita i-chi-nswi*  
 Mokami 3SG-PRES-catch-APPL-FV Mwita AUG-CL10-fish

Mokami is catching fish for Mwita.



95. *Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-ghoot-er-an-a i-chi-nswi*  
 Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-catch-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL10-fish  
 Mokami and Mwita catch fish for each other.

96. *Nyangi a-ra-ghoot-er-an-i-a Mokami na Mwita i-chi-nswi*  
 Nyangi 3SG-PRES-catch-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV Mokami and Mwita AUG-CL10-fish  
 Nyangi is catching fish for herself and for Mokami and Mwita.

Examples (93) to (96) reveal the same scenario as in (89) to (92) above. The data analysis depicts that the same pattern (A+R+C) behaves the same as in examples (85) to (88). Then, next is the ditransitive verb *ha* ‘give’ which requires three arguments at the basic level<sup>26</sup>, semantically known as agent, recipient and theme. Consider the verb *ha* ‘give’ with the same pattern before we engage in the analysis of the reversed order.

97. *Mokami a-ra-h-a a-bha-ana i-mi-bhiira*  
 Mokami 3SG-PRES-give- FV AUG-CL2- child AUG-CL4-ball  
 Mokami gives the balls to the children.

98. *Mokami a-ra -h-e-er-a Mwita a-bha-ana i-mi-bhiira*  
 Mokami 3SG-PRES-give-add.v-APPL-FV Mwita AUG-CL2- child AUG-CL4-ball  
 Mokami gives the balls to the children on behalf of Mwita.

99. *Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-h-e-er -an-a a-bha-ana*  
 Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-give-ADD.V-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL2- child  
*i-mi-bhiira*  
 AUG-CL4-ball  
 Mokami and Mwita give the balls to the children on behalf of each other.

100. *Nyangi a-ra-h-e-er-an-i-a Mokami na Mwita*  
 Nyangi 3SG-PRES-give-add.v-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV Mokami and Mwita  
*a-bha-ana i-mi-bhiira*  
 AUG-CL2-child AUG-CL4-ball  
 Nyangi gives the balls to the children on behalf of Mokami and Mwita (in the course of performing a simultaneous activity).

<sup>26</sup> The basic level refers to a verb form without any derivational elements (in this context).

In (98) the results of the verb root with affixed applicative extension add a new argument (*Mwita*) which is beneficiary, then the reciprocal reciprocalised applicative in (99) by suppressing the argument *Mwita*, taking it to subject position to obtain a coordinated NP subject *Mokami na Mwita* ‘Mokami and Mwita’. The reciprocal has scope over the applicative, and because it is affixed after the applicative, the argument introduced by applicative is suppressed by the reciprocal. But when the causative extension is added to the verb root in (100) it brings simultaneity of action to it. It should be noted that it can be the same action done to another person or it might be two different actions that go together as seen in the meaning in (100). When Nyangi was doing something, she was asked by someone/people, let us assume that she was asked by *Mokami* and *Mwita*, to give the balls to the children on their (Mokami and Mwita’s) behalf. However, this was not the main task of *Nyangi* (simultaneity of action).

Although in the order of (A+R+C) the causative has higher semantic scope over the applicative and reciprocal, the function of causative extension is overlapped by applicative, given that the explicit meaning is the applied meaning ‘on behalf of/for/to’.

The verb *ha* ‘give’ requires three arguments and due to the presence of two valency increaser extensions in (100) one could expect to see two extra arguments. On the contrary, the scenario did not occur due to the presence of reciprocal extension whose main function is to reduce one argument from the verb. Therefore, the sentence remains with four arguments.

#### 5.2.2.1.2 Reciprocal, Applicative and Causative (R+A+C)

Another pattern is reciprocal, applicative and causative (R+A+C). In this pattern, applicative and causative serve as valency increaser against reciprocal counterpart. Consider the verb *hoocha* ‘bring back’ and *ghoota* ‘catch’ in (101) to (104).

101. *Mwita a-ra-hooch-a a-bha-ana*  
 Mwita 3SG- PRES-bring back- FV AUG-CL2-child

Mwita brings back the children.

102. *Mwita na a-bha-ana bha-ra-hooch-an- a*  
 Mwita and AUG-CL2-child 3PL- PRES-bring back-REC-FV

Mwita and the children bring back each other.

103. *Mwita na a-bha-ana*                      *bha-ra-hooch-an-er-a*  
 Mwita and AUG-CL2-child                      3PL-PRES- bring back-REC-APPL-FV  
*gho-ke-wansa*  
 CL17-CL7-playground

Mwita and children bring back each other to the playground.

104. *Nyangi a-ra-hooch-an-ir-i-a*                      *Mwita na a-bha-ana*  
 Nyangi 3SG-PRES-bring back-REC-APPL-CAUS- FV Mwita and AUG-CL2-child  
*gho-ke-wansa*  
 CL17-CL7-playground

Nyangi causes Mwita and children to bring back each other to the playground.

The example in (101) has two core arguments semantically: agent and theme. The reciprocal suppresses one argument *abhaana* ‘the children’ in (102) (semantically known as theme) and raises it to the subject position in order to have the coordinated NP argument *Mwita na abhaana* ‘Mwita and children’ which acts upon each other as a requirement of reciprocity action. Then the introduction of applicative to the verb root in (103) demands an extra argument to the verb, which is normal for valency increaser extensions. The argument *ghokewansa* ‘to the playground’ has been added to the sentence as one of the requirements of the verb due to the presence of the applicative. The new argument *ghokewansa* ‘playground’ semantically functions as the locative where the action takes place. In the co-occurrence of reciprocal and applicative (R+A), the applicative can only introduce two other functions, i.e. reason or instrument and nothing else. But when the causative is added to the combination R+A it creates the R+A+C pattern which leads to some semantic changes in (104) where the causative introduces *Nyangi* as the causer. In Kuria language when you have more than two extensions, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate the semantic representation of the extensions (see A+R+C in 5.1.3.1). This is due to the complexity of the Kuria verb morphology (see Chapter Two). What I notice in Kuria verb structure is that it allows a number of morphemes to be affixed to the verb root which carries different information. Some of this information overlap, making it difficult to match with the semantics which they represent.

105. *O-mo-ona*                      *a-ra-kebh-a*                      *o-mo-ona*  
 AUG-CL1- child                      3SG-PRES-cut-FV                      AUG-CL1-child

A child is cutting another child.

106. *A-bha-ana*            *bha-ra-kɛbh-an-a*  
 AUG-CL2-child        3PL-PRES-cut-REC-FV  
 Children are cutting each other.
107. *A-bha-ana*            *bha-ra-kɛbh-an-er-a*            *i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL2-child            3PL-PRES-cut-REC-APPL-FV        AUG-CL9-meat  
 Children are cutting each other because of the meat.
108. *Nyangi*            *a-ra-kɛbh-an-ir-i-a*            *a-bha-ana*            *i-nyama*  
 Nyangi            3SG-PRES-cut-REC-APPL-FV        AUG-CL2-child            AUG-CL9-meat  
 Nyangi causes the children to cut each other because of the meat.

In example (106) when the reciprocal is attached to the verb root, it suppresses one argument *omoona* ‘the child’ (semantically known as patient) and raises it to the subject position to have the plural argument *abhaana* ‘the children’. This argument acts upon each other as a requirement of reciprocity action and makes the sentence to have just one argument. The applicative morpheme in (107) creates the need of an extra argument to a verb which is *inyama* ‘meat’ as the reason for the children cutting each other. Then, the last causative extension in (108) brings in one argument, *Nyangi* the causer who causes the children to cut each other because of the meat. The function of causative in Kuria goes beyond introducing the argument or affecting the previous subject.

109. *Mokami*            *a-ra-ghoot-a*            *Mwita*  
 Mokami            3SG-PRES-catch- FV        Mwita  
 Mokami is catching Mwita.
110. *Mokami*            *na*        *Mwita*            *bha-ra-ghoot-an-a*  
 Mokami            and        Mwita            3PL-PRES-catch- REC- FV  
 Mokami and Mwita are catching each other.
111. *Mokami*            *na*        *Mwita*            *bha-ra-ghoot-an-er-a*            *chiko-ni*  
 Mokami            and        Mwita            3SG-PRES-catch-REC-APPL- FV        kitchen-CL18  
 Mokami and Mwita catch each other in the kitchen.

112. *Nyangi a-ra-ghoot-an-ir-i -a Mokami na Mwita*  
*Nyangi 3sg- PRES-catch-REC-APPL-CAUS- FV Mokami and Mwita*  
*chiko-ni*  
 kitchen-CL18

Nyangi causes Mokami and Mwita to catch each other in the kitchen.

The verb *ghoota* ‘catch’ in (109) is a two place-predicate, syntactically and semantically known as the subject and object agent and patient respectively. The suffixation of reciprocal suppresses one core argument (*Mwita*) in example (110) and then the applicative in (111) introduces one extra argument *chikoni* ‘in the kitchen’ which is the locative. When the last causative extension is added, it introduces the causer/initiator in the sentence (112), meaning that, Nyangi causes Mokami and Mwita to catch each other in the kitchen. In the examples (109 to 112), the order of reciprocal, applicative, and causative (R+A+C) violates the Bantu template CARP and CARTP. From the analysis one can see examples with different orders of the same extensions which also bring in different meanings to different sets of combinations analysed in this chapter.

### 5.2.2.1.3 Applicative, Causative and Reciprocal (A+C+R)

The applicative, causative, and reciprocal (A+C+R) is another order (pattern) of the co-occurrence of three extensions (A+R+C). In this pattern, the reciprocal has semantic scope over applicative and causative, because it is the last extension to be suffixed. In other words, I argue that the reciprocal has wider semantic scope than the causative.

113. *Mokami a-ra-ghoot-a e-ke-moori*  
*Mokami 3SG-PRES-catch-FV AUG-CL7-calf*

Mokami is catching the calf.

114. *Mokami a-ra-ghoot-er-a Mwita e-ke-moori*  
*Mokami 3SG-PRES-catch-APPL-FV Mwita AUG-CL7-calf*

Mokami catches the calf for Mwita.

115. *Nyangi a-ra-ghoot-ir-i-a Mwita Mokami e-ke-moori*  
*Nyangi 3SG-PRES- catch- APPL-CAUS-FV Mwita Mokami AUG-CL7-calf*

Nyangi causes Mokami to catch the calf for Mwita.

The applicative and causative are both valency increasers. While applicative introduces beneficiary *Mwita* in (114), the causative introduces the causer *Nyangi* in (115). Here it should be noted that *Mwita* benefited from *Mokami*'s action unlike *Nyangi*. *Nyangi* is there to cause/help/initiate or to make sure the calf is caught.

116. *Nyangi na Mokami bha-ra-ghoot-ir-i-an-a Mwita*  
*Nyangi and Mokami 3PL-PRES-catch-APPL-CAUS-REC-FV Mwita*  
*e-ke-moori*  
 AUG-CL7-calf

*Nyangi* and *Mokami* cause each other to catch the calf for/on behalf of *Mwita*.

As I argued earlier, the reciprocal has scope over the applicative and the causative since it is the last to be attached to the root (after applicative and causative). The applicative introduces the beneficiary *Mwita* (114), the causative introduces the causer *Nyangi* in (115), and the reciprocal combines two arguments *Nyangi* and *Mokami*, previously the causer and causee to form a coordinated NP subject (causer and causee at the same time) in which they act upon each other in the subject position for the beneficiary *Mwita* in (108). The difference between (115) and (116) is that in (115) *Mokami* and *Nyangi* are performing different roles and the one who made *Mwita* to benefit is *Mokami*. But the reciprocal in (116) is a co-joint NP, making the causer and the causee to constitute one argument, syntactically the subject, which acts upon each other for *Mwita*.

I would like also to use the same pattern (A+C+R) to the verb *kebha* 'cut/slice' to show how the arguments are placed or positioned by multiple extensions; consider (117 - 120) below.

117. *Marwa a-ra-kebha-a i-nyama*  
*Marwa 3sg-PRES-cut-FV AUG-CL9-meat*

*Marwa* is cutting the meat.

118. *Marwa a-ra-kebha-er-a o-mo-ona i-nyama*  
*Marwa 3sg-PRES-cut-APPL-FV AUG-CL1-child AUG-CL9-meat*

*Marwa* is cutting meat for the child.

119. *Mokami a-ra-kebha-ir-i-a o-mo-ona Marwa i-nyama*  
*Mokami 3sg-PRES-cut-APPL-CAUS-FV AUG-CL1-child Marwa AUG-CL9-meat*

*Mokami* causes *Marwa* to cut meat for the child.

In (118) *omoona* ‘the child’ is a beneficiary of the action done by *Marwa*. As can be seen in (118), the applicative introduces *omoona* ‘the child’ as beneficiary, but due to the suffixation of the causative (119) which introduces the causer *Mokami*, it turns the previous agent *Marwa* into the patient of the causation action (causee) and the agent of the event action *kebha* ‘cut’, the one who slices the meat for the child. In this regard, I argue that *Marwa* is the causee and the patient of the causation at the same time as he is the direct agent of the event action (cut) because he is the one who acts on it; while the causer is the indirect agent. One of the contributions of this argument to the Theta Theory is that some arguments have more than one theta role and this contravenes the principle advocated by Williams who argues that:

Theta roles are also unique. An NP can receive only one theta role, and a theta role can be assigned to only one NP. For the purposes of counting, a chain consisting of an NP and a trace counts as a single NP (1995, p. 103).

In (120) the reciprocal suppresses one argument which is the causee (*Marwa*) and takes (him)/it (argument) to the subject position to make a coordinated NP subject. See example (120) below:

120. *Mokami na Marwa bha-ra-kebha-ir-i-an-a o-mo-ona*  
 Mokami and Marwa 3pl-PRES-cut-APPL-CAUS-REC-FV AUG-CL1-child  
*i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL9-meat

Mokami and Marwa cause each other to slice the meat for the child.

This means that the meaning of a sentence comes from the function of the extensions which are attached to the verb root and the order of the syntactic arguments. So the different functions and orders create different meanings. This also depends on the speaker’s intention. What the speaker wants to express will influence the way s/he arranges extensions to a verb root. The order of the applicative, causative and reciprocal in Kuria seems to violate the Bantu template CARP and CARTP. The meaning of verb root with the applicative and causative has been reciprocalised by the reciprocal.

### 5.2.2.1.4 Causative, Reciprocal and Applicative (C+R+A)

In the causative, reciprocal, and applicative (C+R+A) pattern, the applicative has a scope over causative and reciprocal. In what follows, I use the verb *ghoota* ‘catch’ as an example to show how extensions introduce or suppress argument(s).

121. *Mokami a-ra-ghoot-a e-ke-moori*  
 Mokami 3sg-PRES-catch - FV AUG-CL7-calf

Mokami catches the calf.

122. *Mwita a-ra-ghoot-i-a Mokami e-ke-moori*  
 Mwita 3sg-PRES-catch-CAUS-FV Mokami AUG-CL7-calf

Mwita causes Mokami to catch the calf.

123. *Mwita na Mokami bha-ra-ghoot-i-an-a e-ke-moori*  
 Mwita and Mokami 3pl-PRES-catch-CAUS-REC-FV AUG-CL7-calf

Mwita and Mokami cause each other to catch the calf.

124. *Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-ghoot-i-an-er-a e-ke-moori*  
 Mokami and Mwita 3pl-PRES-catch-CAUS-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL7-calf  
*ke-bhara*  
 CL7-outside

Mokami and Mwita cause each other to catch the calf outside.

In (121) *Mokami* is the agent of the verb semantically; and in (122) the causative introduces the causer *Mwita*. The reciprocalised causative in (123) leads to the co-joint NP subject *Mokami* and *Mwita* acting upon each other. Here it should be noted that semantically, the causer (*Mwita*) and the causee (*Mokami*) form one argument, syntactically known as the subject of the sentence. From example (123) we can see that the function of reciprocal as a valency decreaser reduces the number of the arguments from three semantic/thematic roles, namely, causer *Mwita*, causee *Mokami*, patient *ekemoori* ‘calf’ in (122), to two arguments (syntactically) which are *Mwita and Mokami* that form one argument (subject) and the second is *ekemoori* ‘calf’ the patient (object) in (123). This means that the reciprocal changes the verb syntactically from a three-place predicate to a two-place predicate and from a two-place predicate to a one-place predicate. The presence of the applicative in (124) leads to the introduction of the new argument *kebhara* ‘outside’ which is a locative. Consider another example of the verb *kebha* ‘cut’ with the same pattern (C+R+A):



125. *O-mo-ona*      *a-ra-kebh-a*      *i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL1-child    3SG-PRES-cut-FV    AUG-CL9-meat  
 The child is slicing the meat.
126. *Marwa*      *a-ra-kebh-i-a*      *o-mo-ona*      *i-nyama*  
 Marwa      3SG-PRES-cut-CAUS-FV    AUG-CL1-child    AUG-CL9-meat  
 Marwa causes a child to slice meat.
127. *Marwa na o-mo-ona bha-ra-kebh-i-an-a i-nyama*  
 Marwa and AUG-CL1-child    3PL-PRES-cut-CAUS-REC-FV    AUG-CL9-meat  
 Marwa and child caused each other to slice meat.
128. *Marwa na omoona bha-ra-kebh-i-an-er-a i-nyama*  
 Marwa and AUG-CL1-child    3PL-PRES-cut-CAUS-REC-APPL-FV    AUG-CL9-meat  
*ke-bhara*  
 CL17-outside  
 Marwa and child cause each other to slice meat outside.

The order of causative, reciprocal and applicative (C+R+A) violates the CARTP Template (Hyman, 2003) and adheres to the mirror scope (i.e. A+B and B+A) which is contrastive to a fixed order. But it should be noted that within the five extensions namely, stative, applicative, reciprocal, causative and passive it is only three elements (extensions) that can be reordered while two (stative and passive) are fixed. The order shows that the causer and the causee are in the same position due to the reciprocal function. When the applicative is preceded by a reciprocal, it can introduce the locative, instruments, reason or cause. In the examples above, it introduces the locative where the action takes place, *kebhara* ‘outside’ in (128). This can be seen in (124) with the verb *ghoota* ‘catch’ and in (128) with the verb *kebh* ‘cut’, which show that the applicative has scope over the causative and reciprocal because it is the last to be attached to the verb root.

#### 5.2.2.1.5 Summary of (A+R+C), (R+A+C), (A+C+R) and (C+R+A)

The findings show that the co-occurrence of three extensions, i.e. applicative, reciprocal and causative (A+R+C) can be reordered and made to create four different patterns for the same extensions. The analysis in this subsection has shown that changing position of the extension in a certain combination of co-occurrence creates different meanings although each extension performs

its own function(s). In this subsection I would like to bring together all the above four patterns for easy reference and for the sake of cross-checking the meaning created by each pattern. The patterns summarised here are: (A+R+C), (R+A+C), (A+C+R) and (C+R+A) as shown below.

(96) (A+R+ C)

*Nyangi a-ra-ghoot-er-an-i-a* *Mokami na Mwita i-chi-nswi*  
 Nyangi 3SG-PRES-catch-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV Mokami and Mwita AUG-CL10-fish

Nyangi is catching fish for herself and for Mokami and Mwita.

(112) (R+A+C)

*Nyangi a-ra-ghoot-an-ir-i-a* *Mokami na Mwita chiko-ni*  
 Nyangi 3sg- PRES- catch-REC-APPL-CAUS- FV Mokami and Mwita kitchen-CL17

Nyangi causes Mokami and Mwita to catch each other in the kitchen.

(116) (A+C+R)

*Nyangi na Mokami bha-ra-ghoot-ir-i-an-a* *Mwita e-ke-moori*  
 Nyangi and Mokami 3PL-PRES-catch-APPL-CAUS-REC-FV Mwita AUG-CL7-calf

Nyangi and Mokami cause each other to catch the calf for Mwita.

(124) (C+R+A)

*Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-ghoot-i-an- er-a* *e-ke-moori*  
 Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-catch-CAUS-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL7-calf  
*ke-bhara*  
 CL17-outside

Mokami and Mwita cause each other to catch the calf outside.

As can be seen in the four patterns above, different positions of the extensions have led to the creation of different meanings. Example (96) has a special meaning in Kuria language which expresses simultaneity of action. In example (112) reciprocity action is between 'Mokami and Mwita' the semantical causee and the syntactical object. While in (116) the reciprocity is between *Nyangi* and *Mokami* (as a single argument) which is the semantical subject, and the causer and causee at the same time. Therefore, from the examples above other differences are: the event actions in (112) is done by the causee (a compound argument) while in (116) the event action *ghoota* 'catch' is done with the causer and the causee who are both in one argument syntactically known as subject. Therefore, the subject in (116) performs two actions. The first is to cause (one

another [causation]), and the second is to catch the calf for Mwita. In C+R+A pattern in example (124) the applicative introduces locative for the action. See also other examples below the verb *kebha* ‘cut/slice’.

(92) (A+R+ C)

*O-mo-ona*      *a-ra-kebher-an-i-a*      *Marwa na Mokami i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL1- child 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV Marwa and Mokami AUG-CL9-meat

The child is slicing meat for herself and on behalf of/or for Marwa and Mokami.

(108) (R+A+C)

*Nyangi*      *a-ra-kebher-an-ir-i-a*      *Mokami na Mwita chiko-ni*  
 Nyangi 3sg- PRES- catch-REC-APPL-CAUS- FV Mokami and Mwita kitchen-CL17

Nyangi causes Mokami and Mwita to cut each other in the kitchen.

(120) (A+C+R)

*Mokami na Marwa bha-ra-kebher-ir-i-an-a*      *o-mo-ona*  
 Mokami and Marwa 3PL-PRES-cut-APPL-CAUS-REC-FV AUG-CL1-child  
*i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL9-meat

Mokami and Marwa caused each other to slice meat for the child.

(128) (C+R+A)

*Marwa na o-mo-ona*      *bha-ra-kebher-i-an-er-a*      *i-nyama*  
 Marwa and AUG-CL1-child 3PL-PRES-cut-CAUS-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL9-meat  
*ke-bhara*  
 CL17-outside

Marwa and child cause each other to slice meat outside.

As discerned in the examples above, changing the position of the extensions within the set of co-occurrence of extensions leads to a change in the meaning of the pattern for a certain verb. This implies that an extension has different functions to a verb and when it is positioned amongst other extensions, it contributes to the meaning created by that pattern. Therefore, to occupy the first, the second or the third position has a great incidence on the meaning of the predicate and the sentence as a whole.

### 5.2.2.2 Reciprocal, Applicative and Passive (R+A+P) and Applicative, Reciprocal and Passive (A+R+P)

Reciprocal, applicative and passive (R+A+P) is another set of the co-occurrence of three extensions. The set of (R+A+P) has two valency decreaser extensions (reciprocal and passive) and one valency increaser (applicative). In Kuria not all extensions in a certain combination can be re-ordered but at least two extensions out of three can exchange their positions. For instance, from the combinations (R+A+P) we can also get (A+R+P) as another order of the (R+A+P). The passive extension seems to be fixed to the last position when it co-occurs with other extensions in a set.

#### 5.2.2.2.1 Reciprocal, Applicative and Passive (R+A+P)

Starting with the R+A+P in this subsection let us consider the following examples based on the verb *kebha* ‘cut’ and *bhoha* ‘tie’.

129. *Marwa a-ra-kebha-a Mokami*  
 Marwa 3SG-PRES-cut-FV Mokami  
 Marwa is cutting Mokami.

130. *Marwa na Mokami bha-ra-kebha-an-a*  
 Marwa and Mokami 3PL-PRES-cut-REC-FV  
 Marwa and Mokami are cutting each other.

131. *Marwa na Mokami bha-ra-kebha-an-er-a i-bhi-kebhi*  
 Marwa and Mokami 3PL-PRES-cut-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL8-knife  
 Marwa and Mokami are cutting each other with knives.

132. *I-bhi-kebhi bhi-ra-kebha-an-er-w-a na Marwa na Mokami*  
 AUG-CL8- knife CL8-PRES-cut-REC-APPL-PASS-FV by Marwa and Mokami  
 The knives have been used (by Marwa and Mokami) to cut each other.

In the R+A+P pattern as exemplified above (129 to 132) the reciprocal suppresses one argument semantically as the patient in (130); while the applicative as a valency increaser introduces one argument which is instrument in (131). The suffixation of passive in (132) tends to suppress one

argument, ‘the agent’, which is a coordinated NP subject in this sentence and repositions the argument which is an object, and semantically, the instrument to the subject position as one of the principles of passivization. Interestingly, normally the argument suppressed by the passive changes to become an adjunct and an element of the sentence though not an obligatory component. But in (132) the argument (*Marwa* and *Mokami*) which has been suppressed by the passive remains the argument in that it is still part and parcel of the verb *kebhanerwa* ‘has been used by (agent(s)) to cut each other’. Therefore, from the analysis here, one realizes that when the instrument is used as a subject of the passive sentences, the user of the instrument has to be retained as part and parcel of the verb or expression. This also reveals that not only the patient argument can be topicalised by the passive in a passive sentence but also the instrument argument can be passivized. See example (132). Consider another example for the verb *bhoha* ‘tie’ with the same pattern R+A+P.

133. *Marwa a-ra-bhoh-a Mokami*  
 Marwa 3SG-PRES-tie- FV Mokami  
 Marwa ties Mokami.
134. *Marwa na Mokami bha-ra-bhoh-an-a*  
 Marwa and Mokami 3PL-PRES-tie-REC-FV  
 Marwa and Mokami tie each other.
135. *Marwa na Mokami bha-ra-bhoh-an-er-a u-ru-siri*  
 Marwa and Mokami 3PL-PRES-tie-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL11-rope  
 Marwa and Mokami tie each other with rope.
136. *U-ru-siri ro-ko-bhoh-an-er-w-a Marwa na Tina*  
 AUG-CL11-rope CL11-INF-tie-REC-APPL-PASS-FV Marwa and Tina  
 The rope has been used (by Marwa and Tina) to tie each other.

Examples (133) through (136) behave in the same way as the examples in (129) through (132) in that both the second extension (applicative) applicativized reciprocal and passive have a higher semantic scope than applicative and reciprocal. Now, let us examine the other pattern/order of the R+A+P which is applicative, reciprocal, and passive (A+R+P).

### 5.2.2.2.2 Applicative, Reciprocal and Passive (A+R+ P)

As I have stated above, the set of R+A+P has combined the extensions with different functions. A+R+P is the other order of the same extensions in this pattern. Two extensions (reciprocal and passive) are valency reducing and one is valency increasing (applicative). This means that the applicative modifies the syntactic valency of the verb by adding the reciprocal while the passive modifies it by reducing the argument(s) from the verb.

137. *Marwa a-ra-kebha i-nyama*  
 Marwa 3SG-PRES-cut-FV AUG-CL9-meat  
 Marwa is slicing meat.

138. *Marwa a-ra-kebha-er-a Mokami i-nyama*  
 Marwa 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-FV Mokami AUG-CL9-meat  
 Marwa is slicing the meat for Mokami.

139. *Marwa na Mokami bha-ra-kebha-er-an-a i-nyama*  
 Marwa and Mokami 3PL-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL9-meat  
 Marwa and Mokami are slicing meat for each other.

140. *I-nyama e-ra-kebha-er-an-w-a Marwa na Mokami*  
 AUG-CL9-meat CL9-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-PASS-FV Marwa and Mokami  
 Meat has been sliced (parallel with other action) for Marwa and Mokami.

In (138) the applicative introduces beneficiary *Mokami* and in (139) the reciprocal suppresses it (*Mokami*) and takes it to the subject position to obtain the coordinated NP subject (*Marwa and Mokami*). We can also see that after the suffixation process takes place, the passive in (140) suppresses the agent and raises the patient to the subject position. In this sentence, the previous subject (Marwa and Mokami who were agent and beneficiary) now becomes the beneficiary and there is nothing about reciprocity to this argument. This is due to the fact that the passive (P) has a scope over A+R. As explained at the beginning of this chapter, when you have a number of morphemes, for instance, three items X, Y and Z, item X and Y combine with each other and then combine as a unity with Z. As adopted from Rice (2000, p. 24) and Baker (1992), “the morpheme

farther from the verb stem is interpreted as having scope over the morpheme closer to the verb stem” (Baker, 1992, p. 102).

The presence of reciprocal leads to two simultaneous actions, ‘slicing meat’ and another (unknown) action. The analysis in this subsection shows that the A+R+P is accepted as another pattern of R+A+P. Let us equally consider another example, the verb *bhoha* ‘tie’ with the same pattern.

141. *Marwa a-ra-bhoh-a Mokami*  
 Marwa 3SG-PRES-tie- FV Mokami  
 Marwa ties Mokami.
142. *Marwa a-ra-bhoh-er-a Mokami i-chi-nkwi*  
 Marwa 3SG-PRES-tie-APPL-FV Mokami AUG-CL10-firewood  
 Marwa ties firewood for Mokami.
143. *Marwa na Mokami bha-ra-bhoh-er-an-a i-chi-nkwi*  
 Marwa and Mokami 3PL-PRES-tie-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL10-firewood  
 Marwa and Mokami tie the firewood for each other.
144. *I-chi-nkwi chi-ra-bhoh-er-an-w-a Marwa na Mokami*  
 AUG-CL10-firewood CL10-PRES-tie-APPL-REC-PASS-FV Marwa and Mokami  
 The firewood has been tied (parallel to another action) for Marwa and Mokami.

The verb ties in (141) requires two arguments; the applicative in (142) adds one extra argument semantically known as patient. In (143) reciprocal reduces one argument *Mokami* and raises it to the subject position; while passive affects the subject by topicalising the patient *ichinkwi* ‘firewood’. See the differences of these two patterns (R+A+P) and (A+R+ P) below.

### 5.2.2.2.3 Summary of (R+A+P) and (A+R+ P)

The verb *kebha* ‘cut’ (R+A+P)

- (132) *I-bhi-kebhi bhi-ra-keb-an-er-w-a na Marwa na Mokami*  
 AUG-CL8- knife CL8-PRES-cut-REC-APPL-PASS-FV by Marwa and Mokami

The knives have been used (by Marwa and Mokami) to cut each other.

The verb *kebha* ‘cut’ (A+R+ P)

- (140) *I-nyama*                      *e-ra-kebha-er-an-w-a*                      *Marwa na Mokami*  
AUG-CL9-meat                      CL9-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-PASS-FV                      Marwa and Mokami

Meat has been sliced (parallel with other action) for Marwa and Mokami.

The verb *bhoha* ‘tie’ (R+A+P)

- (136) *U-ru-siri*                      *ro-ko-bhoh-an-er-w-a*                      *Marwa na Tina*  
AUG-CL5-rope                      CL5-INF-cut-REC-APPL-PASS-FV                      Marwa and Tina

The rope has been used (by Marwa and Tina) to tie each other.

The verb *bhoha* ‘tie’ (A+R+ P)

- (144) *I-chi-nkwi*                      *chi-ra-bhoh-er-an-w-a*                      *Marwa na Mokami*  
AUG-CL10-firewood                      CL10-PRES-tie-APPL-REC-PASS-FV                      Marwa and Mokami

The firewood has been tied (parallel with other action) for Marwa and Mokami.

Example (132) shows that the verb *kebha* ‘cut/slice’ with the co-occurrence of (R+A+P) conveys the meaning that something has been used by the agent/patient to effect an event action on each other. *Marwa and Mokami* still constitutes the agent of the event action who acts upon each other by using the knives. In (140) *Marwa and Mokami* is the beneficiary of the verb. In (106) the subject is the instrument while in (144) the subject is the patient.

### 5.2.3 Co-occurrence of Four Extensions

Kuria has some language specific syntactic characteristics which differentiate it from a number of Bantu languages. One of these characteristics is allowing the addition of many extensions to a single verb. Since we have seen the co-occurrence of three extensions to one verb, at this juncture let us examine the co-occurrence of four extensions in which two extensions can be reordered within the combination sets.

#### 5.2.3.1 Applicative, Reciprocal, Causative and Passive (A+R+C+P)

The pattern of applicative, reciprocal, causative, and passive combines two valency increasing (applicative and causative) and two valency decreaseers (reciprocal and passive). The verb *oghokebha* ‘to cut/slice’ can accommodate four extensions. The examples below show a combination of applicative, reciprocal, causative and passive.



145. *Mokami a-ra-kebh-a i-chi-nyinyi*  
 Mokami 3SG-PRES-cut-FV AUG-CL10-vegetable  
 Mokami is slicing vegetables.
146. *Mokami a-ra-kebh-er-a Mwita i-chi-nyinyi*  
 Mokami 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-FV Mwita AUG-CL10-vegetable  
 Mokami is slicing vegetables for Mwita.
147. *Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-kebh-er-an-a i-chi-nyinyi*  
 Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL10-vegetable  
 Mokami and Mwita are slicing vegetables for each other.
148. *Nyangi a-ra-kebh-er-an-i-a Mokami na Mwita*  
 Nyangi 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV Mokami and Mwita  
*i-chi-nyinyi*  
 AUG-CL10-vegetables  
 Nyangi is slicing vegetables for herself and for Mokami and Mwita.

In examples (146 and 147), the semantic representations are clearly reflected in the meaning of the sentences. But in (148) the semantic representation is overlapped because the function of the causative could not be seen clearly in the meaning of the sentences. For instance, the causative as a valency increaser introduces the causer *Nyangi*, but the meaning shows that *Nyangi* has performed the action directly as agent for *Mokami and Mwita* and not the one who causes it. Apart from that, it shows that the action was done simultaneously since *Nyangi* was slicing the vegetables for both herself and for *Mokami and Mwita*.

149. *I-chi-nyinyi chi-kebh-er-an-i-bhw-i Mokami na Mwita*  
 AUG-CL10-vegetable CL10-cut-APPL-REC-CAUS-PASS-FV Mokami and Mwita  
 Vegetables have been sliced (by *Nyangi*) for *Mokami and Mwita*.

The passive as valency decreaser suppresses the agent *Nyangi* and takes the patient *ichinyinyi* ‘vegetables’ to subject position in (149). The final vowel has changed from *-a* which was simple present to *-i* which is present perfect due to the affixation of the passive affix-driven *-bhw-*.

### 5.2.3.2 Reciprocal, Applicative, Causative and Passive (R+A+C+P)

The reciprocal, applicative, causative, and passive (R+A+C+P) is another possible pattern of applicative, reciprocal, causative, and passive (A+R+C+P); where two extensions (R and A) have taken each other's original position. Consider the following examples:

150. *Mokami a-ra-ghoot-a Mwita*  
Mokami 3SG-PRES-catch- FV Mwita  
Mokami is catching Mwita.

151. *Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-ghoot-an-a*  
Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-catch- REC- FV  
Mokami and Mwita are catching each other.

152. *Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-ghoot-an-er-a chiko-ni*  
Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-catch-REC-APPL- FV kitchen-CL18  
Mokami and Mwita catch each other in the kitchen.

153. *Nyangi a-ra-ghoot-an-ir-i-a Mokami na Mwita chiko-ni*  
Nyangi 3SG-PRES-catch-REC-APPL-CAUS- FV Mokami and Mwita kitchen-CL18  
Nyangi causes Mokami and Mwita to catch each other in the kitchen.

154. *Mokami na Mwita bha-ghoot-an-ir-i-bhw-i chiko-ni*  
Mokami and Mwita 3PL-catch-REC-APPL-CAUS-PASS- FV kitchen-CL18  
*na Nyangi*  
by Nyangi  
Mokami and Mwita have been caused to catch each other in the kitchen by Nyangi.

### 5.2.3.3 Summary of (A+R+C+P) and (R+A+C+P)

The analysis in this subsection has revealed that in Kuria out of at least the co-occurrence of four extensions, two extensions can be re-ordered and made to create another pattern of the same extensions. At least two extensions would become fixed, e.g. A+R+C+P (causative and passive) while the other two (applicative and reciprocal) can change their position, such as (A+R+C+P) and (R+A+C+P). As one could see from the examples (149) and (154), the applicative and reciprocal agree to take each other's position while causative and passive have remained fixed in their order.

- (149) *I-chi-nyinyi*                      *chi-kebh-er-an-i-bhw-i*                      *Mokami na Mwita*  
 AUG-CL10-vegetable      CL10-cut-APPL-REC-CAUS-PASS-FV      Mokami and Mwita  
 Vegetables have been cut (by Nyangi) for Mokami and Mwita.
- (154) *Mokami*              *na*              *Mwita*              *bha-ra-ghoot-an-ir-i-bhw-i*                      *chiko-ni*  
 Mokami              and              Mwita              3PL-PRES-catch-REC-APPL-CAUS-PASS-FV              kitchen-CL18  
*na*              *Nyangi*  
 by              Nyangi  
 Mokami and Mwita have been caused to catch each other in the kitchen by Nyangi.

#### 5.2.4 Summary of the Co-occurrence of Extensions and the Reordering of Extensions

The analyses presented so far have shown that reordering of extensions in a set of multiple extensions in Kuria is possible for some extensions. The extension can only introduce a certain semantic role depending on the nature of the verb and its position within a set of combinations of other extensions. This means that reordering can change the semantic role of an argument basing on core arguments or processed arguments which have been introduced by the preceding extensions. This is explained by the fact that the extension that is far from the root has a semantic scope over the extensions which are closer to the root.

The process shows that the first extension to be attached to the verb root with the core meaning of the verb has the power to determine the semantic roles which should be provided by the next extension (if it is a valency increaser). Therefore, all extensions together determine the syntactic profile of the base of the verb because the last extension relies on the first or previous extension's results. As Schadeberg aptly observes: "The addition is cyclical in the sense that when the meaning of a B consisting of R + E<sub>1</sub> has developed a specific meaning, this meaning is retained in a further derivation R + E<sub>1</sub> + E<sub>2</sub>" (2006, p. 73). As I stated earlier in Section 5.2.1.1.3, Schadeberg assumes that E<sub>1</sub> has nothing to contribute to the syntactic structure. This is not true given that what has been contributed by E<sub>1</sub> is within the structure. My argument here is that R + E<sub>1</sub> + E<sub>2</sub> is syntactically not equal to the R+ E<sub>2</sub> he is talking about. This means that it is not only the last extension which determines the syntactic structure of a verb. Rather, all extensions contribute to the final structure.

The extensions which have multiple functions can only provide a certain function in a certain environment. Sometimes its function cannot explicitly be seen within a set of extensions especially when the causative co-occurs with other extensions like: reciprocal, applicative and causative as well as applicative, reciprocal and causative.

### 5.3 Recurrences of Extensions

In Bantu languages we obtain a number of argument structure changing suffixes by adding or reducing the number of arguments to a verb. In Kuria there are possibilities of one or two extensions valency increasers or decreasers to reappear in the same verb. It can re-occur within a set of combinations of three, four and five extensions to a single verb root. The highest normal number of extensions which can be suffixed to the verb root is four, but when some extensions recur, it reaches up to five extensions. This means that in Kuria up to five extensions can be suffixed to one verb root. Each extension performs its usual function except the causative, which sometimes is overlapped in certain combinations. In the following sub-section, I demonstrate how this works.

#### 5.3.1 Applicative-Reciprocal-Applicative (A+R+A)

In Kuria, the order involving the applicative, reciprocal and applicative (A+R+A) is possible. In this pattern, two similar extensions (i.e. the first and second applicative) are valency increasing while the reciprocal decreases the valency. Consider the examples in (155) to (158) in which the applicative recurs.

155. *Mokami a- ra-h-a*                      *Mwita i-bhi-tabho*  
 Mokami 3SG- PRES - give - FV      Mwita AUG-CL8-book  
 Mokami is giving Mwita books.

156. *Mokami a- ra-h-e-er-a*                      *Mwita i-bhi-tabho*  
 Mokami 3SG- PRES-give-add.v-APPL-FV      Mwita AUG-CL8-book  
*gwi-tirisa*  
 CL17-window  
 Mokami is giving Mwita books at the window.

157. *Mokami na Mwita bha- ra-h-e-er-an-a*  
 Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-give-add.v-APPL-REC-FV  
*i-bhi-tabho gwi-tirisa*  
 AUG-CL8-book CL17-window.

Mokami and Mwita are giving books to each other at the window.

158. *Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-h-e-er-an-er-a Nyangi*  
 Mokami and Mwita 3P-PRES-give-APPL-REC-APPL-FV Nyangi  
*i-bhi-tabho gwi-tirisa*  
 AUG-CL8-book CL17-window

Mokami and Mwita are giving books to each other and to Nyangi at the window.

In examples (156) and (158), the applicative extension recurs as one that changes the argument structure. It increases the total number of arguments of a verb by one. In the first occurrence, it introduces the locative *gwi-tirisa* ‘at the window’ and in the second it adds one argument *Nyangi*, semantically known as recipient respectively. Similarly, in (157) the reciprocal as a valency decreaser suppresses one argument which is the goal. In example (156) there are four arguments which are *Mokami*, *Mwita* *ibhitabho* ‘books’ *gwi-tirisa* ‘window’, while in example (157) after suffixation of the reciprocal, we are left with three arguments which are *Mokami* and *Mwita* as one (coordinated NP) argument syntactically, but semantically there are two roles agent and recipient, *ibhitabho* ‘books’ and *gwi-tirisa* ‘window’. As one can see from the example above, the repetition of applicative has performed its function once it appeared. Whereby in (158) there are two arguments *gwi-tirisa* ‘at the window’ and *Nyangi* which are introduced by the applicative. However, some of the arguments have been subjected to the morphosyntactic process and have altered their roles.

### 5.3.2 Reciprocal-Causative-Reciprocal (R+C+R)

The reciprocal, causative and reciprocal (R+C+R) is another pattern within repetition of extensions in Kuria. Unlike the previous (A+R+A) now (R+C+R), it is valency-decreasing extension which reappears. The main task of this extension is to reduce the number of arguments syntactically, and argument changing positions semantically to a verb. So let us see how these suppressing processes work.

159. *O-mo-ghaka a-ra-ghoot-a u-mu-kungu*  
 AUG-CL1-man 3SG-PRES-catch-FV AUG-CL1-woman  
 The man is catching the woman.
160. *O-mo-ghaka na u-mu-kungu bha-ra-ghoot-an -a*  
 AUG-CL1-man and AUG-CL1-woman 3PL-PRES-catch -REC- FV  
 The man and woman are catching each other.
161. *Mwita a-ra-ghoot-an-i-a o-mo-ghaka na u-mu-kungu*  
 Mwita 3SG-PRES-catch-REC-CAUS- FV AUG-CL1-man and AUG-CL1-woman  
 Mwita caused the man and woman to catch each other.
162. *Mwita hamwi na o-mo-ghaka na u-mu-kungu*  
 Mwita together with AUG-CL1-man and AUG-CL1-woman  
*bha-ra-ghoot-an-i-an-a*  
 3PL-PRES-catch-REC-CAUS-REC-FV  
 Mwita together with the man and woman were caused by each other to catch one another.

In (160 and 162) the reciprocal as a valency-decreaser recurs and performs its function in the sentence(s).

Another circumstance in which the reciprocal can be accepted is when the subject of a sentence is a plural argument. This means that the reciprocal cannot occur in an intransitive verb. In example (160) the core argument *umukungu* ‘the woman’ is suppressed as is in example (162). The causative in (161) introduces the causer or initiator (syntactically, subject) of the verb. The last reciprocal in (162) suppresses the causee syntactically, (*omoghaka na umukungu* ‘the man and the woman’) and raises it to the subject position to re-join the agent *Mwita* to form coordinated NP subject for the second time.

One of the conditions of the affixation of the reciprocal or any of the valency-decreasing extensions should have an argument to suppress. In this case the introduction of causative creates a chance for the reciprocal to recur. As one can see from the examples above, the basic verb in (169) has two arguments but the last sentence in (162) has only one argument which is accumulated NP.

This is because there were two valency reducing extensions and just one valency increaser. Accordingly, the one core argument must be suppressed by one valency reducing extension.

### 5.3.3 Applicative-Reciprocal-Causative-Reciprocal (A+R+C+R)

In this co-occurrence of (A+R+C+R) we have two valency-increasing extensions (applicative and causative) and two valency-decreasing extensions (two reciprocals). As I have shown earlier, when we have suppressing extensions we should have something to be suppressed. Consider the examples (163-167).

163. *O-mo-ghaka*            *a-ra-bhek-a*            *i-chi-mbiria*  
 AUG-CL1-man            3SG-PRES-keep -FV    AUG-CL10-money  
 The man is keeping some money.

164. *O-mo-ghaka*    *a-ra-bhek-er-a*            *u-mu-kungu*            *i-chi-mbiria*  
 AUG-CL1-man    3SG-PRES-keep-APPL-FV    AUG-CL1-woman    AUG-CL10-money  
 The man is keeping some money for the woman.

165. *O-mo-ghaka na*    *u-mu-kungu*            *bha-ra-bhek-er-an-a*  
 AUG-CL1-man and    AUG-CL1-woman            3pl-PRES-keep-APPL-REC-FV  
*i-chi-mbiria*  
 AUG-CL10-money  
 The man and woman are keeping the money for each other.

166. *Nyangi*            *a-ra-bhek-er-an-i-a*            *o-mo-ghaka*            *na*  
 Nyangi            3SG-PRES-keep-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV    AUG-CL1-man            and  
*u-mu-kungu*            *i-chi-mbiria*  
 AUG-CL1-woman            CL10-money

Nyangi is keeping the money for herself and for the man and woman.

167. *Nyangi*            *hamwi*            *na*    *o-mo-ghaka*    *na*    *u-mu-kungu*  
 Nyangi            together            with    AUG-CL1-man and    AUG-CL-woman  
*bha-ra-bhek-er-an-i-an-a*            *i-chi-mbiria*  
 3PL-PRES-keep-APPL-REC-CAUS-REC-FV            AUG-CL10-money

Nyangi together with the man and woman are keeping money for each other.

The examples show that the co-occurrence of applicative-reciprocal-causative-reciprocal (A+R+C+R) in Kuria is grammatically acceptable. From the underlying structure in (165), the

applicative introduces one argument *umukungu* ‘the woman’ (164), which is the beneficiary while in (165) the reciprocal suppresses the argument *umukungu* and generates a coordinated NP subject which acts upon each other. The causative introduces the new argument *Nyangi* in example (166) which is a direct agent who keeps the money for herself and for *omoghaka na umukungu* ‘the man and woman’. As one can note in (166) the co-occurrences of ARC has special meaning in Kuria which shows the simultaneity of actions (also see examples in section 5.2.2.1.1 above). Mwita refers to ARC as synchronizing suffix, explaining that “when they occur together they express the simultaneity of action expressed by the core meaning of the root and some other action or event” (Mwita, 2008, p. 56). The last reciprocal in (167) suppresses one argument again and makes a coordinated NP subject for the second time.

### 5.3.4 Applicative-Reciprocal-Applicative-Causative (A+R+A+C)

The co-occurrence of applicative, reciprocal, applicative and causative (A+R+A+C) is acceptable in Kuria language. In this set of extensions, the applicative recurs. In the examples below first and second applicatives have introduced the same thematic role two times. Consider the behaviour of the verb *oghosea* in (168) to (172) below:

168. *Mokami a-ra-se-a u-bhu-ri*  
Mokami 3SG- PRES-grind-FV AUG-CL14-millet  
Mokami is grinding millet.
169. *Mokami a-ra-se-er-a Nyangi u-bhu-ri*  
Mokami 3SG-PRES-grind-APPL-FV Nyangi AUG-CL14-millet  
Mokami is grinding the millet for Nyangi.
170. *Mokami na Nyangi bha-ra-se-er-an- a u-bhu-ri*  
Mokami and Nyangi 3PL-PRES-grind-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL14-millet  
Mokami and Nyangi are grinding the millet for each other.
171. *Mokami na Nyangi bha-ra-se-er-an-er-a*  
Mokami and Nyangi 3PL-PRES-grind-APPL-REC-APPL-FV  
*o-mo-ona u-bhu-ri*  
AUG-CL1-child AUG-CL14-millet  
Mokami and Nyangi are grinding the millet for each other and for the child.



172. *Mwita*            *a-ra-se- er-an-ir-i- a*                            *o-mo-ona*  
 Mwita            3SG-PRES-grind-APPL-REC-APPL-CAUS-FV    AUG-CL1-child  
*Mokami na Nyangi u-bhu-ri*  
 Mokami and Nyangi    AUG-CL14-millet

Mwita is grinding the millet for Mokami and Nyangi on behalf of the child.

The applicative extension introduces *Nyangi* as beneficiary semantically in example (169) while in (170) the reciprocal suppresses *Nyangi* and raises it to the subject position to generate coordinated NP subject. In example (171) the second applicative introduces another argument *omoona* ‘the child’ as also a beneficiary for the second time to the same verb. The difference between the first argument *Nyangi* and *omoona* ‘the child’ is that *Nyangi* benefitted from Mokami’s action but now *omoona* becomes the beneficiary of the co-joint NP (who are also agent and beneficiary at the same time) *Mokami* and *Nyangi*, who are performing the action for each other and for the *omoona* ‘child’ at the same time. This implies that a verb can have two arguments which are beneficiaries but one should be an external argument playing two roles - agent and beneficiary such as *Mokami* and *Nyangi* - and one internal argument, i.e. *omoona* ‘the child’. As one can see in (171), the beneficiary *omoona* ‘the child’ has been introduced after the previous beneficiary *Nyangi* is suppressed by the first reciprocal in (170) and upgraded to subject position to form coordinated NP subject. The causative as a valency increasing extension in (172) has introduced one argument, but it has no meaning of causation and brings in double beneficiaries. In 172 *omoona* ‘the child’ and (*Mokami* and *Nyangi*) are both beneficiaries; Mwita is doing the event action for Mokami and Nyangi on behalf of *omoona* ‘the child’, the benefactive and substitutive applicative as discussed by Marten and Kula (2014) respectively. They argue:

In Bantu languages, this distinction has not received much attention, in part because most languages do not formally distinguish between different readings of benefactive applicatives. In Bemba (Bantu M42, Zambia), by contrast, substitutive applicatives, where the action of the verb is performed by the agent instead of, on behalf of, or in place of someone else (2014, p. 1)

As I mentioned earlier in the discussion, this indicates that the causative has another semantic role known as beneficiary. This can be seen even in the co-occurrence of A+R+C where there are double beneficiaries which come in through the simultaneity of the event action after the suffixed causative to applicative and reciprocal ((A+R) +C) (see other examples in sub-section 5.2.2.1.1 in this chapter).

### 5.3.5 Applicative-Reciprocal-Applicative-Causative-Reciprocal (A+R+A+C+R)

The applicative, reciprocal, applicative, causative and reciprocal (A+R+A+C+R) is another set of extensions which can co-occur. In this combination, we have two extensions which appear together for the second time, namely, applicative and reciprocal. We have seen the applicative introducing two beneficiaries to a single verb; but sometimes the applicative extension introduces location to a verb, especially the second applicative. Taking the verb *oghokebha* ‘to cut’ as a case, I illustrate this pattern in the examples below.

173. *O-mo-ona a-ra-kɛbh-a i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL1-child 3SG-PRES-cut-FV AUG-CL9-meat  
 The child is slicing the meat.
174. *O-mo-ona a-ra-kɛbh-er-a o-mo-ona i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL1-child 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-FV AUG-CL1-child AUG-CL9-meat  
 The child is slicing the meat for the child.
175. *A-bha-ana bha-ra-kɛbh-er-an-a i-nyama*  
 AUG-CL2-child 3PL-PRES-cut-APPL - REC-FV AUG-CL9-meat  
 The children are slicing the meat for each other.
176. *A-bha-ana bha-ra-kɛbh-er-an-er-a i-nyama ke-bhara*  
 AUG-CL2-child 3PL-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL9-meat CL16-outside  
 The children are slicing the meat for each other outside.
177. *u-mu-kungu a-ra-kɛbh-er-an-ir-i-a a-bha-ana*  
 AUG-CL1-woman 3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-APPL-CAUS -FV AUG-CL2-child  
*i-nyama ke-bhara*  
 AUG-CL9-meat CL16-outside  
 The woman is slicing the meat for herself and for the children outside.
178. *A-bha-ana na u-mu-kungu bha-ra-kɛbh-er-an-ir-i-an-a*  
 AUG-CL2-child and AUG-CL1-woman 3PL-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-APPL-CAUS-REC-FV  
*i-nyama ke-bhara*  
 AUG-CL9-meat CL7-outside  
 The children and the woman are slicing the meat for each other outside.

The applicative as valency increaser performs two functions. First, in example (174) it has introduced one argument which is *omoona* ‘the child’ and for the second time the applicative introduces another argument which is the locative *kebbara* ‘outside’ in (146). The causative introduces *umukungu* ‘the woman’ in (177). Also, the reciprocal as valency decreaser appears twice and suppresses two arguments; the first reciprocal suppresses *omoona* ‘the child’ in example (175) and raises it to the subject position to combine with the agent *omoona* ‘the child’, forming a plural argument *abhaana* ‘the children’, the syntactical subject. In the second occurrence, the reciprocal suppresses *umukungu* ‘the woman’ in example (178) and the order of extensions reflects the order of the affixation processes. As I have shown in the various preceding sub-sections in this study, verb extension in Kuria is procedural and it follows a pattern. The extension which is closer to the root is the first to be attached to the root. On the other hand, the extension far from the root among the multiple extensions is the last extension to be attached to the root and the first outcome is the input<sup>27</sup> of the next extension. The last extension has semantic scope over the proceeding ones. Therefore, my analysis shows that the repetition of an extension in Kuria is possible. For instance, in the (A+R+A+C+R) pattern, the arguments introduced by the two valency-increasing extensions are those suppressed by those two reciprocals.

The analyses also show that Kuria allows multiple extensions to be attached to the verb root. The language allows up to five extensions to a single verb root while some extensions can re-appear, for instance: Applicative, reciprocal, applicative, causative and reciprocal (A+R+A+C+R) can be attached to one verb root. The analysis and discussion demonstrate that every extension has performed its function as shown in the relevant examples except the causative which has introduced the argument but seems to have applied meaning rather than causative meaning.

Furthermore, the analyses show that the applicative causative and reciprocal extensions can re-occur except for the stative and passive. The process of repetition of extension goes together with the balancing process. That is why, wherever there is a recurrence of valency increasers, there are also valency decreasers to regulate the weight of the number of arguments to a verb.

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<sup>27</sup> By input in this context, I mean that the first extension combines with the core verb root to form one unity which is used as a single unity (as input) ready for affixation in the second extension.

## 5.4 Conclusion

The analyses in this chapter show that the argument structure changing suffixes modify the number of arguments of a verb by adding or reducing arguments by one. A sentence is a core syntactic structure projection of the verb's argument structure representation. This means that the arguments which appear in a sentence are introduced by the argument structure representations which attach to a verb root and core argument of the verb. These arguments should follow the order of the morphemes which are represented. Accordingly, the argument introduced by the first extension tends to be the first to appear in the sentence, followed respectively by the second, third, up to the last, extension. The order of morphemes reflects the semantic scope of the suffixes; the first extension combines with the verb root and the last extension combines with the verb root and the first extension as a unit while the extension furthest from the root has semantic scope over the ones closer to the root. The suffixes are functioning at both morphological and syntactical levels; the affixation process in morphological derivation goes together with the introduction and suppressing arguments from the verb which reflect the syntactic derivation. Therefore, the order of the syntactic elements in the surface structure depends on what is contained by a final verb's argument structure representation and the syntactic elements are organised hierarchically.

In addition, when the order of extensions in a set of multiple extensions differs from the other sets of extensions, then the order of the arguments will also be different. For instance, relevant examples have shown that a set which tends to affix the reciprocal before the applicative (R+A) will be different from the one which starts with the applicative and is followed by the reciprocal (A+R). This is because in the first one, we have applicativized the reciprocal while in the second we have reciprocalised the applicative. This indicates that if there are any variations/different orders of the extensions then they will go together with the variations of the syntactic argument (different arguments) in a sentence. This means that there is a direct relationship of the verb's argument structure representation to the syntactic structure of a sentence. This conclusion is consistent with Babby's view where he states that,

*a sentence's core syntactic representation is the direct projection of the main verb's final argument representation, which entails that there is an isomorphic mapping relation between the positions in argument-structure representation and the corresponding position in its syntactic projection, and that the former determine the latter" (2009, p. 1).*

Therefore, the possibility of reordering and repeating extensions in a set of extensions reflects the variability of the extensions in the Kuria verb system. This means that the order of Kuria extensions is not fixed. As the examples above reveal, the reordering and repetition of extensions in Kuria are possible and lead to different meanings depending on different orders of extensions. It has been noted that the order of extension morphemes in Kuria has features of both: some accept the order according to the CARTP Template in Bantu while others defy the Bantu suffix template. The analyses have further revealed that in Kuria up to five extensions are allowed to be affixed to one verb root and these processes involve the two valency increasers, namely, causative and applicative. Among five productive verb extensions in Bantu, only three extensions, namely, applicative, reciprocal and causative, can be reordered in Kuria, while the remaining stative and passive are fixed to their positions whenever they co-occur with other extensions. In the latter case, they cannot be shifted to any other position. In other words, they are fixed in the first and last position respectively in a set of combinations of other suffixes.

I argue that it is not the case in all instances that the valency-increasing extensions introduce the meanings (roles) expected from the basic verb meaning. But sometimes when attached to the verb root with other extensions, these provide special meanings to the verb and at other times they introduce an argument though this does not reflect the underlying extension meaning. For instance, the extra meaning of simultaneity of action is brought by the suffixation of the causative extension in the set of other extensions such as in the ((A+R) +C) pattern; and in this combination/co-occurrence pattern the causative loses its 'original' function of 'to cause to'.

The findings show that when extensions co-occur with other extensions, they tend to be conditioned by the adjacent extensions and become selective. This means that an extension can introduce any argument to the verb; but when it occurs with other extensions, they must agree with one another since they are adjacently positioned.

I realize that when the instrument is used as a subject of the passive sentence, the user of the instrument has to be retained (as argument and not as adjunct) as part and parcel of the verb or expression. This also reveals that not only can the patient argument be topicalised by the passive in a passive sentence but also that the instrument argument can be passivized.

## CHAPTER SIX

### **Multiple Extensions and Argument Relations under Theoretical Concepts**

This chapter brings together various issues discussed in Chapter Five, presenting them in a summative form through the deployment of certain theoretical concepts. This is supposed to make the reader easily comprehend and see the main issues which I am trying to clarify in this study. This chapter as such only highlights the main issues as a lot has already been discussed within the other substantive chapters of the study. This chapter has two main sections which all show the argument relations under the theoretical framework. While the first section deals with argument relations on reordering, the second part deals with repetition.

One of the objectives of this study is to examine the effects of reordering and repetition of extensions to the same verb in the Kuria language morphosyntactically and semantically. In Chapter Five, I have shown how reordering and recurring of extensions in Kuria verb extension system lead to semantic re-adjustment as a result of the extensions being in different position among a combination of extensions. This behaviour has contradicted with Cammenga (2004, p. 257) and Mwita (2008, p. 50) who argue that Kuria has a fixed order of extension morphemes.

Furthermore, the study adopted theoretical concepts which do not pay much attention to the verb extension system in Bantu in order to find out how the main precepts of these theories and the Kuria data on verb extensions complement each other. The main point here is to focus on the effects/impacts of extensions in a certain order rather than what guided them and how this was done. This is because scholars such as Baker (1985), Rice (2000), Hyman (2003) and others have already illustrated the latter aspect.

#### **6.1 Co-occurrences of Verb Extensions and Argument Relations**

In Chapter Five, I demonstrated how different sets of co-occurrences of extensions can exchange their positions on the same verb and recur in the same combination. In this chapter, I discuss the reversed orders to illustrate how they introduce arguments and affect each other under the theoretical concepts. The analysis in Chapter Five has shown that the issue of the order of

extensions in Bantu cannot be handled by one principle due to the fact that languages are more specific than generic.

My main argument here is that something fixed does not allow other different orders to be configured. Once it appears that a single extension can shift from one place to another within a certain combination, then the template is no longer fixed. Therefore, this study shows the local variability of Kuria language from the general uniformity ‘fixed order of CARP (and CARTP Template for Kuria)’ as proposed by Hyman. The analysis in Chapter Five has shown that Kuria language allows multiple extensions some of which are free to move to other positions and hence create different orders. Therefore, this implies that Kuria is among the Bantu languages that do not abide by one principle in terms of suffix ordering because it allows both templates such as AB and mirror scope BA.

In Chapter Five, I discussed the orders of extensions and their arguments. In this chapter, I combine the analysis with the theoretical principles so that one can see how syntactic elements are projected and arranged in the way they appear on a syntactic plane; and how re-ordering and repetition of extensions lead to semantic re-adjustments. Two theories namely, Theta theory and The Syntax of Argument Structure Theory and one theoretical concept known as Projection Principle are applied in this chapter. The theories were chosen for two main reasons: to show how the arguments are projected and secondly how they are assigned to different roles.

In this section, I use some of the analysed sentences in Chapter Five to show their relationship with the theories and the prevailing views of different scholars. Here, the theories are used depending on the data and what I intend to explain in a given sentence. I start with the co-occurrences of two extensions, then three, four and five respectively. In each section I analyse at least one pair of reverse orders of extensions.

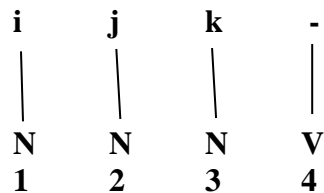
### **6.1.1 Co-occurrences of Two Extension Morphemes**

In Kuria the different orders of two extensions have different meanings which are caused by the extensions exchanging position. As already revealed in Chapter Five, the different positions of extensions lead to different meanings. The last extension has a higher semantic scope than the

preceding ones. The examples used in this section are drawn from Chapter Five with their original numbers in brackets while the normal numbers of examples are automatically indicated.

Babby (2009) proposed the way syntactic elements can be mapped under The Syntax of Argument Structure Theory. He holds that “*a sentence’s core syntactic representation is the direct projection of the main verb’s final argument-structure representation*, which entails (that there is) an isomorphic mapping relation between the positions in argument-structure representation and the corresponding positions in its syntactic projection and the former determine the latter” (Babby, 2009, p. 1). Babby shows that what we see on the surface structure is what had been carried out with the final verb argument structure representation. He has given a structure of ditransitive verb showing what we expect from the verb. Babby (2009, p. 15) gives the number of arguments which can be carried by a ditransitive verb. He assumes that the verb cannot have more than three arguments, see example below.

179. Representation of a ditransitive verb’s diathesis (Babby, 2009, p. 16)



Babby (2009) gives the representation structure that shows two horizontal tiers, namely semantic selection, which has **i** which represents the external theta role (which he typically calls agent), **j** and **k** representing the internal theta roles at the upper tier and category selection for the lower tier which represents the syntactic category, which he names as noun (N 1 to 3). The latter match/map with three theta roles that is upper (**i**, **j**, and **k**) and the verb (V) (Babby, 2009, p. 15) (see the structure above). Babby assumes that all arguments should be a noun (N) and cannot be any other syntactic category. Let us now proceed to examine in this chapter how this concept applies to Kuria.

In the Theta Theory proposed by Chomsky (1981) under the fundamental principle, the Theta Criterion provides the number of roles required by a certain verb. As the Theta criterion principle states “each argument bears one and only one  $\theta$ -role, and each  $\theta$ -role is assigned to one and only one argument” (Chomsky, 1981, p. 36). The theory insists that each argument should play not



more than one role and each thematic role should be assigned only one argument. The discussion in this section uses examples from Chapter Five to show how projection principles identify the argument relations based on the projected nodes. Under the projection principle, I use the binary branching analysis (syntactic tree) to show the argument relations. See discussions below.

### 6.1.1.1 **Applicative-Reciprocal (A+R) and Reciprocal-Applicative (R+A)**

This section shows how the suffixes lead to the alternation of the arguments in one process after another and the semantic re-adjustment, starting with the pattern with the co-occurrences of two extensions in different orders. The applicative-reciprocal (A+R) and reciprocal-applicative (R+A) in (48) and (57) respectively (as mentioned in Chapter Five) have different meanings due to the extensions being in different position. As seen in these examples, they have the same number of arguments in the same order but have different meanings due to the different order of the extensions.

<i>A-bha-ana</i>	<i>bha-ra-kebh-er-an-a</i>	<i>i-nyama.</i>	(48)
AUG-CL2- child	3PL-PRES-CUT-APPL-REC-FV	AUG-CL9-meat	

The children are cutting meat for each other.

<i>Abhaana</i>	<i>bha-ra-kebh-an-er-a</i>	<i>i-nyama.</i>	(57)
Children	3PL-PRES-cut-REC-APPL-FV	AUG-CL9-meat	

The children are cutting each other because of meat.

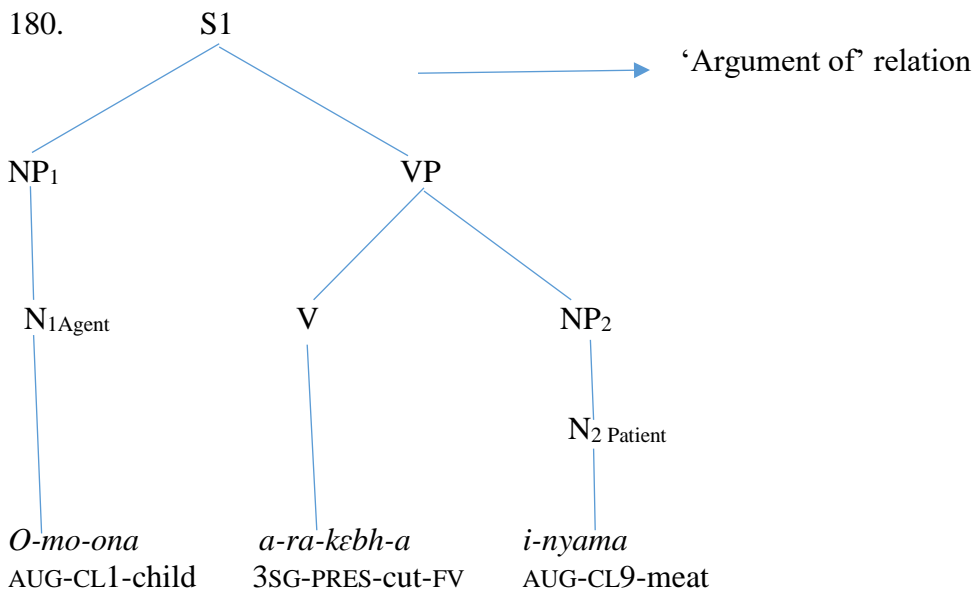
The verb *kebha* ‘cut’ is transitive and requires two arguments. Then, from the argument structure representation, we have two roles, i.e agent role and the patient role. Verb extension is amongst morphosyntactic operations that create new words from the basic ones and modify the argument structure of a verb. For instance, verb extension has its own argument structure and when it combines with the argument structure of a verb, it tends to be modified by generating a new argument structure representation, as Babby calls it “*the main final verb’ argument structure representation*” (2009, p. 1). In his view, Babby means that, what we can see at the syntactic structure is projected by the final representations as the verb’s requirements. The applicative and reciprocal have different functions, i.e. when the applicative increases the verb argument by one, the reciprocal accordingly reduces one argument of the verb. Therefore, this makes the verb (in

final) to have the same number of arguments with the basic one but with different meanings. The basic sentence is shown below.

*O-mo-ona*      *a-ra-kebh-a*      *i-nyama.* (46)  
 AUG-CL1-child    3SG-PRES-cut-FV      AUG-CL9-meat

A child is slicing meat.

The verb *kebh* ‘cut/slice’ in (180) is a transitive verb, and Babby calls it monotransitive verb (2009, p. 19). The representation of such kind of verb has external argument and one internal argument shown below and their argument relations.

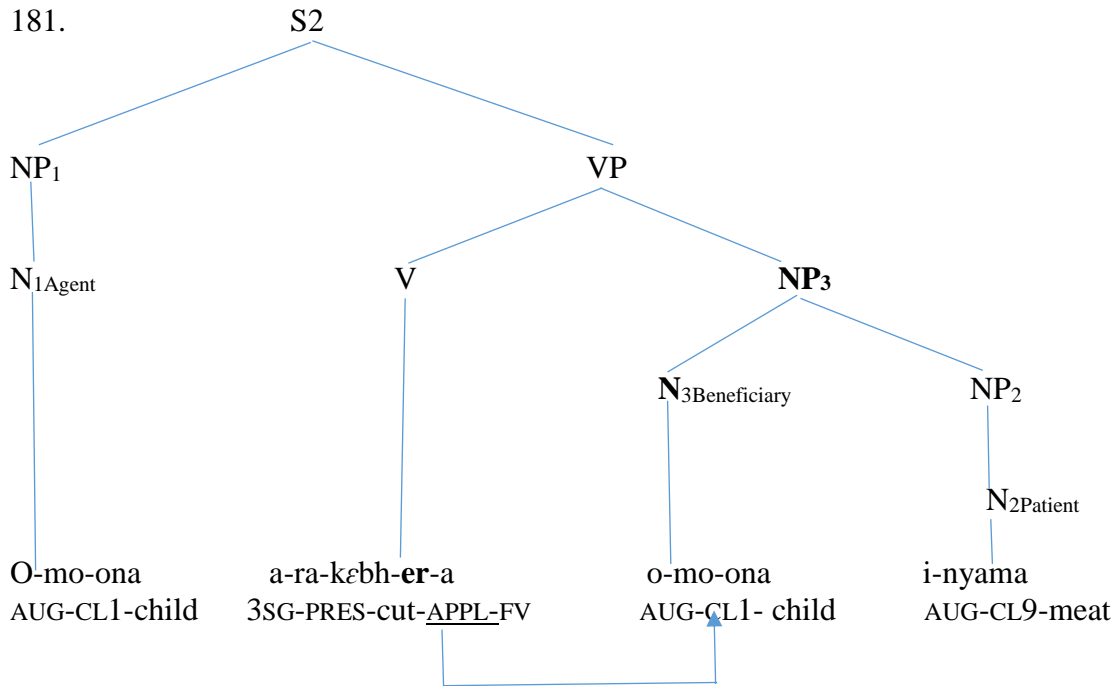


A child is slicing meat.

Below is the function of the applicative and the projection structure that indicates the introduction of the new argument, *omoona* ‘the child’ in NP3, which was not in the first structure. As can be seen, the applicative has modified the verb’s argument structure by introducing one extra argument. See the structure in (181) below.

*O-mo-ona*      *a-ra-kebh-er-a*      *o-mo-ona*      *i-nyama.* (47)  
 AUG-CL1-child    3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-FV      AUG-CL1-child      AUG-CL9-meat

The child is slicing the meat for another child.

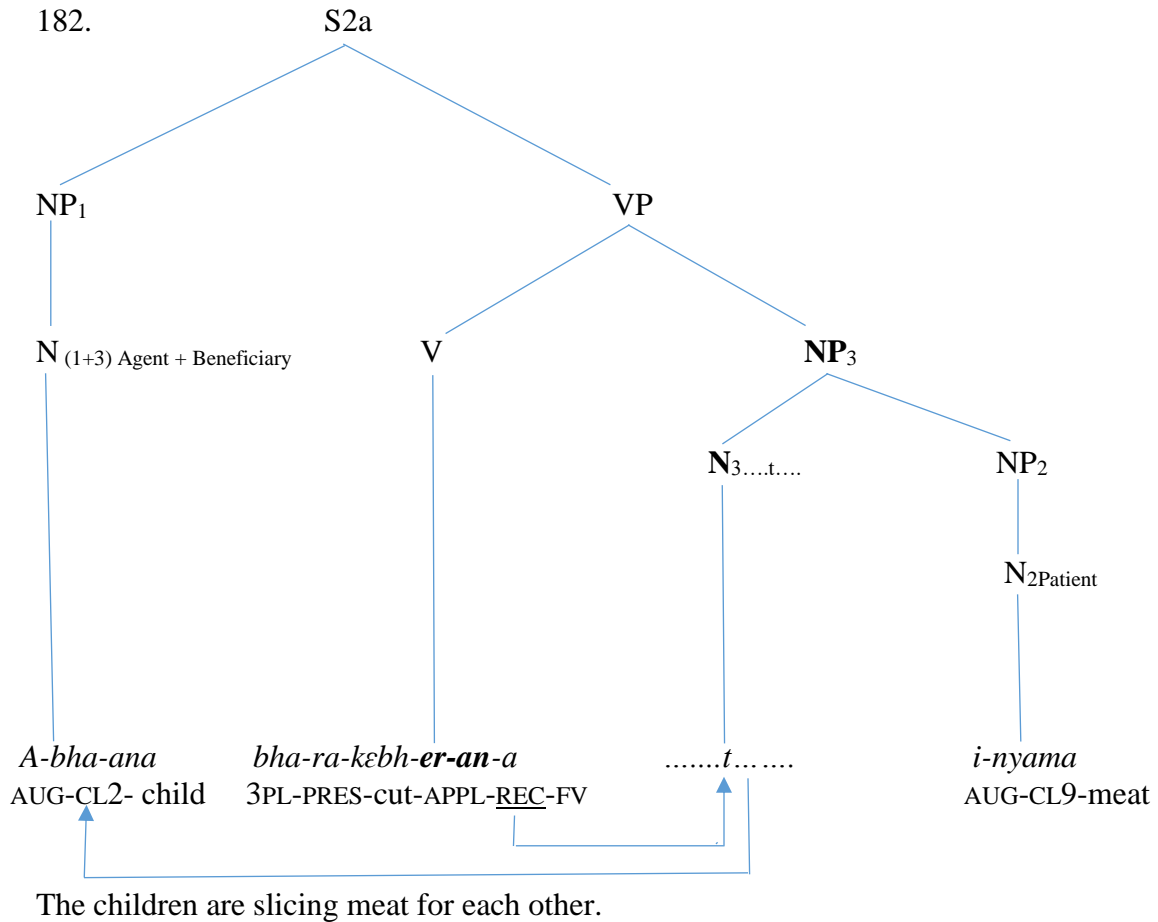


The child is slicing the meat for another child.

Then, in (182) the reciprocal as last extension, has a semantic scope over the applicative, it has reciprocalised the applicative. This means that the reciprocal works on the applied meaning together with the core meaning of the verb, as the main function of the reciprocal is to reduce the number of arguments from the verb. Consider the example below.

*A-bha-ana*                      *bha-ra-kεbh-er-an-a*                      *i-nyama.* (48)  
AUG-CL2- child                      3PL-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-FV                      AUG-CL9-meat

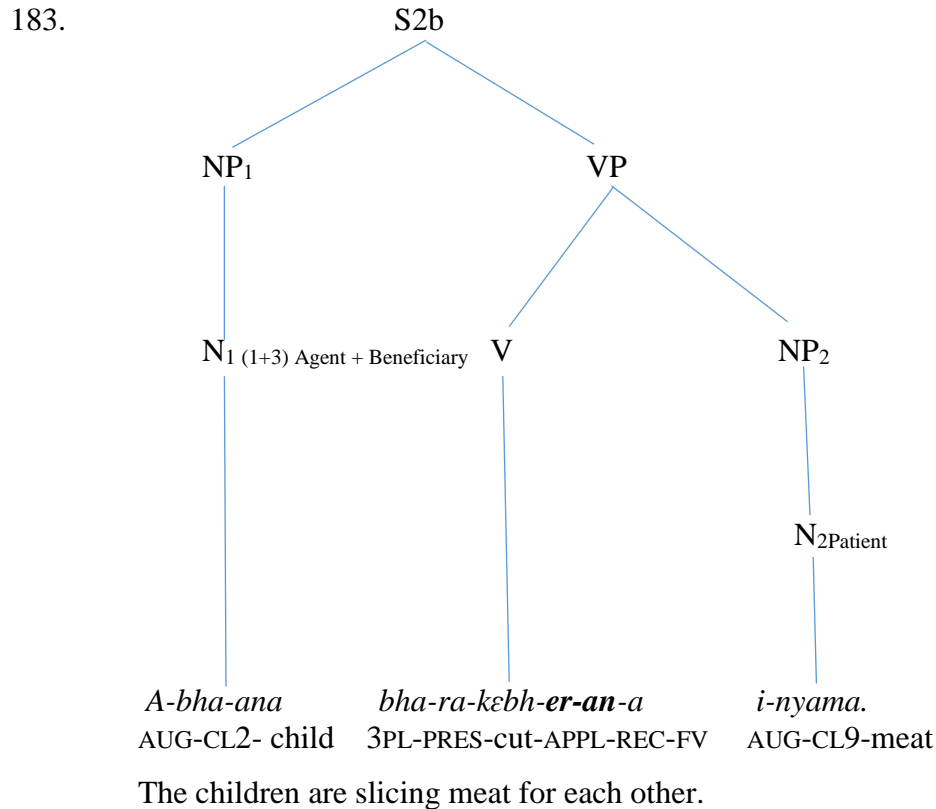
The children are slicing meat for each other.



The process of suppression of one argument leads to different structures see (183) below. As I argued in Chapter Five, reciprocal has double functions, one is to reduce verb argument by one syntactically, and the second is to upgrade the reduced argument to the subject position semantically. In this sense, syntactically, the number of arguments has been reduced from three to two namely, *abhaana* ‘children’ as subject of the sentence and *inyama* ‘meat’ as direct object of a verb. Semantically, the sentence still has three thematic roles because there are two arguments in the subject position, namely, agent and beneficiary (*abhaana*) who are playing double roles at a time. The third argument is the patient (*inyama*). This implies that the reciprocal is multifunctional which differs in its realization.

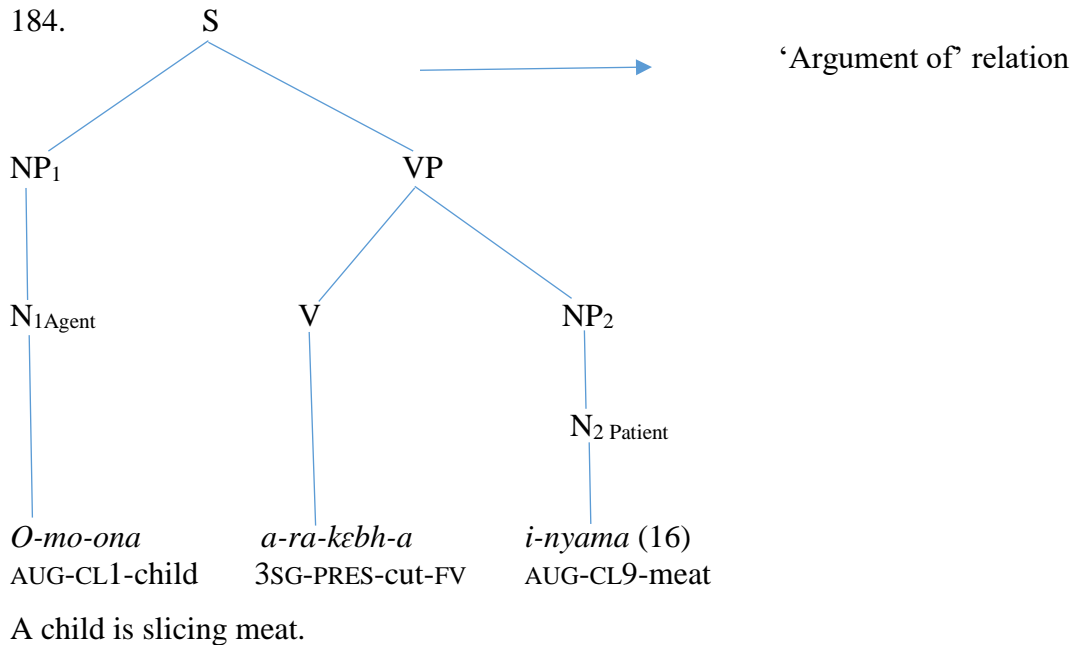
My argument above on reciprocal contradicts the Theta Theory under Theta Criterion principle, which states that “each argument bears one and only one  $\theta$ -role, and each  $\theta$ -role is assigned to one and only one argument” (Chomsky, 1981, p. 36). This is manifested in the sense of having double

roles in one argument as one i.e. *abhaana* ‘the children’ who are both agent and beneficiary. See the syntactic structure of the transitive verbs in (183).



The main difference between the reciprocal and other valency-decreaser extensions is that, after suppressing the argument, it takes it to the subject to form coordinated NP or plural subject in which they act upon each other. See example (182) and (183) above.

After having a look at the A+R let us examine the reversed order R+A of the same extensions to the same verb to see how extensions affect one another. The underlying verb in example (184) has two arguments which are subject and object (syntactically) and agent and patient (semantically). The first extension now to be affixed to the verb root is reciprocal. In the processes of affixation, the reciprocity action needs two roles which can act upon each other at a time. In this case we need two entities with the same status or ones with the ability of doing something.

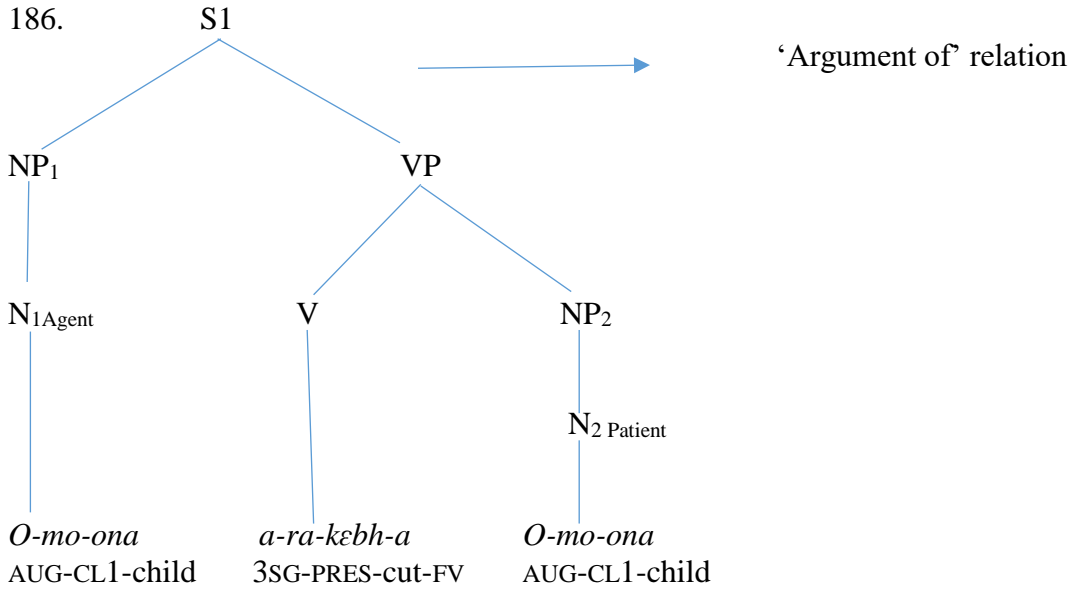


In example (184), the underlying verb (the basic verb without extensions) has two arguments with different status: one is animate and the other is an inanimate. Therefore, the affixation of reciprocal suffixes on the verb *kebha* ‘cut/slice’ will render the sentence ungrammatical due to the argument *inyama* ‘meat’ being inanimate.

185.    \**O-mo-ona*            *na*    *i-nyama*            *bha-ra-kebha-an-a*  
          \*AUG-CL1-child       and    AUG-CL9-meat       3PG-PRES-cut-REC-FV
- \*The child and the meat are cutting each other

The source of the ungrammaticality/lack of meaning is the reciprocal extension and the argument *inyama* ‘meat’ (which is inanimate) while the reciprocity action needs the animates or entities which have the same status to act upon each other. It is in this sense that I view suffixes as selective operations because they have their own requirement, and are not acceptable to all verbs. Therefore, let us change the argument to see the impact of the reciprocal extensions. Let us assume that the children were playing with a knife and one cut the other. Consider example (186) below.

- O-mo-ona*            *a-ra-kebha*            *o-mo-ona*       (55)  
AUG-CL1- child   3SG-PRES-cut-FV   AUG-CL1-child
- A child is cutting the child.

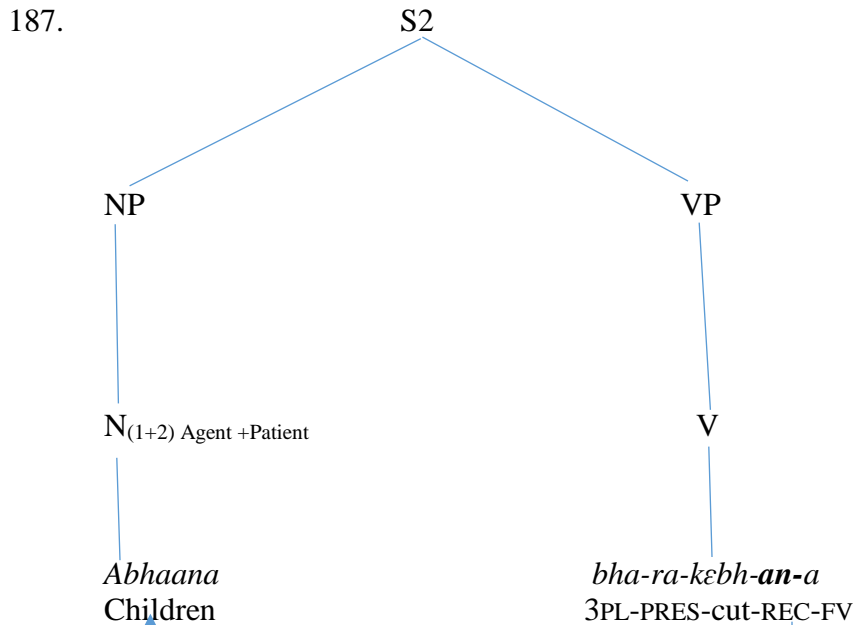


A child is cutting another child.

Then, from the example (186), we have the same argument which is animate as a requirement of the reciprocal. The reciprocal as a valency-reducing suffix has made the sentence to have one argument. See example in (187).

*A-bha-ana*      *bha-ra-kebha-an-a*    (56)  
 AUG-CL2-child    3PL-PRES-cut-REC-FV

The children are cutting each other.



The children are cutting each other.

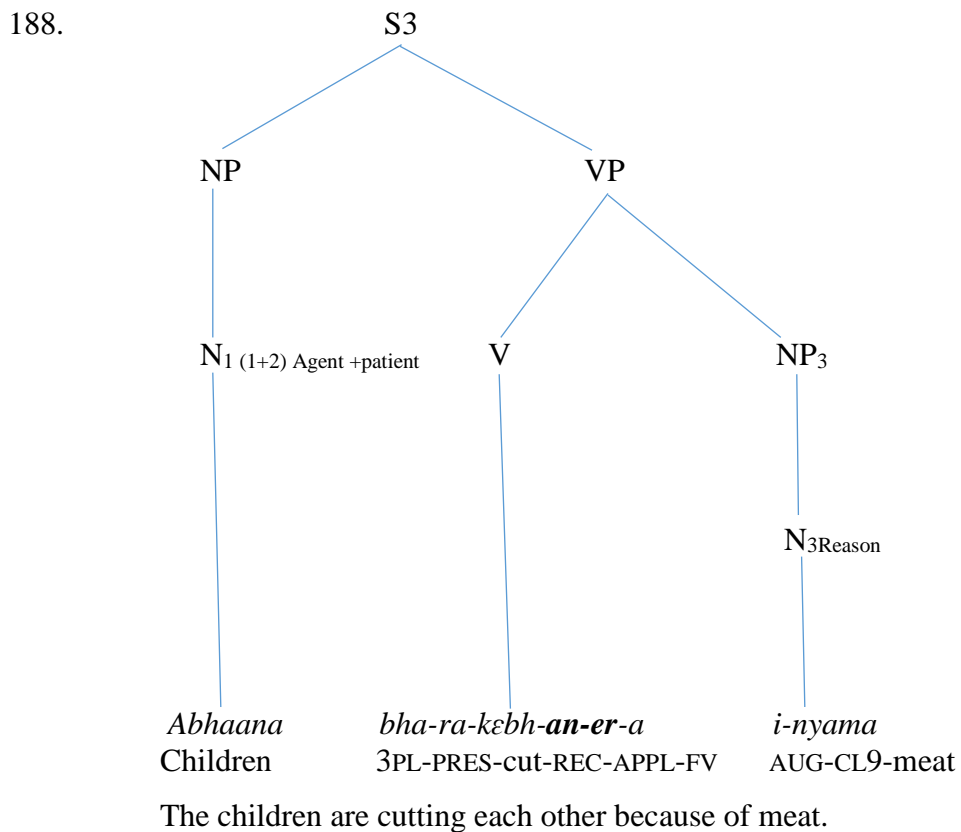
In example (186) the agent and patient are both *omoona* ‘child’ then after affixation of reciprocal, the two arguments combine and create the coordinated NP in (187) which now is a plural entity *abhaana* ‘children’. It acts as a single argument, the syntactical subject of the sentence, but semantically it doubles as agent and patient.

The next process is to affix the second extension ‘applicative’ to the same verb root with the reciprocal ((verb root +R) + A) to the same verb *kebha* ‘cut/slice’. The applicative adds one argument *inyama* ‘meat’ to a verb as the latter’s requirement. In this case, the applicative introduces the reason for cutting.

*A-bha-ana*    *bha-ra-kebha-an-er-a*    *i-nyama.*    (57)  
 Children      3PL-PRES-cut-REC-APPL-FV    AUG-CL9-meat

The children are cutting each other because of meat.

Therefore, the reciprocal-applicative (R+A) is a reversed order of the same applicative-reciprocal (A+R) extensions to the same verb. The pattern provides the meaning of cutting each other because of the meat. See the structure (188) below for example from Chapter Five.





The pattern of reciprocal-applicative (R+A) *-an-*, *-er-* is revealed in Kuria. This pattern runs counter to the view of Hyman who argues that,

[a]ll of the Bantu languages I have looked at obey most of the CARP template. I know of no Bantu language that requires an opposite order of the inherited PB suffixes, e.g. no language requires *-il-its-*, *-an-il-* etc (Hyman, 2003, p. 258).

As it can be seen, Hyman’s position contradicts examples (188) above since in Kuria language it is possible to have (R+A). Similarly, not only the applicative-reciprocal can be re-ordered but also reciprocal-causative (R+C).

In examples (183) and (188) one can see the same arguments with the same order but different meaning brought in by the different processes with different order of extensions which Babby called “the internal structure of the diathesis” (2009, p. 13). As can be seen, there were different processes which lead to the same syntactic structure with the different meaning.

#### 6.1.1.2 Reciprocal-Causative (R+C) and Causative-Reciprocal (C+R)

The reciprocal-causative (R+C) and causative-reciprocal (C+R) in examples (63) and (75) from Chapter Five have different meanings caused by the extensions exchanging positions. In the first pattern in (63), there is causativization of reciprocal while in (75) there is the reciprocalization of causative.

<i>Nyangi</i>	<i>a-ra-hooch- an-i-a</i>	<i>Mwita na a-bha-ana</i>	(63)
Nyangi	3SG-PRES- bring back-REC-CAUS- FV	Mwita and AUG-CL2-child	

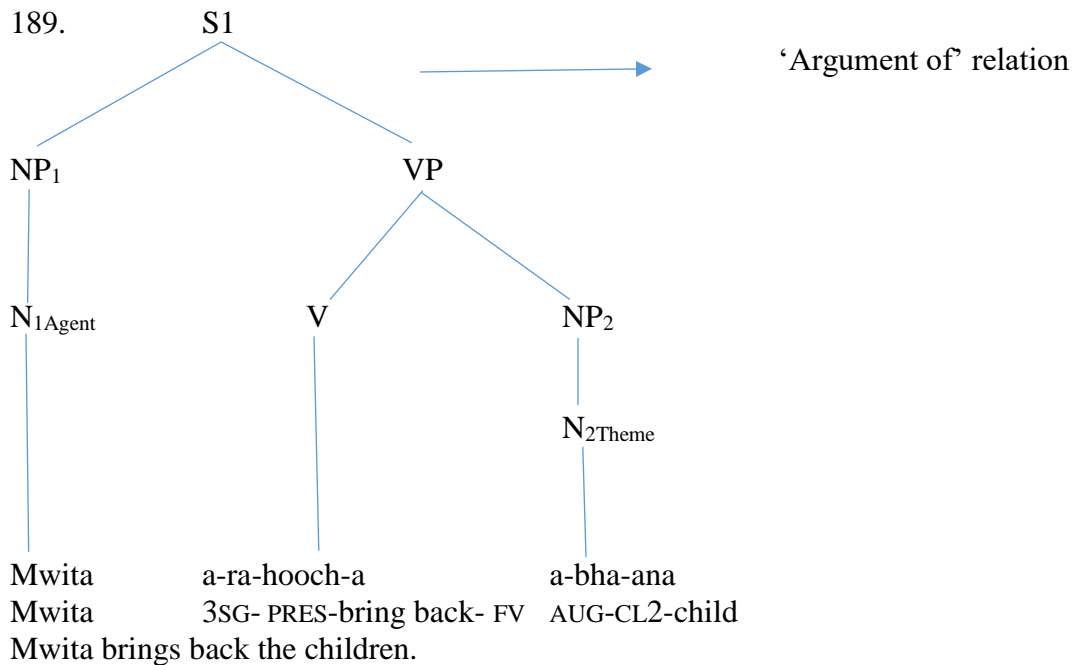
Nyangi causes Mwita and children to bring back each other.

<i>Nyangi</i>	<i>na Mwita bha-ra- hooch-i-an- a</i>	<i>a-bha-ana</i>	(75)
Nyangi	and Mwita 3PL- PRES-bring back-CAUS-REC-FV	AUG-CL2-child	

Nyangi and Mwita cause each other to bring back the children.

Let us examine the argument relations of the two examples under projection principle. Under this principle, the properties of lexical items are preserved during the phrase structure construction (Chomsky, 1986). The principle states that “lexical structure must be represented categorically at every syntactic level” (Chomsky1986, p. 84). As the argument structure of the verb *hoocha* ‘bring

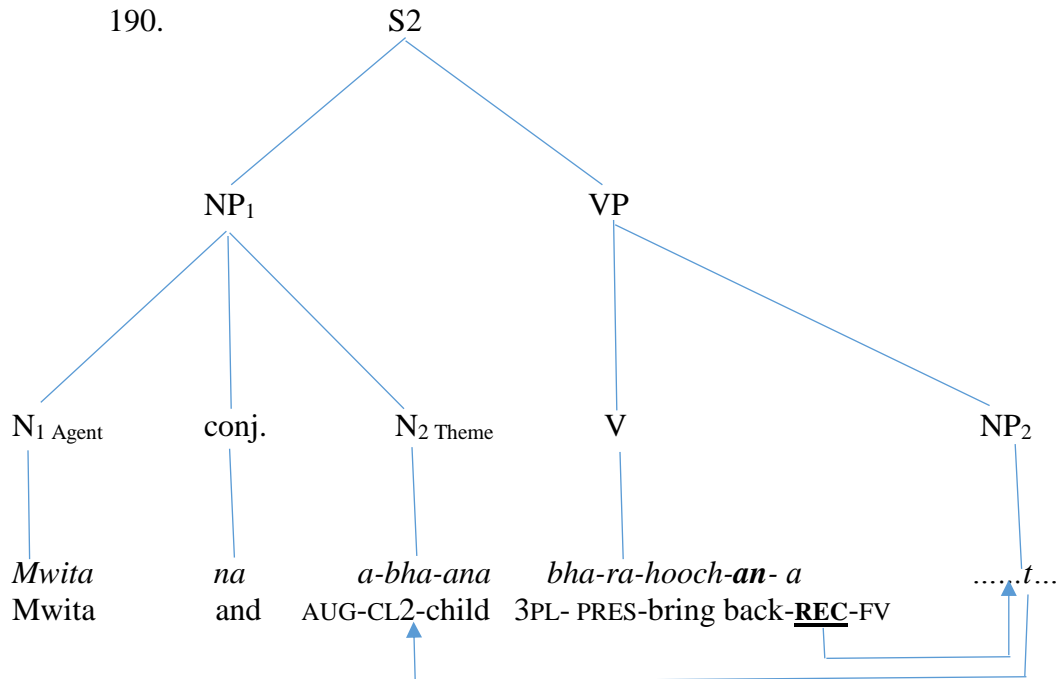
back’ has identified the number and type of the arguments carried by the verb. For instance, the underlying sentence in (189) is *Mwita arahoocha abhaana* ‘Mwita brings back the children’.



The verb *hoocha* ‘bring back’ in Kuria is a transitive verb with two roles. The first is the role of an agent who performs the action, i.e. Mwita, as in the sentence above. The second role is that of one affected by the verb theme, i.e. *abhaana* ‘the children’. In the following, let us see the co-occurrences of reciprocal and causative (R+C) below.

*Mwita na a-bha-ana bha-ra-hooch-an-a* (62)  
Mwita and AUG-CL2-child 3PL- PRES-bring back-REC-FV  
Mwita and the children bring back each other.

Examine the argument relations in the structure (190) which was brought by reciprocal in which the internal argument is suppressed and upgraded to subject position. It is upgraded to the subject position in the sense that arguments in a sentence are arranged in hierarchical manner. The first argument in the order has a higher rank than the next as demonstrated by Wechsler who stated that the arguments are ordered according to their thematic hierarchy: “Agent > beneficiary > recipient / experiencer > instrument > theme/patient > location” (2015, p. 59). See more in Chapter Two in this study.



Mwita and the children bring back each other.

The reciprocal suppresses one argument and changes its status. In example (6) above, the argument *abhaana* ‘the children’ is the theme of the event action but now the relationship between *abhaana* and *Mwita*, who are agents in the sentence, has the same status; now they both act as agents and theme in the reciprocal action. Although the subject of the sentence has the coordinated NP argument (two nouns), it is counted as one argument (external argument) and the syntactical subject of the sentence. This is because the reciprocal requires two entities who/which can act upon each other. Therefore, in NP<sub>1</sub> we have *Mwita* and *abhaana* ‘the children’.

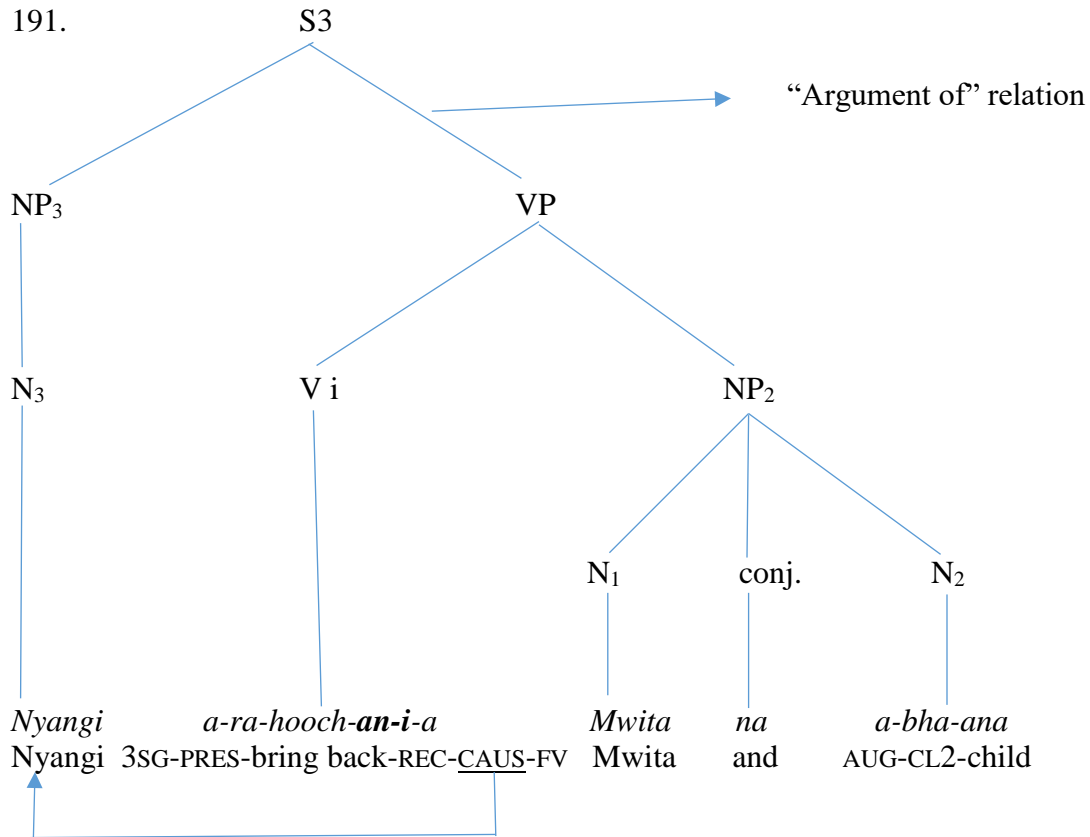
Now, we examine the differences in the structure when we suffix the causative to the verb root. The causative is among the valency increasers which modify the number of verb’s argument structure by introducing a new argument to the verb. Examine example number (191).

*Nyangi* *a-ra-hooch-an-i-a* *Mwita* *na* *a-bha-ana* (63)  
*Nyangi* 3SG-PRES- bring back-REC-CAUS- FV *Mwita* and AUG-CL2-child

Nyangi caused Mwita and the children to bring back each other.

*Nyangi na Mwita bha-ra-hooch-i-an- a a-bha-ana* (75)  
 Nyangi and Mwita 3PL- PRES-bring back-CAUS-REC-FV AUG-CL2-child

Nyangi and Mwita cause each other to bring back the children.



Nyangi caused Mwita and the children to bring back each other.

In example (190) the argument *Mwita na abhaana* ‘Mwita and the children’ as one argument was projected as external argument of the sentence. However, in example (191), the causative extension has changed this argument and projected as internal argument. The effect was caused by the causative after it introduced the new argument *Nyangi* (which is external argument) in the subject position, that was the causer in example (191) and affects the previous argument, the syntactical subject.

Consider the other pattern of the same extensions with the same verb. Now it is reciprocal and has the semantic scope over the causative, since the causative is closer to the root while reciprocal is further away from the root than the causative. See example below:

*Nyangi*      *na*      *Mwita*      *bha-ra-hooch-i-an-a*      *a-bha-ana* (75)  
 Nyangi      and      Mwita      3PL- PRES-bring back-CAUS-REC-FV      AUG-CL2-child

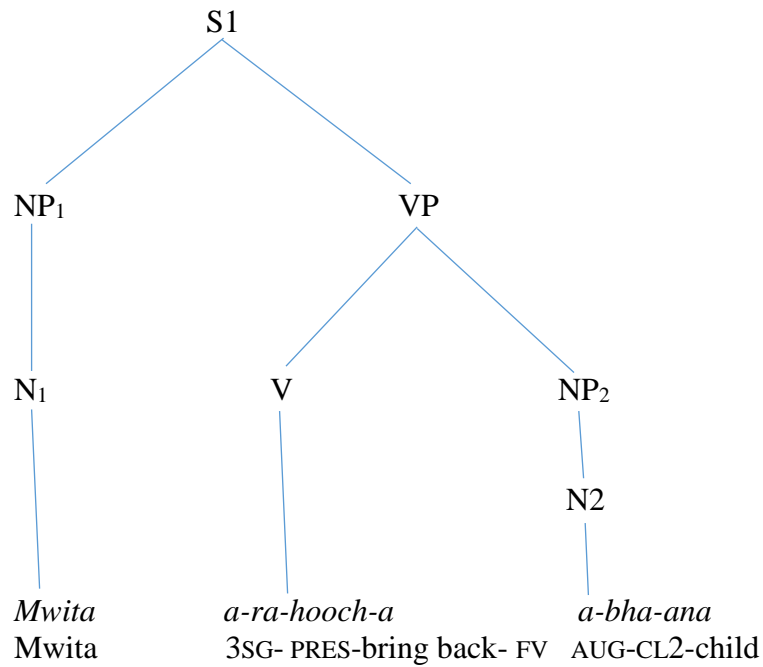
Nyangi and Mwita cause each other to bring back the children.

The verb without extensions needs two arguments as agent and patient. See example (192) below.

*Mwita*      *a-ra-hooch-a*      *a-bha-ana* (73)  
 Mwita      3SG- PRES-bring back- FV      AUG-CL2-child

Mwita brings back the children.

192.



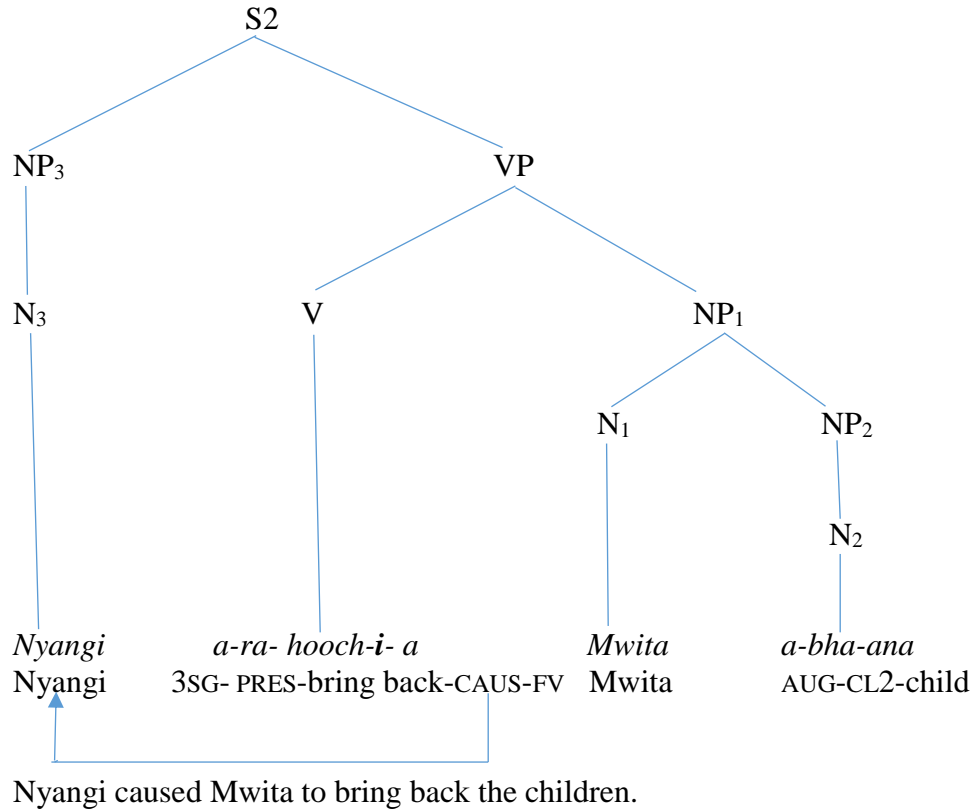
Mwita brings back the children.

In example (193), we have the new external argument *Nyangi*, and *Mwita* is no longer the subject of the sentence but the subject of the event verb. At the same time, *Mwita* constitutes the patient of the causation action known as causee.

*Nyangi*      *a-ra-hooch-i-a*      *Mwita*      *a-bha-ana* (74)  
 Nyangi      3SG-PRES-bring back-CAUS-FV      Mwita      AUG-CL2-child

Nyangi caused Mwita to bring back the children.

193.

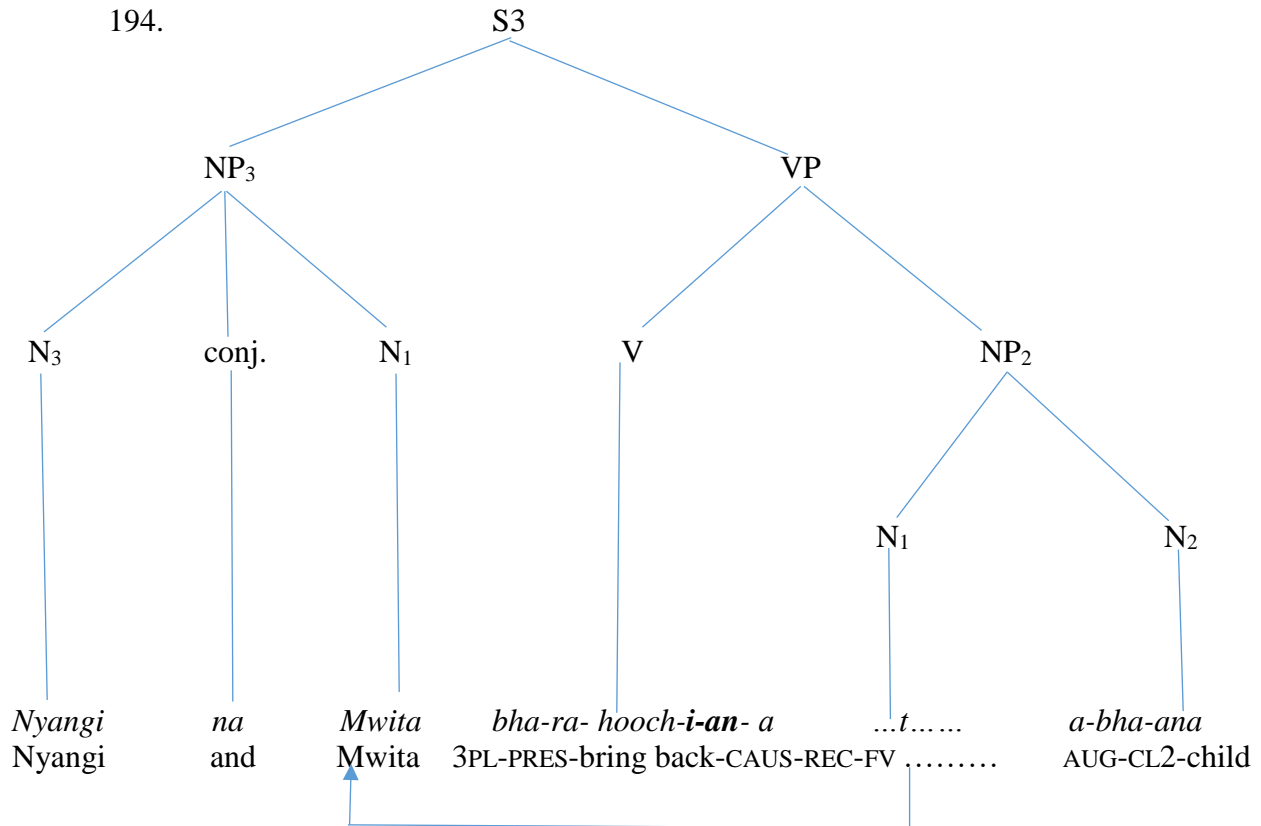


The structure locality of the ‘argument of’ relation in this study finds its basis on binary branching. The Theta Theory helps to identify the relationship and their c-command relationship. The way in which the arguments differ depends on the projection principle. For instance, the external argument is a sister node of the maximal projection of the verb, while internal arguments are within the verb phrase (VP) in which other arguments can also be projected. Regarding this situation, Williams (1995) asserts that:

The subject argument has a special status. It is not a sister of the verb, but is in fact a sister of the maximal projection of the verb. For this reason, we may call this argument the “external argument” of the verb - it is located externally to the maximal projection of the verb, whereas the other arguments are internal to the verb (1995, p. 105).

*Nyangi na Mwita bha-ra-hooch-i-an- a a-bha-ana* (75)  
 Nyangi and Mwita 3PL-PRES-bring back-CAUS-REC-FV AUG-CL2-child

Nyangi and Mwita cause each other to bring back the children.



### 6.1.2 Co-occurrences of Three Extensions

As we have seen in Chapter Five, it is not only the co-occurrence of two extensions which can be re-ordered. Three or four extensions can also be re-ordered. This is due to the fact that verb extension is procedural, although it appears on the surface structure together as if they have been put at once. The analysis in this section is done systematically to show the changes that occur at every stage before we reach the last or the surface structure. Consider some examples (96), (116) and (124) below from Chapter Five.

(A+R+C)	(96)					
<i>Nyangi</i>	<i>a-ra-ghoot-er-an-i-a</i>	<i>Mokami</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>Mwita</i>	<i>i-chi-nswi</i>	
Nyangi	3SG-PRES-catch-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV	Mokami	and	Mwita	AUG-CL10-fish	

Nyangi is catching fish for herself and for Mokami and Mwita.

(A+C+R) (116)

Nyangi na Mokami bha-ra-ghoot-ir-i-an-a Mwita e-ke-moori  
Nyangi and Mokami 3PL-PRES-catch-APPL-CAUS-REC-FV Mwita AUG-CL7-calf

Nyangi and Mokami cause each other to catch the calf for Mwita.

(C+R+A) (124)

Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-ghoot-**i-an-er-a** e-ke-moori ke-bhara  
Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-catch-CAUS-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL7-calf CL17-outside

Mokami and Mwita cause each other to catch the calf outside.

It is very important to take note of the argument structure of a verb (number and the type of argument of the verb) before proceeding to see the difference in the effect of the reversive order. We start with the basic sentence or the core arguments under two tiers namely, semantic selection and category selection by Babby (2009) below. The basic sentence has two arguments which are agent and theme of the verb *ghoota* ‘catch’. See example (195) and the syntactic structure in (196).

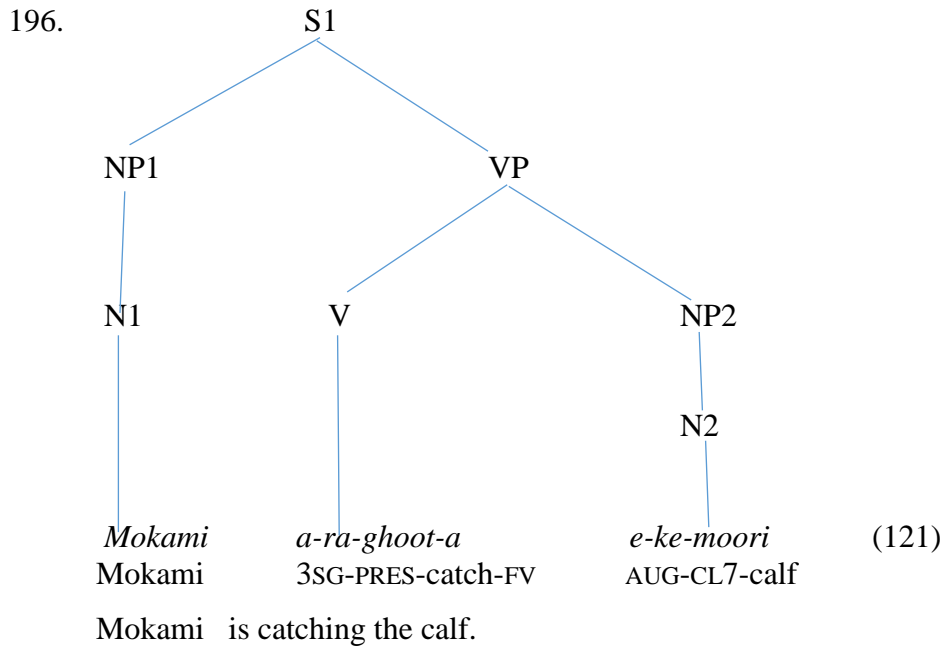
195. Representation of a transitive verb (Babby, 2009, p. 19 calls it monotransitive verb)

i	j	-	-
N	N	-	V
1	2	-	4
Agent	Theme	-	Transitive Verb
<i>Mokami</i>	<i>Ekemoori</i>	-	<i>Ghota</i>

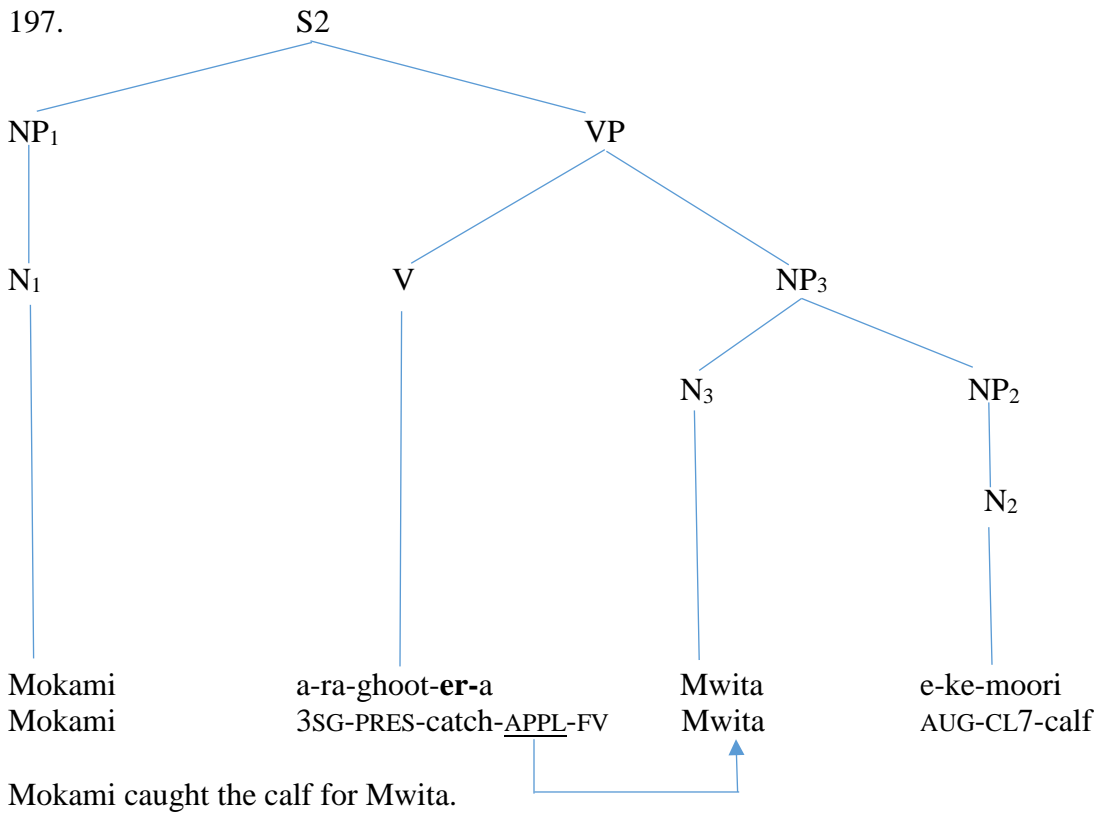
### 6.1.2.1 Applicative-Causative-Reciprocal (A+C+R)

In the pattern of A+C+R, we have two valency-increasing suffixes and one valency-reducing suffix. The process goes step by step and one after the other. The underlying verb is a transitive verb or di-valent to which three extensions are going to be affixed. Let us examine the whole process below.





The applicative being the first to be affixed to the verb root will be closer to the root than any other extension and will be subjected to the following causative and reciprocal extensions.

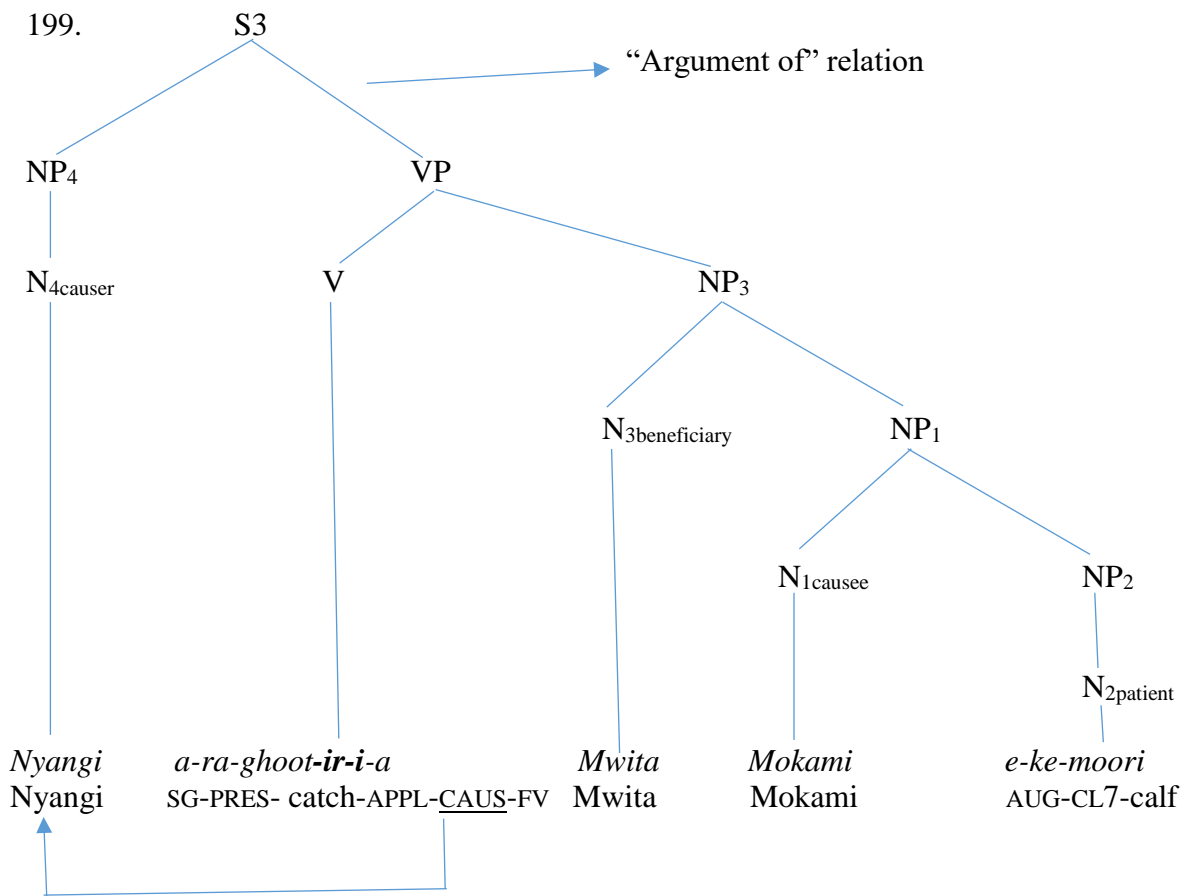


Babby (2009) provides the representation of the argument structure of ditransitive verb with two tiers in which every argument has its slot with two kinds of information as shown below. The first one explains which type of argument and the second one, the category of the argument. For instance, the above example in (196) after suffixation by the applicative has changed from transitive to ditransitive verb as shown in (197), whereby the beneficiary role has been added to the verb.

198. Representation of a ditransitive verb *ghootera*

I	j	k	-
N	N	N	V
1	2	3	4
Agent	Theme	Beneficiary	Ditransitive Verb
<i>Mokami</i>	<i>ekemoori</i>	<i>Mwita</i>	<i>araghot-er-a</i>

Examine the syntactic structure of the verb *ghoota* with applicative and causative in (199).



Nyangi causes Mokami to catch the calf for Mwita.

The introduction of causative to the verb root makes the verb to require one extra argument, which is the causer, *Nyangi* in example (199). The presence of an extra argument makes the verb to have four arguments to the same verb in (199). The difference between the structure in (199) and in (197) is that the internal arguments in (199) are now three which lead to different NPs. NP<sub>1</sub> is the causee and this argument has double roles, a fact which is also contrary to the Theta Theory. The causee is a patient of the causation action and at the same time the direct agent of the event action given that he is the doer of the embedded verb. NP<sub>2</sub> is the theme of the event action. NP<sub>3</sub> is the beneficiary of the event action while NP<sub>4</sub> is the external argument known as causer and the agent of the causation verb. While in (197) there are only two internal arguments, i.e. NP<sub>2</sub> the patient and NP<sub>3</sub> beneficiary of the verb, NP<sub>1</sub> is the external argument who is the agent of the event action. As Williams argues, “Although we speak of a Noun Phrase as ‘having a theta role’ it is important to realize that the ‘argument of’ relation is a relation, a relation between a verb and a Noun Phrase” (1995, pp. 101-102).

*Nyangi a-ra-ghoot-ir-i-a Mwita Mokami e-ke-moori* (115).  
 Nyangi 3SG-PRES- catch- APPL-CAUS-FV Mwita Mokami AUG-CL7-calf

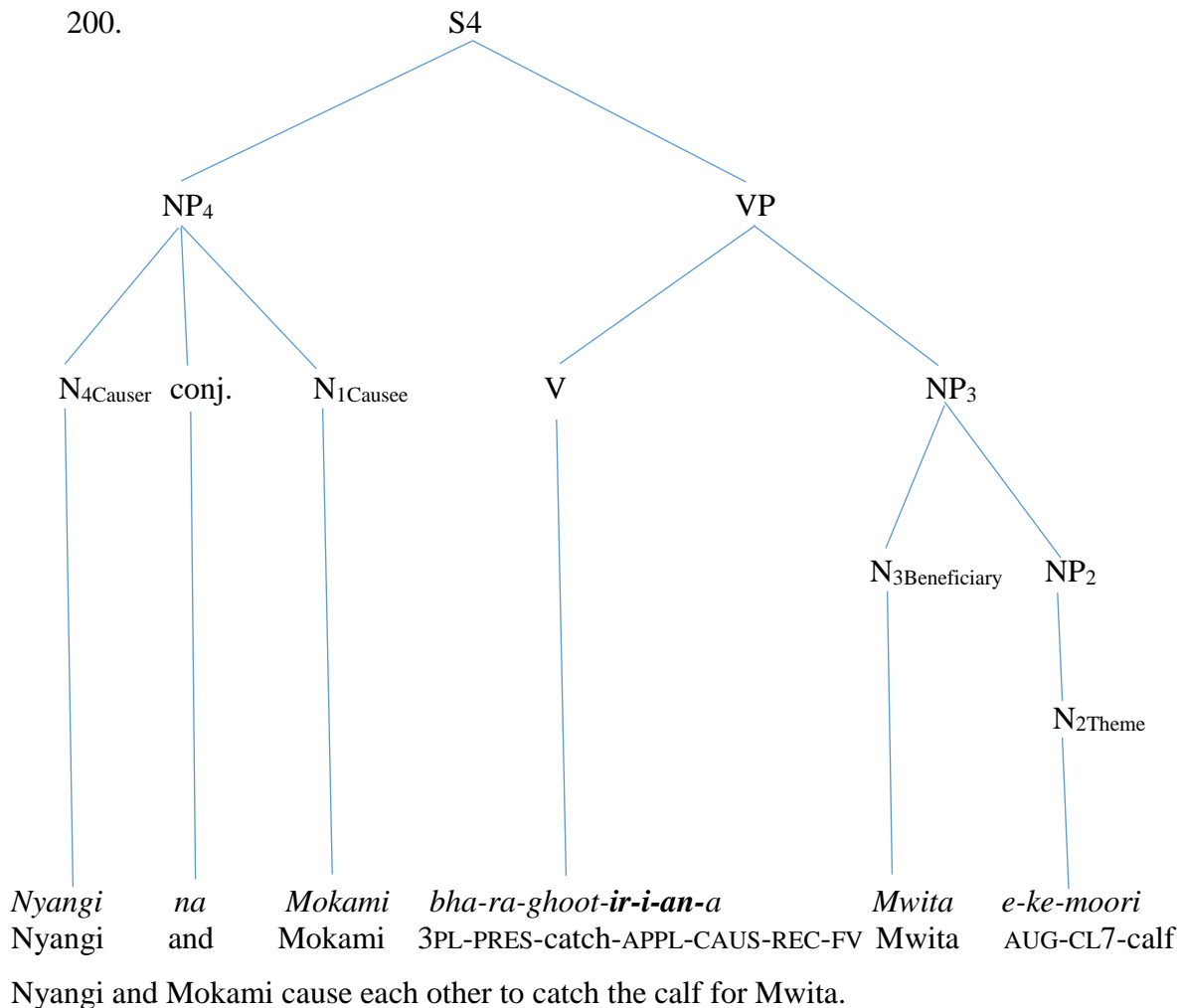
Nyangi causes Mokami to catch the calf for Mwita.

The last extension is the reciprocal which has semantic scope over the applicative and the causative. Syntactically, it has the effect on the number of arguments to the verb and the order of the syntactic elements. Examine example (200) on the next page.

(A+C+R) (116)

*Nyangi na Mokami bha-ra-ghoot-ir-i-an-a Mwita e-ke-moori*  
 Nyangi and Mokami 3PL-PRES-catch-APPL-CAUS-REC-FV Mwita AUG-CL7-calf

Nyangi and Mokami cause each other to catch the calf for Mwita.



Syntactically, the subject of the sentence in (200) is a coordinated NP which has double actions. The first action is the causation action which is done by the causer and the causee (semantically) while syntactically, the subject argument is one the coordinated NP (Nyangi and Mokami). The second action is to catch (event action). In addition to that, the subject has two semantic roles, semantically known as the causer and the causee at a time for the first action. But they are also the agent of the event (the second) action because they are doing the event action for Mwita. While Mwita is the beneficiary of the event action, the second action done by the subject 'Nyangi and Mokami', ekemori 'the calf', is the theme of the event action. From this example, one can see how complicated it is for one argument to syntactically have three semantic roles. This analysis supports Cammenga's assertion that: "Kuria verbal morphology is relatively complex, both from a conjugational and a derivational point of view. This is partly due to its highly agglutinative structure" (2004, p. 243).

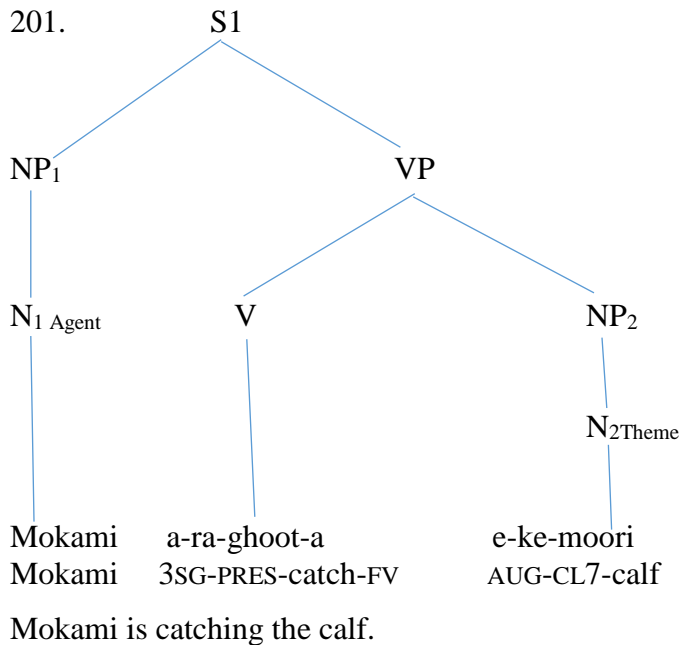
As can be seen, the more the extensions to a verb, the more complex the sentence becomes. In this analysis, we have seen the overlapping of semantic roles as assigned by the Theta Role Assignment in different steps of analysis. It should be noted that the causee is also a patient to the causation process. The analysis illustrates that it is in the position where you have the coordinated NP (which is brought in by the reciprocal) that the overlapping semantic roles start.

### 6.1.2.2 Causative-Reciprocal-Applicative (C+R+A)

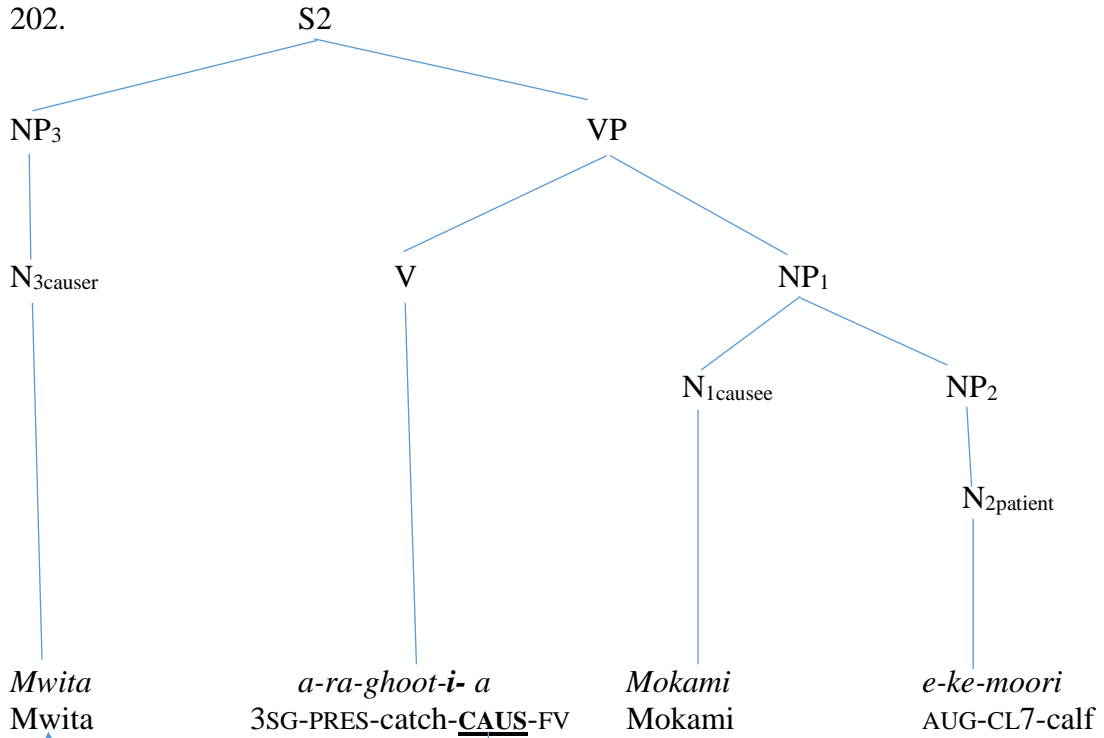
Examine the pattern of causative-reciprocal-applicative (C+R+A) below to the same verb in examples (201) to (204) starting with the basic sentence.

*Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-ghoot-i-an-er-a e-ke-moori* (124)  
 Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-catch-CAUS-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL7-calf  
*ke-bhara*  
 CL17-outside

Mokami and Mwita cause each other to catch the calf outside.



Example (201) is the basic structure of the verb *ghoota* ‘catch’. Example (202) below is the first stage for the suffixation in which the causative extension precedes other extensions. Here, the causative has introduced the causer and changed the status of the verb from transitive to ditransitive verb. See example below.



Mwita causes Mokami to catch the calf.

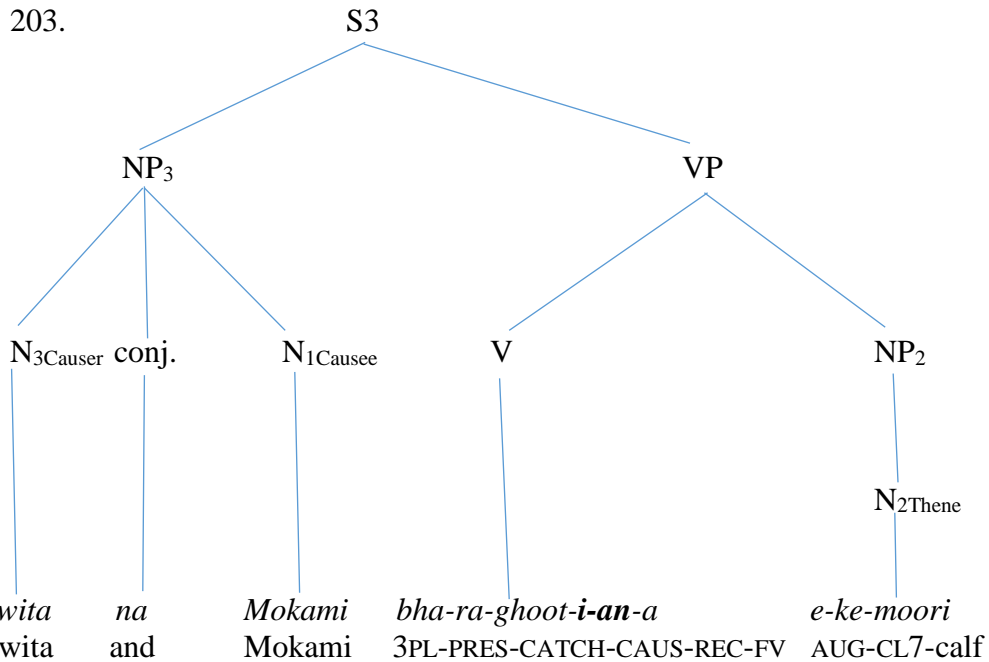
In example (203) we have two extensions causative and reciprocal, whereby the reciprocal has scope over the causative while in (204) we have three extensions. Consider the examples in (203) and (204) respectively.

*Mwita na Mokami bha-ra-ghoot-i-an-a e-ke-moori* (123)  
 Mwita and Mokami 3PL-PRES-CATCH-CAUS-REC-FV AUG-CL7-calf

Mwita and Mokami cause each other to catch the calf.

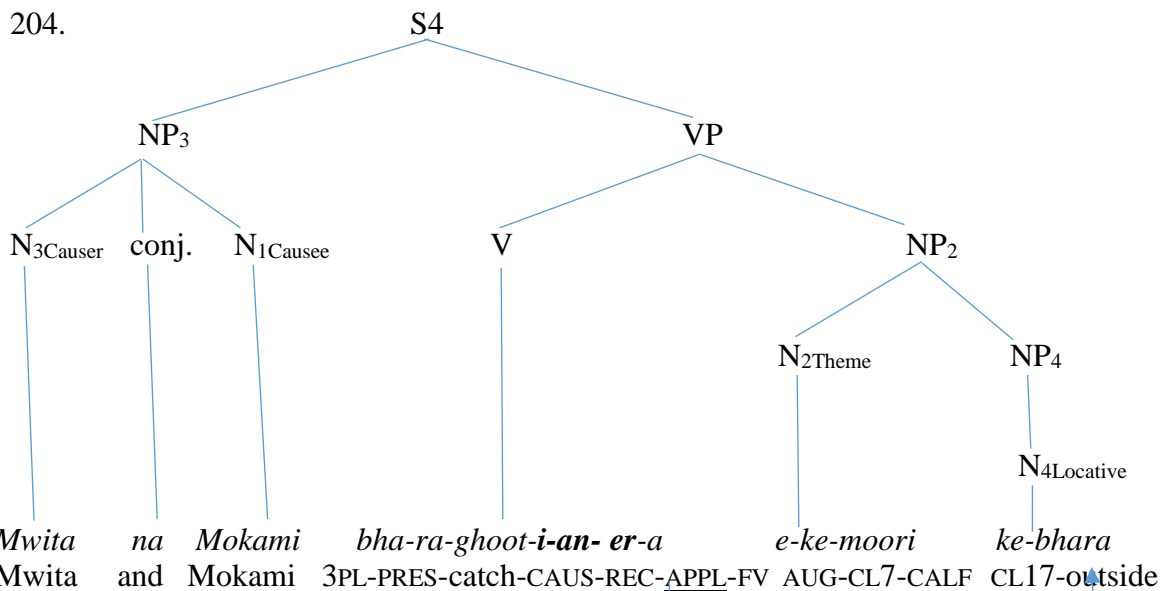
*Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-ghoot-i-an-er-a e-ke-moori ke-bhara* (124)  
 Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-catch-CAUS-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL7-CALF CL17-outside

Mokami and Mwita cause each other to catch the calf outside.



Mwita and Mokami cause each other to catch the calf.

The pattern of causative-reciprocal-applicative (C+R+A) is the reverse order of the applicative-reciprocal-causative (A+R+C). The structure in (204) looks similar to the structure in (200), but has different relations of the arguments due to the different order of extensions and how they affect one another. Let us look at the example below.



Mokami and Mwita cause each other to catch the calf outside.

As can be seen in the structure of C+R+A above, the extra argument introduced by the applicative is the locative *kebhara* ‘outside’. This is due to the fact that, in Kuria when the reciprocal is followed by applicative, it can introduce location, reason/cause and instrument. In sentence (204) syntactically the subject is the same as in example (200), but the difference is in the relations they have with the verb. While in (200) the subject makes *Mwita* to benefit from the action, in (204) there is no beneficiary role but rather an indication of where the action takes place.

Syntactically, it is possible to have the same structure with the same number of arguments but with different relations of the arguments to the verb. The ‘argument of’ relation is the relation of the NPs and the verb. Regarding this, Williams’ asserts:

Although we speak of a Noun Phrase as “having a theta role” it is important to realize that the “argument of” relation is a relation, a relation between a verb and a Noun Phrase, and it is this relation that the theory characterizes not the “having of a theta role” (1995, pp. 101-102).

As it can be seen in example (200), with the syntactic structure in (204) of the other pattern of the same extensions to the same verb, it also leads to different meanings.

After looking at the co-occurrences of three extensions (A+R+C, C+R+A, and C+R+A) let us now turn to the co-occurrence of four extensions in one pattern with passive as a fixed extension in the last position. In Kuria, while other extensions can exchange positions, the passive takes the last position whenever it co-occurs with other extensions, see the pattern of applicative-reciprocal-causative-passive (A+R+C+P) and reverse order.

### **6.1.3 Co-occurrences of Four Extensions**

In Kuria the suffixes can co-occur with up to four extensions to one verb root and up to five with repetition of extension(s) as examined in the example below. In the example, one can see how the extension’s function builds the syntactic structure, systematically one extension after another. The first structure is the basic verb without extensions. See examples (205) to (209) below.

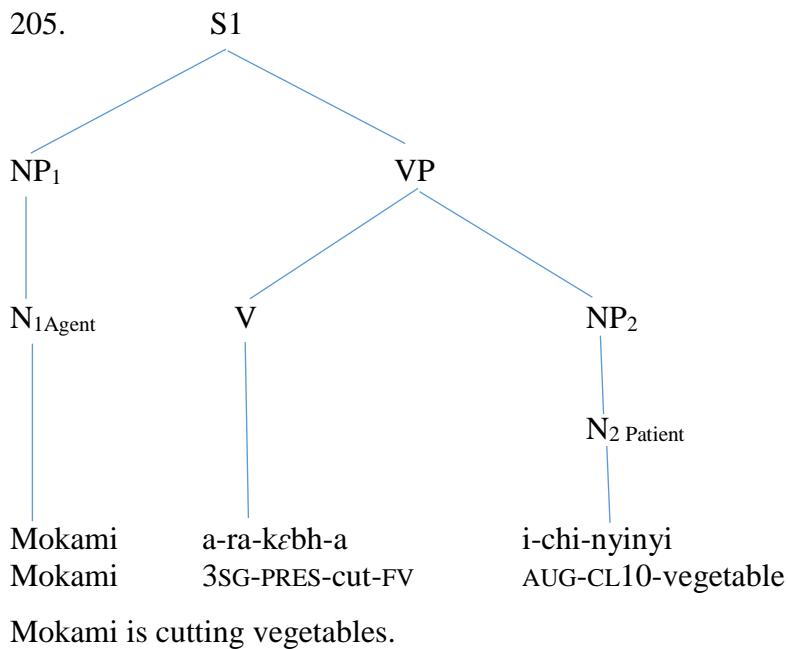


(A+R+C+P) (149)

*I-chi-nyinyi*                      *chi-kebh-er-an-i-bhw-i*                      *Mokami*                      *na*                      *Mwita*  
 AUG-CL10-vegetable    CL10-cut-APPL-REC-CAUS-PASS-FV    Mokami                      and                      Mwita

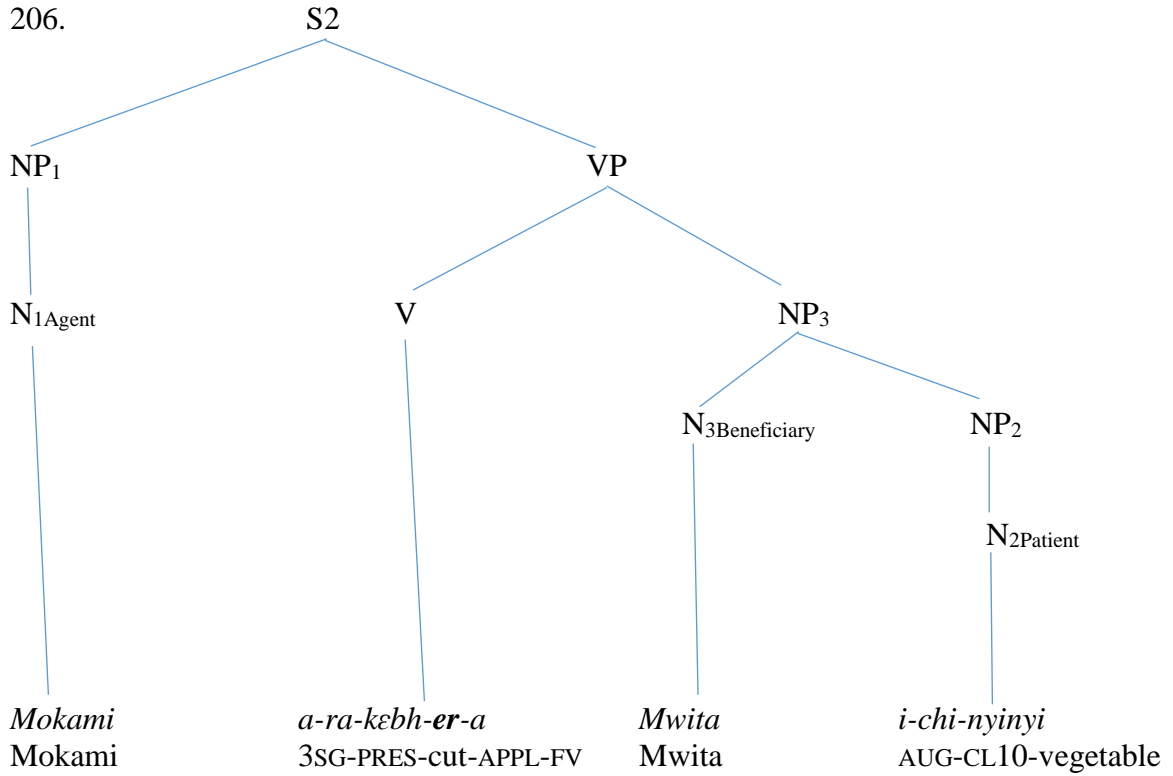
Vegetables have been cut (by Nyangi) for Mokami and Mwita.

The above example has been constructed using the basic sentence analysed below. The verb *kebha* ‘cut’ in Kuria requires two arguments, which are agent and patient semantically, but subject and object syntactically.



The applicative that is introduced first is closer to the root than any other extension as you can see in example (206) above. The applicative adds one extra argument to the verb that is *Mwita*, the beneficiary of the verb (semantically) and oblique or indirect object (syntactically). See example of syntactic structure in (206).

*Mokami*    *a-ra-kebh-er-a*                      *Mwita*                      *i-chi-nyinyi* (146)  
 Mokami    3SG-PRES-cut-APPL-FV                      Mwita                      AUG-CL10-vegetable  
 Mokami is cutting vegetables for Mwita.



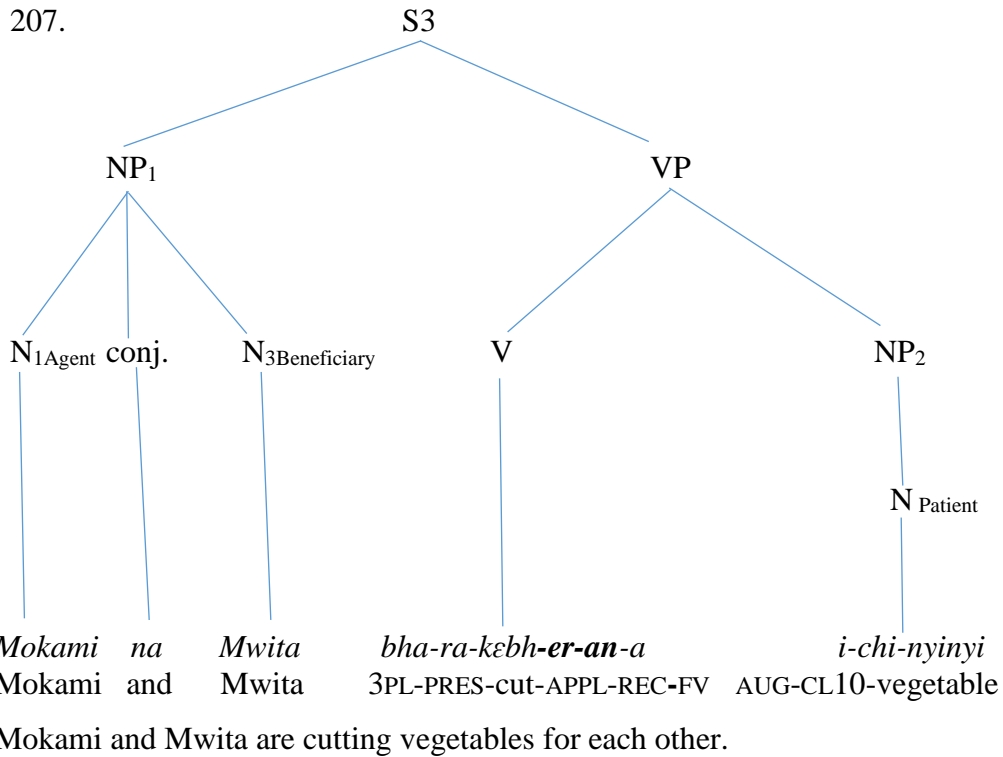
Mokami is cutting vegetables for Mwita.

In (206) the argument relation of *Mokami*, *Mwita* and *ichinyinyi* is that *Mwita* and *ichinyinyi* are within the verb phrase (VP), known as internal arguments, and are closer to each other and to the verb. On the other hand, *Mokami* is an external argument because it is a sister node of VP as they share the same parent node; in other words, they have been projected from the same node. The second extension in (207) modifies the verb arguments by reducing one argument syntactically, the indirect object *Mwita*, who was the beneficiary semantically in (206). Semantically, it is still there because in the subject position we have reciprocity action among the coordinated NP while syntactically it is realised as single argument, 'subject of the sentence'. See example (207).

(A+R) (147)

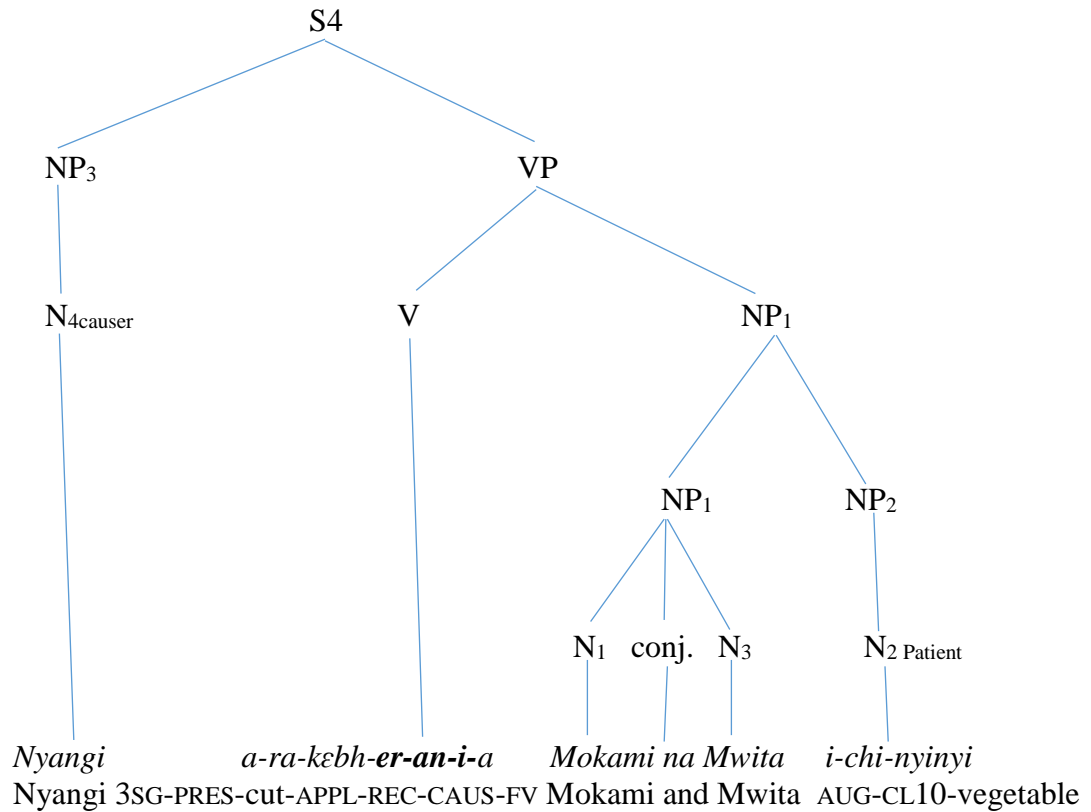
<i>Mokami</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>Mwita</i>	<i>bha-ra-kɛbh-er-an-a</i>	<i>i-chi-nyinyi</i>
Mokami	and	Mwita	3PL-PRES-cut-APPL-REC-FV	AUG-CL10-vegetable

Mokami and Mwita are cutting vegetables for each other.



It should be noted that in (206), Mwita is among the internal arguments introduced by the applicative; then in (207) it has taken to the external argument by reciprocal, to form the coordinated NP together with Mokami. However, in (208) the presence of causative leads it to shift to internal arguments of the verb *kebha* ‘cut’ as coordinated NP.

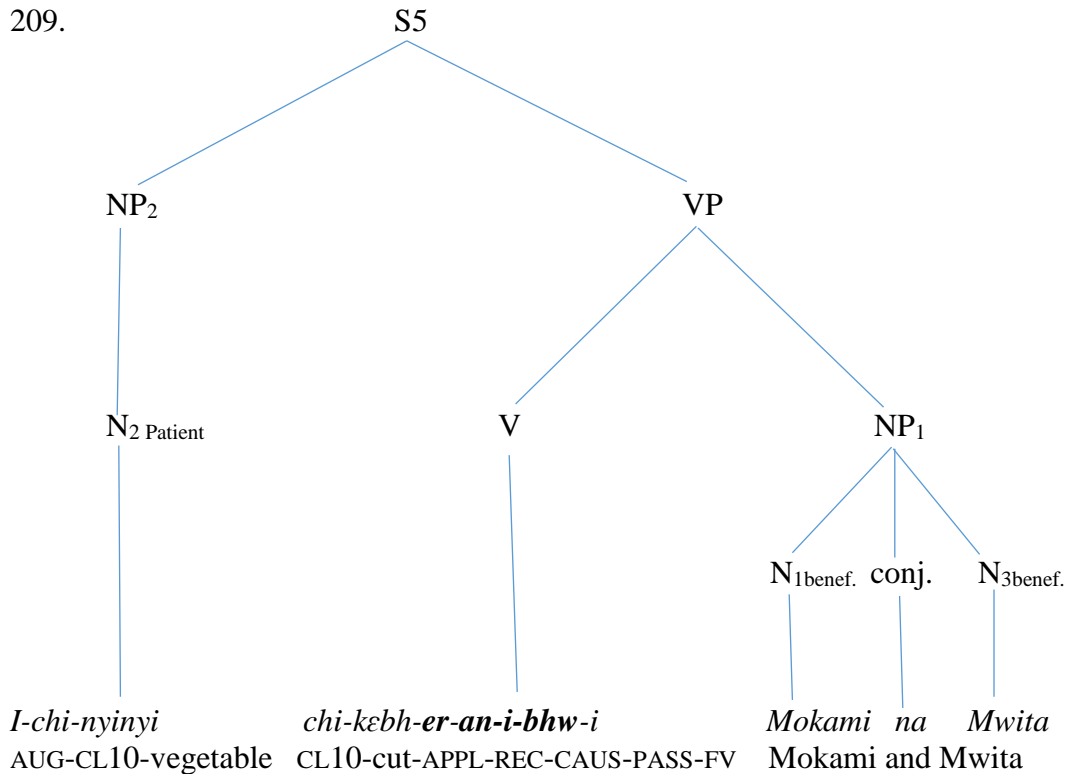
208.



Nyangi is cutting vegetables for herself and for Mokami and Mwita.

In (208) the third causative extension modifies the verb argument structure by introducing one extra argument, *Nyangi*, the causer, thereby affecting the previous subject by changing their relationship to the verb from external argument relations to internal argument relations.

Finally, let us examine the additional passive extension to verb root. The main function of the passive is to reduce one argument from the verb which normally is a subject by deleting it or changing it to be adjunct (non-argument) or oblique and to topicalise the patient. In other words, it makes the patient to be the subject of the passive sentence. As you can see in (209), the agent in (208) is no longer in (209), due to the function of the passive extension.



The syntactical direct object *ichinyinyi* ‘vegetables’ and the semantical patient in (208) is now the subject of the sentence in (209). As it can be seen in the example above, the alternation of the argument in a sentence is triggered by the passive extension. Trask refers to this as “a construction in which an intrinsically transitive verb is constructed in such a way that its underlying object appears as its surface subject, its underlying subject being either absent (a ‘short passive’) or expressed as an oblique NP (a ‘long passive’, or ‘passive-with-agent’), the construction usually being overtly marked in some way to show its passive character” (1993, p. 201).

In this regard, I agree with Bresnan (1995, p. 5) that every argument which appears at the final syntactic structure has been rooted from the lexical meaning of a certain word (in my case a verb). However, I advocate for the contrary view that derivational processes or various verbal relation changes which transitive or in-transitive verbs (such as causative, passive, applied and reciprocal verb forms) are lexico-morphological processes (Bresnan, 1995, p. 23). This is because the verb extension process (verb derivation) leads to the intersection of morphology and syntax (morphology-syntax interface). My argument here is that the syntactic element is a basic unit of

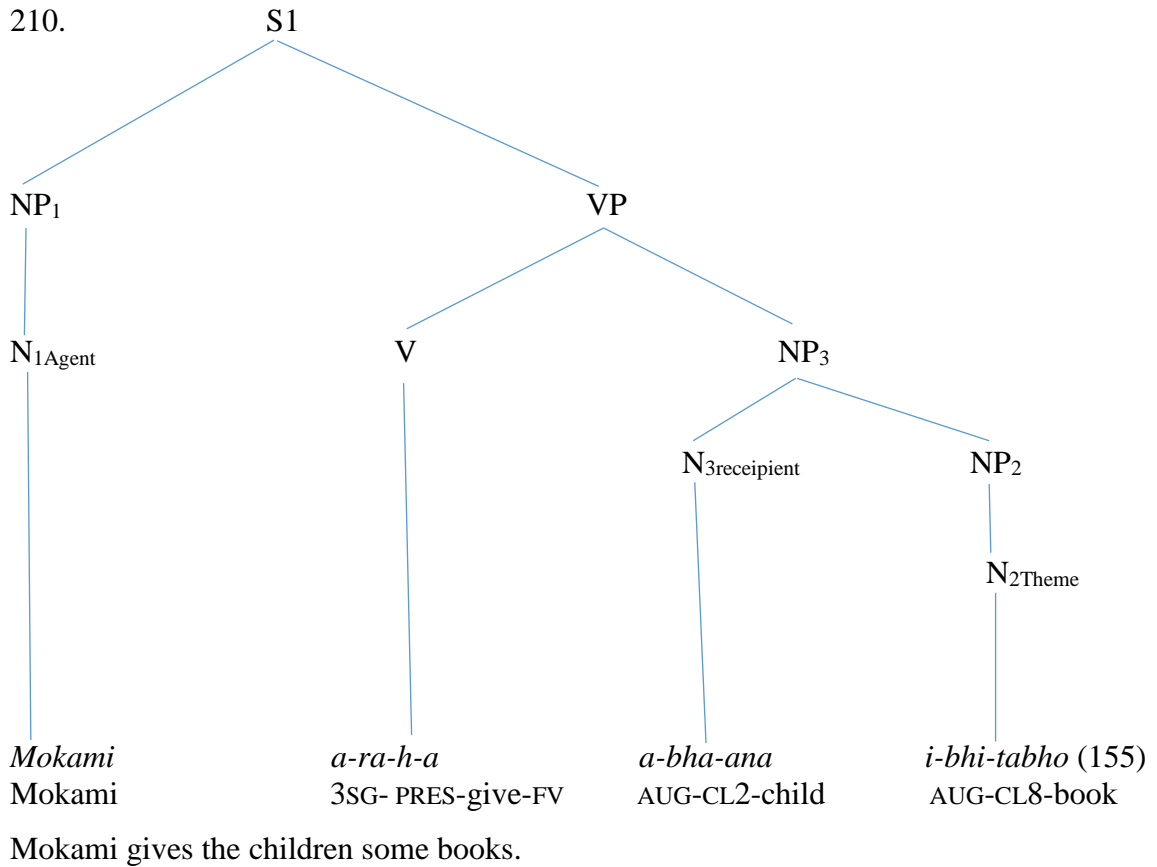
analysis at the syntactic level, and changing its position (argument alternation) is triggered by the morphosyntactic operations (verb extension/affix-driven/suffixes) working at a morphological level which creates an impact on the syntactic structure. We agree that verb extension is a process of extending the verb root in order to create a new word and a new meaning. This is the word formation process which is morphological in nature. However, the process of extending the verb does not end at the morphological level. Rather, it is connected to the syntactic level and requires re-adjustment of the syntactic elements. In my opinion, this should be a morphosyntactic process and not a lexico-morphological rule.

The analysis in Chapter Five had shown that the position of the extensions also plays an important role in the semantic re-adjustment. Due to the fact that verb extension is a systematic and progressive process (step by step/one by one), when the verb extension changes its position in a combination it goes together with its functions which in turn trigger semantic interpretations.

## **6.2 Repetition of Extensions**

In Kuria, it is possible for one or two extension(s) to recur in the same verb root as we have seen in Chapter Five. This section shows how double extensions work in the same verb root.

In Kuria, the order involving the applicative, reciprocal and applicative (A+R+A) is possible. In this pattern, two similar extensions (i.e. the first and second applicative) are valency-increasing while the reciprocal decreases the valency. Consider the examples in (210) to (213) (with the sentences taken from Chapter Five (155) to (158)) in which the applicative recurs.



In example (210) the verb *ha* ‘give’ is ditransitive, which requires three arguments as can be seen in the syntactic structure above. There are three NPs. The Theta Theory states: “Every NP must get some sort of interpretation in the sentence, and bearing an “argument of” relation to some verb is one way” (Williams 1995, p. 103).

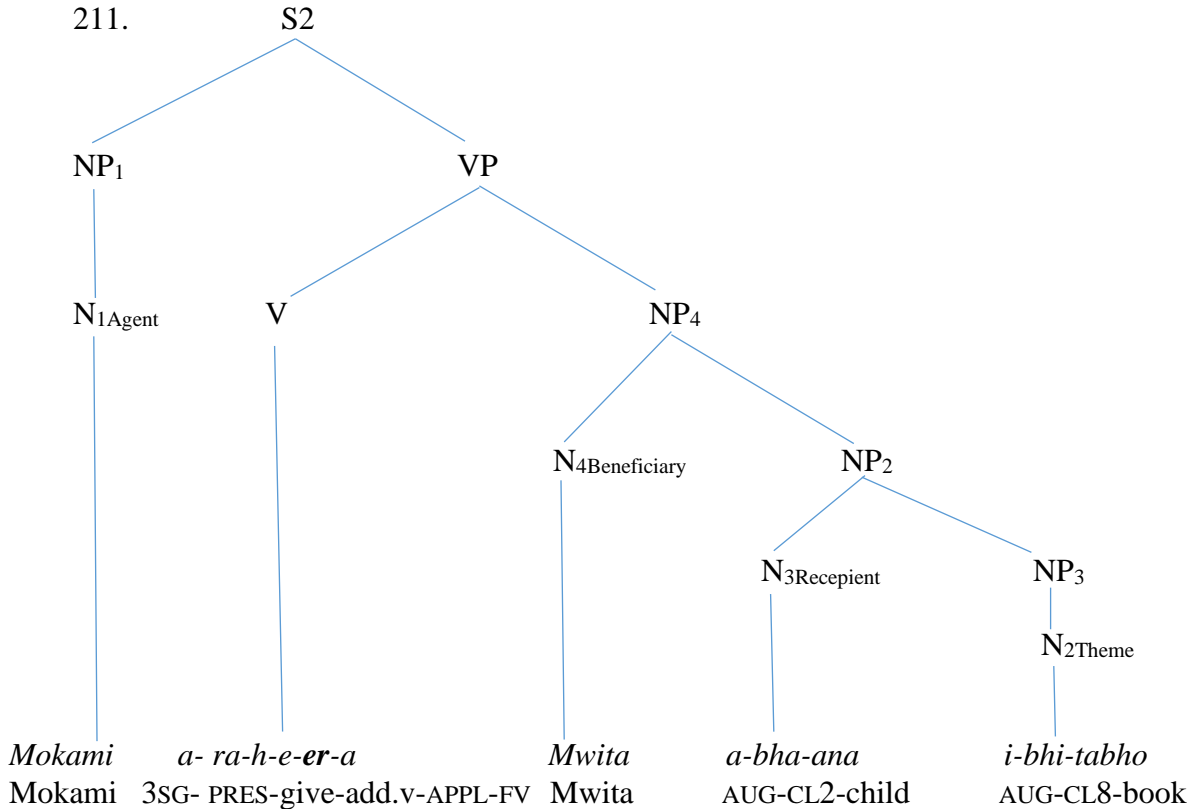
Therefore, the addition of applicative extensions makes the verb to have four NPs (arguments) in which each NP has its interpretation in relationship to the verb. In Kuria, a ditransitive verb can be affixed with valency-increasing extension which I call super transitive verb which in turn leads to the addition of one extra argument as a requirement. As can be seen in example (211), it can recur after intervention of another extension in (213) (see examples (211) to (213) below).

*Mokami a-ra-h-e-er-a*                      *Mwita a-bha-ana*                      *i-bhi-tabho (156)*  
Mokami 3SG-PRES-give-add.v-APPL-FV    Mwita AUG-CL2-child                      AUG-CL8-book

Mokami is giving books to the children on behalf of Mwita.

*Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-h-e-er-an-a a-bha-ana i-bhi-tabho* (157)  
 Mokami and Mwita 3PL-PRES-give-add.v-APPL-REC-FV AUG-CL2-child AUG-CL8-book

Mokami and Mwita give books to the children on behalf of each other



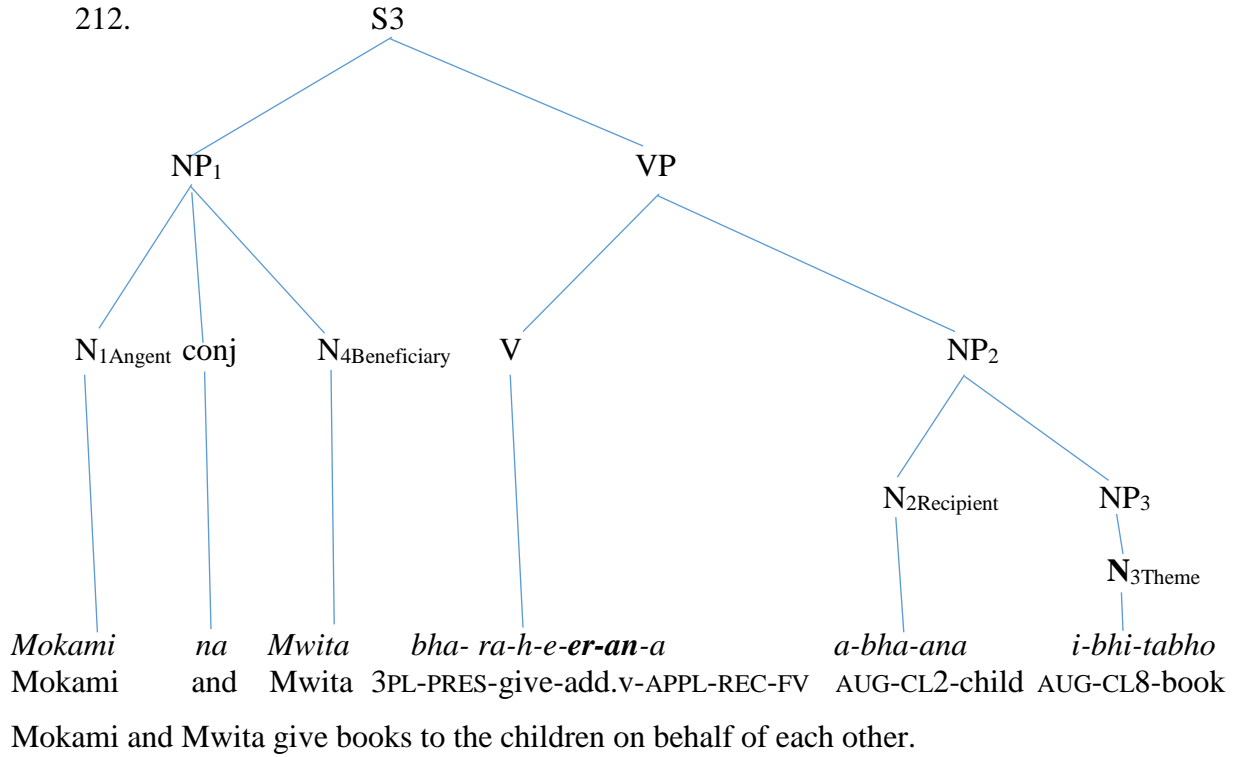
Mokami gives books to the children on behalf of Mwita.

The roles introduced by applicative bring in one argument, which semantically is the beneficiary *Mwita* while acting syntactically as an indirect object. In (211), *Mwita*, *abhaana* and *ibhitabho* are internal arguments while *Mokami* is externally positioned. (See the effects of reciprocal in (212)).

In (213), the applicative recurs after the reciprocal. The reciprocal reduces one argument of the verb syntactically while the sentence remains with three arguments. As established in this study, semantically, the sentence still has four theta roles. In example (212), the verb has three arguments in which the beneficiary *Mwita* has been suppressed as independent argument but has been transferred to the subject position to form the coordinated NP in one argument in (212).

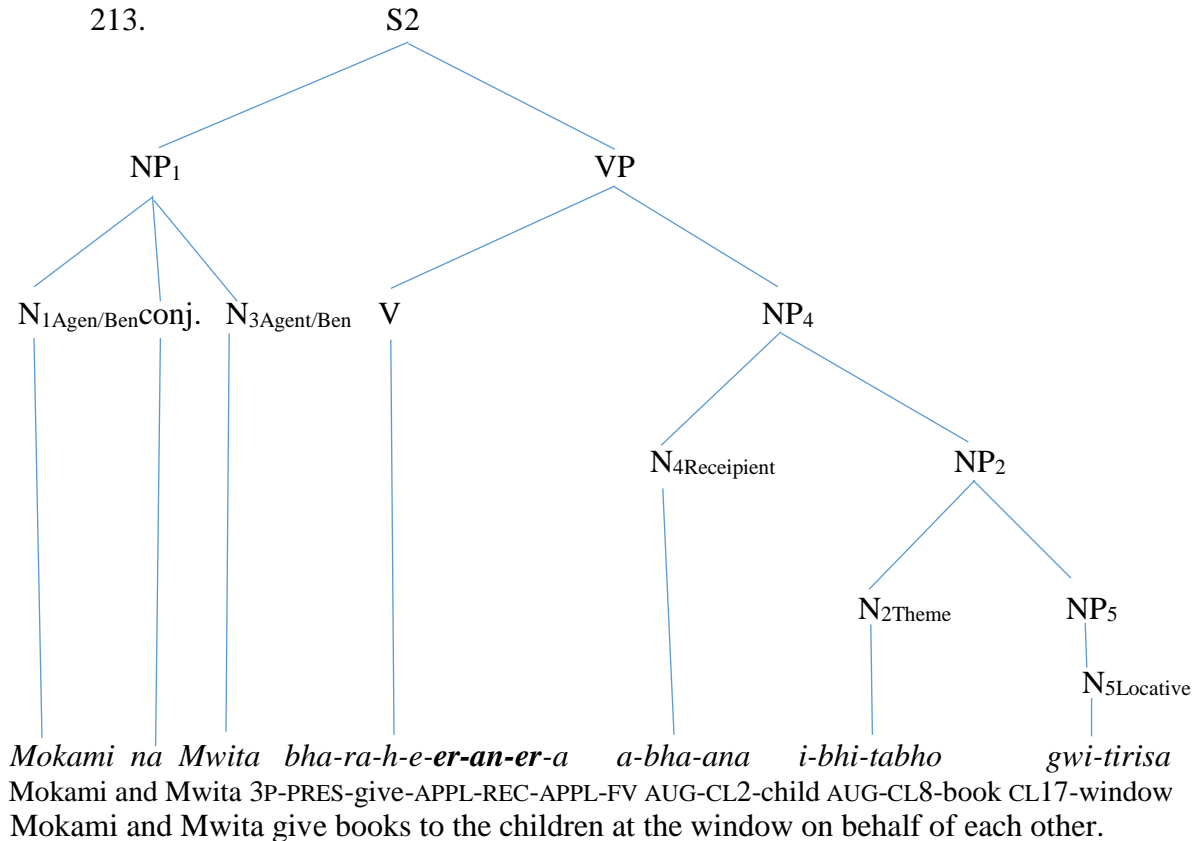


212.



The co-occurrences of applicative-reciprocal-applicative (A+R+A) can be presented below

213.



*Mokami na Mwita bha-ra-h-e-er -an-er-a a-bha-ana i-bhi-tabho*  
Mokami and Mwita 3P-PRES-give-APPL-REC-APPL-FV AUG-CL2-child AUG-CL8-book  
*gwi-tirisa* (158)  
CL17-window

Mokami and Mwita give books to the children at the window on behalf of each other.

In examples (211) and (213), the applicative extensions recur as valency increasers: in the first occurrence, it introduces *Mwita* as a beneficiary and in the second it adds one argument semantically known as locative *gwi-tirisa* ‘at the window’. Similarly, in (212) the reciprocal as a valency decreaser suppresses one argument, the beneficiary. In example (211) there are four arguments, i.e. *Mokami*, *abhaana* ‘the children’, *Mwita* and *ibhitabho* ‘books’, while in example (212) after the affixation of the reciprocal, we remain with three arguments *Mokami* and *Mwita* as one argument syntactically, *abhaana* ‘the children’ and *ibhitabho* ‘books’.

As one can see from the example above, the repetition of applicative has performed its function consistently, whereby in (213) there are two arguments *gwi-tirisa* ‘at the window’ and *Mwita* which are introduced by the applicative. However, some of the arguments have been subjected to the morphosyntactic process and thus have changed their roles and positions.

### 6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has synthesized the main issues discussed in Chapter Five, showing their manifestations through theoretical concepts. The analysis shows how different orders of extensions present different meanings. This reveals the fact that Kuria extension morphemes are not fixed but are rather susceptible to reordering.

The reordering of extensions leads different extensions to alter their semantic roles according to their position; and this also makes certain roles (arguments) to be closer to the verb or to be positioned externally. Syntactically, different orders of words bring different meanings. Accordingly, I submit that the relationship of the argument with the syntactic element in the sentences depends on the final verb’s argument structure representation. The first representation output becomes the input of the next extension, the second and the last. The analysis in Chapters

Five and Six has illustrated that verb extensions in different positions play important roles in the alternation of argument, hence create different relations that bring out different meanings.

The discussion has shown that although the reciprocal has been recognised as the valency-decreasing extension, it has another function: upgrading the ‘suppressed argument’. I call this ‘suppressed argument’ in the sense that, syntactically, the coordinated NP or plural subject is known as one argument. This makes the verb to syntactically have a lesser number of arguments compared to what it had prior to the affixation of the reciprocal. Semantically, it is counted and recognised and that is why the reciprocity is acceptable.

For instance, in example (182), syntactically the number of arguments has been reduced from three to two, namely, *abhaana* ‘children’ as subject of the sentence and *inyama* ‘meat’ as direct object of the verb. Semantically, the sentence still has three thematic roles because there are two arguments in the subject position, namely: the agent and beneficiary *abhaana* ‘the children’ are playing double roles at a time because the coordinated NP shares their semantic roles under reciprocal action. The third argument is the patient (*inyama*). This implies that the reciprocal is multifunctional, which differs in its realization.

My argument here is that the result of the reciprocal as valency-reducing suffix runs contrary to the Theta Theory under Theta Criterion principle as propounded by Chomsky (1981) in the sense that it is possible to have double roles in one argument as exemplified in *abhaana* ‘the children’ in example (182) who are both agent and beneficiary.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Verb Extensions in Spoken and Written Kuria Expressions

This chapter analyses the verb extension system as it occurs in spoken and written forms of Kuria. The main objective is to show how verb extensions and their arguments are organised and used in sentence structures and to illustrate the distribution of extensions in two quite different forms of language: spoken and written expressions. The chapter also examines types of verbs that are likely to take certain extensions and not others, and the co-occurrences of patterns that are more likely to appear in spoken and written Kuria. Furthermore, this chapter elaborates the reasons for triggering the use of some extensions instead of others. The data in this chapter is analysed using morphosyntactic parsing whereby morphemes are matched with their semantic representations. Using this analytical technique is justified because it takes into account all properties of a selected word in a given environment. For the sake of clarity and ease of exposition, the discussion in this chapter is divided into sections 7.1 to 7.4 and several subsections as presented below.

Spoken and written languages are both forms of language of human communication systems though they differ in their occurrences or in the way they operate. Both forms have something in common, i.e. both are means of communication in every language, including the case of Kuria which is studied in more detail below. The main function of language is to establish communication amongst language users (Dik, 1997, p. 5). The main difference between spoken and written modes of communication is that while in verbal (spoken) communication the use of language requires at least two participants, a speaker (S) and an addressee (A), in written communication the system requires one participant at a time (writer/author), although there are also interactive (dialogic) forms of written texts and intermediate forms that have characteristics of written and oral forms of communication, e.g. social media texts and so on. This however does not mean that we cannot have situations of monologue though these are rare and when they occur, the speaker tends to play the two roles simultaneously: s/he acts as both speaker and addressee in these cases.

The analysis in this chapter is guided by theoretical assumptions put forward in Functional Grammar (FG) by Dik (1997) together with three other theoretical concepts namely, Theta Theory, Projection Principle and The Syntax of Argument Structure Theory. The analysis reveals the way extension morphemes are organised and how their uses impact on the context of spoken and written Kuria. As introduced in the chapter above, this chapter shows how extended verb structures behave in these two forms of communication in Kuria.

FG is a theory that deals with the grammatical organisation of natural languages (Dik, 1997, p. 2). The theory has two main principles. The first principle states that “a theory of a language should not content to display the rules and principles underlying the construction of linguistic expressions for their own sake, but should try, wherever possible, to explain these rules and principles in terms of their functionality with respect to the ways in which these expressions are used” (Dik,1997, p. 4). The second principle states that “although in itself a theory of linguistic expressions is not the same as theory of verbal interaction, it is natural to require that it be devised in such a way that it can most easily and realistically be incorporated into a wider pragmatic theory of verbal interaction” (Dik,1997, p. 4). The theory shows that, finally, it should be incorporated as a sub-component of other theories of NLU (Dik,1997, p. 4).

As it can be seen in the discussion above, FG anticipates that language should be explained as it is used in a context and should not impose rules on how the language should be used. Dik comments that “since a natural language is an instrument used for communicative purposes, there is little point in considering its properties in abstraction from the functional uses to which it is put” (Dik,1997, p. 6). In this assertion, Dik states that “linguistic expressions can be understood properly only when they are considered as functioning in settings, the properties of which are co-determined by the contextual and situational information available to speakers and addressees” (Dik, 1997, p. 6). Below is the analysis of how linguistic expressions function in different contexts in spoken and written forms of a language, Kuria in this case.

It should be noted that, given the rather context-bound and informal situations that characterize spoken expression, some of the sentences might not be well comprehended out of the context of

their usage. As, such, the liberty of free speech sometimes gives the speakers freedom to avoid strict punctuation rules, or to leave out certain parts of the sentence insofar as the remainder is understood by their immediate interlocutors. This accounts for the fact that in the present study, some of the translated examples from Kuria sometimes sound illogical, ungrammatical or not very meaningful when rendered into English. The reason is that I try as much as possible to stay true to the manner in which the expressions are uttered by the consultants.

### 7.1 The Verb Extensions

As stated in the introductory section and in Chapter Five, this study deals with five productive extensions in Kuria, namely stative, applicative, reciprocal causative and passive. Language does not function in isolation, rather it is an integral part of living human reality (Dik, 1997, p. 6). Therefore, this section describes the findings with regard to the uses of these extensions both in spoken and written forms of the language. The section starts with individual (i.e. single) extensions and their morphosyntactic and semantic implications and later deals with the co-occurrence of extensions. In some subsections, there are tables showing the distribution of patterns of extensions as well as the number of occurrences in both spoken and written data. These findings show that verb extensions occurred 4,135 times in total with 2,147 instances (representing 31.7%) out of 6,762 verbs and 1,988 (representing 12.1%) out of 16431 verbs for spoken and written data, respectively.

**Table 7.1: Distribution of Verb Extensions in Spoken and Written Kuria**

<b>Form</b>	<b>Frequency of Occurrence</b>	<b>No. of Verbs</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
<b>Spoken</b>	2147	6762	31.7%
<b>Written</b>	1988	16431	12.1%

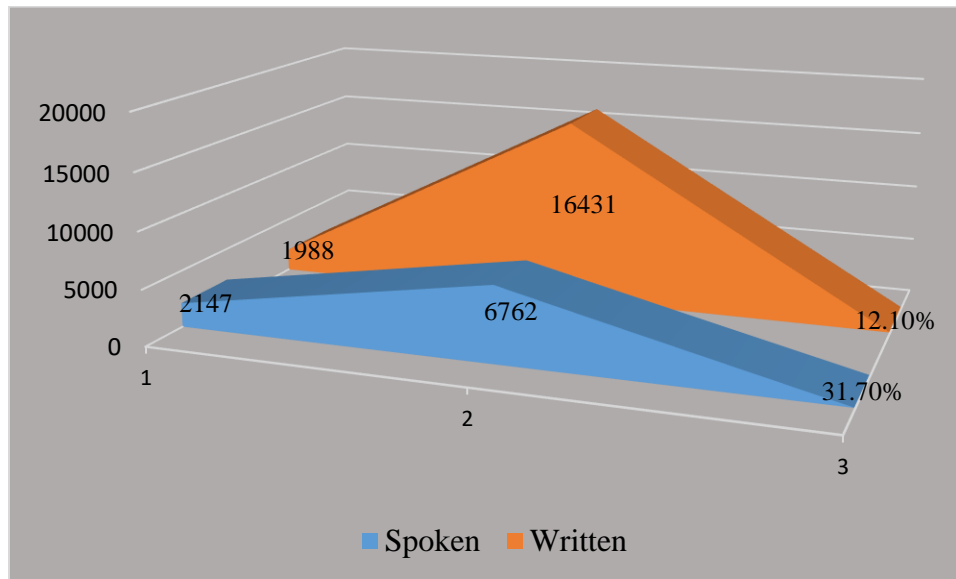
Source: Field data, 2014

As shown in the table above, there occurred more verb extensions in spoken than in written language. This might be due to the fact that in spoken language people tend to speak more freely and/or spontaneously, whereas in written forms of the language certain rules have to be followed. People are not bound to one way of speaking; this means that they can talk informally or formally. Also, what matters in spoken language is the fact that speakers heavily rely on the content/message

of what is said. However, in writing, certain (rhetorical and writing) conventions have to be followed and people are more conscious and careful about what they write and how they express themselves. For instance, a speaker can make many pauses, use lots of words, repetitions, synonyms, and unconnected clauses/sentences in talking about something. In writing one usually tries as much as possible to avoid unnecessary repetitions or redundancies and unconnected constructions. The writer is expected to follow the principles/rules and a systematic way of writing. All words have to be used in the order deemed acceptable in the language for the sentence to make sense. Obviously language has to be regarded as well constructed or 'grammatical' in this case. On the other hand, in spoken language, speakers have many ways of interpreting the feedback or understanding of the listener of the message through gestures and other aspects of nonverbal communication. Whereas in writing, meaning is more or less fixed depending on the context in which a particular word or expression is used. Moreover, it appears that one is expected to be clearer and more precise in writing than in oral speech. It follows, therefore, that since people tend to be more spontaneous and tend to use more words in spoken speech than in writing.

Naturally, the higher the number of words one uses the higher the probability of having more verbs, and the more the verbs the higher the probability of having verb extensions. It is therefore surprising that, by simple majority and in terms of proportion, we have more verb extensions in spoken than in written forms of the data whereas the total number of verbs is 2.4 times more in the written form than in the spoken form. The more the extensions on the verb root, the more complex the sentence becomes. For the sake of clarity, the information in Table 7.1 is graphically reproduced in Figure 7.1 below.

**Figure 7.1: Distribution of Verb Extensions in Spoken and Written Kuria**



Source: Field data, 2014<sup>28</sup>

Further analysis reveals that in Kuria, up to four different extensions can occur on the same verb root. It can also be shown that the occurrence of this linguistic phenomenon is not evenly distributed across the data. In other words, certain extensions occur more frequently than others (see Table 7.2). Results of the analysis clearly show that one extension predominates because it has the highest number of occurrences.

**Table 7.2: Verb Extensions and Co-occurrences in Spoken and Written Kuria**

Number of Extensions	Spoken	Written	Total	Percentages
One Extension	1340	1601	2941	<b>71%</b>
Two Extensions	648	382	1030	<b>25%</b>
Three Extensions	150	5	155	<b>3.8%</b>
Four Extensions	7	0	7	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>2147</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>4135</b>	<b>100%</b>

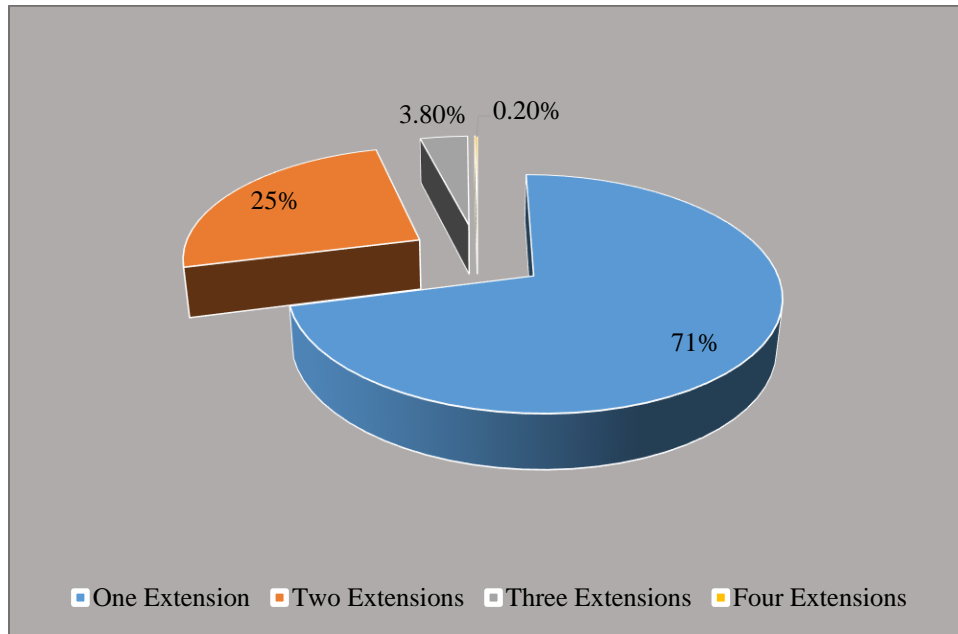
The co-occurrences of two extensions also significantly feature in the data. These occurred in about a quarter of all forms with extensions observed in the data. It therefore appears that many Kuria speakers prefer using simple constructions (less number of extensions on the same verb) in their daily interactions or that the language does not favour complex constructions of sentences in

<sup>28</sup> This figure is based on the field research as any other figure, chart, or tables that would be used later on in this research except otherwise stated.



general as both spoken and written data tend to show. The higher number of occurrences of verb extensions one and two in the written form in particular, tends to provide clear evidence that Kuria is one of the Bantu languages with a preference for simple verb structures. Figure 7.2 is a graphic representation of the occurrence of verb extensions and co-occurrences.

**Figure 7.2: Frequencies of Verb Extensions and the Co-occurrences in Spoken and Written Kuria**



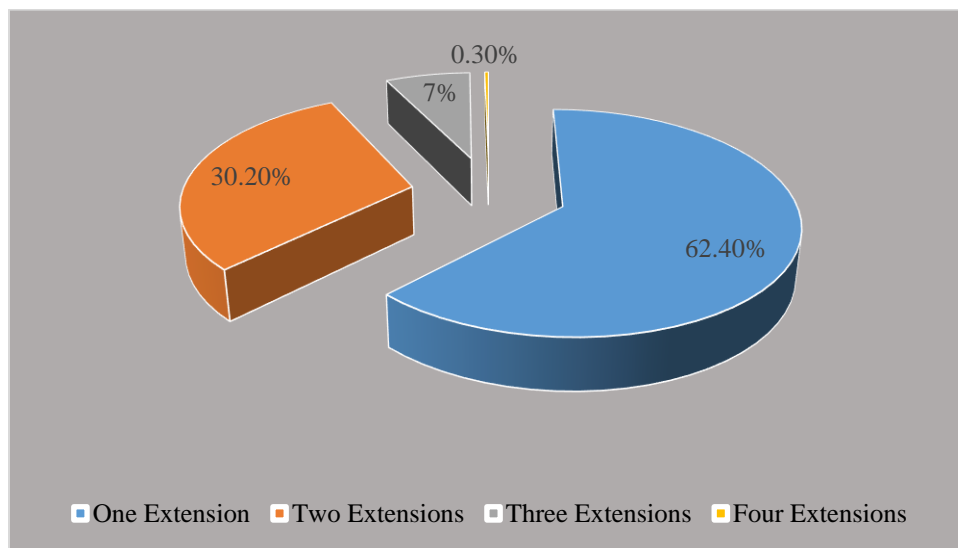
Since verb extensions occur in both spoken and written forms of Kuria, a further analysis of the occurrence of this linguistic phenomenon in each of the two forms considered for analysis is needed. This may enable us to not only examine its occurrence in each of the two language forms but also to establish the frequency of occurrences in each of the two language forms as a way of determining a correlation between the results obtained in the two sets of data under analysis here. Table 7.3 below presents the frequency of verb extensions in the spoken data:

**Table 7.3: Verb Extensions and Co-occurrences in Spoken Kuria**

Number of Extensions	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
One Extension	1340	<b>62.4</b>
Two Extensions	648	<b>30.2</b>
Three Extensions	150	<b>7</b>
Four Extensions	7	<b>0.3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>2147</b>	<b>100</b>

It is clear from the information presented in Table 7.3 that single extensions occurred more than other extension patterns in the data. In fact, about two thirds of the total extensions observed in the data fall under this category. It can also be seen from the table above that co-occurrence of two extensions can significantly be found in the data. Other ‘types’ of co-occurrences of three and four extensions have very little presence in the data. This most probably explains the tendency of many Kuria speakers to use simple expressions and/or clauses/sentences especially in spontaneous speech. The information in Table 7.3 is further reproduced graphically in Figure 7.3.

**Figure 7.3: Frequency of the Verb Extension and the Co-occurrences in Spoken Kuria**



As is evident from the figure above, one extension and two extensions have occupied a larger space than other extensions found in the spoken data. But could this also be the case with written data? Perhaps an examination of the information in Table 7.4 below could enable us answer this question:

**Table 7.4: Verb Extensions in Different Levels in Written Kuria**

Number of Extensions	Written	
	One Extension	1601
Two Extensions	382	19.2%
Three Extensions	5	0.2%
Four Extensions	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>100%</b>

According to the findings, one extension has the highest level of occurrence followed by two extensions. This shows that the pattern observed in the spoken data is not different from the one found here. However, the visibility of one verb extension here seems to be higher than that in the spoken data set. This might be connected with our tendency to be more concise and/or precise in our writings than in oral speech. And invariably, this could result in constructing more simple clauses/sentences or expressions in writing than in spontaneous speech. A comparative analysis of occurrence of three verb extensions, which consists of what may roughly be termed complex and compound-complex sentences across the two data sets (i.e. spoken and written) shows higher prevalence of this type of construction in the spoken than the written data (see Tables 7.3 and 7.4).

Note that similar analysis could not be done with poly-morphemic extensions (co-occurrence of four extension morphemes) because no single example of this type of extension was found in the written data. Perhaps reproducing the information in Table 7.4 above in graphic form could further help us to see the extent to which one extension occurs in the data as depicted in Figure 7.4 below. As can be seen in the figure below, this type of extension occupies a larger part in the chart; leaving only a very small fraction to other types of extension patterns identified in the data. As stated earlier, the more extensions occur on the verb root, the more complex the sentence becomes. An outcome of my analysis on this aspect shows that spoken language has more complex sentences than the written one. My argument supports some scholars' assertions, such as Halliday, who argues as follows:

We could have looked at the same phenomenon from the other end. We could have said that the difference between spoken language and written language is one of intricacy, the intricacy with which the information is organised. Spoken language is more intricate than written (1990, p. 62).

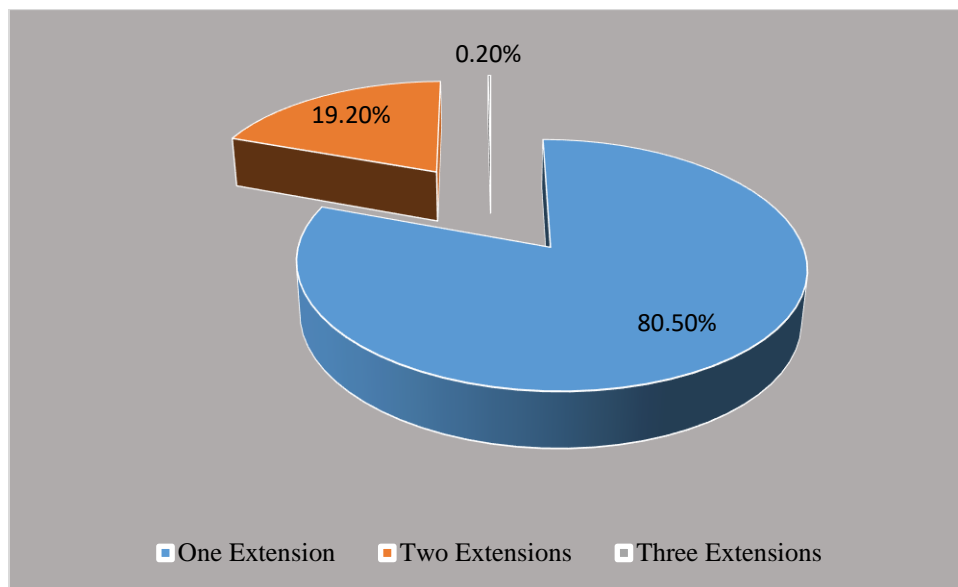
In a more nuanced manner, Halliday states:

From that point of view, it will appear that spoken language is more complex than written. The conclusion will be that each is complex in its own way. Written language displays one kind of complexity, spoken language another (1990, p. 62).

From Halliday's point of view, he considers both spoken and written expressions as complex phenomena. He argues that "the complexity of written language is lexical while that of spoken language is grammatical" (Halliday, 1990, p. 63). Then, in my case in the spoken language, the

speakers tend to use more extended verbs because it often involves the simultaneous expression of a number of information. That is the basis of the complexity. In written form, the basis of the complexity is the lexical items which Halliday calls ‘content words’ (1990, pp. 61-84).

**Figure 7.4: Verb Extensions in Written Kuria**



This kind of interaction usually allows the interlocutors to freely construct more complex sentences in an attempt to drive home a point without having to strictly follow certain conventions or restrictive rules as found in written communication. But this does not mean that they do not pay attention to grammatical rules of the language but rather that they mostly take the context into consideration. This explains why in the written form of the data, one extension occurs in over three quarters, leaving less than a quarter to two other higher numbers of extensions (i.e. the co-occurrences of two and three extensions to a verb) to share. What seems to be the pattern here is that the lesser the number of extensions (i.e. single extension), the higher the frequency of occurrence of verb extensions.

## 7.2 Occurrences of Single Extension

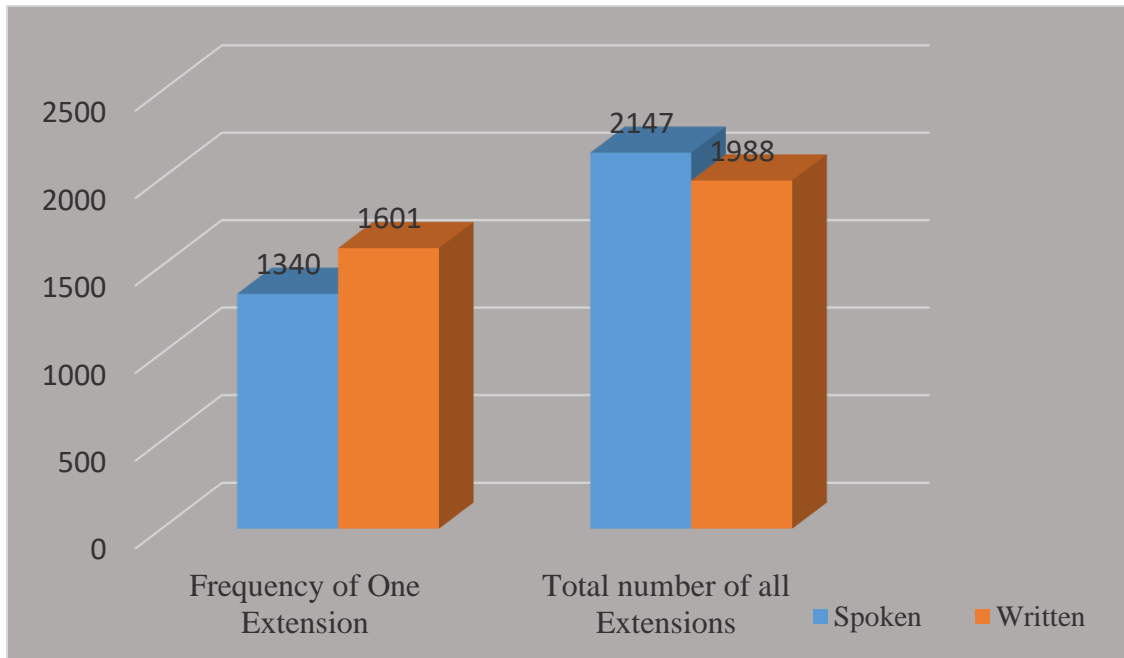
This section presents data in relation to verb extensions involving only one extension, which is referred to here as single/mono-morphemic extension. The analysis shows that verbs with one extension occur for all verb extensions in Kuria considered here, namely stative, applicative, reciprocal, causative, and passive (see Table 7.5 below for the frequency of occurrence of this type of verb extension in the two sets of data).

**Table 7.5: Frequency of One Extension Across the Data**

	<b>Frequency of One Extension</b>	<b>Total number of all Extensions</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
<b>Spoken</b>	1340	2147	62.4%
<b>Written</b>	1601	1988	80.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2941</b>	<b>4135</b>	<b>71.1%</b>

As shown in the table above, one extension has the highest number of occurrences in both spoken and written forms. It occurs more than any other type of extension because it accounts for more than two thirds of all the extensions identified in the data. This shows the tendency of Kuria speakers and/or writers to construct sentences in which the verb takes only a single extension. Consider figure 7.5, which gives a pictorial configuration of the usage of this level of verb extensions among the Kuria language users.

**Figure 7.5: Frequency of One Extension across the Data**



What I have attempted so far is to give a general picture of the occurrence of one extension across the entire data. In what follows, I look at the different verb extensions starting from the lower to the higher levels of verb extensions identified in the data. At the level of one extension, all the five verb extensions have been identified in the spoken data as presented in table 7.6.

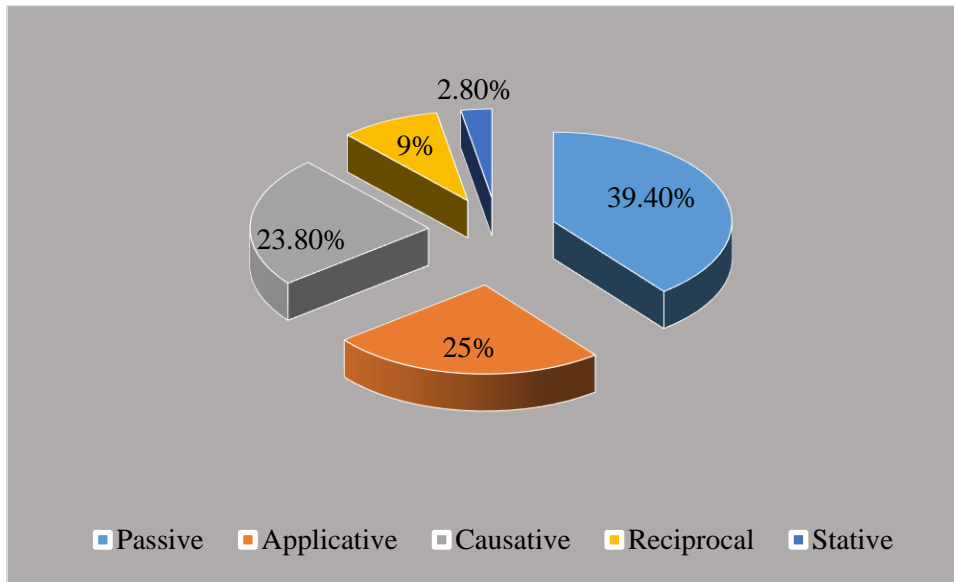
**Table 7.6: Frequency of One Extension in Spoken Kuria**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
Passive	528	39.4%
Applicative	335	25%
Causative	319	23.8%
Reciprocal	121	9%
Stative	37	2.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1340</b>	<b>100%</b>

As table 7.6 shows, the passive extension has the highest frequency of occurrence. It is followed by applicative and causative, respectively. Other extensions such as reciprocal and stative do not

feature much with stative being the least frequently used extension in this set of data. The presence of these types of extensions at this level is graphically represented below.

**Figure 7.6: Frequency of One Extension in Spoken Kuria**



It is clear from the figure above that the passive is the most productive extension here. The scenario is also the same with the written set of data. Consider Table 7.7 below.

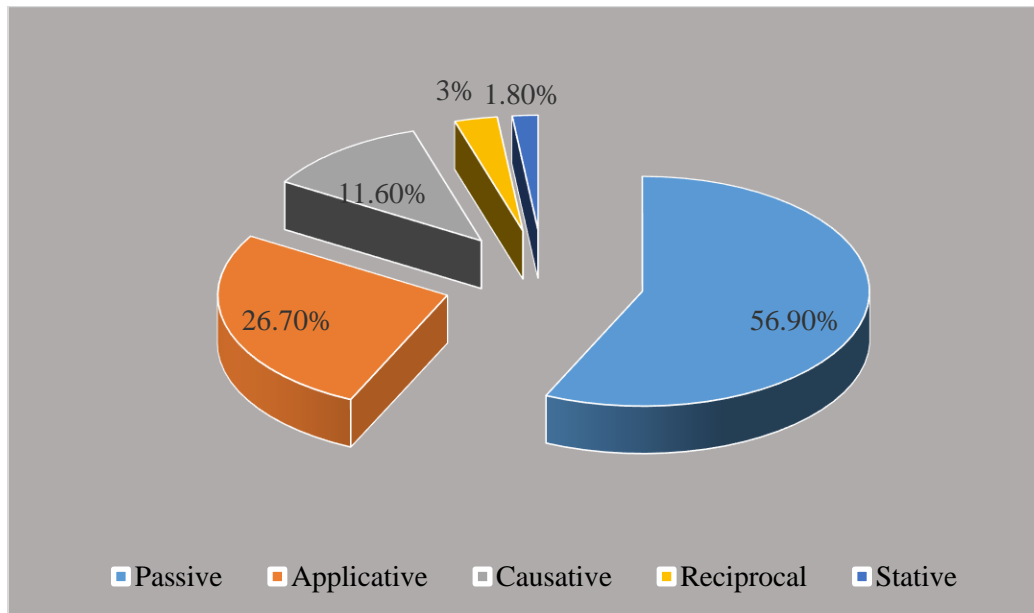
**Table 7.7: Frequency of Extensions in Written Kuria**

Extensions	Total	Percentages
Passive	911	56.9%
Applicative	427	26.7%
Causative	186	11.6%
Reciprocal	48	3%
Stative	29	1.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1601</b>	<b>100%</b>

The table above shows that the passive occurrences have also consumed more than half of all the extensions identified at this level in the written data. The question now is what might have been responsible for the passive taking the largest share of all the extensions in the written form and even exceeding its performance level in the spoken data (see table 7.6 and 7.7 above). This might be connected to the fact that the written text considered for analysis (i.e. Kuria New Testament)

appears to make more use of the passive than other constructions. In the figure below, I reproduce the results of the analysis done here so as to render it more visible.

**Figure 7.7: Frequency of Extension in Written Kuria**



It is obvious from the figure above that the five different kinds of extension at this level are not evenly distributed. It therefore appears that in both speech and writing, verb extensions are used with varying degrees, with the passive taking the lead followed by applicative, causative, reciprocal and stative respectively. It also seems that while the passive is the most productive extension, the stative is the least frequently used. In the next subsection, I delve into a qualitative analysis of each of the five extensions that have been quantitatively analysed in 7.2 above. Examples are selected from the collected data.

### 7.2.1 The Passive

My aim in this subsection is to examine the occurrence of this extension in more detail in both spoken and written forms. This involves describing, explaining and exemplifying its usage in the two data sets. The passive is actually the most frequently used extension in the data as discussed in Section 7.2. As I have explained in Chapter Five section 5.1.5, Kuria, like other Bantu languages, has two forms of the passive, namely a short (-w-) and a long form of the passive (-bhw-) although they are not used with the same frequency. See the table below:

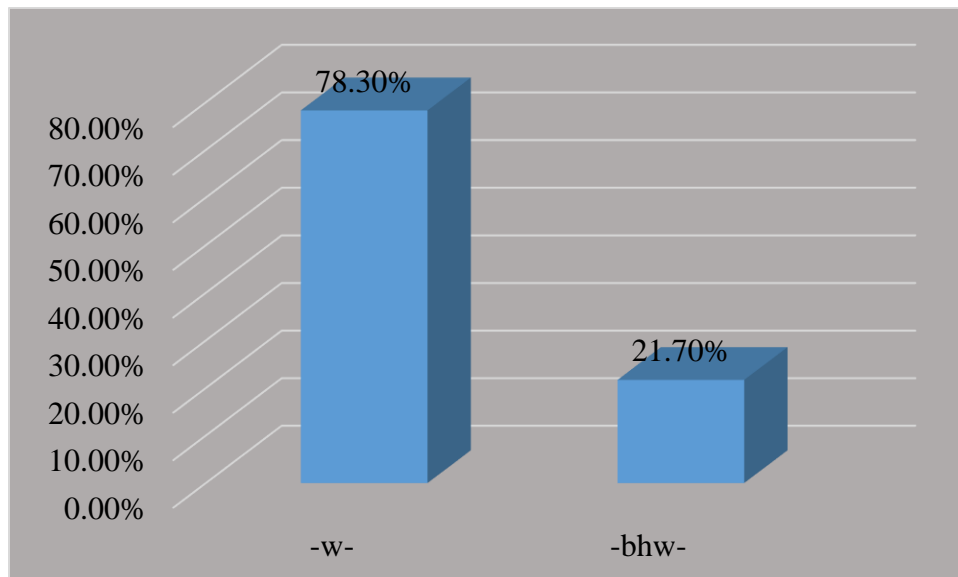


**Table 7.8 The Long and Short Passive in Spoken and Written Form**

Passive	Spoken	Written	Total	Percentage
-w-	447	680	1127	78.3%
-bhw-	81	231	312	21.7%
Total	528	911	1439	100%

The data represented in Table 7.8 has shown that the short form of the passive (-w-) occurs three times more than the long passive extension. Furthermore, the analysis has shown that the long passive is mostly used when it co-occurs with causative extensions. This seems to agree with Schadeberg’s view: “Since the passive extension occupies the last position in a sequence of several extensions, the long allomorph not only appears after the short radical of the shape =CV- but also after causative extension \*-i/-ici-” (Schadeberg 2006, p. 78). Schadeberg (2006, p. 78) further shows that when the passive extension co-occurs with other extensions, it tends to take the last position. My argument supports this occurrence of the passive as described by the scholar above. It however appears that when the passive occurs without other extensions, it tends to behave differently. For instance, the slot for extensions comes after the verb root but the passive in Kuria appears after the slot of the tense, aspect and mood morphemes. This can be seen in example (217) taken from written data form, and the Kuria verb structure as described in Chapters Two and Five. See examples (214), (215) and (216).

**Figure 7.8: Occurrences of Long and Short Passive in Spoken and Written Form**



The above figure shows that the short passive form *-w-* is employed more frequently in Kuria than the long passive *-bhw-*. See examples below.

214. *Ee u-mw-ibhuri a-h-aa- bhw-a kama e-Ø-zawadi*  
 Yes AUG-CL1-parent 3SG-give-(add.v<sup>29</sup>)-PASS-FV as AUG-CL9-gift

Yes, the parent was given (the dowry as) a gift.

215. *Nerarwe i-nyw-ee-bhw-e na a-bha-anto bhayo.*  
 Then CL9-drink-(add.v)-PASS-FV by AUG-CL2-people those

Then it will be drunk by those people.

216. *A-ma-sense ghara gha-tuk-er-w-e bhono gha-ra-minch-w-a*  
 AUG-CL6-sand that CL6-dig-PERF-PASS-FV then CL6-PRES-throw-PASS-FV  
*ku-ya ke-bhara*  
 INF-go CL7-outside

The sand that has been dug has been thrown out.

As the data shown in examples (214) and (215) above indicate, before the passive extension is added to the monosyllabic verb roots *-h-* for the verb *ha* ‘give’ and *-nyw-* of the verb *nywa* ‘drink’ respectively, there is an additional short or long vowel before the affixation of passive extension. This is done to make the root longer (strengthening) so that it allows the affixation process to take place where the verb *ha* ‘to give’ takes the long vowel *-aa-* and the verb *nywa* ‘to drink’ goes with the long vowel *-ee-*. This can also be seen in data from written Kuria (see example (219) below).

In spoken data I found one example whereby the class noun is used interchangeably. For instance, in example (216) above, the word *a-ma-sense* ‘sand’ belongs to class 6 ‘*ma*’ instead of class 4 ‘*me*’, and then it needs the subject concord *-gha-* instead of *-gho-*. One principle in the theory of Functional Grammar (FG) states that “a theory of a language should not content itself with displaying the rules and principles underlying the construction of linguistic expressions for their own sake, but should try, wherever possible, to explain these rules and principles in terms of their functionality with respect to the ways in which these expressions are used” (Dik 1997, p. 4). With this principle Dik insists that language should be analysed as it is used in a specific context. Other examples from written data are given below:

<sup>29</sup> The additional vowel (add.v) added to the monosyllabic root for strengthening.

217. *A-bha-anto*                      *böönsoe*                      *m-baa-ghëë-y-e*  
 AUG-CL2-person                      all                                      FOC-3PL-PAST-go-FV  
*kö-öndek-er- w-a*                      *wabhö*                      *haara*                      *bha-ibhor-ee-y-w-e*  
 INF-write-APPL-PASS-FV                      their home                      where                      3PL-born-PERF-PASS -FV

All people went to their homes where they were born for registration. Ruuka ‘Luke’ 2:3 (1996, p. 129)

218. *Na-u-wë*                      *mö-öna*                      *wanë,*                      *n-o-ra-bereker-o-e*  
 And-2SG-you                      CL1-child                      mine                                      FOC-2SG-call-PASS-FV  
*o-mo-naabi*                      *we-Nöökoe*                      *O-nö*                      *a-Igoro.*  
 AUG-CL1-prophet                      AUG-Good                      AUG-that                      AUG-high  
*N-o-ra-taangat-ë*                                      *o-Mo-nënë*                                      *o-mo-seem-ir-i*  
 FOC-2SG-PRES-to lead-FV                      AUG-CL1-Lord                                      2SG-CL1-plan-APPL-FV  
*e-nchera*                                      *ya-aë.*  
 AUG-CL9-path                                      CL9-his

And you, my child, will be called a prophet of the highest; for you will go on before the lord to prepare the way for him. Ruuka ‘Luke’ 1:76 (1996, p. 129).

219. *I-bhi-aakorea*                      *bhiyo mbinö*                      *mo-ra-h-aa-bhw-e*                      *na*  
 AUG-CL8-food                                      that it                                      2PL-PRES-give-(add.v)- PASS-FV                      by  
*o-Mö-öna*                                      *wo-Mo-onto, kughira*                      *Nöökwe,*                      *Taata*  
 AUG-CL1-child                                      AUG-CL1-man because                      God,                      Father  
*a-a-mo-toorr-a*                                      *o-ro-baasö.*  
 3SG-PAST-CL1-put- FV                                      AUG - CL11-stamp

That food will be given to you by the Son of Man because God the Father has stamped<sup>30</sup> him (placed his seal of approval). Yohana ‘John’ 6:27 (1996, p. 218)

In examples (214) to (219) above, it appears that the speaker or the writer might be more on the side of the affected one than that of the agent or the doer. This may be used to argue that Kuria people have the tendency to identify themselves with the affected entity or what is semantically termed patient. Syntactic rules require that the subject of the passive sentence be the object of the active sentence, but the Kuria tend to emphasize the object and make it the topic of discussion rather than the agent. On the other hand, the tendency to identify with the affected or the agent often depends on the context of the conversation or the ideological stance of the text. For example, if they intend to talk about the affected party, there is no way they can avoid using passive

<sup>30</sup> This is a direct and word for word translation from Kuria. To “stamp someone”, means to entrust them with authority and undeniable and indelible mandate.

extension. So, in this respect, it depends on what the speaker wants to convey to the listener, or what s/he intends to explain, or what the speaker may see as important and wants to emphasize. Apart from that, there is the issue of what is new and/or old information. For instance, when two or more people are talking about something, they begin by mentioning the agent or the doer but later on, they only refer to the patient and its results or the situation which s/he is facing. The findings show that the use of passive extension amounts to almost half of all extensions used in the category of single/mono-morphemic extensions in the data; whereby in written texts, the passive is used 17.5% more than in the spoken. This implies that the need for passive is contextually determined. One of the main reasons for this is that the written data were taken from the Kuria Bible *Endeghano Ehya* ‘The New Testament’ which mostly focuses on Jesus Christ and the twelve apostles, explaining what was done to them and how it affected them.

### 7.2.2 The Applicative

Applicative extension is one of the productive extensions found in the data. It occurs in both spoken and written forms and its frequency stands at 25% and 26.7% for spoken and written aspects of the data respectively (see Tables 7.6 and 7.7). In other words, the applicative occupies almost a quarter of all extension slots in the data. As I explained in Chapter Five, the applicative is a polysemous extension. Semantically, the applicative extension can take different roles depending on what needs to be addressed. It may occur as beneficiary, goal, malefactive, instrumental, patient, recipient, cause, reason and locative, etc. (Rugemalira 1993; Schadeberg 2006; Zacharia 2011; Lusekelo 2012). Examine examples (220) to (221) and (222) to (223) below taken from the spoken and written data respectively.

220. *Jackson a-ra-tw-er-a*                      *Derrick a-ma-yembe*  
 Jackson 3SG-PRES-pick-APPL-FV    Derrick AUG-CL6-mango  
 Jackson is plucking mangoes for Derrick.

221. *Janeth a-ra-som-er-a*                      *a-bha-ana*                      *bheegha e-ghe-tabho*  
 Janeth 3SG-PRES-read-APPL-FV    AUG-CL2-child learner    AUG-CL7-book  
 Janeth is reading the book for the pupils.

222. *I-chi-nsabibu*      *chi-gha-kamor-w-a*      *ko-ha-se*      *ha-ara*  
 AUG-CL10-grape      CL10-PAST-wring-PASS-FV      CL17-CL16-place      CL16-that  
*ha-ko-met-er-a*      *ke-bhara*      *yu-mughi*      *na*      *a-ma-nyinga*  
 CL16-INF-squeeze-APPL-FV      CL7-outside      CL16-home      and      AUG-CL6-blood  
*ga-karwa*      *ko-ha-se*      *ha-ara*      *ga-ka-gër-a*  
 CL6-come-out      CL17-CL16-place      CL16-that      CL6-past-flow-fv  
*bo-ong'ana*      *i-chi-kiiromita*      *a-ma-gana*      *a-tato*      *na*  
 CL14-like      AUG-CL10-kilometer      AUG-CL6-hundred      AUG-three      and  
*ku-y-a*      *ha-anse*      *ha-ang'ana*      *o-bo-harai*      *i-chi-miita*  
 INF-go-FV      CL16-down      CL16-about      AUG-CL14-long      AUG-CL10-meter  
*i-bere*  
 AUG-two

And the winepress was trodden outside the city and blood came out of the winepress as high up as the bridles of the hoses, for a distance of a thousand three hundred furlongs. Okohonyorroa 'Revelation' Rev. 14:20 (1996, p. 567)

223. *O-mmo-maraika*      *we-Nöökwe*      *a-ka-mooch-er-a*      *a-ka-imeer-a*  
 AUG-CL1-angel      his-God      3SG-PAST-come-APPL-FV      3SG-PAST-stand-FV  
*bhoreo*      *haara*      *e-Ø-koroso*<sup>31</sup>      *ya-ka-hot-eeey-w-e*  
 right      that      AUG-CL9-fire      CL9-PAST-burn-APPL-PASS-FV

The angel of God comes to him and stands at the right hand side, the place where they used to burn leaves. Ruuka 'Luke' 1:11 (1996, p. 125).

The constructions from (220) to (223) above show that the applicative extension entails the fact of doing something for someone else (beneficiary), or on behalf of someone in the case of examples (220) and (221), and in the direction of (223); location in (222). The first applicative in (223) *a-ka-mooch-er-a* 'it came to' introduce the direction from where the angel comes or to where s/he is going; while the second applicative in the same sentence *ya-ka-hot-eeey-w-e* 'where they used to be burnt' introduced the location; also example (223) *ha-ko-met-er-a* 'the place used for burning' introduces the location. The underlying applicative form in Kuria is *-er-* but it can appear as *-eeey-* or *-iiy-* when the sentences are in perfect or past tense, and sometimes when the verb has an object marker of the targeted argument or object. The analysis in this subsection has shown that due to the many roles of the applicative extension and its tendency to agree with different types of verbs, it features prominently in the data.

<sup>31</sup>*Ekoroso* 'a fire made of selected leaves that are burnt for a ritual or magical purpose', *-huuta ekoroso* 'to burn leaves' as explained above.

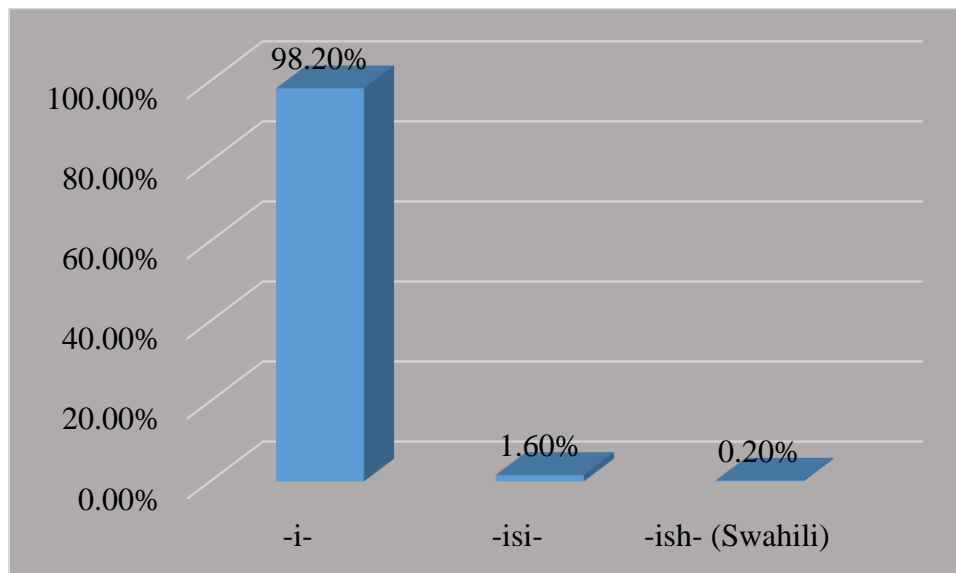
### 7.2.3 The Causative

As the quantitative analysis reveals, this type of extension features in both the spoken and written data forms. It accounts for less than a quarter of all the extensions noticed in the data, see Tables 7.6 and 7.7 in subsection 7.2. The analysis also shows that it occurs more in the spoken (almost two times higher) than in written language. In Kuria, there are two forms of the causative, the long form (-isi-) and the short form (-i-). The analysis done further shows that the short causative form (-i-) featured more than the long causative (-isi-) in the data. For instance, out of 505 occurrences of the causative, the long form occurs only 8 times with the verb *ghwa* ‘to fall’ and in one form from Swahili (causative extension morpheme -ish-) in spoken data. This is different from the use of the causative in Kinyakyusa, for instance, where the use of the short causative is very limited (Lusekelo, 2012, p. 247 (see Chapter Two)). See the Table 7.9.

**Table 7.9 The Long and Short Causative in Spoken and Written Form**

Causative	Spoken	Written	Total	Percentage
-i-	311	185	496	98.2%
-isi-	7	1	8	1.6%
-ish- (Swahili)	1	0	1	0.2%
	319	186	505	100%

**Figure 7.9: The Long and Short Causative in Spoken and Written Form**



The figure above underlines the high frequency of the short causative form -i- (98.20%) over the longer one -isi- (1.60%) and the sparingly used causative -ishi- that is borrowed from the Swahili language (0.20%). Consider examples (224) and (225) below for long and short causative

respectively. In example (224) the long causative (-*isi-*) is used after the root *ghw-* which has the underlying form *gu-* which is a CV- structure.

224. *O-bho-nkenge*                      *bhu-ghw-isi-r-i*                      *o-mo-ona*  
 AUG-CL14-high-jump                      CL14-fall-CAUS<sub>long</sub>-PERF-FV                      AUG-CL1-child  
*o-Ø-sukuri*  
 AUG-CL9-school

The high-jump caused the pupil (school child) to fall.

As (224) shows, *obhonkenge* ‘high-jump’ was introduced as the causer and the agent of the falling action of the pupil; whereby *omooona* ‘the child’ becomes the causee of the causation process and the patient of the event action. This example is taken from spoken data in the domain of video two data (V2) where different activities were conducted in a school. Among these activities was also high jump. Pupils were jumping when one of them fell down.

225. *O-mo-rokia*                      *a-ra-som-i-a*                      *a-bha-ana*  
 AUG-CL1-teacher                      3SG-PRES-read- CAUS -FV                      AUG-CL2-child  
*e-ghē-tabho*  
 AUG-CL7-book

The teacher causes/helps/directs the children to read the book.

The construction in (225) is taken from video three (V3) which was on reading activity. *Omorokia* ‘the teacher’ is introduced as the one who causes/helps/directs the pupils to read. From the examples above, it is evident that there are extra arguments added to the verbs affixed by causative extensions, i.e. *omorokia* ‘the teacher’ in (225).

But on the other hand, syntactically/gramatically, the arguments can be realised in different ways, such as noun phrase (NP), lexical arguments or pronoun/pronominal arguments. Lexical arguments are those words which play a part as participants of the verb expression. Pronoun/pronominal arguments are the grammatical functions of elements that are affixed to the verb or verb root; these are both prefixes and suffixes in Kuria like the subject (SM1 and SM2) and object marker, locative, etc. which are also realised as arguments or valencies (the second subject marker is placed after the final vowel (see Chapter Two section 2.1.1.2.2)). Semantically, all kinds of arguments are

named according to their roles in relation to the verb (thematic roles), such as causer, agent, patient, location, etc. The data from spoken Kuria show that speakers tend to use more pronominal arguments than lexical arguments, as we can see in the example below taken from video one (V<sub>1</sub>) based on a house building process.

226. *O-bho-rosa*                                      *u-ghu-tuk-a*                                      *soki*    *u-imir-i-a*  
 AUG-CL14-foundation-trench    2SG-INF-dig-FV                                      then    2SG-stand-CAUS-FV  
*i-bhi-sighonku*  
 AUG-CL8-buttress

You start by making foundation-trench and then you make the buttress to stand.

The construction (226) above is a compound sentence, the causative extension used in the second verb *u-imir-i-a* ‘cause/make to stand’ where the subject of the sentence is introduced by the causative indicated by the pronominal *u-* ‘you’ (subject marker or pronominal argument), and semantically serves as the agent. The reason for missing some of the arguments in some extensions in the sentence, might be due to prior contextual knowledge by the listener or by both the speaker and listener.

The examples in (227) and (228) taken from video two (V<sub>2</sub>) are about the different actions that took place within the school premises.

227. *Eliya a-ra-mo-tem-i-a*                                      *e-ghе-tomo*                                      *igha*    *ta<sup>32</sup>-tem-a*  
 Eliya    3SG-PRES-CL1-beat-CAUS-FV    AUG-CL7-drum                                      that    2SGIMP-drum-FV  
*igha*  
 like-this

Eliya makes him drum as he likes.

228. *Mw-alimu a-ra-mu-ibhuruk-i-a*    *o-bho-nkengai*  
 CL1-teacher    3SG-PRES-CL1-jump-CAUS-FV    AUG-CL14-high-jump

The teacher makes him to jump the high-jump.

In the examples (227) and (228) above, the subjects of the sentences are lexical arguments which have been introduced by the causative extension, namely *Eliya* and *Mwalimu*, respectively. On the

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<sup>32</sup> Command - Second singular person pronoun in Kuria.



other hand, we also have grammatical arguments encoded on the verb known as subject marker (SM) and object markers (OM) which can also be glossed as class prefix (CL...). The latter is semantically referred to as patient/causee/theme. In example (227), *a-ra-mo-tem-i-a* ‘causes (someone) to beat drum (to drum)’ is the object marker *-mo-* which is semantically patient/causee, and example (228) *a-ra-mu-ibhuruk-i-a* ‘makes/help (someone) to jump’, where *-mu-* semantically is patient/causee. These are all arguments of the verb used. I would like to argue that the subject and object markers play the same lexical role but their difference is, that SM and OM are marked within the verb. Grammatically, they are both recognised. This seems to be consistent with the Theta Theory as explained by Williams:

The subject argument must be specified. Although the subject is sometimes inaudible, as in “*pro-drop*” languages, we will assume nevertheless that it is always present in S-structure. ... The non-subject arguments present a different picture. The two possibilities are first, that non-subject arguments are just like subject arguments, in that they are always obligatorily present, only sometimes inaudibly so; or second, that they are simply optionally specified (1995, p. 102).

Williams shows that the arguments are recognised even when they are inaudible in the S-structure (Surface structure). Similarly, Payne’s assertion supports the argument by stating that it is a “valence adjusting operation” (2002, p. 170). According to this scholar, it is these morphosyntactic operations that adjust the grammatical valence of a clause. Examine examples (229) and (230) from the written data.

229. *I-nyancha e-ga-tu-a a-ba-ku ba-nö wa-nyööre baa-mö;*  
 AUG-CL9-sea CL9-PAST-pour-FV AUG-CL2-dead CL2-that who-be CL2-CL18  
*U-ruku na E-ke-bhara ki-a-bha-ku*  
 AUG-death and AUG-CL7-world CL17-AUG-CL2-died  
*bhi-ka-richök-i-a ke-bhara a-bha-ku bhanö*  
 CL8-PAST-get out-CAUS-FV CL7-out AUG-CL2-died who  
*bha-a-renge-mo böönsoe ba-ga-këëng-ër-o-a i-ki-ina,*  
 3PL-PAST-be-CL18 all 3PL-PAST-cut-APPL-PASS-FV AUG-CL7-case  
*kerä i-mui ko-reng’aana na a-ma-köra ga-aë*  
 each AUG-one INF-equal and AUG-CL6-action CL6-his/her

The sea gave up the dead which were in it; and the dead and the world of the dead caused all the dead who were inside to get out, and they were judged accordingly. Okohonyorroa ‘Revelation’ Rev. 20:13 (1996, p. 576)

230. *Ore-wöönsoe ono a-ra-ar-ë o-mo-bhere gö-önë na*  
 any-one who 3SG-PRES-eat-FV AUG-CL3-body CL3-my and  
*ku-nyw-a a-ma-anyiinga ga-anö oyo n-a-ra-ab-ë na*  
 INF-drink-FV AUG-CL6-blood CL3-my that FOC-3SG-PRES-be-FV with  
*o-bho-horu bo-ku-y-ey-o, na*  
 AUG-CL14-life CL14-INF-go-long-time-FV and  
*ni-ndi-mu-riiuk-i-a ko-bhohoru ku-ru-siko ru-mu-hikö*  
 FOC-1SG-CL1-reincarnate-CAUS-FV CL17-life CL17-CL11-day CL11-CL3-last

Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life and I will rise on the last day. Yohana ‘John’ 6:54 (1996, p. 219).

Syntactically, in example (229) from written Kuria, all arguments are presented in a linear order. *Uruku na Ekebhara* ‘death and the world of the dead’ is the subject of the sentence, which is introduced by the causative extension, and *abhaku* ‘dead’ is the object, semantically called patient which was affected by the introduction of the causative. In (230), the subject is a grammatical argument which is affixed to the verb, since the speaker is the causer and has introduced himself by using SM *ni-ndi-mu-riiuk-i-a* ‘I will reincarnate him/her’, The SM is *-ndi-* ‘I’ and *-mu-* is the OM ‘him/her’. In Kuria it is possible for the noun to be used without the augment when it serves as the locative argument of a verb (see number (229) of the argument *kebhara* ‘outside’).

Therefore, the speakers or authors use the causative extension when the event action is initiated or caused by another person. This can be seen in examples (227) and (228) above where the agent of the event action is caused by another person, under the causation process where the previous agent becomes the causee of the causation process. On the other hand, the causative is used when the agent is the initiator and the doer of the event/action as (226), (229) and (230) above show. The analysis in this study has shown that even the short causative (which Hyman 2003 and Good 2005 call ‘transitive’) in Kuria introduces the new argument as it can be seen in examples above (227) to (228). This result differs from Good’s assertion that: “The first causativized verb in each paradigm is marked with what will be called here the transitive suffix ... convey a type of causative semantics wherein the causer of an action is also the agent of the action (and, therefore, no new causer argument is introduced)—hence, it marks direct causativization” (2005, p. 8). I will argue that in Kuria the short causative plays double roles. It can be termed as both direct and indirect causativization because it has performed all functions in different verbs. (See more in Chapters Two, Five, Six and Seven.)

Furthermore, the analysis shows that during the causation process, there are two agents that can be found in the same sentence, one is a direct agent and the second is an indirect agent. The direct agent is the patient (causee) of the causation process, because s/he is the one who does the event action. Although he or she has forced or caused (to do something) he or she is the doer of the event action. While the indirect agent is the causer or initiator of the action, it is indirect because s/he can participate in many ways. Sometimes, however, the causer or initiator can also be the direct agent when s/he initiates and/or becomes the doer of the event/action.

The results show that the causative extension used in spoken Kuria is almost two times the extensions used in the written (see Tables 7.6 and 7.7 respectively). The analysis indicates that causative extension in spoken data occurred more than half in video stimulus method (in video one (V1) and video two (V2)) than the semi-structured interviews. Video clip (V1) was about house construction whereby various activities were caused by the construction supervisor who caused other builders to perform some activities. The same applied in V2 where teachers and pupils engaged in many activities in school. In this clip, most of the time teachers caused pupils to perform different activities. This implies that the uses of verb extensions depend mostly on the situation. On the other hand, the data from the Bible is deficient in such flexibility.

#### **7.2.4 The Reciprocal**

The use of reciprocal extension is minimal when compared with the proceeding extension types such as passive, applicative and causative. It only takes 9% and 3% in spoken and in written form respectively. However, in the spoken data, it is used three times more than in the written form. Furthermore, the analysis shows that it is 43.1% less than passive and it is 3.6% more than stative extension. The implication of the results is that reciprocal extension is less used in Kuria than passive, applicative and causative.

In Kuria, the reciprocal is one of the less productive extensions in terms of uses both in spoken and written forms. The underlying form of the reciprocal in Kuria is *-an-* as in many other Bantu languages. However, sometimes it changes to *-ain-* in a perfect tense, past tense or negative sentence where the final vowel is *-i-* or *-e-* (see examples 234, 235). Consider the following examples in which the reciprocal form *-an-* is used.

231. *Bhayo n-ko-mete bha-ghu-isuri-a bha-ra-haar-an-a*  
 Those FOC-CL17-tree 3PL-INF-turn around-FV 3PL-PRES-run-after-REC-FV

Those turning around the tree are running after each other.

232. *Kwa hiyo, iyo n-gu-shauri-an-a-to-re igha tu-tigh-e*  
 Therefore, that FOC-CL15-advice-REC-FV-1PL-AUX that 1PL-leave-FV

Therefore, we are advising each other to stop it.

233. *Hayo n-ku-ibhuruk-an-a-bha-re*  
 There FOC-INF-jump-REC-FV-3PL-AUX

They are jumping over each other.

In examples (231) to (233), pronominal arguments have featured more than lexical arguments. For example, in (231) there is a plural subject *bhayo* ‘those’ in (232) there is *iyo* ‘that’ and in (233) there is *hayo* ‘there’. Also there are grammatical arguments which are attached to the verb after the final vowel (which I call the SM2 (see Chapter Two section 2.1.1.2.2)) *n-gu-shauri-an-a(-to-re)* ‘we are advising each other’ and *n-ku-ibhuruk-an-a(-bha-re)* ‘they are jumping over each other’. In Kuria, the subject marker has two slots in a verb structure whereby the subject marker can sometimes be among the prefixes when affixed before the verb root or among the suffixes in the case where it is affixed after the final vowel of the verb (see Kuria verb structure in Chapter Two). Further instances of the reciprocal are given below.

234. *A-bhaa-nto te-na-nyɔɔr-a bha-ra-eghi-ain-i hai.*  
 AUG-CL2-person NEG-FOC-get-FV 3PL-PRES-teach- REC-FV NEG

People there were not teaching one another

235. *A-bha-anto n-bha-gha-tur-ain-i a-bhy-ene*  
 AUG-CL2- person FOC-3PL-PAST-help-REC- FV AUG-CL2-themselves  
*ko - bhyene*  
 CL17-themselves

People were helping one another (themselves).

In examples (234) and (235), there is the reciprocal form *-ain-* with the subject in the plural form. Example (234) is a negative sentence while (235) is in the past continuous tense. The above examples are taken from spoken Kuria. The verb *nyɔɔra* ‘to get’ or the verb ‘to be’ is a loan word

from Kalenjin (Nilotic language). See more discussions in Rose (2001, pp. 61, 85fl.) and Whiteley (1955). Now let us consider examples (236) to (240) below from written Kuria.

236. *Kohayo, Yeeso na-a-bha-ghööt-er-e*  
 Therefore Christ FOC-3SG-CL2-hold-PERF-FV  
*bha-ka-ng'araarr-an-a nawë ku-y-a Nazareti, nawë*  
 3PL-PAST-go-down-REC-FV with-him INF-go-FV Nazareth with-him  
*na-a-bha-ighu-er-ee-e.*  
 FOC-3SG-CL2-listen-APPL-PERF-FV

Therefore, Jesus joined them and they went back to Nazareth with him. He was obedient to them. Ruuka 'Luke' 2:51 (1996, p. 132)

237. *Yeeso a-ka-mo-kaan-i-a bokong'u*  
 Jesus 3SG-PAST-CL1-forbidden-CAUS-FV absolutely  
*a-ra-boor-a igha "U-riih-ë o-ta-gha-acha gho-tebhi-a*  
 3SG-PRES-speak-FV that 2SG-cease-FV 2SG-NEG-FUT-leave INF-tell-FV  
*mo-onto, niigha o-gëënd-ë u-i-yo-rok-an-i*  
 CL1-person, means 2SG-walk-FV 2SG-REF-CL1-show-REC-FV  
*ku-mu-nchama we-Nöökoe igha o-saabuurr-w-e*  
 CL17-CL1-rabbi AUG-CL9-God that 2SG-sanctify-PASS-FV  
*na u-rus-i e-ghe-ento, këëbore a-Ma-ragö gha-Mosa*  
 and 2SG-offer-FV AUG-CL7-thing as AUG-CL6-rule CL6-Moses  
*gha-ko-bhoor-a, go-ko-herekiri-a a-bha-anto iga*  
 CL6-INF-say-FV CL15-INF-demonstrate-FV AUG-CL2-person that  
*o-saabuurr-w-e"*  
 2SG-sanctify-PASS-FV

Jesus absolutely forbade him by saying that, 'you should not tell anybody about this, you just go and be shown to the rabbi that you have been sanctified and give something to them as Moses' rules direct, to show the people that you have been sanctified'. Ruuka 'Luke' 5:14 (1996, p. 139)

238. *Bha-gha-tuëën-an-a i-chi-ngebho cha-aë bha-gha-chi-korr-a*  
 3PL-PAST-divide-REC-FV AUG-CL10-cloth CL10-his 3PL-PAST-CL10-make-FV  
*e-ge-kööböë*  
 AUG-CL7-vote

They distribute his clothes with each other and cast lots for his gown.  
 Ruuka 'Luke' 23:34 (1996, p. 197)

The results show that both forms of the reciprocal (*-an-* and *-ain-*) are used in spoken and written Kuria. But the difference is that the written data attest to the fact that in some sentences, the interpretation of the meaning of the reciprocal diverges from the normal meaning of the action

done to ‘each other’ to the meaning ‘to be shown’ or ‘to present one’s self as testimony’. For example, *u-i-yo-rok-an-i* in (237) conveys the meaning of ‘to be shown/to be presented’. This is because the verb has included a reflexive morpheme *-y-* (the underlying form is *-i-*); instead of showing each other, it now conveys the meaning to ‘be shown’ to someone. This indicates that when a verb has two extension morphemes, one usually dominates over the other. For instance, the verb *orokia* ‘show’, takes the reflexive *-i-* ‘show himself’, and when *-an-* is added to it, its meaning changes from ‘show himself’ to ‘shown to’. The subject argument is *u-* ‘you’ which, when used in the reflexive, is overlapped with reciprocity meaning.

The analysis reveals that the reciprocal extension is used more often in the spoken data. For instance, one of the videos used in collecting the data showed some teachers and their pupils engaging in some extra-curricular activities that involved reciprocal actions; hence, the higher occurrence of reciprocal extensions in the spoken data. Also, when the informants were asked to talk about their customs, traditions and norms, they used lots of reciprocal extensions.

### 7.2.5 The Stative

The analysis has identified that the stative extension or what Doke (1935) and Lodhi (2002) call Neuter is almost the least used when compared with the other extensions found in the data. It only takes 2.2% of all the extensions used at mono-morphemic extensions (one extension) category. For instance, the results show 2.8% and 1.8% of stative extensions out of 1340 and 1601 in the spoken and the written form respectively. The stative has been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu *\*-ik-*, *\*-ek-*. In Kuria, the stative extension has three forms, namely *-ik-*, *-ek-* and *-ok-*. (Doke, 1935, pp. 150-151).

Examine examples of stative extension from both spoken and written Kuria. Examples (239) to (241) are taken from Kuria traditions, norms and customs domain while example (242) is from building construction domain; while (244) and (245) are taken from the written data.

239. *Eee ne-ko-mah-a-to-re hata i-chi-ndoa baadaye*  
 Yes FOC-INF-see-FV-1PL-AUX even AUG-CL10-marriage later-then  
*n-ku-rwa chi-re chi-sar-ek-a.*  
 FOC-INF-from CL10-them CL10-destroy-STAT-FV  
 Yes, later many marriages get destroyed.

240. *Ee, uno a-gho-tom-ek-a igho, harekaru n-ku-nyɔɔr-a-o-re*  
 Yes, that 3SG-INF-use-STAT-FV likes often FOC-INF-get-FV-2SG-AUX  
*a-teta, na nana a-bha-ana bhaye a-ko-many-a*  
 3SG-married and has AUG-CL2-child his 3SG-INF-know- FV  
*igha ino wane*  
 that this my-home/family

Yes, the one who is being used in that way is often someone who is already married and who has children and his own home.

241. *Ke-nene oyo n-go-tom-ek-a-a-re ho-nswi*  
 CL7-often that FOC-INF-use-STAT-FV-3SG-AUX CL16-both

Often, he is being used by both.

The above examples justify the point I made in Chapter Two that the verb structure in Kuria has two subject markers, SM1 which is in pre-root domain and SM2 followed by auxiliary verb is in post-root domain. See examples in (239) and (240) *ne-ko-mah-a-to-re* ‘we used to see’ and *n-ku-nyɔɔr-a-o-re* ‘you can find’ respectively. Whereby *-to-* means ‘we’ and *-o-* means ‘you’ whereas *-re* is an auxiliary verb. See also example (241) *n-go-tom-ek-a-a-re* ‘he is being used’ which connotes a sense of exploitation of the man by both women.

242. *I-nyumba i-ghoro e-ta-gha-tantam-ok-a.*  
 AUG-CL9-house AUG-upper part CL9-NEG-FUT-expand-STAT-FV

The upper part of the house will not be expanded.

243. *A-ma-nche a-ma-hiyo gha-gho-tom-ek-a.*  
 AUG-CL6-water AUG-CL6-hot CL6-INF-use-STAT-FV

Hot water is being used.

244. *Te-mo-ko-heet-ok-a igha na-a-bha-teebir-i gha-nö*  
 NEG-2PL-INF-remember-STAT-FV that 1SG-PAST-CL2-tell-FV CL6-that  
*ghöönswi nkaga n-a-are na bha-inyu?*  
 all time 1SG-PAST-be with CL2-you

Don't you remember that I told all of you about these when I was with you?  
 2 Abatesaronike ‘2 Thessalonians’ 2:5 (1996, p. 459)

245.	<i>Hanö</i>	<i>mo-kabh-a</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>u-bhukumia</i>	<i>o-bhokë</i>	<i>bonö</i>	<i>boong'ana</i>
	If	2PL-be-fv	with	AUG-faith	AUG-little	that	like
	<i>e-ntëtërë</i>	<i>yiritagara</i>	<i>mo-ra-atora</i>	<i>go-teebi-a</i>	<i>ninyööra</i>		
	AUG- seed	mustard	2PL-PRES-can-FV	INF-tell-FV	even		
	<i>n-i-nguku</i>	<i>enö</i>	<i>'igha 'iyih-ek-a</i>	<i>kurua</i>	<i>hanö</i>	<i>u-yi</i>	
	FOC-CL9- mountain	this	that move-STAT-FV	from	here	2SG-go	
	<i>haara'</i>	<i>nayo</i>	<i>n-e-ra-iyeh-ek-e.</i>				
	there	it	FOC-CL9-PRES-move-STAT-FV				

(Truly I tell you,) even if you have faith as small as a mustard seed, you can say to this mountain, 'Move from here to there,' and it will move. (Nothing will be impossible for you.) Mataayo 'Mathew' 17:20 (1996, p. 43)

What we see from the examples (240) to (245) above is a surface structure of sentences with stative extensions. In the cases of (240) to (243) they occur in spoken form while (244) and (245) are taken from written Kuria data. The analysis done in this chapter has shown that the stative extension is 2.8% and 1.8% out of 1340 and 1601 single extensions in spoken and written data set respectively. The stative in Kuria has revealed that it is a less productive or less used extension compared to passive, applicative, causative and reciprocal.

### 7.3 Co-occurrence of Verb Extensions

This section presents the co-occurrences of verb extensions in Kuria. Kuria like other Bantu languages allows for the co-occurrence of verb extensions. It is normal for a Bantu verb root to take between one and three suffixes at a time. This study has shown that it is also possible in Kuria to have the co-occurrence of extensions up to four extensions to one verb root. However, this section shows that the co-occurrence of four extensions is not often used in normal life situations, probably due to their complexity. The findings here have already shown that the one extension is predominant compared to co-occurrences of extensions (see Tables 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4).

#### 7.3.1 Co-occurrence of Two Extensions

This section analyses seven patterns of co-occurrence of two extensions. The patterns were collected from both spoken and written Kuria. The importance of this subsection is to point out the patterns of two extensions, which are predominant in Kuria; what they convey semantically and the syntactic implication of their co-occurrence. This study also discloses the distribution of these extensions in spoken and written Kuria. The results show that some patterns are more used



compared to other patterns. These include the applicative and causative (A+C) in spoken and written; followed by the causative and the passive (C+P). These patterns seemed to be more productive than the others.

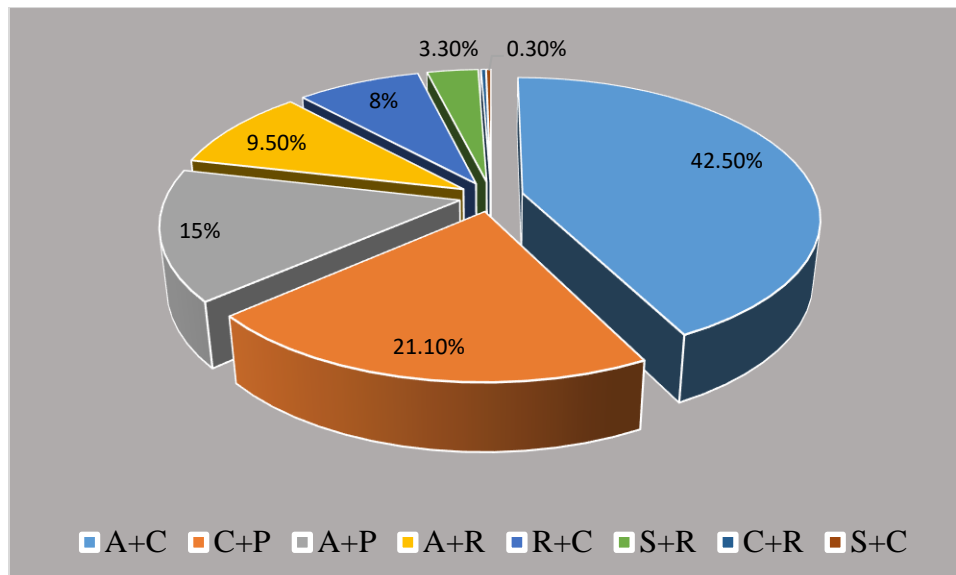
The co-occurrence of two extension patterns has appeared both in spoken and written Kuria. The patterns are: causative and passive (C+P); applicative and reciprocal (A+R); applicative and passive (A+P); applicative and causative (A+C); reciprocal and causative (R+C); stative and reciprocal (S+R); causative and reciprocal (C+R) appeared only in spoken; while stative and causative (S+C) appeared only in written Kuria form. The analysis shows that the A+C pattern has the highest occurrence. The C+P combination also features a lot in the data as shown in Table 7.10.

**Table 7.10: Co-occurrence of Two Extensions in Spoken and Written Kuria**

Co-occurrence of Extensions	Code	Spoken	Written	Total	Percentages
Applicative + Causative	A+C	245	193	438	42.5%
Causative + Passive	C+P	154	63	217	21.1%
Applicative + Passive	A+P	103	51	154	15%
Applicative + Reciprocal	A+R	84	14	98	9.5%
Reciprocal + Causative	R+C	49	34	83	8%
Stative + Reciprocal	S+R	10	24	34	3.3%
Causative + Reciprocal	C+R	3	0	3	0.3%
Stative + Causative	S+C	0	3	3	0.3%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>648</b>	<b>382</b>	<b>1030</b>	

The result shows that the co-occurrence of applicative and causative (A+C) was used two times higher than the causative and passive (C+P); it is the most used extension at bi-morphemic extension category (the co-occurrences of two extensions), followed by causative and passive (C+P) and applicative and reciprocal (A+R) respectively. The remaining ones are almost not used, i.e. causative and reciprocal (C+R), while stative and causative (S+C) are not used very often both in spoken and in written Kuria. The data in Table 7.10 is graphically represented thus:

**Figure 7.10: Co-occurrence of Two Extensions in Spoken and Written Kuria**



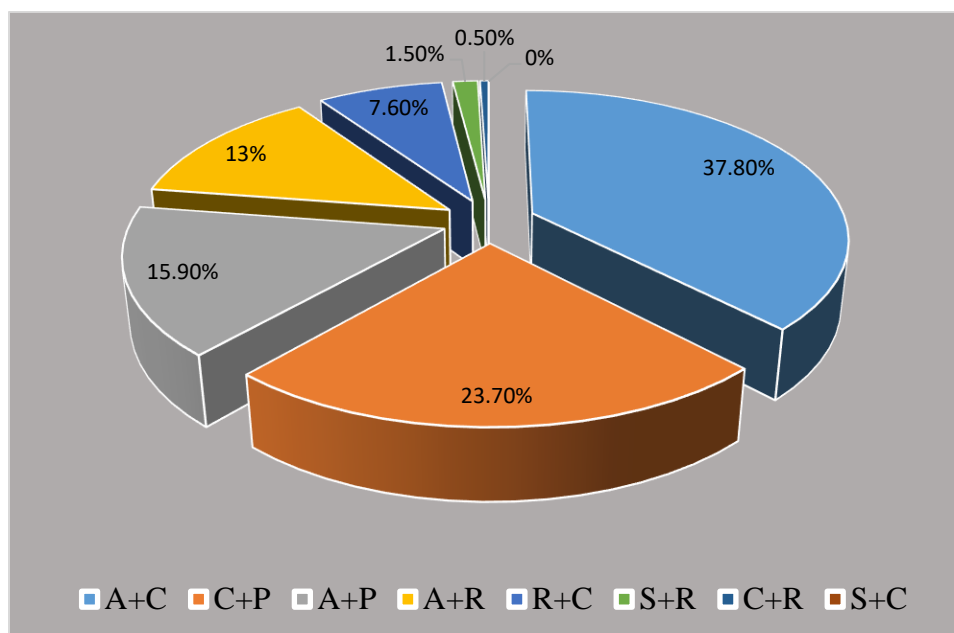
There is a variation of co-occurrence pattern in extension level two. Consider also Table 7.10 and 7.11 below.

**Table 7.11: Co-occurrence of Two Extensions in Spoken Kuria**

Co-occurrence of Extensions	Code		
Applicative + Causative	A+C	245	37.8%
Causative + Passive	C+P	154	23.7%
Applicative + Passive	A+P	103	15.9%
Applicative + Reciprocal	A+R	84	13%
Reciprocal + Causative	R+C	49	7.6%
Stative + Reciprocal	S+R	10	1.5%
Causative + Reciprocal	C+R	3	0.5%
Stative + Causative	S+C	0	0%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>648</b>	<b>100%</b>

The use of applicative and causative pattern is more than one third of the extensions used in this level in the spoken form, while the causative and the reciprocal are less productive or less used. The reciprocal and causative constitute 30.2% less than the applicative and causative. The causative and passive pattern is the second, with 7.8% more than the applicative and passive; it is almost the quarter of the co-occurrences of two extensions. See the figure (7.11) below.

**Figure 7.11: Co-occurrence of Two Extensions in Spoken Kuria**



The scenario is also the same with the written data. In other words, several instances of two occurrence extensions occur in the written data. Let us have a look at table 7.12 below.

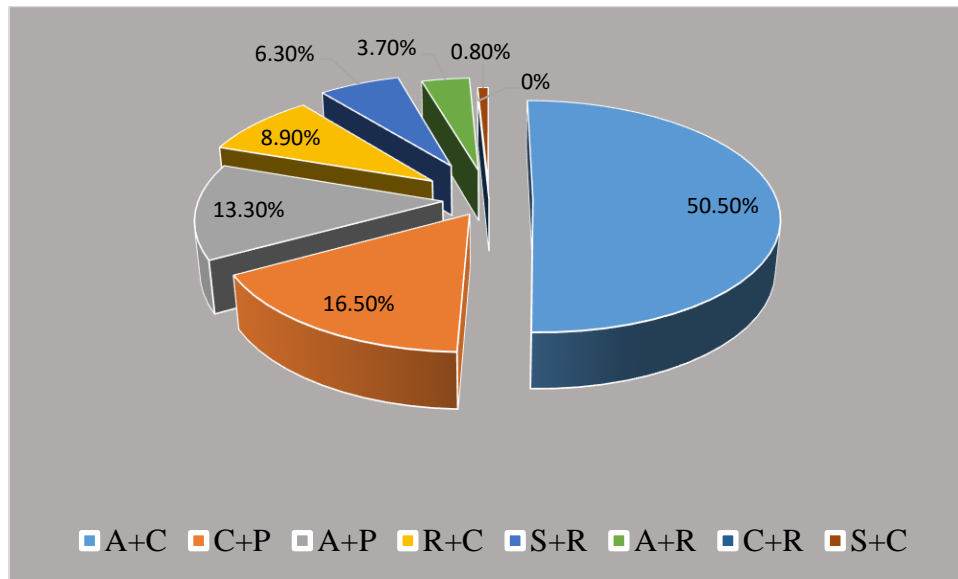
**Table 7.12: Co-occurrence of Two Extensions in Written Kuria**

Co-occurrence of Extensions	Code	Written	
Applicative + Causative	A+C	193	50.5%
Causative + Passive	C+P	63	16.5%
Applicative + Passive	A+P	51	13.3%
Reciprocal + Causative	R+C	34	8.9%
Stative + Reciprocal	S+R	24	6.3%
Applicative + Reciprocal	A+R	14	3.7%
Causative + Reciprocal	C+R	0	0%
Stative + Causative	S+C	3	0.8%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>382</b>	<b>100%</b>

In written Kuria, the applicative and causative pattern (A+C) is more than half of all extensions in this level followed by causative and passive (C+P), and applicative and passive (A+P) which are less than a quarter of all extensions that occurred at this level in written data. There was no causative + reciprocal (C+R) pattern in written forms; while stative and causative were less than

1%, and this shows that they are rarely used in written communication. The information presented in Table 7.12 above is further reproduced in figure 7.12 below.

**Figure 7.12: Co-occurrence of Two Extensions in Written Kuria**



As can be seen from the figure, co-occurrence of two verb extensions is used more in spoken than written language whereas the co-occurrence of the applicative and causative is predominant both in spoken and written although it is used more in spoken than in written form (the total number is 245 and 193 respectively). On the other hand, the remaining ones are not used both in spoken and in written Kuria.

### 7.3.1.1 Applicative and Causative (A+C)

It has been observed that the co-occurrence of the applicative and the causative is the most predominant pattern in the data. It is used both in spoken and in written forms, although it is used more in the spoken than the written form, the percentage shows that it is higher in the written than in the spoken (see Tables 7.11 and 7.12). The applicative and causative combination convey the meaning of ‘caused to do something for/on behalf of/to someone’, and ‘to let something be done for/to someone’, or ‘in the direction of’, and ‘motivated to do something for’. Consider the examples below.

246. *N-ko-mah-a-n-re*      *u-mu-kungu*      *a-ra-h-e-er-i-a*  
 FOC-INF-see-FV-1SG-AUX    AUG-CL2-woman    3SG-PRES-give-add.v-APPL-CAUS-FV  
*o-mo-ona*      *i-nyanya*      *na*      *a-ma-nche*      *ko-ghe-kombe*  
 AUG-child      AUG-CL9-tomato      and      AUG-CL6-water      CL17-CL7-cup
- I see a woman giving a child tomato and water in a cup.

The construction in (246) above means that someone ‘gives something(s) to someone’, who is not close to where the things (tomato and a cup of water) are; it involves a short distance; the woman has been assigned (someone un-mentioned) to give the child some tomatoes and a cup of water.

247. *N-ko-oroki-ir-i-a-a-re*      *o-mo-ona*      *oyo*      *mona*  
 FOC-INF-show-APPL-CAUS-FV-3SG-AUX      AUG-CL1-child      that      how  
*a-ra-kebh-e*      *i-nyanya*      *e-yo*  
 3SG-PRES-slice-FV      AUG-CL9-tomato      CL9-that
- She is showing a child how to slice that tomato.

248. *N-ko-oroki-ir-i-a-a-re*  
 FOC-INF-show-APPL-CAUS-FV-3SG-AUX
- She is showing/indicating (something) to someone.

249. *Bhaito*      *tu-ra-tun-a*      *o-mo-kari*      *a-swar-e*  
 We      1PL-PRES-need-FV      AUG-CL1- female      3SG-wear-FV  
*i-chi-ntambe*      *chino*      *chi-ta-ghusuk-ir-i-a*      *a-bha-anto,*      *wiki*  
 AUG-CL10- long      that      CL10- NEG-shame-APPL-CAUS-FV      AUG-CL2-person, also  
*chi-no*      *chi-ta-korok-i-a*      *i-chi-ngebho*      *chino*      *cha*  
 CL10-this      CL10-NEG-show-CAUS-FV      AUG-CL10-clothe      CL10-this      of  
*mo-nse*  
 CL18-side

We would like to see a woman wearing a long dress and not a transparent one that will make her feel ashamed.

The structure *N-ko-oroki-ir-i-a-a-re* in (248) Kuria means ‘to show how to do something’, or ‘to direct someone on how to do’, ‘to guide someone to do something’ which means ‘to cause someone to know how to do something’. The verb has inherent causation which is ‘to make someone know something or how to do something’.

The analysis shows that the applicative and causative being all valence increasers have modified the number of arguments by adding two arguments to the verb. For instance, in example (247) the nature of the extended verb *N-ko-oroki-ir -i-a-a-re* ‘direct someone on how to do something’ in the sentence adds another verb, *kebha* ‘cut’. The verb is introduced by this pattern of extensions (i.e. applicative + causative) where the verb “cut/slice” (as being transitive verb) comes with its argument. As can be seen, the complexity is brought about by the co-occurrence of the applicative and causative. This is an indication that not only a noun or noun phrase can be introduced by an extension, but that even a verb phrase can be introduced by an extension.

### 7.3.1.2 Causative and Passive (C+P)

The analysis here demonstrates that the causative and passive (C+P) co-occurrence accounts for only 21.1% of all the extensions used at this level, it is distributed as 23.7% and 16.5% above for spoken and written forms respectively (see Tables 7.11 and 7.12). This means that it is used 7.2% more in the spoken than in the written form. In Kuria, the pattern of causative and passive (*-i- + -bhw- /-i- + -w-*) is practically used. The combination of causative and passive semantically conveys the meaning that something was caused to be done.

Syntactically, the causative is used to add one extra argument to a verb which is the subject. On the other hand, the passive tends to reduce one argument from the verb, which is the subject. The arguments introduced by the causative and the passive compete for the same position in the sentence. Consequently, the causative comes first to the verb root and so is its argument though the latter is later on suppressed by the passive. As such, at the S-structure (surface structure), we can see the function of the passive because it is the last extension to be attached to the root. As Schadeberg (2006, p. 73) argues, the last extension determines the syntactic profile of the base of the verb. See examples below:

250. *O-mo-sense*            *na*            *i-Ø-simiti*                            *bhi-ra-ichoghan-i-bhw-a*.  
 AUG-CL3-sand            and            AUG-CL9-cement                    CL8-PRES-mix-CAUS-PASS-FV

Sand and cement are being mixed.

251. *A-ma-robha*                            *gha-ra-ichoghan-i-bhw-a*                            *a-gha-ko-haghach-a*  
 AUG-CL6-soil                            CL6-PRES-mix-CAUS-PASS-FV                            3SG-CL6-INF- build- FV

Soil has been mixed for building.

252. *U-mu-huundi*      *a-ra-ichur-i-bhw-a*      *a-ma-robha*  
 AUG-CL1-builder      3SG-PRES-fill-CAUS-PASS-FV      AUG-CL6-soil  
*a-renter-w-e*  
 3SG-bring-PASS-FV

Literally meaning: The builder has been filled soil (by someone) to be brought to him.

Free translation: The builder has been supplied with soil filled in the bucket.<sup>33</sup>

253. *U-mu-bhira*      *gho-ra-ibhuruk-i-bhw-a*      *na o-mo-rokia wabho*  
 AUG-CL3-ball      CL3-PRES-go up- CAUS -PASS - FV      by AUG-CL1-teach their

The ball has been caused to go up by their teacher.

254. *Na-bha-Yahuti*      *m-ba-renge*      *i-chi-seera*      *chaabhö*      *chinö*  
 FOC-CL2-Jew      FOC-CL2-be      AUG-CL10-norm      their      those  
*bha-gha-isabuurre, gikugira eyo*      *a-ma-ghaancha*      *a-Ø-saansabha*  
 CL2-PAST- sanctify      because      AUG-CL6-pot      AUG-CL6-six  
*n-ga-a-rëenge*      *hö*      *na i-ri-mui*  
 FOC-CL6-past-be      there      and      AUG-CL5-one  
*n-de-ga-ichuri-i-bhw-i*      *na i-chi-nseengo*      *i-bhire ghose isato*  
 FOC-CL5-PAST-full-CAUS- PASS-FV      with      AUG-CL10-barrel      AUG-two or AUG-three

Six stoneware water pots were used by the Jews for ritual washing, each held twenty to thirty gallons. Yohana ‘John’ 2:6 (1996, p. 207)

The analysis shows that in Kuria the goal can be topicalised by the passive, see example (252). This depends on what or which argument the speaker or writer wants to emphasize, or to make as a topic. In written Kuria, the pattern is less used than in spoken form because some of the data used in this section was taken from Video two (V2) in the school where there were two groups of teachers and pupils. Teachers were directing pupils on how to do many things; hence, leading to a lot of actions of ‘caused to do’ and ‘something caused to be done’. This suggests that verb extensions are contextual and depend on what is involved in the action and the intention of the speaker; or what he/she intends to address. Although verb extensions are used in both forms, I will argue that spoken language is more contextually based than the written language. My argument supports Chafe Tannen’s assertion (1987) that “the orality-literacy hypothesis posits that writing makes possible verbatim memory and abstract and sequentially logical thought, and that written

<sup>33</sup> In this example, we notice that there is deletion of certain segments of the sentence in the spoken form. This kind of ellipsis is relatively rare in written form and might account for the vast numerical superiority of words in the written as compared to the spoken based on my data.

discourse is decontextualized or autonomous, whereas nonliterate culture is associated with constructive memory and concrete and rhapsodic thought and that spoken is context-bound” (pp. 391-392).

### 7.3.1.3 Applicative and Reciprocal (A+R)

The results imply that the use of applicative and reciprocal is more limited in the written than the spoken forms. The difference shows that applicative and reciprocal is almost 10% more used in spoken than in the written data as shown in the Table 7.11 and 7.12 (in section 7.3.1).

The analysis has shown that when the applicative and reciprocal (-*er-* + -*an-*) are attached to the verb root in Kuria, they convey the meanings ‘each other; to each other; on behalf of each other and for one another’. The applicative and reciprocal have different functions: while the applicative adds an argument, the reciprocal reduces one argument from the verb. An examination of examples (255) and (256) below will suffice as illustration.

255. *Soki gha-ch-a a -ma-ng’ana ghande gha a-ma-kabhila*  
 Then CL6-come-FV AUG-CL6-thing other of AUG-CL6-tribe  
*ghande ghose a-gha-bha-rabu kwa sababu a-bha-nto*  
 other or AUG-CL6-CL2-white because AUG-CL2-person  
*bha-səh-er-an-a*  
 3PL-mix-APPL-REC-FV

Then we have other intercultural issues and things are now entangled with one another.

256. *Eng’ana ya go-sook-err-i-a n-eenö iga mo-bhe na*  
 Word of INF-finish-APPL-CAUS-FV FOC-this that 2PL-be with  
*i-ri-itegëërrö ri-mui, a-ba-anto ba-nö*  
 AUG-CL5-ideal CL5-one AUG-CL2-person CL2-those  
*mo-köobh-er-an-a, bha-nö mo-hanch-ain-e ki a-bha-kumia*  
 2PL-forgive-APPL-REC-FV CL2-those 2PL-love-REC-FV as AUG-CL2-believe  
*mo-bë a-bha-anto bha-maabhe na a-bha-suseenu*  
 2PL-be AUG-CL2-person CL2-mercy and AUG-CL2-humble

Summing up, be agreeable, be sympathetic, be loving, be compassionate, be humble. Bëeterö ‘Peter’ 3:8 (1996, p. 521).



As shown in the examples above, the pattern of applicative and reciprocal is used more in spoken than written forms due to the nature of the actions that were taking place especially in the data from video two and from the unstructured interviews where there was more reciprocity of action in the spoken than in the written communication (see also reciprocal section 7.2.4).

#### 7.3.1.4 Applicative and Passive (A+P)

The analysis of this pattern shows that the co-occurrence of applicative and passive (-*er-* + -*w/-bhw-*) takes place in Kuria. It takes 15.9% and 13.3% of the total number of the patterns observed here in the spoken and written Kuria (see Tables 7.11 and 7.12) respectively. The applicative and passive convey the meaning that something has been done for/to; something has been done on behalf of; something has been done by using something (see examples in (257) to (259)).

257. *A-ma-robha*                      *gha-hom-er -w-e*                      *na*    *o -mo-nto*                      *oyo*  
 AUG-CL6- soil                      CL6 -pour-PERF-PASS-FV by    AUG-CL1-person                      that  
*gho-karaya*  
 CL17-basin

The soil has been poured in the basin by that man.

In Kuria, like many other Bantu languages, words (arguments) in a sentence usually follow the syntactic rule which requires a prepositional phrase or by-phrase to take the last position. However, I found out that sometimes the syntactic rules work the other way round in Kuria (implicitly). The speaker is the one who knows the language's rule and what is correct or incorrect. In example (257) the affected agent *omonto* 'person' through passivization process comes closer to the verb than the locative although it is adjunct. In Kuria internal arguments (objects, i.e. direct object indirect/oblique or locative) are free to move or to exchange their position. In this regard, Ranero, Diercks and Paster (2013, p. 8) show how objects can be re-ordered (see also Chapter Two section 2.2.6 in this study). We expected to see *na omento oyo* 'by that person' as the last constituent in the sentence but it has displaced the locative and taken the position adjacent to the verb. In the co-occurrence of the applicative and passive, the subject of the active sentence that has been suppressed by the passive extension should be the last constituent in the passive sentence, and it is now an adjunct of the verb. But Dik in his theory of *The Functional Grammar* insists that the

language should be analysed as it is used in verbal interaction, based on the functional reality in a certain context (Dik, 1997, p. 4).

This indicates that when a speaker in Kuria wants to emphasise a certain part in the sentence, the syntactic rules work other way round (or can be misused). A good example is (257) above. Although the agent is no longer the argument in the passive sentence, here, s/he is the one who needs to be shown. In this sentence, both the agent and the patient are important to the information given. This suggests that sometimes the syntactic rules work implicitly instead of explicitly in linguistic expressions in a certain context. Consider other examples (258) and (259) with applicative and passive.

258. *Hayo i-ki-bhumburio ki-ra-rusi-bhw-a ghose*  
 There AUG-CL7-vegetable plot CL7-PRES-remove-PASS-FV or  
*ki-ra-agh-er-w-a, ke-ra-agh-w-a e-ntoki*  
 CL7-PRES-weed-APPL-PASS-FV CL7-PRES-weed-PASS-FV AUG-CL9-grass

The small vegetable plot has been removed or has been weeded.

259. *Bhono te-bha-renge na haki hai wa-renge-ghotom-er-w-a*  
 Then NEG-CL2-be with right NEG 2SG-PAST-used-APPL-PASS-FV  
*ghe-ke-bhakuri tu e-ghe-ka*  
 AUG-CL7-utensil only AUG-CL7-home

Then they (women) had no right, you were used like home utensils.

As I have stated earlier, sometimes in speech, the speaker tends to explain or describe one point in many ways including the repetition of some words as seen in example (258) above. The speaker is explaining the weeding of the vegetable plot in terms of *ki-ra-rus-i-bhw-a* ‘been removed’ *ki-ra-agh-er-w-a* ‘been weeded for’ and *ke-ra-agh-w-a* ‘been weeded’. Due to the fact that in the spoken language speakers are free to explain things on how they like more naturally in contrast to written language. In example (258), one can see that the same verb *agha* ‘weeding’ has been used with different patterns of verb extensions, i.e. *-i-bhw*, *-er-w-*, and *-w-* respectively. This kind of repetition has made the sentence to have a number of verb extensions in the spoken more than in the written form.

### 7.3.1.5 Reciprocal and Causative (R+C)

Co-occurrence of reciprocal and causative (-an-+-i-) is also found in Kuria. Semantically, the co-occurrence implies causing each other to do something. Reciprocal and causative have different functions, although their functions need the same position (subject position). Reciprocal is a valence decreaser while causative is a valence increaser. This process causativises the reciprocal. That is why its meaning is to ‘cause each other to do something’.

260. *N-ko-ghenderi-a-bha-re*                      *ghu- tur-an-i-a*  
FOC-INF- continue-FV-CL2-AUX              INF-help-REC-CAUS-FV  
They continue to help each other.

261. *U-mu-subhati*              *ora*              *n-a-bha-mah-er-ey-e*  
AUG-CL1-woman              that              FOC-3SG-CL2-look-APPL- PERF-FV  
*bha-ra-kεbh-an-i-a*                      *i-nyama*  
3PL-PRES-cut-REC-CAUS-FV              AUG-CL9-meat

That woman looked at them as they caused each other to cut meat.

The examples above show that the pattern of reciprocal and causative are used almost the same in both spoken and written forms.

### 7.3.1.6 Causative and Reciprocal (C+R)

The co-occurrence of causative and reciprocal (-i- + -an-) is the re-ordering of the preceding pattern (reciprocal and causative). In Kuria, reordering of extensions is allowed, but it is not often used, since speakers mostly use one extension compared to the co-occurrence of extensions. Causative and reciprocal, as I have stated above, have different functions such that the causative introduces one argument while the reciprocal suppresses one argument. Furthermore, both of them demand the subject position. However, due to the fact that verb extension is a systematic process, the extension is affixed one after another and the preceding ones are subjected to the last extension, because it has a semantic scope over the preceding ones. Then, if the argument of certain extensions is competing for the same position, what will be seen on the surface structure is the argument of the last extension. In this case, the argument which is upgraded by reciprocal will be seen on the syntactic structure. Semantically, causative and reciprocal convey the meaning that ‘cause each other to do something’.

262. *Bha-ra-igh-i-an-a*                      *a-ma-kora*                      *a-ma-bhebhe*                      *ghano*  
 3PL-PRES-learn-CAUS-REC-FV      AUG-CL6 -action                      AUG -CL6-bad                      that  
*gha-ta-renge*                      *kare*                      *hara.*  
 CL6-NEG-be                      previous                      that

They made/caused each other to learn bad behaviour that was not there before.

263. *Yaani n-ko-angor-an-a-bha-re:*                      *wa-na-poke-z-an-a*<sup>34</sup>  
 Mean      FOC-INF-help-REC-FV-3PL-AUX                      3PL-PRESS-receive-CAUS-REC-FV

Means that, they are helping each other (Kuria); they are helping each other (Swahili).

The data also shows that there is a case of code-switching in Kuria spoken language, particularly, from Kuria to Swahili, and the derivation process follows the rules and forms of extension from the borrowed language (Swahili), like *-z-* for causative and *-an-* for reciprocal (see example (263) above). Semantically, the pattern C+R means to “cause each other to do something”. One of the principles of the reciprocal is that the object is affected by the reciprocal (i.e. reciprocal suppresses the internal argument by taking it to the subject position to have a plural subject, a double entity or coordinate NP). Therefore, to meet the reciprocal criterion, it must be an animate element or something which is in the same status and which can act upon each other during the reciprocalization process.

In (263), one can see the addition of extension in the translated version which was not in the Kuria sentence. The code-switching from Kuria to Swahili language has added one extension *-z-* causative which was not in Kuria. In the first sentence which is in Kuria language, there is one extension which is *-an-* reciprocal while the second sentence which is in the Swahili translation has two extensions *-z-an-*, causative-reciprocal. This is the one of the features which is found in the spoken language while there is nothing in the written form. The analysis in this section suggests that sometimes when causative and the reciprocal co-occur the reciprocity meaning overlaps the causative meaning. We can see that in examples 260 and 263 which is the reversed order of the reciprocal-causative.

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<sup>34</sup>A case of code-switching, the first sentence which is Kuria has one extension *-an-* while the second sentence which is in Swahili has two extensions *-z-an-*.

### 7.3.1.7 Stative and Reciprocal (S+R)

Quantitative analysis shows that a difference of 4.8% is observed between the uses of the stative and reciprocal (S+R) pattern in the two data sets (spoken and written); with the spoken data taking 1.5% leaving a whopping 6.3% to the written forms. In other words, the S+R pattern is more common in the written than in the spoken language. This pattern occurs in sentences or expressions that express certain situations or conditions. The meaning of reciprocity is overlapped by the meaning of stative, not only to be in a certain condition but also to be known. This shows that the other meaning of the stative and reciprocal extensions is ‘to be known/to be shown/been done’ that is, something in a certain situation can be seen or known to the other side. Consider examples (264) to (268) below.

264. *Eee sibhonombe hano u-ra-mah-err-e e-Ø-saro*  
 Yes but when 2SG-PRES-see-INT-FV AUG-CL9-circumcision  
*era mona e-gho-kor-ek-an-a hano o-ra-reng'an-i*  
 that how CL9-INF-do-STAT-REC-FV then 2SG-PRES-compare-FV  
*na a-bha-anto bha-ande te-bha-gho-sar-a*  
 with AUG-CL2- person CL2-other NEG-3PL-INF-circumcise-FV  
*a-bha-kari*  
 AUG-CL2-female

Yes, but if we can have a look at how the circumcision process has been done compared to other people who are not circumcising women.

In (264), there is a case of double applicative appl-appl (-er-er-) which changed to intensive extension -err- as can be seen in the example above where *u-ra-mah-err-e* means ‘keep seeing’/‘having a close look’.

265. *N-gu-itabh-ir-ain-e na a-bha-taraamu bha-kaya*  
 FOC-INF-agree-APPL-REC-FV and AUG-CL2-expert 3PL-be  
*bha-ra-bho-rok-ir-i-a eghanke ke-gho-kor-ek-an-a*  
 3PL-PRES-CL2-direct-APPL-CAUS-FV why CL7-INF-do-STAT-REC-FV  
*hano o-mo-onto a-sar-w-e mi-iriuro ke*  
 when AUG-CL1-person 3SG-circumcise-PASS-FV CL6-problem which  
*na i-chi-nyanko chi-no a-ku-nyɔɔra, e-nsera*  
 and AUG-CL10-trouble CL10-that 3SG-INF-get AUG-CL9-time  
*a-sar-w-e na ensera a-ku-nyɔɔra a-ra-y-a*  
 3SG-circumcise-PASS-FV and during 3SG-INF-get 3SG-PRES-go-FV  
*ku-ibhor-a na hano a-nyora eyende na eyende*  
 INF-bear-FV and when 3SG-get-FV other and other

It was agreed between them and with the experts. They (experts) were directing them and explaining why they are doing like that and the problems/challenges a woman faces when she undergoes circumcision at the time of delivery.

266. *Bhono e-Ø-kona e-yo ne-ra-imer-e bhorongee*  
 So AUG-CL9-corner CL10-that FOC-PRES-stand-FV straight  
*ye-ong-ok-ain-i bhono*  
 CL10-clear-STAT-REC-FV now

So now that corner has become clear.

267. *Ghayo na-a-ma-tofali gha-ko-bherek-er-w-a na ku-ghi-Swahili*  
 Those FOC-AUG-CL6-brick CL6-INF-call-APPL-PASS-FV and CL17-CL7-Swahili  
*nighobheene gha-ko-bherek-er-w-a igha ma-tofali. Ku-ghi-kuria*  
 same CL6-INF-call-APPL-PASS-FV as CL6-brick. CL17-CL7-Kuria  
*n-ii-bhi-ghotanirio bhi i-chi-ngito. Bhi-ra-ghot-an-i-a bhono*  
 FOC-AUG-CL8-button of AUG-CL10-pole CL8-PRES-hold-REC-CAUS-FV now  
*i-chi-ngito chira. Bhono chi-ra-ong-ok-an-a mona*  
 AUG-CL10-pole Then CL10-PRES-clear-STAT-REC-FV how  
*chi-ghu-tiri-bhw-a ku-y-a ighoro*  
 CL10-INF-grow-PASS-FV INF-go-FV up

Those are bricks and even in Swahili they are known as bricks. In Kuria we call them something which we connect together as building materials. They make building material connected to each other. So it can be seen clearly how they are fitted.

268. *Hata o-mo-onto o-no a-ta-ku-hir-a o-mo-ona waye*  
 And AUG-CL1-person CL1-that 3SG-NEG-INF-send-FV AUG-CL1-child his  
*sukuri n-ko-on-ek-an-a-re ko-bha-anto*  
 school FOC-INF-see-STAT-REC-3SG-AUX CL17-CL2-person  
*bhara bhi-meny-ain-i kama n-o-mo-nto ahayo tu*  
 that CL2-live-REC-FV as FOC-AUG-CL1-person there only

A person who doesn't send his/her child to school, s/he can be seen as abnormal in front of his/her neighbour.

The results show that when the stative co-occurs with a reciprocal extension, the meaning of the reciprocal (which is reciprocity action acting upon each other) is overlapped. There is no reciprocity meaning in examples (264) to (268), though when it co-occurs with other extensions the reciprocity meaning is retained. See also in the example (265) the verb *N-gu-itabh-ir-ain-e* 'agreeing to each other'.

### 7.3.1.8 Stative and Causative (S+C)

The analysis reveals that the S+C (-*uk-* +-*i-*) pattern is found only in the written form of the data. This pattern occurs in a sentence or in an expression to show that certain conditions are caused to happen or something is made to occur. Let us examine (269) below, taken from the written data.

269. *I-ki-bhunë e-ke-nënë ki-nyarubha e-nö no-gho-toor-a*  
 AUG-CL7-goal AUG-CL7-big CL7-letter CL7-this FOC-INF-put-FV  
*o-mö-öyo a-bha-kumia, banö wa-nyöörre bha-areenge*  
 AUG-CL3-heart AUG-CL2-faith those PAST-be CL2-be  
*ku-mi-iriirö na ku-nyaankö gikugira yu-bhukumia*  
 INF-CL4-problem and CL17-trouble because AUG-CL14-faith  
*bö-öbö. Bëäterö n-ko-ba-toor-a-a-re o-mö-öyö*  
 CL2-their Peter FOC-INF-CL2-put-FV-3SG-AUX AUG-CL3-heart  
*go-ko-bha-hiit-uk-i-a a-ma-ng'ana a-maiya*  
 CL3-INF-CL2-remember-STAT-CAUS-FV AUG-CL6-word AUG-good  
*i-ghoro ya Yeesu, Kresto onö u-ru-ku rö-öe*  
 AUG-about of Jesus Christ that AUG-CL11-death CL11-his  
*u-ku-riooka, na u-ku-riing-a kööe bi-ko-ba-h-a*  
 AUG-INF-rise and AUG-INF-back his CL8-INF-CL2-give-FV  
*i-ri-itëng'erö*  
 AUG-CL5-indisputable

The intention of this letter is to encourage the believers who have been tortured because of their faith. Peter is encouraging them to remember (cause to remember) that all is well with Jesus Christ whose death, resurrection and return is our trust. *Inyaruba ya mbërë ya Bëäterö* ‘The first letter of Peter’ (1996, p. 516)

The verb which takes suffixes is *hiita* ‘remember’ and after suffixation of stative *-ok-* we get *hetooka* ‘to be remembered’ and when you add causative *-i-*, then we have *hiit-uk-i-a* ‘cause to remember’ the vowel in the extension *-ok-* stative has changed to *-uk-* due to the vowel harmony brought in by causative extension in the whole process (see Charwi, 2012). This pattern does not appear in Kuria spoken data at all. This gives the impression that it is not used in spoken form although it exists and is grammatically correct. Therefore, failing to find some extensions and their co-occurrence in the Kuria spoken and written data does not mean that they do not exist in the language. It is only that it was not captured in my data. This means that some patterns are latent in the language although they are not commonly used.

The analysis shows that the co-occurrence of applicative and causative (A+C) extensions is predominant in Kuria; followed by causative and passive (C+P) and then the applicative and passive (A+P), as seen in the data in Tables 7.11 and 7.12 above.

### 7.3.2 Co-occurrence of Three Extensions

The results of the analysis show that the co-occurrence of three extensions is used more often in the spoken than in the written form. There were only five (5) instances in written form equal to 3.3% out of 155, while 96.7% were used in spoken form. The results show that Kuria is one of the Bantu languages that allow co-occurrence of three extensions. The analysis aimed at finding out patterns that are likely to be used compared to others and to see if there are any motives (reasons) beyond the patterns.

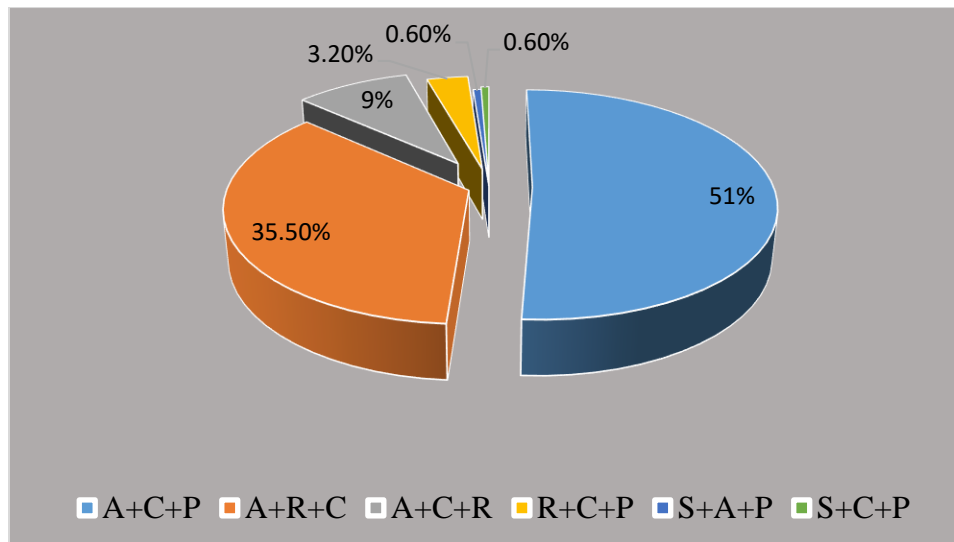
**Table 7.13: The Co-occurrence of Three Extensions in Spoken and Written Kuria**

<b>Co-occurrence of Extensions</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Spoken</b>	<b>Written</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Applicative + Causative+ Passive	A+C+P	78	1	79	51%
Applicative + Reciprocal+ Causative	A+R+C	53	2	55	35.5%
Applicative + Causative+ Reciprocal	A+C+R	14	0	14	9%
Reciprocal + Causative+ Passive	R+C+P	5	0	5	3.2%
Stative + Applicative + Passive	S+A+P	0	1	1	0.6%
Stative + Causative+ Passive	S+C+P	0	1	1	0.6%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>100%</b>

The patterns of three extensions which were found in spoken and written Kuria are shown in Table 7.13 above. After the comparison; Table 7.14 over leaf shows the distribution of the co-occurrence of three extensions in the spoken data, revealing that the applicative, causative, and passive were used in more than half of all the patterns in the co-occurrences of three extensions The Table above is graphically represented below.



**Figure 7.13: The Co-occurrence of Three Extensions in Spoken and Written Kuria**



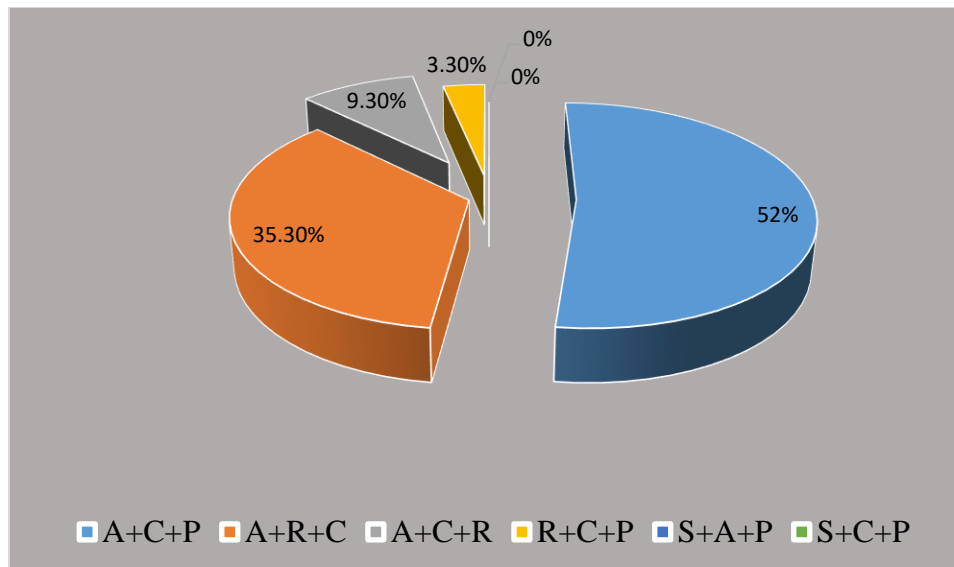
As the analysis shows, the pattern in spoken and written is not evenly distributed. Now let us turn to the distribution discrepancy of the patterns in the spoken form. The most preferred patterns used in spoken are A+C+P, followed by A+R+C. No S+A+P and S+C+P patterns were found in spoken data. Similarly, there is no A+C+R and R+C+P in the written data.

**Table 7.14: The Co-occurrence of Three Extensions in Spoken**

Co-occurrence of Extensions	Code	Spoken	Percentage
Applicative + Causative+ Passive	A+C+P	78	52%
Applicative + Reciprocal+ Causative	A+R+C	53	35.3%
Applicative + Causative+ Reciprocal	A+C+R	14	9.3%
Reciprocal + Causative+ Passive	R+C+P	5	3.3%
Stative + Applicative + Passive	S+A+P	0	0%
Stative + Causative+ Passive	S+C+P	0	0%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100%</b>

This was followed by the applicative, reciprocal and causative (A+R+C) which was used in more than one third of all the patterns. In spoken data, there was no stative, applicative and passive (S+A+P) and the pattern of stative, causative and passive (S+C+P) occurred only in the written form.

**Figure 7.14: The Co-occurrences of Three Extensions in Spoken Kuria**



The graph Figure 7.14 above shows the frequency distribution in spoken Kuria. There were variations of the uses of these extensions from one respondent to another. Some of the respondents did not use some patterns at all.

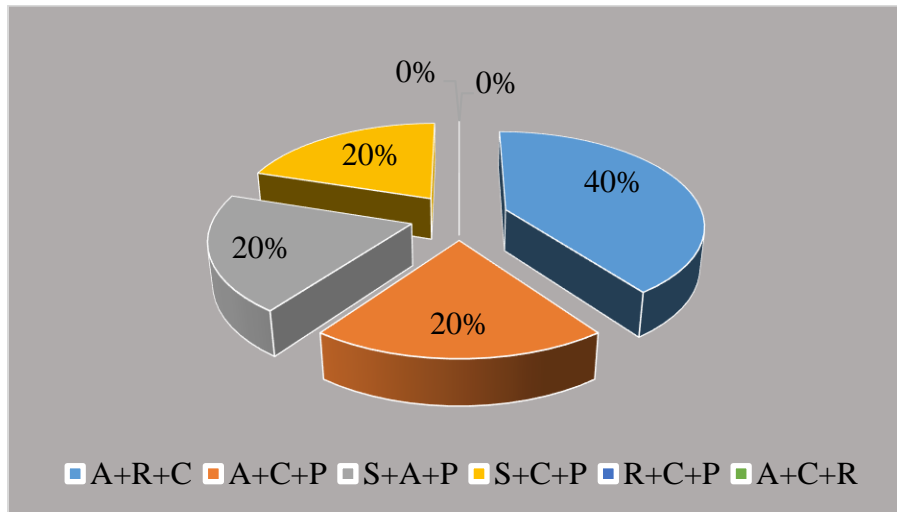
The applicative, causative and passive (A+C+P) is 52 % out of 149; applicative reciprocal causative (A+R+C) is 35.5%; applicative causative reciprocal (A+C+R) was 9.3%; while R+C+P (reciprocal causative and passive) is 3.3% out of 150. Therefore, the analysis shows that the use of A+C+P pattern is used more often than the other patterns.

**Table 7.15: The Co-occurrence of Three Extensions in Written Kuria**

Co-occurrence of Extensions	Code	Written	Percentage
Applicative + Reciprocal+ Causative	A+R+C	2	40%
Applicative + Causative+ Passive	A+C+P	1	20%
Stative + Applicative + Passive	S+A+P	1	20%
Stative + Causative+ Passive	S+C+P	1	20%
Reciprocal + Causative+ Passive	R+C+P	0	0%
Applicative + Causative+ Reciprocal	A+C+R	0	0%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100%</b>

The analysis shows that in the written form, the applicative, reciprocal and causative predominate over any other patterns as shown in the figure below.

**Figure 7.15: The Co-occurrences of Three Extensions in Written Kuria**



In the written form, there was also neither applicative, causative and reciprocal (A+C+R), nor reciprocal, causative and passive (R+C+P).

### 7.3.2.1 Applicative, Causative and Passive (A+C+P)

The most preferred pattern used in the spoken data was A+C+P, which takes more than half of all patterns (the co-occurrence of three verb extensions) identified in the (spoken and written) data. The analysis indicates that in the written form (of the data) the pattern of applicative, causative and passive was used once while it occurred about 78 times in the spoken data (see Tables 7.14 for spoken and 7.15 for written form). There is significant difference between the frequencies of (A+C+P) patterns in the written and the spoken forms. Since the results of the analysis have shown that the co-occurrence of applicative, causative and passive exists in Kuria, it would be helpful to examine the reasons that may be responsible for this. Each of the three extensions (A+C+P) has different functions; applicative and causative are both valency increasers as they tend to alter one argument each per extension to the verb to which they are suffixed, but they differ on what they introduce. The applicative introduces one argument to the set of internal argument, while the causative introduces the external argument. Syntactically, the causative introduces the subject and

at the same time affects the previous subject by changing it into the object entity of the causation process while the applicative introduces objects, direct or indirect.

The examples shown here are in the surface structures. This means that there are underlying forms or deep structures where the process of causativization of applicative takes place and in example (270), passivization was the last process that ruled out the underlying subject, semantically called agent, and raised the patient *amatofali* ‘bricks’ to the subject position. This is what we see in the syntactic structure or plane (the passive structure where the causer has been affected by the passive extension). Semantically, the pattern of applicative, causative and passive in Kuria indicates that something has been caused to happen to/for/on behalf. The following examples will suffice our illustration.

270. *A-ma-tofali*                      *gha-ra-h-err-i-bhw-a*                      *mwita*  
 AUG- CL6-bricks                      CL6-PRES-give-APPL- CAUS-PASS -FV                      Mwita  
 Bricks have been given to Mwita.
271. *A-bha-ghahachi*                      *bha-ra-orok-er-i -bhw-a*                      *na*  
 AUG-CL2-builder                      3PL-PRES-direct-APPL-CAUS-PASS- FV                      by  
*o-mw-ene*                      *i- nyumba*  
 AUG-CL1-owner                      AUG-CL9-house  
 The builders are directed by the owner of the house.
272. *O-mo-ona*                      *o-Ø-sukuri*                      *a-ghot-er-i-bhw-i*  
 AUG-CL1-child                      AUG-CL9-school                      3SG-catch-APPL-CAUS-PASS-FV  
*o-bho-kombe*                      *a-ra-agma*                      *i-Ø-spinachi*  
 AUG-CL14-hoe                      3SG-PRES-weed                      AUG-CL9-spinach  
 The pupil is made/forced/asked/instructed to hold the hoe while weeding the spinach.
273. *M-baa-ka-imukir-i*                      *i-bhi-nto*                      *bhiira*                      *bha-gha-kor-ey-e*  
 FOC-3PL-PAST-take-FV                      AUG-CL8-thing                      that                      3PL-PAST-do-APPL-FV  
*a-ma-ghanderio*                      *hata*                      *a-haghach-e*                      *i-Ø-sukuri*                      *ai*  
 AUG-CL6-development                      such                      3SG-build-FV                      AUG-CL9-school                      then  
*a-ra-imik-ir-i-bhw-a*                      *i-chi-mbiria*                      *a-ra-kor-a*  
 3SG-PRES-take-APPL-CAUS-PASS-FV                      AUG-CL10-money                      3SG-PRES-do-FV  
*a-ma-ghenderio*                      *a-imok-a*                      *a-y-a*                      *gho- tet-er-a*  
 AUG-CL6- development                      3SG-stand-FV                      3SG-go-FV                      INF-marry-APPL-FV

<i>a-bha-ghaikoro</i>		<i>bhono</i>	<i>a-koorr-a</i>	<i>o-no</i>
AUG-CL2-woman		then	3SG-do-FV	CL1-this
<i>a-rent-er-a</i>	<i>o-no</i>			
3SG-bring-APPL-FV	CL1-this			

They took all assets which could be used to bring development such as building schools so that someone could take money to him [sic]; they used to marry many wives.

274.	<i>Na Gabriel</i>	<i>nawe</i>	<i>a-ra-orok-er-i-bhw-a</i>	<i>na</i>
	And Gabriel	too	3SG-PRES-show-APPL-CAUS-PASS-FV	by
	<i>Matinde mona</i>	<i>e-ghe-tabho</i>	<i>keyo</i>	<i>ghe-ko-ghamb-a</i>
	Matinde how	AUG-CL7-book	that	CL5-INF-say-FV

Gabriel has also been shown the book by Matinde.

275.	<i>A-bha-ana</i>	<i>bhano</i>	<i>bha-Ø-sukuri</i>	<i>bha-ra-orok-er-i-bhw-a</i>
	AUG-CL2-child	these	CL2-CL9-school	3PL-PRES -show-APPL-CAUS-PASS
	<i>na u-mu-mwa-alimu</i>	<i>wabho</i>	<i>ku-ibhuruk-a</i>	<i>o-bho-nkengai</i>
	by AUG-CL1-CL1-teacher	their	INF-jump-FV	AUG-CL14-high-jump

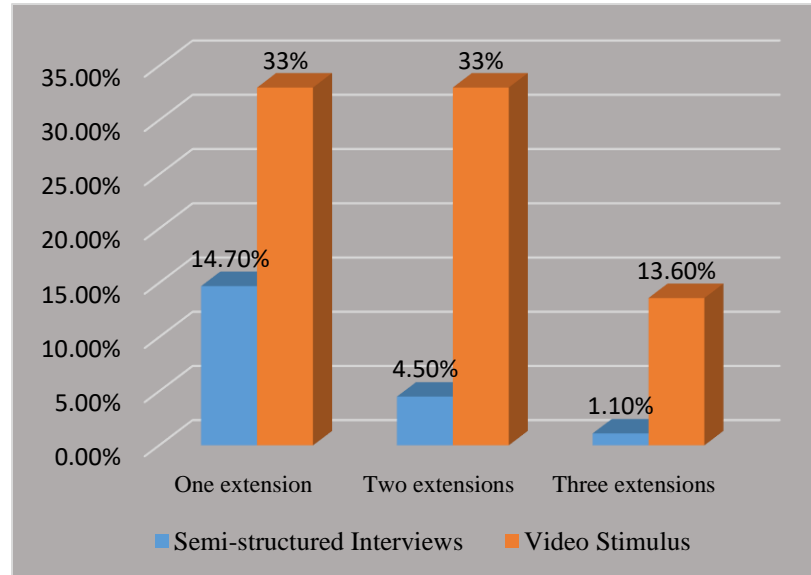
Pupils in the school have been shown how to perform the high jump.

276.	<i>A-ra-wes-a</i>	<i>ko-ng'en-ir -i-bhw-a</i>	<i>na</i>
	3SG-PRES-can-FV	15CL-deceive APPL-CAUS-PASS-FV	by
	<i>o-mo-kari</i>	<i>ora a-ang-er-e-mo</i>	
	AUG-CL1-female	that 3SG-refuse-APPL-FV-CL18	

He can be lured by that woman in order not to go away.

The results indicate that there should be something that made the results to differ to such a large extent. What I realised is that, methodology of data collection and the individual differences contributed to the discrepancy of the (A+C+P) pattern between spoken and written form in Kuria. A good example was found in one consultant F2 who used the same number of frequency in one extension and the co-occurrences of two extensions, and a bit more in three extensions in video stimulus method. It was observed that this informant used more extensions in video stimulus than with the interview method. The implication is that some speakers prefer using complex (verbs in) sentences during conversations based on their linguistic styles and individual preferences. F2 used this pattern 12 times while some informants did not use it at all. The figure below shows the distribution of verb extensions in the utterances of one of the consultant (F2) elicited through the different techniques used in the study.

**Figure 7.16 Frequency of One and Co-occurrence of Verb Extension of F2**



Another feature found in the spoken data set is the uses of double noun classes in a single noun, i.e. *u-mu-mwa-alimu*. This has been found with a number of consultants who have used the word. In that word *-mu-* and *-mw-* all are both in noun class one (CL1). It is possible in Kuria to have two noun classes in one noun but they are not supposed to belong to the same class. In my opinion, this phenomenon should be further investigated to find out the basis of some features.

### 7.3.2.2 Applicative, Reciprocal and Causative (A+R+C)

This chapter has pointed out that the co-occurrence of (A+R+C) is more than one third of the co-occurrence of three extensions compared to other patterns, but it is 15.5% less than (A+C+P) in total percentages of spoken and written. The analysis depicts that A+R+C patterns are 53 which have been found in spoken while there are only 2 patterns in written Kuria. Semantically, the pattern conveys two meanings; one, is ‘let/cause them to do something for each other’; two, is like two actions going on together/simultaneity of actions. This means that when they are doing something, at the same time they are also performing other actions for/along with/on behalf of/to someone else. In this pattern, the function of the applicative could also mean ‘to show the direction to’, depending on the nature of the verb. The function of the causative is not explicit because it is an inherent causation (a verb which by its very nature has a causation process). For instance, in example (277), there is a need/motivation which made them to direct each other on their plans.

277. *N-korok-er-an-i-a-bha-re*                      *mona*    *bha-ra-kor-e*  
 FOC-direct-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV-3PL-AUX    how    3PL-PRES-do-FV  
*a-mang'ana*                      *ghabo*                      *agha*                       $\emptyset$ -*sukuri*  
 AUG-plan/issue                      their                      for                      CL9-school

They directed themselves (each other) on how they will make their school plans.

278. *Bhono bho n-ko-h-er-an-i-a-bha-re-nge*  
 Now those FOC-INF-give-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV-3PL-AUX-CLITIC  
*u-mu-turia*                      *a-ra-h-er-i-a*                      *o-mo-haghachi,*  
 AUG-CL1-help                      3SG-PRES-give-APPL-CAUS-FV    AUG-CL1-builder,  
*o-mo-haghachi*                      *a-ra-tor-a*                      *ghu-chi-ngito*                      *ighoro*  
 AUG-CL1-builder                      3SG-PRES-put-FV                      CL17-CL10-wall                      up  
*bhono*                      *chi-kin-i-bhw-e*                      *ku-y-a*                      *ighoro*  
 now                      CL10-grow-CAUS-PASS-FV                      INF-go-FV                      up

Now they are giving to one another, the helper gives to the builder, and the builder mounts it on top of the other bricks, and in that way the wall is constructed.

279. *Hayo Gabriel a-ko-hom-er-w-a a-ma-nche*  
 That Gabriel 3SG-INF-pour-APPL-PASS-FV AUG-CL6-water  
*kwi-bhira na o-mo-ona. A-ma-nche*  
 CL17-plastic by AUG-CL1-child AUG-CL6-water  
*n-ko-hom-w-a-gha-re kwi-bhira na o-mo-ona.*  
 FOC-INF-pour-PASS-FV-CL6-AUX CL17-plastic by AUG-CL1-child  
*Gabriel a-ra-h-aa-bhw-a. Bhono ha-yo*  
 Gabriel 3SG-PRES-give-add.v-PASS-FV. Now CL16-there  
*n-ko-h-er-an-i-a-bha-re-nge a-ma-nche gha-no*  
 FOC-INF-give-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV-3PL-AUX-CLITIC AUG-CL6-water CL6-this  
*gha-renge ko-ma-bhira*  
 CL6-to be CL17-CL6-plastic

That is Gabriel who has been poured water in the plastic by the child. Water has been poured in the plastic by a child. It was given to Gabriel. So then they are giving water in the plastic to one another.

The pattern is also limited in the written form, though it is used more often in spoken form. It has also been observed that Kuria language users have the tendency to produce more complex/compound-complex sentences when they are speaking or writing, see as example (269) and (273) for written and spoken respectively. In the spoken form these sentences have a number of verbs with extensions and co-occurrences of extensions while in written form most of the verbs are used without extensions. (See section 7.4 of this study).

### 7.3.2.3 Applicative, Causative and Reciprocal (A+C+R)

Another pattern that featured in the data is (A+C+R), which is another order of the preceding pattern. The analysis here shows that the pattern of (A+C+R) has not appeared in the written form but was used in spoken Kuria. The pattern has different functions; two extensions are valence increasers (applicative and causative) while one is valence decreaser (reciprocal). Semantically, the pattern shows that the participants motivated/caused each other to do something for/to. Let us consider the examples (280) to (282) below.

280. *I-bhi-nto*                      *bhi-a-suh-a*                      *kidogho*                      *bhasi*  
AUG-CL8-thing                      CL8-PAST-reduce-FV                      little                      so  
*ngu-itabh-ir-i-an-a-to-re-nge*                      *ne-hali*  
INF-accept-APPL-CAUS-REC-FV-1PL-AUX-CLITIC                      FOC-situation

We are just accepting the situation, there is a shortage of capital (assets/resources).

281. *Hayo bhono*                      *n-ko-h-er-i-an-a-bha-re-nge*                      *u-mu-bhira*  
There now                      FOC-INF-give-APPL-CAUS-REC-FV-3PL-AUX-CLITIC                      AUG-CL3-ball  
*ko-ma-bhoko*  
CL17-CL6-hand

Then now they are giving the ball to each other on their hands.

282. *E-ke-nde*                      *ki-no*                      *n-ko-mah-a*                      *ne-ke-bhebhe*                      *ki-no*  
AUG-CL7-other                      CL7-this                      FOC-INF-see-FV                      FOC-CL7-bad                      CL7-this  
*ke-renge-ho*                      *n-a-bha-kari*                      *ko-gho-tet-a*                      *a-bha-kari*  
CL7-be-CL16                      FOC-AUG-CL2-female                      CL7-INF-marry-FV                      AUG-CL2- female  
*bha-nde.*                      *Bhono*                      *bha-ra-kor-a*                      *o-mo-kari*                      *o-ra*  
CL2-other.                      Now                      3PL-PRES-do-FV                      AUG-CL1-female                      CL1-that  
*n-ya-gho-tet-w-a*                      *a-ra-bha*                      *e-ke-mbohi*                      *ke-ya*  
FOC-3SG-INF-marry-PASS-FV                      3SG-PRES-be                      AUG-CL7-slave                      CL7-for  
*bha-sacha*                      *maana*                      *ta-ku-nyor-a*                      *a-na-mo-sacha*                      *u-mwi*                      *o-no*  
CL2-male                      mean                      NEG-INF-get-FV                      3SG-have-CL1-male                      AUG-one                      CL1-that  
*a-ghomer-e*                      *rero*                      *n-a-ra-che*                      *o-no*                      *bhi-ghen-an-e*                      *nawe*  
3SG-stable-FV                      today                      FOC-3SG-PRES-come                      CL1-this                      3PL- go-REC-FV                      together  
*n-a-ra-che*                      *o-onde*                      *icho*                      *bha-itabhi-ir-i-an-e*  
FOC-3SG-PRES-come                      AUG-other                      tomorrow                      3PL-agree-APPL-CAUS-REC-FV  
*bhonde*                      *na*                      *bhi-royi*                      *bhi-no*                      *bhi-ach-a*                      *bhi-ta-ana*  
other                      and                      CL8-disease                      CL8-this                      CL8-come-FV                      CL8-NEG-be  
*ma-riyogho*                      *n-ko-bhoh-a-to-re*                      *igha*                      *a-bha-kari*  
CL6-medicine                      FOC-INF-fiar-FV-1PL-AUX                      that                      AUG-CL2-female  
*bha-ara*                      *m-ba-ra-nyor-e*                      *i-nyako*                      *e-mbehebhe*  
CL2-that                      FOC-3PL-PRES-get-FV                      AUG-CL9-suffer                      AUG-CL9-bad



Another bad thing which I can see is women marrying other women: They turn the married woman into something to be used by men, because she has no specific man, if one sleeps with her today, tomorrow she will agree to another man; and nowadays there are a lot of transmissible diseases which cannot be cured.<sup>35</sup>

The analysis in this subsection has revealed that sometimes during the co-occurrence process, the functions/semantic meaning of some of the extensions overlap. A good example in this regard is the pattern of the applicative, causative and reciprocal, where the function/meaning of the causative overlaps as shown in, e.g. (282) above (see also Chapter Five).

#### **7.3.2.4 Reciprocal, Causative and Passive (R+C+P)**

The results show that the (R+C+P) exists in spoken Kuria. It is 3.3% in spoken form while nothing is found in the written form. The functions of reciprocal and passive are the same. While the causative introduces extra valency/argument to a verb, the reciprocal suppresses one of the internal arguments. At the same time, it introduces a plural subject or double entity for reciprocity action by combining two noun phrases as the subject for reciprocity action. The passive suppresses the subject of the active sentences and promotes the direct object to the subject position. The causative as a valence increaser also needs subject position for its new argument which is the subject of the sentence. Syntactically, reciprocal, causative and passive in processing their arguments compete for the subject position. But, due to the fact that verb extensions process is a systematic process (it is done step by step), the first to come would be the first to be introduced/to affect the argument. The second extension has a semantic scope over the first. Therefore, the core meaning of the verb and the first extension will be affected by the second extension and the third respectively. This means that what comes first would be introduced first and what comes last would be introduced last. The subject position is at first taken by reciprocal arguments (the previous NP and the co-joint NP). For the second time, it is taken by the argument of causative (the causer) and lastly, by the argument which is promoted by the passive (patient/theme). This is the one which could be seen on the syntactic structure (at the subject position) because the last extension gives us the syntactic profile or surface structure of the sentence.

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<sup>35</sup> This shows the lack of rigidity in spoken form with regard to punctuation. The sentence can go on for as long as four lines without any full stop or appropriate punctuation mark that one would find in written speech. This point has been mentioned by Halliday (1990) as explained in Chapter Two.

What is commonly shared by reciprocal and passive is the promotion of one of the internal arguments to the subject position. It is a promotion because the arguments in the sentence are arranged in hierarchical order and the argument that occupies the subject position will be the controller in the sentence as a point of reference. Semantically, in Kuria the pattern shows ‘something caused to be ... to each other’. See the examples below:

283. *Bhona i-chi-ngito<sup>36</sup> chi-ra-ghot-an-i -bhw-a na*  
 Then AUG-CL10-poles CL10-PRES-hold-REC-CAUS-PASS - FV with  
*a-ma-robha ghara u-mu-turia a-ko-mo-h-e-er-i-a*  
 AUG-CL6-soil that AUG- CL1-help 3SG- INF-CL1-give-(add.v)-APPL-CAUS-FV

Then, bricks were made to stick together to each other by that soil which he has been given by someone (the helper).

284. *Hayo ne-o-mo-sense ghora ghu-i-chagh-an-i-bhw-i na*  
 There FOC-AUG-CL3-sand that INF-CL3-mix-REC-CAUS-PASS-FV with  
*i-Ø-siminti bhono a-ra-tor-a ghu-n-chi-ngito*  
 AUG-CL9-cement then 3SG-PRES-put – FV CL10-FOC-CL10-poles

There is sand which has been mixed with cement which is then put in between the bricks.

In this subsection, the analysis has shown that extensions can also be added to a borrowed word in order to make it fit into the grammatical system of Kuria. In other words, speakers use verb extensions to modify the borrowed word so as to look similar with the other Kuria words. The word *changanya* in example (284) is the borrowed word from Swahili which means ‘mixed’. In the example, Kuria verb extension morphemes which are reciprocal, causative and passive: *ghuichagh-an-i-bhw-i* ‘have been mixed with each other by’ have been affixed. However, in some instances, the borrowed words are not modified but are used as they appear originally in the source language<sup>37</sup>. In my case, the borrowed words have been taken from Swahili language. The implication of this kind of borrowing and using extensions from the target<sup>38</sup> language is that extensions can also be used to modify borrowed words and to integrate them into the phonology and grammar of the recipient language. Therefore, apart from their functions as morphosyntactic

<sup>36</sup>*Ichingito* is something used to build or to partition the wall of Kuria traditional house (they use to call bricks as *ichingito* because they used bricks to build the wall)

<sup>37</sup> A source language is the language from which the lexical item is taken.

<sup>38</sup> A target language is the language in which the word is put into use.

operations, extensions are also used to modify the borrowed word to become similar to the language.

### 7.3.2.5 Stative Applicative and Passive (S+A+P)

The S+A+P pattern also exists only in the written form. The analysis indicates that there is only one pattern in the written form. It therefore appears that some patterns exist in one data set and not in the other. This signifies that not all patterns could be found in every form of data. The implication of this might be connected to the different situations which have been narrated in the written form (Bible). The co-occurrence of the stative with other extensions are revealed in the written and not in the spoken form. As stated previously, if a certain pattern is not used, it does not necessarily mean that it does not exist, but it is because it does not occur in that context.

285. *Baaberi u-mu-ghi o-mo-nene n-go-heet-ok-er-w-e*  
 Baaberi AUG-CL3-home AUG-CL3-big FOC-INF-remember-STAT-APPL-PASS-FV  
*na e-Nookwe*  
 by AUG-CL9-God

Baaberi is the big home which had been remembered by God. *Okohonyorroa*  
 ‘Revelation’ Rev. 15:19b (1996, p. 569)

The findings show that the pattern involving stative, applicative and passive was found in written data; semantically, it expresses that someone/something has become/to be (in a certain state) for/by.

286. *Ko-gha-yo ghoonswe Timoteo*  
 CL17-CL6-that all Timothy  
*n-ku-hiit-uk-i-bhw-a-a-re a-ghoot-e*  
 FOC-INF-remember-STAT-CAUS-PASS-FV-3SG-AUX AUG-catch-FV  
*i-ghi-tuubhanio ki-ri-menya re-Bhauro*  
 AUG-CL7-example CL7-CL5-housing of Paul  
*u-mweene- u-bhu-kumia, u-bhu-ghumiirria, o-bho-haanchi na*  
 AUG-whose- CL14-faith AUG-CL14-tolerant, AUG-CL14-love and  
*o-bho-remerria bho-oe, hamwi na u-ku-nyanka*  
 AUG-CL14-merciful CL14-his together with AUG-INF-suffer  
*ku-miiriio*  
 CL17- torture

Above all, Timothy is reminded to copy from Paul the virtues of patience, love and forgiveness despite life challenges.

The passive and stative are both valency decreaseers in that each suppresses the agent from the agentive position and raises the object to the subject position. The only difference between the two is that, while the passive needs an agent, the stative is a state of being, it does not require the agent.

The occurrence of three extensions, frequent in the spoken form, seems to be uncommon or rare in written Kuria. This shows that some people are more likely to use complex/compound-complex sentences in spoken language by using more extensions on the same verb than in written communication. This leads to sentences with a number of requirements due to the needs of those extensions in the spoken than in written where verbs are used with less extensions. The quantitative analysis reveals that only 5 patterns of three extensions are found in the written form against the 150 identified in the spoken form (see Table 7.11 in subsection 7.3.2). Furthermore, instances of four extensions attached to a single verb root are found in the spoken but not in the written form.

### 7.3.3 Co-occurrence of Four Extensions

The highest number of verb extensions which can co-occur in Kuria is four. It involves the occurrence of four extensions in one phrase, i.e. applicative, reciprocal, causative and passive. In what follows, I try to explain this pattern in greater detail.

#### 7.3.3.1 Applicative, Reciprocal, Causative and Passive (A+R+C+P)

As stated earlier, the more the extensions to a verb root, the lower the occurrence of extensions. Analysis here further confirmed this linguistic behaviour of extensions in Kuria. In my analysis of A+R+C+P pattern which involves occurrence of four verb extensions, there are only 7 instances of the use of this pattern found in the spoken form, with virtually no manifestation of the same in the written form. The A+R+C+P pattern conveys the meaning of X - has been caused together with other actions simultaneously or something has been caused to be done together with something or together with other action. Consider (287) below.

287.	<i>Te-gha-ghu-turi-a</i>	<i>hai,</i>	<i>e-Ø-saro</i>	<i>te-ghu-turi-a</i>
	NEG-CL6-INF-help-FV	NEG	AUG-CL9-circumcision	NEG-INF-help-FV
	<i>hai</i>	<i>bhono</i>	<i>kurwa</i>	<i>re-nde igha</i>
	NEG	now	from	CL5-come
	<i>u-bhu-kimwi</i>	<i>o-mo-ona</i>	<i>a-ra-wes-a</i>	<i>gho-saar-w-a</i>
	AUG-CL14-AIDS	AUG-CL1-child	3SG-PRES-can-FV	INF-circumcise-PASS-FV

*a-het-er-an-i-bhw-i*

3SG-pass-APPL-REC-CAUS-PASS-FV

They are not helping anymore, circumcision is not helping, after all there is a dangerous disease known as AIDS, a child could be circumcised and get infected.

The presence of reciprocal and causative shows the simultaneity of complex sentences in an attempt to contain two actions/activities talked about in example (287) above. This means that while other actions were taking place, there were other different actions occurring at the same time. Therefore, in the co-occurrence of four extensions on a single verb root, some of the extensions overlap. The analysis done in this study has shown that the co-occurrences of applicative, reciprocal, and causative in Kuria, create the special meanings which include the simultaneity of the actions. Furthermore, the findings show that whenever the co-occurrences of extensions involve the passive, it takes the last position (see also Schadeberg 2006, p. 78), in other words it is fixed and thus cannot take any other position in a set of extensions. Only three extensions which can be re-ordered while others (stative and passive), when they co-occur, remain fixed in first and last position respectively. The pattern of A+R+C+P is found in spoken form while being absent in written form.

The next subsection vividly presents the differences on verb extensions as used in spoken and written form of Kuria language with the analysis on the features of extended verb based on the two forms. In this chapter we witnessed the results on the verb extensions which have featured more in spoken than in written form. Let us have a look at some features which have been marked in this chapter. The extended verb behaves in different ways in these two forms of data set. The next section will incorporate the analysed data and the theory of Functional Grammar by Dik (1997).

#### **7.4 Differences of Extended Verb in Spoken and Written Kuria**

The analysis in this chapter shows that there is a difference in occurrences of verb extensions in spoken and written Kuria. The results show that 19.6% more verb extensions are used in spoken than in written Kuria. The differences are also revealed on the distribution of the uses of this phenomenon. As we have seen, the mono-morphemic extensions featured more in written than in spoken. This implies that in written form, the language is more explicit, precise and clear. On the

other hand, the co-occurrences of two and three extensions occur more in the spoken than in the written form; which makes the spoken form more complex than the written form. For instance, the analysis establishing only four extensions in spoken form, and none in written form.

In any language, meanings are encoded in the words in which the language user uses grammatical words to transfer messages. Halliday (1990, p. 92) aptly observes in which sense talking and writing are the different ways of expressing the same meaning: “Yes, in the sense that the two are alternative ‘outputs’-alternative realisations of the meaning potential of language; anything that can be said in writing can also be said in speaking, and vice versa” (Halliday, 1990, p. 92). He goes forth to insist that the two are both language; and ‘language’ is more important than either spoken language or written language (Halliday, 1989, p. 92). In this regard, I agree with the author that they are both linguistic expressions, using the same means of communication, i.e. language.

In social interactions, we use linguistic expressions in different settings to the extent that some of the features could be observed. Dik (1997) in his theory of Functional Grammar states:

Within verbal interaction, the participants avail themselves of instruments which, in a general sense of the term, we shall call *linguistic expressions*. These expressions themselves are again structured entities, i.e. they are governed by rules and principles which determine their build-up (p. 3).

In the aspect of language use, we cannot avoid discussing issues related to linguistic features basing on the grammar of a language. This is because any expression in the language uses words that are encoded in a network of expressions and also guided by specific language rules. While discussing how the extended verb behaves in spoken and written Kuria in this chapter, I noted some remarkable differences of linguistic features on the extended verb which occur in spoken but not in written form.

#### **7.4.1 Borrowed Words and Code-switching**

Borrowing and code-switching features have occurred in spoken Kuria language while none of them is found in the written form. The cases of borrowed words and code switching were prevalent in Tarime area of the four Kuria communities under study. The Kuria speaker also uses Swahili as the national language and almost all Kuria speakers speak Swahili, although not with the same

level of proficiency. This situation is attributed to bilingualism where two languages influence each other, although all are Bantu languages which have the same structure, but the languages differ in words used in spoken form either as a borrowed word or as a word resulting from code-switching. Borrowing and code-switching appeared in the language used by both genders in spoken form. My analysis reveals that there was even code-switching at the level of verbs (verb roots and the extension morphemes). Whereas some speakers used extension morphemes from the target language, others mainly used them from the source language. Available evidence suggests that borrowed words with extensions came from Swahili. The borrowed words and words used as a result of the code-switching process were not only verbs but also nouns, phrases and sentences that collocate with the extended verb structure. A few illustrations from my male respondents (M1, M4, and M6 respectively) would suffice:

288. *a-ra-ghi-imuri-a*                      *yaani*                      *a-ra-ghe-sabh-ish-a.* (M1)  
 3SG-PRES-CL9-peel-FV                      means                      3SG-PRES-CL7-clean-CAUS-FV
- She is peeling it, meaning that, she is *cleaning* it.

One of the examples of borrowed words is *safi* (clean) in example (288) which is an adjective from Swahili. Here, the user (M1) changes it to a verb by adding extension morpheme, adjective to verb derivation. In particular, the word *safi* was used as a verb with extension in Kuria; *a-ra-ghe-sabh-ish-a* ‘she is cleaning it (cause to clean/make it clean)’. The process involves phonological changes whereby labiodental voiceless fricative /f/ in Swahili changes to bilabial voiced fricative /β/ in Kuria. Whereas the agreement morpheme is derived from the target language (Kuria), the extension morpheme comes from the source language (Swahili).

289. *Tata*                      *n-a-n-tebhiri*                      *igha*                      *a-bha-mura*  
 Father                      FOC-3SG-CL1-tell-FV                      that                      AUG-CL2-youth  
*te-bha-ka-ruhus-i-bhw-i*                      *ku-nyw-a*                      *a-ma-rwa*                      *hai.* (M4)  
 NEG-3PL-PAST-permit-CAUS-PASS-FV                      INF-drink-FV                      AUG-CL6-alcohol                      NEG

My father told me that youths were not allowed to drink alcohol. In the continued illustrations, i.e. M4 in example above used a borrowed word with Kuria forms of extensions *te-bha-ka-ruhus-i-bhw-i* to mean ‘they were not allowed’. In 289, M4 used the borrowed word *ruhusu* ‘allow’ from Swahili and affixed the prefixes *te-bha-ka-* and suffixes *i-bhw-* (causativise-passive) from Kuria language. Other examples include:

290. *Yaani n-ko-angor-an-a bhare wa-na-poke-z-an-a. (M6)*  
 Mean FOC-INF-help-REC-FV they 3PL-PRESS-receive-CAUS-REC-FV  
 I mean they are helping each other (Kuria); they are helping each other. (Swahili)

291. *N-ko-bha-h-a-a-re i-chi-nguru yaani*  
 FOC-INF-CL2-give-FV-3SG-AUX AUG-CL10-force means  
*a-na-wa-ti-a moyo (M6)*  
 3SG-PRES-CL2-put-FV heart  
 He is encouraging them (both languages Kuria and Swahili).

In the last two examples, M6 used the idiomatic phrase, *Nkobhahaare ichinguru*, literally translated as ‘giving them force/energy’. This is expressed as ‘he is encouraging them’ (*yaani anawatia moyo*) but could literally be translated as ‘he is putting heart in them’ to mean that, ‘he is encouraging them’.

Myers-Scotton (2006) posits that, “when two languages are used within the same clause, theoretically both could control aspects of grammatical structure” (p. 241). She opines that code-switching “includes elements from two (or more) language varieties in the same clause, but *only one of these varieties is the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause*” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 241). In this case, Kuria is clearly a source of the morphosyntactic structure. Other examples from female speakers include,

292. *Na bhaito to-ra-bhuat-ir-i-a to-tebhi-a*  
 And us 1PL-PRES-follow-APPL-CAUS-FV 1PL-tell- FV  
*a-bha-anto igha bha-re bha-ana a-ma-ng’ana ghano*  
 AUG-CL2-person that CL2-AUX CL2-child AUG-CL6-word that  
*gha-ghu-ch-a ta<sup>39</sup>-mah-a ta-ghot-a a-ma-ng’ana*  
 CL6-INF-come IMP-see- FV IMP-catch-FV AUG-CL6-word  
*ghara to-gha-kor-e kare*  
 that 1PL-past-do-FV past  
 And we are making a follow-up, we used to tell people that, ‘you children look for the coming issues, you just do what we have been doing before’.

In the above example by F5, *Na bhaitotorabhuat-ir-i-a*, i.e. ‘we are making a follow-up to’, the word *torabhuat-ir-i-a* is borrowed from Swahili verb *fuata* (follow) with applicative and causative

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<sup>39</sup>*Ta* is used here in an imperative sentence in which the subject marker is not used. I use IMP as imperative marker.



extensions, hence *fuatilia* (make follow up). F5 modifies the verb by using Kuria extension forms for applicative and causative. The case of phonological changes is also revealed in this gendered use of language whereby phoneme [f] in Swahili is modified to [β] in Kuria. The applicability of analysis is that in the process of modifying borrowed words to fit in the target language the morphemes could function as both prefixes and suffixes.

#### 7.4.2 Adjective to Verb Derivation Feature

Another feature established in the analysis is the adjective to verb derivation, in which the borrowed word in adjective syntactic category changed to a verb, and then suffixed with the causative extension from Swahili. (See example below).

293. *a-ra-ghi-imuri-a*      *yaani*      *a-ra-ghe-sabh-ish-a*      (M1)  
 3SG-PRES-CL7-peel-FV    means      3SG-PRES-CL7-clean-CAUS-FV  
 She is peeling it, meaning that, she is *cleaning* it.

In which the root is from the adjective *safi* ‘clean’ from Swahili; (see explanation above in example (293)). M1 used prefixes to modify the word but he used the causative extension from Swahili.

#### 7.4.3 Verb Extensions in Multiple Verbs and Complex/Compound Sentences

Available data suggests that people used a number of compound and complex sentences with a number of verb extensions to the verbs in the spoken compared to the written form. For instance, in the group of males, M1, M2, M4 are among the respondents who used more verbs in single sentences and some of the verbs had extensions. See example below.

294. *O-gho-teta*                      *na*                      *gho-tet-an-a*                      *n-to-n-a*  
 AUG-INF-marry                      and                      INF-marry-REC-FV                      FOC-1PL-have-FV  
*i-chi-temo*                      *hagharehaghare*                      *cha-gho-tet-an-a*,  
 AUG-CL10-kind                      different                      CL10-INF-marry-REC-FV  
*o-gho-tet-a*                      *kora*                      *gho-kawaida*                      *n-kora*                      *o-mo- sacha*  
 AUG-CL15-marry-FV                      that                      CL15-normal                      FOC-that                      AUG-CL1-man  
*a-ku-y-a*                      *a-ghamb-er-a*                      *u-mw-iseke*                      *o- bho-kwe*  
 3SG-INF-go-FV                      3SG-speak-APPL-FV                      AUG-CL1-girl                      AUG-CL14-engagement,  
*bha-itabh-er-an-i-a*                      *a-mo-tet- a*  
 3PL-agree-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV                      3SG-CL1-marry-FV  
*na*                      *ta-ko-mo-tet-a*                      *bhuchwaigho*                      *hai*,  
 and                      NEG-INF-CL1-marry-FV                      free                      NEG

<i>n-ku-imuk-i-a-a-re</i>		<i>i-bhi-nto</i>	<i>nyore</i>	<i>ne-chi-ng'ombe,</i>
FOC-INF-take-CAUS-FV-3SG-AUX		AUG-CL8-thing	like	FOC-CL10-cow,
<i>i-chi-mburi</i>	<i>ghose</i>	<i>i-chi-mbiria</i>		<i>a-ghend -a</i>
AUG-CL10-goat	or	AUG-CL10-money		3SG-walk-FV
<i>a-h-a</i>	<i>a-bha-ibhuri</i>	<i>bhara</i>	<i>bha-u-mw-iseke</i> (M2)	
3SG-give-FV	AUG-CL2-parent	that	CL2- AUG-CL1-girl	

‘Marriage and intermarriage are divided into different behavioural manners; normal marriage is when a young man approaches a young lady (a girl) for engagement, they agree and marry, he does not marry with empty hands (for free), he has to pay something which is counted in terms of animals, i.e. cows, goats or convert them into cash to be handed to her parents.’

The example above is taken from the spoken data collected through the semi-structured interviews which focused on ‘how Kuria tradition, norms, and customs contributed to their social development’ M2 was explaining different kinds of Kuria marriages. He used a compound-complex sentence with ten (10) verbs in one sentence. A simple sentence normally has one main verb and a compound sentence two independent clauses. However, in Kuria language, data demonstrates that there are compound-complex sentences. This development can aptly be explained using the Functional Grammar (Dik, 1997b, p. 2). Dik argues that “a basic idea of FG is that a predicate (whether basic, and thus coded in the lexicon, or derived by predicate formation) is never an isolated item, but always a structure: predicates exist only as a part of *predicate frames*, which define not only the form, but also the type and the quantitative and the qualitative valency of the predicate” (Dik, 1997b, p. 2). This is further corroborated by M1 below.

295. *Hano o-mo-ona wao a-angoh-er-e gho-sar-w-a*  
 When AUG-CL1-child your 3SG-be—fast-PERF-FV CL15-circumcise-PASS-FV  
*n-ko-angoh-a-a-re gho-tet-w-a hata na-nyor-a*  
 FOC-INF-hurry-FV-3SG-AUX INF-marry-PASS-FV even FOC-get-FV  
*u-ta-n-a e-ng'ombe ya ko-rem-er-a ghose ya*  
 2SG-NEG-have-FV AUG-CL9-cow for INF-cultivate-APPL-FV or for  
*a-ma-bhere, a-ko-h-a e-ng'ombe o-kor-a ke*  
 AUG-CL6-milk, 3SG-INF-give-FV AUG-CL9-cow 2SG-do-FV what  
*gho-kam-a o-kam-er-w-a a-ma-bhere* (M1)  
 INF-milk-FV 2SG-milk-APPL-PASS-FV AUG-CL6-milk

When your daughter undergoes an early circumcision it also means that she will get married at an early age and you will be able to get cows for milk, and also oxen for cultivation.

Here, M1 is explaining the advantages that parents get from early circumcision and marriage of their daughters. This indicates that parents are happier when their daughters marry at early age. The sentence has many verbs compared to a standard sentence. See also example from respondent M4 from the same domain.

296. *Ghu-chi-ghosoryio mo-ra ya-renge kama ne-Ø-sukuri*  
 CL17-CL10-gossip CL18-that it-was like FOC-CL9-school  
*ya i-chi-sera chabo imighiro bhono*  
 of AUG-CL10-practice CL10-their rules then  
*m-ba-gha-sik-ain-i o-moghorobha ghoora*  
 FOC-3PL-PAST-meet-REC-FV AUG-evening that  
*bha-hunchuk-ir-an-i-a, bha-igh-an-i-a, a-bha-ana*  
 3PL-talk-APPL-REC-CAUS-FV 3PL-lean-REC-CAUS-FV AUG-CL2-child  
*a-bha-ke bhara bha-bhuri-a i-Ø-temo*  
 AUG-CL2-young that 3PL-ask-FV AUG-CL9-habit  
*e-no niyeke e-renge ghose ndanyo*  
 this how it-is or maybe  
*e-ghe-nto nyabhorebhe khe-richok-ey-e igha, yeki*  
 AUG-CL7-things something CL7-happen-PERF-FV that how  
*ghe-kobha? bhono a-bha-ghaaka a-bha-anto*  
 CL7-be now AUG-CL2-elder AUG-CL2-person  
*bha-koro bhara bha-ra-bha-rag-irr-i-a*  
 CL2-old that 3PL-PRES-CL2-direct-APPL-CAUS-FV  
*igha mo-kor-e igha (M4)*  
 that 2PL-do-FV that

Gossip was like their school where old and young met in the evening to brief each other on social life; this was the period when old men had time to talk to the youths about life in general, advising them on the responsibilities awaiting them in the future and ways of tackling them and on how to maintain respect for their elders.

The examples above are from female speakers among the Kuria who also used many verbs in single sentences (F1 and F4). As seen in the sentences, verbs are a mixture, both with and without extensions. See example below:

297. *O-manyer-e o-mo-ghaka ono a-anger-e to-sombor-ain-i*  
 2SG-know-FV AUG-CL1-elder this 3SG-refuse-FV 1PL-disturb-REC-FV  
*hayo iigho mbe o-manyer-e o-mo-ghaikoro ta-ana sauti*  
 there until as 2SG-know-FV AUG-CL1-woman NEG-have voice  
*hai hano wa-ya-ghotara a-gho-tebhi-a igha ta-tanor-a*  
 NEG when 2SG-CL1-mention 3SG-INF-tell-FV that IMP-leave-FV  
*o-ghende hano u-ku-y-a u-y-i te-n-en-a*

2SG-INF-go-FV            where    2SG-INF-go-FV      2SG-go-FV    NEG-1SG-have-FV  
*shida na-uwe* (F1)  
 need    with-you

You know, this man has refused; we have been disturbing each other, as you know, a woman has no voice (power of decision) when you try to mention it, he says you ‘just leave and go wherever you want, I don’t need you anymore’.

298. *Te-gha-ghu-turi-a hai e-Ø-saro te-ghu-turi-a hai*  
 NEG-CL6-INF-help-FV NEG AUG-CL9-circumcision NEG-INF-help-FV NEG  
*bhono kurwa re-ch-a i-ri-royi rende igha*  
 now there CL5- come-FV AUG-CL5-disease another that  
*u-bhu-kimwi o-mo-ona a-ra-wes-a*  
 AUG-CL14-AIDS AUG-CL1-child 3SG-PRES-can-FV  
*gho-saar-w-a a-het-er-an-i-bhw-i* (F4)  
 INF-circumcise-PASS-FV 3SG-pass-APPL-REC-CAUS-PASS-FV

They (circumcision, polygamy, etc.) are not helping anymore, circumcision is not helping, after all there is a dangerous disease known as AIDS, a child could be circumcised and get infected.

On the other hand, in written form, there are fewer compound sentences with a small number of verbs with extensions. Even among the few that are used, they have no more than one verb and without co-occurrence of extensions. See examples (299) to (302) below from the written form.

299. *Ore-wöönsoe ono a-ra-ar-ë o-mo-bhere göönë na*  
 any-one who 3SG-PRES-eat-FV AUG-CL3-body my and  
*ku-nyw-a a-ma-anyiinga gaanö oyo n-a-ra-ab-ë na*  
 INF-drink-FV AUG-CL6-blood my that FOC-3SG-PRES-be-FV with  
*o-bho-horu bo-ku-y-ee-y-o, na*  
 AUG-CL14-life CL14-INF-go-long-time-FV and  
*ni-ndi-mu-riiuk-i-a ko-bhohoru ku-ru-siko ru-mu-hikö.*  
 FOC-1SG-CL1-reincarnate-CAUS-FV CL17-life CL17-CL11-day CL11-CL3-last

Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life and I will rise on the last day. Yohana ‘John’ 6:54 (1996, p. 219)

300. *I-bhi-aakorea bhiyo mbinö mo-ra-h-aa-bhw-e na*  
 AUG-CL8-food that it 2PL-PRES-(add.v)- PASS-FV by  
*o-mö-öna wo-Mo-onto, kughira Nöökwe, Taata*  
 AUG-CL1-child AUG-CL1-man because God, Father  
*a-a-mo-toorr-a o-ro-baasö.*  
 3SG-PAST-CL1-put- FV AUG - CL11-stamp

You will be given food by the Son of Man because God the Father has stamped<sup>40</sup> him (placed his seal of approval). Yohana ‘John’ 6:27 (1996, p. 218)

301. *Yeeso* *a-ka-mo-kaan-i-a* *bokong’u*  
 Jesus 3SG-PAST-CL1-to forbid-CAUS-FV absolutely  
*a-ra-boor-a* *igha* “*U-riih-ë* *o-ta-gha-acha* *gho-tebhi-a*  
 3SG-PRES-speak-FV that 2SG-cease-FV 2SG-NEG-FUT-leave INF-tell-FV  
*mo-onto,* *niigha* *o-gëënd-ë* *u-i-yo-rok-an-i*  
 CL1-person, means 2SG-walk-FV 2SG-REF-CL1-show-REC-FV  
*ku-mu-nchama* *we-Nöökoe* *igha* *o-saabuurr-w-e*  
 CL17-CL1-rabbi AUG-CL9-God that 2SG-sanctify-PASS-FV  
*na* *u-rus-i* *e-ghe-ento,* *këëbore* *a-Maragö* *gha-Mosa*  
 and 2SG-offer-FV AUG-CL7-thing as AUG-rules CL6-Moses  
*gha-ko-bhoor-a,* *go-ko-herekiri-a* *a-bha-anto* *iga*  
 CL6-INF-say-FV CL15-INF-demonstrate-FV AUG-CL2-person that  
*o-saabuurr-w-e*”  
 2SG-sanctify-PASS-FV

Jesus absolutely forbade him by saying that, ‘you should not tell anybody about this, you just go and present yourself to the rabbi that you have been sanctified and give something to them as Moses’ rules directed, to show the people that you have been sanctified’. Ruuka ‘Luke’ 5:14 (1996, p. 139)

302. *Niigha* *a-bhë* *o-mo-haabu* *ko-bha-anto* *bhöönsoe,* *a-bhë*  
 Means 3SG-be AUG-CL1-gentle CL17-CL2-person all 3SG-be  
*u-mu-ighia* *u-mu-uya* *wiiki* *u-mu-ghumiiria,* *onö*  
 AUG-CL1-teacher AUG-CL1-good also AUG-CL1-tolerant, who  
*a-gho-taki-a* *ko-bo-haabu,* *bhaara* *bha-gho-ker-an-a*  
 3SG-INF-remind-FV CL17-CL2-gentle those 3PL-INF-to compete-REC-FV  
*nawë* *kughira* *kaanyööra* *e-Nöökoe* *a-ka-bha-h-a*  
 with him because may be AUG-God 3SG-PAST-CL2-give-FV  
*u-mu-eeya* *gho-gho-tobhor-a* *korri* *bha-many-ë*  
 AUG-CL3-chance CL3-INF reveal-FV so that 3PL-know-FV  
*o-bhohëënë.*  
 AUG-truth

This means that you should be gentle towards all people, be a good teacher and be tolerant, reminding them to be gentle towards those who compete against each other, because God gives them chances to reveal the truth.’ Timoteo ‘Timothy’ 2:24b (1996, p. 475)

<sup>40</sup> This is a direct and word for word translation from Kuria. To “stamp someone”, means to entrust them with authority, an undeniable and indelible mandate.

Analysis in this section has shown that when someone is given a chance to express him/herself without any constraints, s/he tends to use compound and complex sentences. This is evident in more examples discussed in this chapter extracted from the same domain where respondents were accorded the opportunity to share their opinion about Kuria traditions, norms and customs in relation to their social development. This could probably be attributed to the free mind; psychologically, a free mind allows for an independent opinion expressed fluently, as opposed to the one guided by rules on how to write in a systematic way. On the other hand, the video stimulus method tended to limit the respondents. They could simply explain what was going on in the video clips and not otherwise as in semi-structured interviews method. This means that they were not free to explain anything out of that medium.

The spoken language differs from the written language due to its distinctive traits. Foremost to consider is that, language is dynamic; so the spoken language immediately changes with time, context, relationship of the speakers and addressee, and the topic of discussion. All these make the sentences behave in a specific way. It is easier in spoken language to change immediately than in written form that takes time to have the new or second version of the previous documents. One of the aspects explained by Halliday on how the spoken can differ from the written form is that,

[w]riting does not incorporate all the meaning potential of speech: it leaves out the prosodic and paralinguistic contributions. There are also certain reciprocal effects: spoken language does not show sentence and paragraph boundaries, or signal the move into direct quotation. (...) it is the signals that are missing, not the features themselves (1990, p. 93).

In conclusion, the analyses prove that the complex and compound-complex sentences are used in both forms but differ in the degree of the use of extensions within the sentences. This implies that Kuria language allows the extra clause/sentences to be generated from the basic one by the predicate formation. This is explained by Dik in the theory of FG:

If a language has a system of predicate formation rules, these rules allow this set of basic properties/relations to be projected into a wider set of properties relations that can be talked about by means of predicates. The rationale of predicate formation rules is thus that they extend the set of basic properties/relations that can be designated in the language. (1997b, p. 2).

This implies that although the speakers use the language depending on a certain context, they are still guided by the language rules, because they use linguistic expressions to communicate; then, nothing can be valid outside the grammar of a certain language. This means that although language has to be explained, as it is used in the social context, we cannot avoid discussing the linguistic issues on its uses. As one can see above, borrowing and code-switching have been revealed as more recurrent in the spoken as compared to the written form.

The analyses in this chapter have shown that the use of certain extensions or patterns of co-occurrence of verb extensions is triggered by a number of factors such as the kind of verb involved. There are some verbs which are not supposed to take certain extensions due to the nature of their meaning, i.e. reciprocal extension to intransitive verbs and some of the transitive verbs such as ‘eat’ although it can be used in a pragmatic meaning. The analyses carried out in this chapter have found out that most of the verbs which have been extended are transitive verbs compared to intransitive and ditransitive verbs in both spoken and written forms.

Another factor is the context of the interaction/communication. This can be seen from the examples from spoken data set which contain a number of causative extensions unlike in the written form. This is due to the context in which the video two and three were taken and the fact that they featured more causation processes than in semi-structured interviews. In addition to that, the speaker’s/writer’s foreground or background, the information structure (of the interaction/communication) also have an impact. See examples in this chapter.

As introduced in Chapter Three section 3.3.2 on language use and gender differences in Kuria society, here I would like to argue about this point. The analysis done in this section has depicted that there is gender difference in language use between male and female. The linguistic style and individual differences in language use have been noted as the main reasons of variation in the use of verb extension in Kuria. The results show that use of verb extensions among the male group is higher than that of the female group and that variation is not constant (see Appendix No. 4. Table No. 4.13).

I would like to argue that the variation of the occurrences of verb extensions between male and female cannot be accounted for by a single factor but a combination of factors which in one way or another affect the individual use of language. I agree that there is a relationship between gender, social roles and language use. Newman et al. (2008, p. 212), in their investigation on gender differences in language come up with the argument that the way men and women use language is different due to the fact that, “language is an inherently social phenomenon and can provide insight into how men and women approach their social worlds.” This study has disclosed some insights on how men and women use language; in which the linguistic styles and individual differences of language use have been the main factors.

The results show that in Kuria society gender discrimination is also reflected in the language use between males and females as well as in social and cultural issues. These factors also affect the individual personalities and define their patterns of language use whereby men are more valued than women. Men are considered to be more powerful than women in almost everything. Women can also be used by men as they like given that they are considered powerless, as one of respondents (M2) argued (for analysis see example 259):

*(Abhakari)Bhono tebharengena haki hai, warengenghotomerwa ghekebhakuri tu egheka. Kama chombo fulani tu cha kutumika.* (Code-switching to Swahili language). (M2)

So they (women) did not have any rights, they were used like kitchen utensils.’ From Swahili ‘It was like the used tool.’

This point has also been underlined by female respondent like (F1) (see Chapter Three section 3.3.2 of this study). In that case, women have no power; their ideas cannot be recognised by men, however good and constructive they may be. They are like something in the society which exists for men and not as human beings who need respect and value. This leads to the marked differences between men and women.

In Kuria community, men are also more proud and comfortable than women. For example, they have more freedom than women. Therefore, men’s minds are nurtured by social institutions to develop and become creative while women have been affected by discrimination which has made them to be considered weak and dormant. This also leads to a feeling of inferiority complex among many women; they do not believe that they can do something independently. In one way or another,



these reasons hinder their creativity. This includes not only what they do but also what they think. This is supported by Carli, who states:

Women generally have lower status than men, as is evidenced by the findings that stereotypical feminine traits are evaluated less favourably than masculine traits ... and that women are considered to be less competent than men (1990, p. 941).

I would like to argue on this issue in two sides; one, as a socio-cultural factor which leads to the differences, and secondly, the linguistic style and individual differences. In connection to the use of verb extensions, the extensions do not come from without but rather from within the language and language is among socio-cultural aspects which can affect and be affected by communal norms.

## **7.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have attempted to explain the verb extensions and their occurrence patterns in spoken and written Kuria. The main objective was to examine the extent of verb extensions used in spoken and written Kuria. The analysis revealed that verb extensions occur in both spoken and written Kuria. However, more extensions were identified in the spoken than in the written data set. The analysis further shows that verb extensions involving a single morpheme occur more often than the co-occurrences of extensions. In other words, it is the most productive extension found in the data followed by extensions that involve two, three and four extensions respectively. Interestingly, extensions involving only one morpheme occurred more in the written communication than the spoken language. The total number of verb extensions analysed in the chapter is 4135 with 2147 extensions. This represents 31.7% out of 6762 verbs and 1988 representing 12.1% out of 16431 for the spoken and written Kuria respectively.

Among the extension patterns discussed in this chapter, the passive extension is identified as the most predominant in both the spoken and written data sets. It is followed by the applicative and the causative, which also featured a lot in the data. Passive and applicative extensions are used more in the written than in the spoken forms, while causative, reciprocal and stative are dominant in the spoken form.

Furthermore, findings from the analyses in this chapter have shown that the use of certain extensions or patterns of co-occurrence of verb extensions are a result of many factors such as the kind of verb involved, the context of the interaction/communication, the speaker's/writer's foreground or background, the information structure (of the interaction/communication), etc.

Another noticeable pattern identified in the data is the tendency of the Kuria language users to use more pronoun/pronominal than lexical arguments in their interactions/communications. In other words, although the speaker/writer may not explicitly mention the lexical arguments, syntactic pronoun or pronominals are accepted as argument of a verb in the sentences. Perhaps, this might be connected with the seeming inclination of many Kuria towards constructing simple sentences (which contain independent clauses with one or few arguments) in both speech and writing. It also appears that their (Kurian) linguistic behaviours are in line with Payne (2002, p. 170) who termed this phenomenon as “valence adjusting operations.” According to this scholar, it is these morphosyntactic operations that adjust the grammatical valence of a clause.

The analysis in the present chapter has revealed that although spoken and written forms have something in common, i.e ‘language’, they differ in the way the language is used in the two forms. The findings show that the spoken language is more flexible than the written form due to the nature of the context in which it occurs. In this regard, the use of verb extensions also depends much on the context: the topic of discussion, the purpose, and the relation among the speakers and time.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **Summary and Conclusion of the Study**

This chapter presents in summary the findings of the study and draws conclusions from them. The study set out to examine the verb extension system in spoken and written Kuria, morphosyntactically and semantically. This chapter is organized into three sections. The first is the summary of the study while the second presents the major findings. The third part draws conclusions on the basis of the findings and discussions.

#### **8.1 Summary of the Study**

The main problem which led to the present study was the question of combination, repetition and reordering of verb extensions in Kuria which had not been quite adequately researched. Similarly, where combinations and reordering of extensions are tolerated, their syntactic and semantic implications are not sufficiently accounted for. Since languages tend to differ in the way their verb extensions are organized, the examination of the aforementioned phenomena is pertinent. It is in this sense that the present study grapples with the phenomenon of verb extension in its spoken and written forms of Kuria language. The study sought to study the manner in which verb extensions are used in spoken and written forms in Kuria.

The study was conducted using four theoretical concepts, namely, Theta Theory, Projection Principle, The Syntax of Argument Structure and the Theory of Functional Grammar as a point of reference. The data were collected and analysed according to the research problem. The study adopted a mixed research approach which consists of qualitative and quantitatively analyses. Four methods of data collection namely, questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, video stimulus and written text were used.

## 8.2 Major Findings of the Study

### 8.2.1 Morphosyntactic and Semantic Effects of Reordering and Repetition of Extensions

It is evident that the order of verb extension morphemes and its effects are language-specific. For example, based on evidence from previous studies, we have different principles such as Mirror Principle by Baker (1985), Semantic Scope by Rice (2000), CARP/CARTP by Hyman (2003) that guide extension morphemes, there being no single principle which suffices to justify the order of extensions due to the fact that languages are more specific than generic.

The findings of this study have shown that the arguments of a sentence are a core syntactic structure which is projected by the final verb's argument structure representation. This means that the arguments which appear in a sentence are introduced by the argument structure of extension representations which are attached to a verb root and core argument structure of the verb. The inclusion of the new argument(s) need to follow the order of the extension morphemes that are represented. In other words, the argument introduced by the first extension tends to be the first to appear in the sentence and then the second and the third right down to the last extension. Therefore, the possibility of the reordering and repetition of extensions in a set of extensions reflects the variability of the order or the arguments in the sentence. In Kuria, verb extensions go together with the semantic re-adjustment according to what comes first and how it is affected by the next extensions. This means that the order of arguments in a sentence is organized accordingly. In Kuria, the different orders of two extensions have different meanings caused by the extensions exchanging positions. As revealed in the preceding chapters (Chapters Five and Six), the different position of extension brings different meanings, with the last extension having a higher semantic scope than the preceding ones. For example, if there is a co-occurrence of three extensions like applicative-reciprocal-causative (A+R+C) when they are affixed to the verb root (Root + A) + R) + C), then the applicative (A) will have a lower semantic scope than reciprocal (R) and causative (C) while the causative that is far from the root will have a higher semantic scope than the applicative and reciprocal. This means that the last extension which is (C) has a scope over (A) and (R); the same applies to the reversed orders like (A+C+R) and (C+R+A). From this point, one can see that the reordering of extensions brings in different meanings because the core meaning combines with the first extension for the second extension and the third.

The same scenario reveals the case of repetition of extensions when attached to the same verb root. In Kuria, one or two extensions both valency-increaser and valency-decreaser can reappear in connection to the same verb; this seems to be against the observation that “the transitivizers applicative and causative extensions, can co-occur, but neither can be repeated” by Rugemalira (1993, p. 207). The study has shown that in Kuria, when applicative co-occurs with other extensions, including causative, it can be repeated to the same verb, i.e. the applicative-reciprocal-applicative-causative-reciprocal (A+R+A+C+R) and applicative-reciprocal-applicative (A+R+A). All in all, this study points out that out of the Kuria verb extensions, namely, stative, applicative, reciprocal, causative and passive, only three extensions namely, applicative, reciprocal and causative can be moved freely to another position in the set of combination of co-occurrences. On the other hand, the stative and passive remain fixed in the first and last position respectively whenever they co-occur with other extensions. The possibility of this movement of three extensions within a combination of co-occurrences leads to re-adjustments of syntactic elements, thereby creating new meaning.

The study found out that in Kuria there are possibilities of extensions within a set of combinations to be reordered and made to recur in connection with the same verb, and this leads to different orders of the same extensions. The findings run counter to the view that the Bantu suffixes are ordered in a fixed order (CARP/CARTP) template as morphologically autonomous. This study has given and explained a number of examples and cases that prove the reverse orders in one set of extensions. Therefore, I argue that Kuria suffix morphemes are not fixed although some combinations of extensions accept the CARTP template order. My argument here is that theories and principles that tend to constrain ordering and repetitions of suffixes in some Bantu languages do not seem to apply strictly in the case of Kuria.

The findings of the study have shown that reordering and repetitions of extensions affect arguments morphosyntactically and semantically and they lead to alternation of the arguments and change in the thematic role of the argument of a verb. Then, since the argument relations of the verb change together with the word order, this results into different meanings of different orders of extensions. Because extensions have different functions, different orders also generate different meanings. Morphosyntactically, a sentence conforms to its subject in terms of agreement.

Therefore, different orders of extensions lead to the different requirements of the arguments to the verb, which has both morphosyntactic and semantic implications. Due to the fact that subject position can be taken by the core argument or processed argument, it is directly connected to the different orders of extensions because the first extension combines with the core meaning of the verb, ready to be used by the next and the last extension.

### **8.2.2 Use of Verb Extensions in Spoken and Written Kuria**

The second main objective of the study has been to address the issue of the use of verb extensions in both spoken and written forms of Kuria language. The findings of the study have revealed that although verb extensions occur in both spoken and written Kuria, more extensions are identified in spoken than in the written data set. For instance, the total number of verb extensions analysed in chapter six is 4135 with 2147 extensions which represent 31.7% out of 6762 verbs; and 1988 representing 12.1% out of 16431 verbs for the spoken and written Kuria respectively. However, the findings show that verbs involving one extension are generally the most frequently occurring in both written and spoken forms of expression.

Furthermore, the analysis reveals that extensions involving one extension morpheme featured more in written than in spoken form, i.e. 80.5% and 62.4% respectively. On the other hand, the co-occurrences of four extension morphemes take place only in spoken and none in written form. This indicates that there is a difference between the uses of extensions in spoken and written forms. This might be connected to the fact that the written form tends to be precise and more explicit (by using a number of verbs, rather than one verb which carries a number of information) than spoken language. As established by this study, the more the extensions to the verb the more complex sentences become. Similarly, the lesser the number of extension morphemes, the higher the frequency of occurrence. This means that the higher number of frequencies of one extension in written form consumes other percentages of the co-occurrences. The more extensions (co-occurrences) to a single verb the more the meanings carried by the same verb. This makes the verb to condense more actions; hence leading to complex sentences and vice versa.

The findings of the study have shown that when someone is given a chance to express him/herself, he/she tends to use compound and complex sentences. This is evident in most of the examples

discussed in Chapter Seven extracted from the same domain and collected through semi-structured interviews; where respondents were accorded opportunities to give their opinions about Kuria traditions, norms and customs in relation to their social development. This could probably be attributed to the freedom of expression. Psychologically, a free mind allows for an independent opinion expressed fluently, compared to the situation when someone is pinned down to the rules on how to write in a systematic way such as in the case of Bible translation.

Generally, the findings show that, although there are differences in the use of verb extensions in spoken and written Kuria, speakers are more likely to use single extension to the verb than co-occurrences. For instance, the total number of extensions in the spoken and written data are 4135 and there is 71% for one extension morpheme; followed by two extensions 25%; next is 3.8% for three verb extensions while four extensions are 0.2%. My argument based on this analysis is that, although the co-occurrences of extensions are present in the Kuria language, they are less used compared to extensions which involve one extension morpheme.

### **8.2.3 Prominent Extensions and Co-occurrences of Extensions in Kuria**

The analyses done in this study have revealed that the passive extension is identified as the most predominant extension in both the spoken and written data sets, with 39.4% out of 1340 (extensions involve one extension morpheme) and 56.9% out of 1601 respectively. It is followed by the applicative, which is 25% in spoken and 26.7% in written; and the causative is 23.8% in spoken and 11.6% in written out of 1340 and 1601 respectively. The passive and applicative extensions are used more in the written form than in the spoken while the causative, reciprocal and stative are dominant in the spoken form. The findings of the study show that although reciprocal and stative are regarded as productive extensions, in Kuria they are less productive compared to passive, applicative and causative. The reciprocal has occurred by 9% in spoken and 3% in written form while the stative constituted 2.8% and 1.8% out of 1340 and 1601 verb extensions in spoken and written respectively. Generally, the passive extension is the most prominent extension in Kuria followed by the applicative.

In addition to that, the co-occurrences of two extensions, the applicative + causative (A+C) are the most predominant in Kuria; it occurs in 37.8% and 50.5% out of 648 and 382 of two extensions in spoken and written Kuria respectively. This is followed by causative + passive (C+P), which are 23.7% and 16.5% in spoken and written forms respectively. The third is the applicative + passive (A+P) which is 15.9% and 13.3% in spoken and written respectively.

The co-occurrences of three extensions, the applicative + causative + passive (A+C+P) are the most prominent co-occurrences of three verb extensions in spoken Kuria. The findings show that there are 78 occurrences of (A+C+P) in spoken form while in written they appeared only once. The second is applicative + reciprocal + causative (A+R+C) which occurred 53 times in spoken and 2 times in written form. There were instances where some co-occurrences of three verb extensions occurred in one form and not in the other. For instance, the findings show that there were 14 patterns of the applicative + causative + reciprocal (A+C+R) and 5 patterns of the reciprocal + causative + passive (R+C+P) in spoken while nothing was found in written form of these patterns. On the other hand, there were occurrences of stative + applicative + passive (S+A+P) and stative + causative + passive (S+C+P) which appeared at once each in written while none in the spoken form.

Furthermore, the findings from the analysis in this study have shown that the uses of certain extensions or patterns of co-occurrence of verb extensions are a result of many factors such as the kind of verb involved, the context of interaction/communication, what the speaker/writer underlined or relegated to the background and the information structure of the interaction/communication.

### **8.3 Conclusion**

This study set out to clarify some issues which required further research such as the effects of reordering and repetition of extension morphemes in a set of combinations. The study has clarified this problem by showing the whole process of projection of argument under the projection principle. As we have seen in the analysis, verb extension is a systematic process and its effect can be seen in one step after another. Although Kuria language is a Bantu language, it has its unique aspects which differentiate it from other languages of the same group (i.e. Bantu). The second



issue was how extended verbs behave in both spoken and written Kuria. This was also among the main issues which this study established as a gap to be filled. The analysis has shown that there are differences in the use of verb extensions in spoken and in written form. The study clarifies and demonstrates how the spoken form differs from the written form. As established in this study, the more the extensions to a verb root, the more complex the sentence becomes. The lesser the number of extensions to the verb, the higher the occurrences. Finally, although many scholars identify five verb extensions (causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive and stative) as productive extensions in Kuria, the study has revealed that they are not on the same level of productivity. This is because in Kuria the passive is identified as the prominent extension followed by the applicative. This might be the case of language economy for the first place. The passive as a valency-decreaser extension tends to suppress one argument (more specifically the subject of the sentence) and topicalise the object of the active sentence. This has the impact of shortening the sentence and making it have less number of arguments compared to active sentences. The second might be that the Kuria people are more likely to be associated with the affected ones or patient position than the doer or agent.

The effect of verb extensions morphosyntactically and semantically has also been investigated in this study. The findings have shown that, although verb extensions occur at the morphological level, their impacts lead to re-adjustment of syntactic elements and extend to the semantic level. This implies that linguistic levels are connected to one another such that any changes in a lower level have effects on the next levels. A verb has a number of slots which are taken by certain morphemes in the verb structure; and all these are interconnected. For instance, we have seen how suffixes are connected to morphosyntax and semantics. Due to the fact that suffixes are morphosyntactic operations, they also affect prefixes in their processes. Hence, they need to be analysed in a morphosyntactic field, except tense markers which are connected to the morphosemantic field.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX No. 1

#### Key Terms

**Adjunct** is an optional word in a sentence which is used to add extra information without being an obligatory part of a verb. Trask (1993) refers to the term adjunct as “a category which is a modifier of a lexical head without being subcategorised for by that lexical head and which could in principle be removed without affecting well-formedness” (Trask, 1993 p. 8).

**Argument** is a syntactic element which is obligatory to a verb to complete the meaning of an expression. Syntactically, it can be marked as subject or object (direct/indirect object) which are of two kinds: external argument and internal argument. Semantically, it can be mapped as an agent, patient, location, etc. According to Trask (1993), an argument is: “A noun phrase bearing a specific grammatical or semantic relation to a verb and whose overt or implied presence is required for well-formedness in structure containing that verb” (p. 20).

**Argument Structure** is a linguistic term which specifies two pieces of information to a verb: firstly, the syntactic information which is the total number of arguments needed by a verb, and secondly, the semantic type of argument needed by a verb. As explained by Trask (1993): “The specification, for a verb or predicate, of the number and types of arguments which it requires for well-formedness” (p. 20).

**Core Argument and Processed Argument.** The core argument is the basic requirement of the core verb before undergoing any processes, i.e before suffixation (verb extension process) while the processed argument is an argument which is added to a verb under a certain operation. Pylkkanen (2002, p. 2) identifies them as true and additional arguments respectively.

**Extension** is a process of making something bigger or longer; or the part which is added (Mayor, 2012, p. 599). Therefore, **Verb extension** is a process of adding a morpheme to the verb root,

thereby creating or formulating a new word with a new meaning. This morpheme has its own requirement which I call functions or argument structure. Whenever it is used with a verb, it modifies the latter's argument structure by adding or reducing its argument by one. Although sometimes it can be silent, it can also restructure the word order in the sentence.

**External and Internal Arguments** are two classes of verb arguments. In any language, a verb is associated with a number of words (linguistically known as arguments). They can be realised as external argument if externally located or outside of a verb phrase which is normally a syntactical subject of a verb, or its semantic agent, and internally when they are within the verb phrase. As explained by Williams (2015): "When a head has both, the dependent that realises the external arguments is structurally more remote from the head than any other argument; or at least this is so in those cases that the theory treats as basic, such as simple active classes" (p. 65).

**Mirror Principle** is a theory developed by Baker (1985) which is based on morphosyntactic explanation. The theory states that: "Morphological derivation must directly reflect syntactic derivation (and vice versa)" (p. 375).

**Mirror Scope or Mirror image** is an image of something in which the right side appears on the left, and the left side appears on the right (Mayor, 2012, p. 1114). Or it is a reversive order of the first order, i.e. AB represented as a mirror scope BA.

**Mono-morphemic:** Mono means one (Mayor, 2012, p. 1129)., **morphemic/morpheme** refers to the smallest unit of meaning in a language (Mayor, 2012, p. 1135). **Single Extension** is one extension morpheme.

**Morphosyntactic parsing** is a process of analysing a sentence by dividing word forms into morphemes (segmentation), for the later purpose of matching them with their semantic representation.

**Morphosyntactic process/operation** is a process of establishing the relationship of morphemes or formal operative i.e. prefixes or suffixes and the arguments of a predicate. Hence the process



leads to a combination of two fields: morphology and syntax. It involves morphology under affixation (specifically suffixation) process which also affects the prefixes and order of the syntactic elements in the syntactic structure and this is automatically connected to a syntax field (Spencer, 1997, p. 31).

**Multiple Extensions** are suffixes used to extend the verb root. They combine together to form a certain order. It is normally found at the post root domain before the final vowel. Often, these suffixes have different functions which in one way or another affect the order and the meaning of the verb or sentence. Their processes allow for the re-adjustment of the word order and change in the meaning of the sentence.

**Reordering and Repetition:** **Reordering** is a process of formulating a reversed order or another order from the existing ones, by using the same elements. While **Repetition** is a situation in which a certain element re-appears in the same order or patterns.

**Semantic Scope** is a series of morphemes which involves the compositionality in which the first morpheme is combined with/suffixed to the root and becomes one unit for the next extensions, and the second extensions combine with that unit as a single entity to form another unit for the next, i.e.

$$(((\text{Verb root} + E_1) + E_2) + E_n).$$

**Spoken and Written Language:** Spoken is oral speech or conversation produced verbally. It is a way of communicating by word of mouth among two or a group of people. It is a form of language which requires the simultaneous presence of a speaker and listener physically or through technological mediation. On the other hand, written language is an alternative of the spoken form of communication in which the sounds are presented in orthographical or written form. The main difference between these two language forms is that while spoken language is realised through phonetic sounds the written is realised through graphemes and orthographic conventions.

**Thematic Hierarchy** refers to the ranking order of the semantic roles in a sentence. For instance, the arguments are ordered to follow their thematic hierarchy: “Agent > beneficiary > recipient/experiencer > instrument > theme/patient > location” (Wechsler, 2015, p. 59). It is based on the assumption that the syntax-semantic order can be mapped according to the way in which syntactic elements are represented semantically.

Syntactically:	Subject – indirect object – direct object
Semantically:	Agent – beneficiary – theme/patient

**Thematic Roles/Semantic Roles** are specifications or tasks required by a verb to accomplish its expression. In any natural language, the verb is associated with a number of participants (words/arguments) whose role/task depends on the verb and those arguments are related to each other in a sentence. See the inventory of semantic roles as given by Kroeger (2005, p. 54).

- Agent:** Causer or initiator of events.
- Experiencer:** Animate entity which perceives a stimulus or register, a particular mental or emotional process or state.
- Recipient:** Animate entity which receives or acquires something.
- Beneficiary:** Entity (usually animate) for whose benefit an action is performed.
- Instrument:** Inanimate entity used by an agent to perform some action.
- Theme:** Entity which undergoes a change of location or possession, or whose location is being specified.
- Patient:** Entity which is acted upon, affected, or created; or of which state or change of state is predicated.
- Stimulus:** Object of perception, cognition, or emotion; entity which is seen, heard, known, remembered, loved, hated, etc.
- Location:** Spatial references point of the event (the **source**, **goal**, and **path** roles are often considered to be sub-types of **location**).
- Source:** The origin or beginning point of a motion.
- Goal:** The destination or end-point of a motion.
- Path:** The trajectory or pathway of a motion.

Source: (Kroeger, 2005, p. 54).

**Valency** refers to an argument of a verb. Trask explains that valency refers to “[t]he number of arguments for which a particular verb subcategorises: *rain* is a valent (no arguments), *die* is monovalent (one argument), *describe* is divalent (two arguments) and *give* is trivalent (three arguments)” (1993, p. 296). Payne (2002) explains that the term valency (valence): “[c]an be thought of as a semantic notion, a syntactic notion, or a combination of the two. Semantic valence refers to the number of participants that must be “on stage” in the scene expressed by the verb” (p. 169). On the syntactic level (grammatical valence) “refers to the number of arguments present in any given clause” (Payne, 2002, p. 170).

## APPENDIX No. 2

### Questionnaire

Put a tick in a box [ ] if the sentence is correct and a cross [ ] when a sentence is incorrect in Kuria language

(Weka tiki kwenye kibanduku [ ] kama sentensi hii ni sahihi na mkasi [ ] kama sentensi hii si sahihi katika lugha ya Kikuria)

#### Part A: Single/Monomorphemic and the Co-occurrence of Two Extensions

##### (Sehemu A: Mnyumbuliko katika kauli moja na mbili)

1. *Umukungu aruheera Mokami omoona amabhere.* [ ]  
A woman gives milk to the child on behalf of Mukami.
- 2a. *Omorokiya arasomia abhaana eghetabho.* [ ]  
The teacher made the children to read the book.
- b. *Mwita araghwisia omoona* [ ]  
Mwita makes the child fall.
3. *Chacha na mokaε bhahanchana.* [ ]  
Chacha and his wife love each other.
- 4a. *Omoona akebhwa nilibhate.* [ ]  
The child was cut by the tin.
- b. *Omoona ahaabhwa ibhitabo* [ ]  
The child has given the books.
5. *Emete ghebhoneka.* [ ]  
Trees had broken.

#### The Co-occurrences of Two Extensions

##### (Mnyumbuliko katika kauli mbili)

- 1a. *Nyakorema araheria omoona o Mokami amabhere.* [ ]  
Nyakorema gives milk to the child on behalf of Mukami.
- b. *Umukungu arahiera Mokami omoona amabhere.*<sup>41</sup> [ ]  
*Umukungu aruheera Mokami omoona amabhere.* [ ]  
A woman gives milk to the child on behalf of Mukami.

---

<sup>41</sup> Sentence without translation indicates ungrammatical sentence.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

2a. *Mwita arasomiria musubhati omobho omoona.* [ ]  
Mwita made the child to study for his sister.

b. *Mwita (arasomiera) arasomera musubhati omobho eghetabho.* [ ]  
Mwita reads the book for his sister.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

3a. *Abhaibhuri bharahanchiria abhaana babho abhaachokoro.* [ ]  
Parents made the grand-children to love their children.

b. *Abhaibhuri (bharahanchiera) bharahanchera abhaana babho abhaachokoro.* [ ]  
Parents love the grand-children of their children.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

4a. *Tata arakebheria Mwita Omoona inyama.* [ ]  
Father made Mwita's son to slice meat on behalf of Mwita.

b. *Tata (arakebhiera) (arakebhera) Omoona inyama.* [ ]  
Father is slicing the meat for the child.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....  
Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....  
5a. *Umughwimi arabhuniria umukungu abhaana ichinkwi.* [ ]  
The hunter made the woman's children to split (cut) firewood for her.

b. *Umughwimi (arabhuniera) arabhunera umukungu abhaana ichinkwi.* [ ]  
The hunter splits (cuts) firewood for the children.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....  
Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....  
6a. *Mwita na Chacha bharahoocherana abhaana* [ ]  
Mwita and Chacha bring back the children on behalf of each other.

b. *Mwita na abhaana bharahoochanera ghokewansa* [ ]  
Mwita and children bring back each other to the playground.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....  
Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....  
7a. *Abhaana bharakebherana inyama.* [ ]  
Children are slicing the meat for each other.

b. *Abhaana bharakebhanera inyama.* [ ]  
Children are slicing each other because of meat.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

8a. *Mwita na Robhi bharahancherana ichitemo chabho.* [ ]  
The man and his wife love each other because of their habits.

b. *Omoonto na mkae bharahanchanera ichitemo chabho.* [ ]  
The man and his wife love each other because of their habits.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

9a. *Abhana bharakebherana inyama.* [ ]  
Children slice the meat for each other.

b. *Abhana bharakebhanera ichinyembe.* [ ]  
Children cut each other with the razor.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

10a. *Ghati na Robhi bharabhonerana ibhitumbe.* [ ]  
Ghati and Robhi are breaking chairs on behalf of each other.

b. *Ghati na Robhi bharabhunanera ibhitumbe.* [ ]  
Ghati and Robhi break chairs on behalf of each other.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

11a. *Mwita na Chacha bharahiana abhana ibhitabho.* [ ]  
Mwita and Chacha give the children books on behalf of each other.

b. *Mwita na Chacha bharahania abhana ibhitabho.* [ ]  
Mwita and Chacha give the children books on behalf of each other.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

12a. *Nyakorema na Mwita bha-hanchiana Robhi* [ ]  
Nyakorema and Mwita cause each other to love Robhi.

b. *Nyakorema ahanchania Mwita na Robhi* [ ]  
Nyakorema causes Mwita and Robhi to love each other

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

13a. *Omoonto na mkae bharahanchiana abhaibhuri bhabho.* [ ]  
The man and his wife made each other to love their parents.

b. *Omoonto na mkae bharahanchania abhaibhuri bhabho.* [ ]  
The man and his wife made their parents to love each other.



Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

14a. *Abhana bharakebhiana inyama.* [ ]  
Children made each other to slice the meat.

b. *Abhana bharakebhania inyama.* [ ]  
Children made each other to slice the meat.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

15a. *Nyangi a-ra-hoochania Mwita na abhaana* [ ]  
Nyangi caused Mwita and children to bring back each other.

b. *Nyangi na Mwita bhara hoochiana abhaana* [ ]  
Nyangi and Mwita cause each other to bring back the children.

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

16a. *Mwita ahibhwa ichinyinyi* [ ]  
Mwita was made to gather herbs.

b. *Mwita ahwia ichinyinyi.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....  
Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....  
17a. *Marwa asomibhwa eghetabho.* [ ]  
Marwa was caused to read the book.

b. *Marwa asomwia eghetabho.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....  
Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....  
18a. *Sokoro ahanchibhwi abhachokoro.* [ ]  
The Grandfather was caused to love his grandchildren.

b. *Sokoro ahanchwia abhachokoro.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....  
Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....  
19a. *Omoona akebhwhi inyama.* [ ]  
The child was caused to slice the meat.

b. *Omoona akebhwia inyama.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

20a. *Robhi abhunibhwi ichinkwi.* [ ]  
Robhi was caused to split (cut) firewood.

b. *Robhi abhunwia ichinkwi.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

21a. *Mwita na Chacha bhahaanwa.* [ ]  
Both Mwita and Chacha were given to someone.

b. *Mwita na Chacha bhahwana.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

22a. *Marwa na musubhati omobho bharasomanwa ubhuntere bha.* [ ]

b. *Marwa na musubhati omobho bharasomwana ubhuntere bha.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

23a. *Omoonto na mkae bharahanchanwa ichitemo chabho.* [ ]

b. *Omoonto na mkae bharahanchwana ichitemo chabho.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

24a. *Abhana bharakebhanwa ichinyembe.* [ ]

b. *Abhana bharakebhwana ichinyembe.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

25a. *Ibhitumbe bhiabhunanwa ibhitumbe.* [ ]

b. *Ibhitumbe bhiabhunwana ibhitumbe.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

26a. *Mwita araherwa ibhikorye kebhara.* [ ]

Mwita is given food outside.

b. *Mwita arahwera ibhikorye kebhara.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....  
Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

27a. *Omoona arasomerwa eghetabho.* [ ]  
The book was read for the child.

b. *Omoona arasomwera eghetabho.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....  
Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

28a. *Ghooko ahancherwa amaghano ghae.* [ ]  
Grandmother was loved because of her stories.

b. *Ghooko ahanchwera amaghano ghae.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....  
Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

29a. *Abhana bhakebherwa inyama.* [ ]  
Meat sliced for the children.

b. *Abhana bhakebhwerwa inyama.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

30a. *Robhi abhonerwa ibhitumbe.* [ ]  
Robhi's chairs have been broken.

b. *Robhi abhonwera ibhitumbe.* [ ]

Are there any differences in meaning between the two sentences? Yes [ ], No [ ], If yes, please explain

.....

Je kunatofauti ya kimaana kati ya sentensi hizi mbili? ndiyo [ ], hapana [ ] kama ndiyo, tafadhali elezea

.....

**Part B: The Co-occurrence of Three Extension Morphemes**  
**(Sehemu B: Mnyumburiko katika kauli tatu)**

1. *Mwita araherania omoona Abhaana umubhiira kebhora.* [ ]  
The children give Mwita's child the ball outside.
2. *Nyangi araghooterania Mokami na Mwita ichinswi* [ ]  
Nyangi is catching fish for herself and for Mokami and Mwita.
3. *Nyangi arahoocherania Mwita na Chacha abhaana* [ ]  
Nyangi brings back her children and the children of Mwita and Chacha.
4. *Omoona arakebherania Marwa na Mokami i-nyama* [ ]  
The child is slicing meat for herself and on behalf of/or for Marwa and Mokami.
5. *Mwita na Marwa bhabhekerania Nyakwabho ichimbiria.* [ ]  
Mwita and Marwa keep the money for each other and on behalf of their mother.
6. *Mokami na Nyangi bhahaaniria nyakwabho ichimbiriya.* [ ]  
On behalf of their mother, Mokami and Nyangi each gave money to someone.
7. *Nyangi arahoochaniria Mwita na abhaana gho-ke-wansa* [ ]  
Nyangi causes Mwita and children to bring back each other at the playground.
8. *Nyangi arakebhaniria Mokami na Mwita chikoni* [ ]  
Nyangi causes Mokami and Mwita to cut each other in the kitchen.
9. *Mokami na Mwita bharaghootianera eke-moori kebhora* [ ]  
Mokami and Mwita caused each other to catch the calf outside.
10. *Bhabha arahianera (arahanera) omona ichimbiria sukuli.* [ ]  
Mother is giving the money to school for the child.
11. *Marwa na omoona bha-ra-kebhanera inyama kebhora* [ ]  
Marwa and child cause each other to slice the meat outside.
12. *Mage na Tina bharaheriana ibhikone ghwitirisa.* [ ]  
Mage and Tina give each other banana through the window.
13. *Mokami na Marwa bharakebhiriana omoona inyama* [ ]  
Mokami and Marwa caused each other to slice meat for the child.

14. *Nyangi na Mokami bharaghootiriana Mwita ekemoori* [ ]  
 Nyangi and Mokami cause each other to catch the calf for/on behalf of Mwita.
15. *Mage na Tina bharahaniera (bharahanera) ibhikone ghwitirisa.* [ ]  
 Mage and Tina each give banana to someone through the window.
16. *Chacha na Marwa bhabhekaniria Mokami ibhinto.* [ ]  
 Chacha and Marwa each keep property as well as Mokami's property.
17. *Nyangi arakebh-aniria abhaana inyama.* [ ]  
 Nyangi causes the children to cut each other because of the meat.
18. *Mage na Tina bharahierana (bharaherana) ibhikone ghwitirisa.* [ ]
19. *Urusiri rokobhohanerwa Marwa na Tina* [ ]  
 The rope has been used (by Marwa and Tina) to tie each other.
20. *Inyama erakebheranwa Marwa na Mokami* [ ]  
 Meat has been slice (parallel with another action) for Marwa and Mokami.
21. *Ichinkwi chirabhoheranwa Marwa na Mokami* [ ]  
 The firewood has been tied (parallel with another action) for Marwa and Mokami



**Part C: The Co-occurrence of Four Extension Morphemes**  
**(Sehemu C: Mnyumburiko katika kauli nne)**

22. *Mokami na Mwita bhaghootaniribhwi chikoni na Nyangi* [ ]  
Mokami and Mwita have been caused to catch each other in the kitchen by Nyangi.
23. *Ichiinyinyi chikebheranibhwi Mokami na Mwita* [ ]  
Vegetables have been sliced (by Nyangi) for Mokami and Mwita

**Part D: Repetition of Extension Morphemes on the Verb**

**(Sehemu D: Ujirudiaji wa mofu za unyambulishaji katika Kitenzi)**

If you are certain that the following Kuria words are correct, explain their meanings.  
(Iwapo unafikiri kuwa maneno haya ya Kikuria yako sahihi, basi eleza maana zake).

Construct sentences in Kuria using the extended verbs below  
(Tunga sentensi za Kikuria kwa kutumia maneno yaliyonyambulishwa hapa chini).

Verb	1 <sup>st</sup> Meaning	Extensions	Extended verb	2 <sup>nd</sup> Meaning
<b>Verb root -c-</b>				
h-a	give	<b>R+A+R</b>	h-an-er-an-a	
		<b>R+A+R+A+C</b>	h-a-an-er-an-ir-i-a	
		<b>A-R-A-C-R</b>	h-e-er-an-ir-i-an-a	
<b>Verb root -cv-</b>				
se-a	grind	<b>A+R+C+R</b>	se-er-an-i-an-a	
		<b>A+R+A+C+R</b>	se-er-an-ir-i-an-a	
<b>Verb root -cvc-</b>				
kɛbh-a	cut	<b>A+R+A+C</b>	kɛbh-er-an-ir-i-a	
		<b>A+R+A+R</b>	kɛbh-er-an-ir-an-a	
		<b>A+R+A+C+R</b>	kɛbh-er-an-ir-i-an-a	
bhek-a	keep	<b>A+R+C+R</b>	bhek-er-an-i-an-a	
rem-a	cultivate	<b>R+A+R</b>	rem-an-er-an-a	
		<b>A+R+A+C+R</b>	rem-er-an-ir-i-an-a	
twen-a	reduce	<b>R+C+R</b>	twen-an-i-an-a	
		<b>C+R+C+R</b>	twen-i-an-i-an-a	
<b>Verb root -cvvc-</b>				
bhiim-a	measure	<b>R+C+R</b>	bhiim-an-i-an-a	
		<b>A+C +R+C+P</b>	bhiim-ir-i-an-i-bhw-a	
hiit-a	remember	<b>C</b>	hiit-i-a	
		<b>R</b>	hiit-an-a	
		<b>C+R</b>	hiit-i-an-a	
		<b>A+C+R</b>	hiit-ir-i-an-a	
		<b>A+C+R+C+R</b>	hiit-ir-i-an-i-an-a	

Verb root -cvcc-				
hanch-a	love/like	P	hanch-w-a	
		S	hanch-ek-a	
		A+R	hanch-er-an-a	
		R+A	hanch-an-er-a	
		R+A+C	hanch-an-ir-i-a	
		A+C+R+C+P	hanch-ir-i-an-i-bhw-a	
Verb root -cvcvc-				
terək-a	brew	C+R	terək-i-an -a	
		A+R	terək-er-an-a	
		A+R+A+C	terək-er -an-ir-i-a	
		A+R+C+P	terək-er-an-i-bhw-a	
Verb root -cvcvvcv-				
turuung'an-a	welcome	C	turuung'an-i-a	
		P	turuung'an-w-a	
		R+A+C+R	turuung'an-ir-i-an-a	
Verb root -vc-				
ibh-a	steal	A+R + C	ibh -er-an-i-a	
		A+R+C+R	ibh-er-an-i-an-a	
		R+A+R + C	ibh-an-er-an-i-a	
Verb root -vcvc-				
ighor-a	open	C+P	ighur-i-bhw-a	
		C+R	ighur-i -an-a	
		R+A+C	ighor-an-ir -i-a	
		R+A+C+R	ighor-an-ir -i-an-a	

**Demographic information (Maelezo ya kijiografia)**

1. Language (Lugha).....
2. Consultant’s name (Jina la Mdadisiwa) .....
3. Age group (Umri): Age of 30s [ ] 40s [ ] and 50s + [ ]
4. Sex (Jinsia)... Male (Mwamume) [ ] Female (Mwanamke) [ ]
5. Place of birth (Mahali alipozaliwa) District (Wilaya).....  
Ward (Kata) ..... Village (Kijiji).....
  
6. The Place where s/he grew up (Mahali alipokulia)  
District (Wilaya) .....  
Ward (Kata) .....  
Village (Kijiji) .....
  
1. His/her father’s language (Lugha ya baba yake).....
2. His/her mother’s language (Lugha ya mama yake).....
3. Place of Interview: District (Wilaya).....  
Ward (Kata)..... Village (Kijiji) .....
4. Remarks (Maoni juu ya dodoso na ufanisi wake kwa ujumla)  
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### APPENDIX No. 3

#### Results from Spoken and Written Data

**Table 1: Kuria Spoken data**

Extensions	Male						Female						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	
C	31	60	20	39	21	52	23	9	10	22	18	14	318
A	24	94	25	45	17	29	28	8	29	22	2	12	335
R	7	15	4	37	6	12	8	6	4	7	2	13	121
P	18	69	62	102	36	67	34	19	31	53	12	25	528
S	2	3	2	2	0	7	12	0	5	0	1	3	37
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>1340</b>
C+P	4	22	8	57	5	23	9	6	5	10	0	5	154
A+R	1	22	0	24	1	5	3	0	5	19	2	2	84
A+P	4	15	16	14	9	16	4	3	11	7	0	3	102
A+C	20	24	9	37	13	45	19	23	8	26	15	6	245
R+C		4	1	17	2	10	4	1	2	6	0	2	49
S+R		2	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10
C+R		1		1		1							3
R+P				1									1
C+A													0
S+C													0
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>648</b>
A+C+P	0	4	1	26	1	6	1	12	0	21	5	1	78
A+R+C	1	10	0	18	2	7	4	1	2	6	0	3	54
A+C+R	0	2	5	3	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	16
R+C+P	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
S+A+P	0	0	0	0	0	0							0
S+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0							0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>153</b>
A+R+C+P	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>432</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>2147</b>

**Table 2: Bible: Data from the Bible (Kuria - New Testament)**

Extensions	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Th1	Th2	T1	T2	P	Jn	Jude	Rv	Total
C	48	38	46	24	1	1	2	2	6	1	0	17	186
A	106	54	87	75	18	6	19	8	18	12	4	20	427
R	12	2	6	2	9	3	2	2	7	3	0	0	48
P	144	88	124	144	18	18	54	22	97	23	16	163	911
S	4	1	8	4	2	1		5	1	0	0	3	29
<b>Total</b>	<b>314</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>1601</b>
C+P	4	7	14	9	0	2	3	0	8	1	0	15	63
A+R	2	7	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	14
A+P	0	2	8	10	1	1	2	3	5	1	2	16	51
A+C	52	26	18	80	0	2	3	4	2	2	0	3	192
R+C	6	4	10	8	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	2	34
S+R	6	1	3	1	1	3	5	1	2	0	0	1	24
C+R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C+A	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
S+C	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>382</b>
A+C+P	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
A+R+C	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
A+C+R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
S+A+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
S+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>
A+R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>386</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>327</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>1988</b>

- 1 The Gospel according to Matthew (Mt)
- 2 The Gospel according to Mark (Mk)
- 3 The Gospel according to Luke (Lk)
- 4 The Gospel according to John (Jn)
- 5 Thessalonians 1 (Th1)
- 6 Thessalonians 2 (Th2)
- 7 Timothy 1 (T1)
- 8 Timothy 2 (T2)
- 9 Peter (P 1 &2)
- 10 John (Jn 1 &2 & 3)
- 11 Jude (Jude)
- 12 The Revelation to John (Rv)

**APPENDIX No. 4**

**SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS AND VIDEO STIMULUS RESULTS  
FROM TWELVE RESPONDENTS (Spoken Data)**

**Group 'A' (Aged 30s)  
App. No. 4.1          M1**

**Table 4.1.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus**

Extensions	Semi-struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus				Total No. of Extensions Interv. & Video
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Total	
C	4	16	7	4	27	31
A	9	8	7	0	15	24
R	3	0	2	2	4	7
P	8	4	6	0	10	18
S	1	1	0	0	1	2
C+P	0	3	1	0	4	4
A+R	1	0	0	0	0	1
A+P	0	0	4	0	4	4
A+C	0	7	13	0	20	20
R+C	0	0	0	0	0	0
S+R	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+R+C	1	0	0	0	0	1
A+C+R	0	0	0	0	0	0
R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>112</b>

**Table 4.1.2 Total number of Extensions in different levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
C	4	27	31	27.7
A	9	15	24	21.4
R	3	4	7	6.2
P	8	10	18	16
S	1	1	2	1.8
<b>One extension</b>	<b>25 = 23.3%</b>	<b>57 = 50.9%</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>73.2</b>
C+P	0	4	4	3.6
A+R	1	0	1	0.9
A+P	0	4	4	3.6
A+C	0	20	20	17.9
R+C	0	0	0	0
S+R	0	0	0	0
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>1 = 0.9%</b>	<b>28 = 25%</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>25.9</b>
A+C+P	0	0	0	0
A+R+C	1	0	1	1
A+C+R	0	0	0	0
R+C+P	0	0	0	0
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>1 = 0.9%</b>	<b>0 = 0%</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0.9</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>27 = 24%</b>	<b>85 = 76%</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100%</b>



**Table 4.1.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**

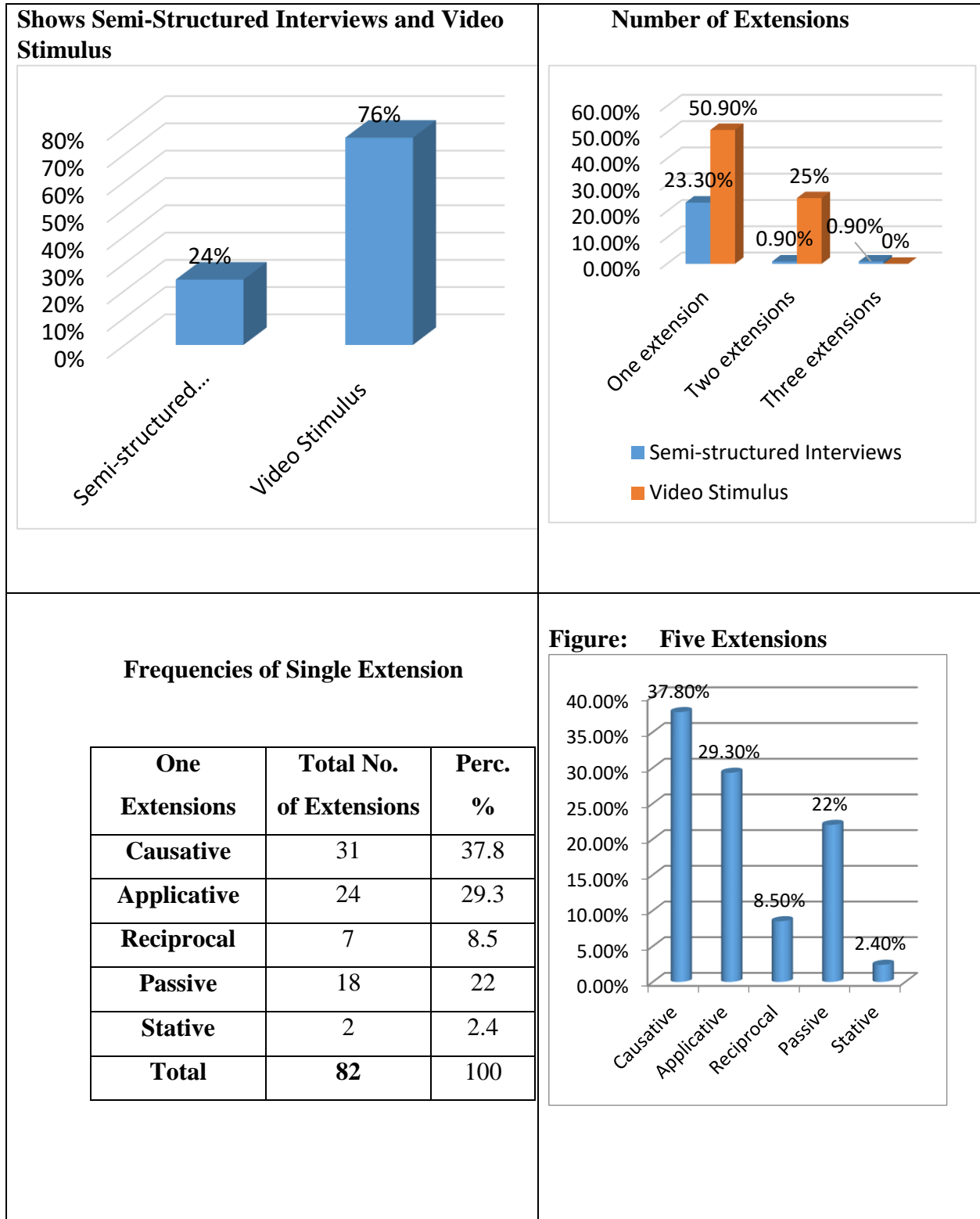


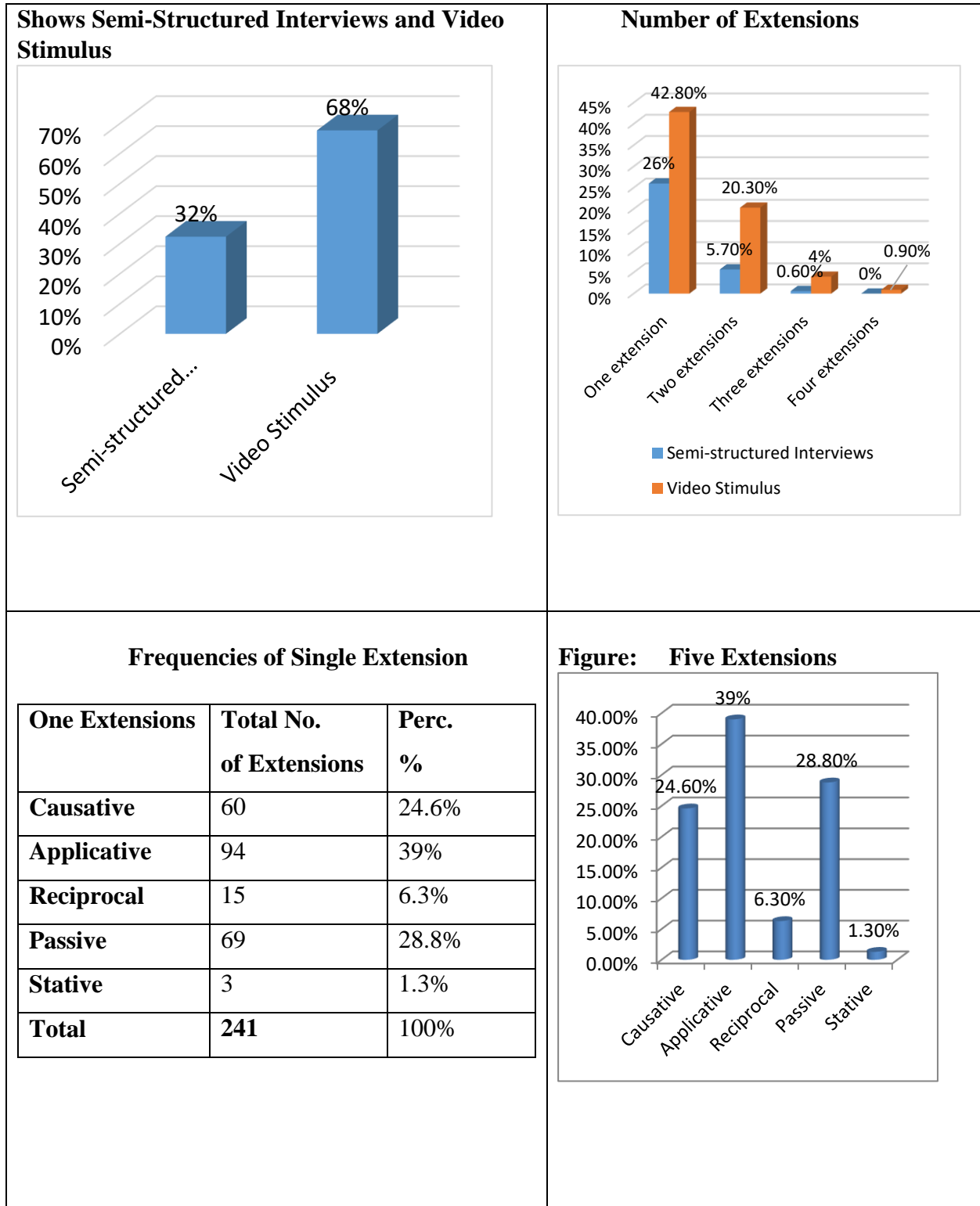
Table 4.2.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus

Extensions	Semi-struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus				Total No. of Extensions Interv. & Video
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Total	
C	16	13	31	0	44	60
A	28	16	39	11	66	94
R	12	0	3	0	3	15
P	32	19	17	1	37	69
S	3	0	0	0	0	3
C+P	6	3	13	0	16	22
A+R	2	1	17	2	20	22
A+P	7	1	5	2	8	15
A+C	3	4	13	4	21	24
R+C	0	0	3	1	4	4
S+R	2	0	0	0	0	2
C+R	0	1	0	0	1	1
R+P	0	0	0	0	0	0
C+A	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+C+P	0	0	4	0	4	4
A+R+C	1	8	1	0	9	10
A+C+R	1	0	0	1	1	2
R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+R+C+P	0	1	2	0	3	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>350</b>

**Table 4.2.2 Total Number of Extensions in Different Levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
<b>C</b>	16	44	60	17.1
<b>A</b>	28	66	94	26.9
<b>R</b>	12	3	15	4.3
<b>P</b>	32	37	69	19.7
<b>S</b>	3	0	3	0.9
<b>One extension</b>	<b>91 = 26%</b>	<b>150 = 42.8%</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>68.8</b>
<b>C+P</b>	6	16	22	6.3
<b>A+R</b>	2	20	22	6.3
<b>A+P</b>	7	8	15	4.3
<b>A+C</b>	3	21	24	6.7
<b>R+C</b>	0	4	4	1.1
<b>S+R</b>	2	0	2	0.6
<b>C+R</b>	0	1	1	0.3
<b>R+P</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>C+A</b>	0	1	1	0.3
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>20 = 5.7%</b>	<b>71 = 20.3%</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>25.9</b>
<b>A+C+P</b>	0	4	4	1.1
<b>A+R+C</b>	1	9	10	2.9
<b>A+C+R</b>	1	1	2	0.6
<b>R+C+P</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>2 = 0.6%</b>	<b>14 = 4%</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4.6</b>
<b>A+R+C+P</b>	0	3	3	0.9
<b>Four extensions</b>	<b>0 = 0%</b>	<b>3 = 0.9%</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0.9</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>113 = 32.3%</b>	<b>237 = 67.7%</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.2.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**



**App. No.4.3 F1**

**Table 4.3.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>				<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>
		<b>Video 1</b>	<b>Video 2</b>	<b>Video 3</b>	<b>Total</b>	
<b>C</b>	4	10	9	0	19	23
<b>A</b>	11	5	6	6	17	28
<b>R</b>	1	0	6	1	7	8
<b>P</b>	17	4	9	4	17	34
<b>S</b>	0	3	9	0	12	12
<b>C+P</b>	3	3	3	0	6	9
<b>A+R</b>	1	0	2	0	2	3
<b>A+P</b>	1	0	3	0	3	4
<b>A+C</b>	1	6	7	5	18	19
<b>R+C</b>	0	1	3	0	4	4
<b>S+R</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>A+C+P</b>	0	1	0	0	1	1
<b>A+R+C</b>	0	0	4	0	4	4
<b>A+C+R</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>R+C+P</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>149</b>

**Table 4.3.2 Total Number of Extensions in Different Levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
<b>C</b>	4	19	23	15.4
<b>A</b>	11	17	28	18.8
<b>R</b>	1	7	8	5.4
<b>P</b>	17	17	34	22.8
<b>S</b>	0	12	12	8
<b>One extension</b>	<b>33 = 22.1%</b>	<b>72 = 48.3%</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>70.4</b>
<b>C+P</b>	3	6	9	6
<b>A+R</b>	1	2	3	2
<b>A+P</b>	1	3	4	2.7
<b>A+C</b>	1	18	19	12.8
<b>R+C</b>	0	4	4	2.7
<b>S+R</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>6 = 4%</b>	<b>33 = 22.1%</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>26.2</b>
<b>A+C+P</b>	0	1	1	0.7
<b>A+R+C</b>	0	4	4	2.7
<b>A+C+R</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>R+C+P</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>0 = 0%</b>	<b>5 = 3.4%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3.4</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>39 = 26%</b>	<b>110 = 74%</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 4.3.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**

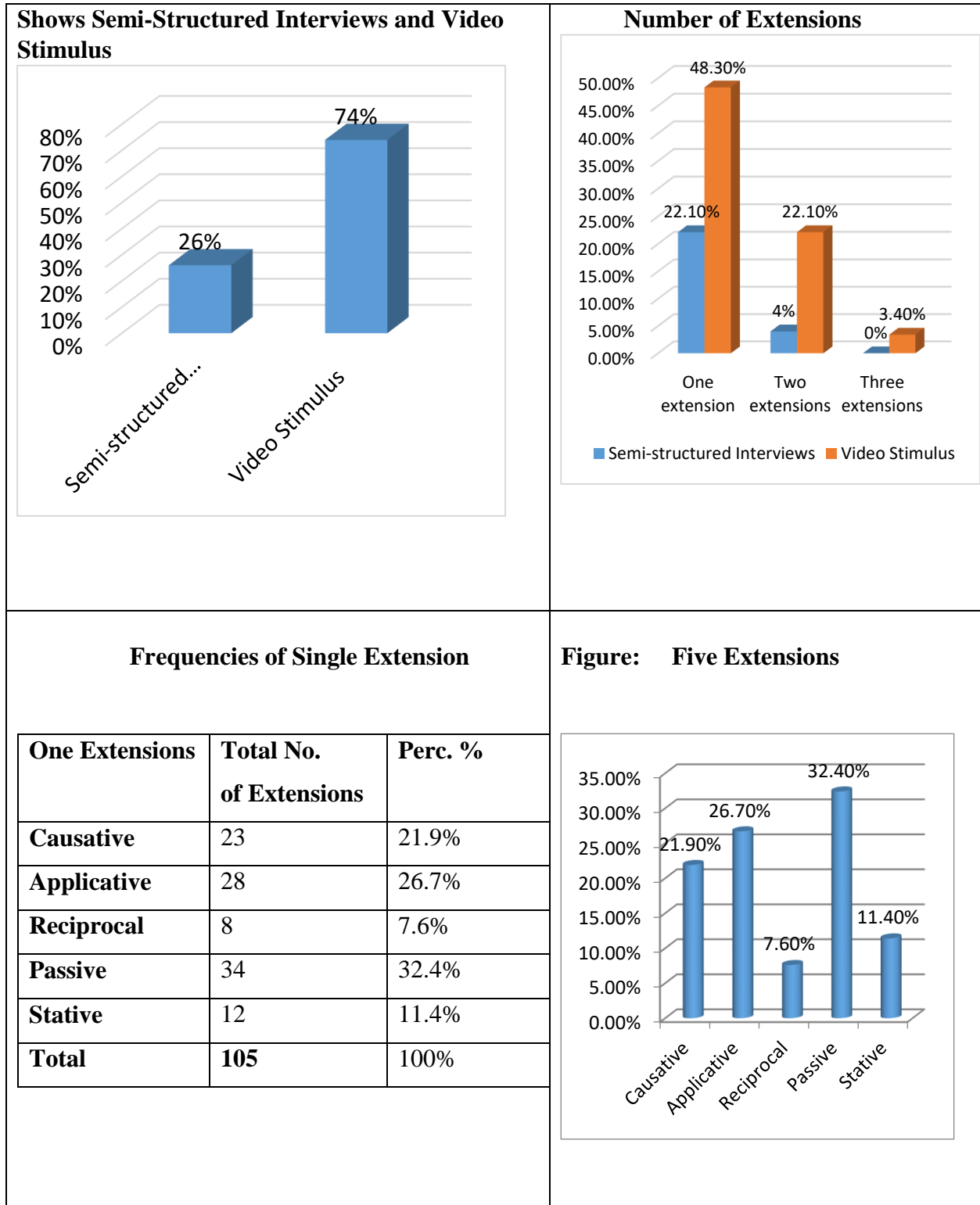


Table 4.4.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus

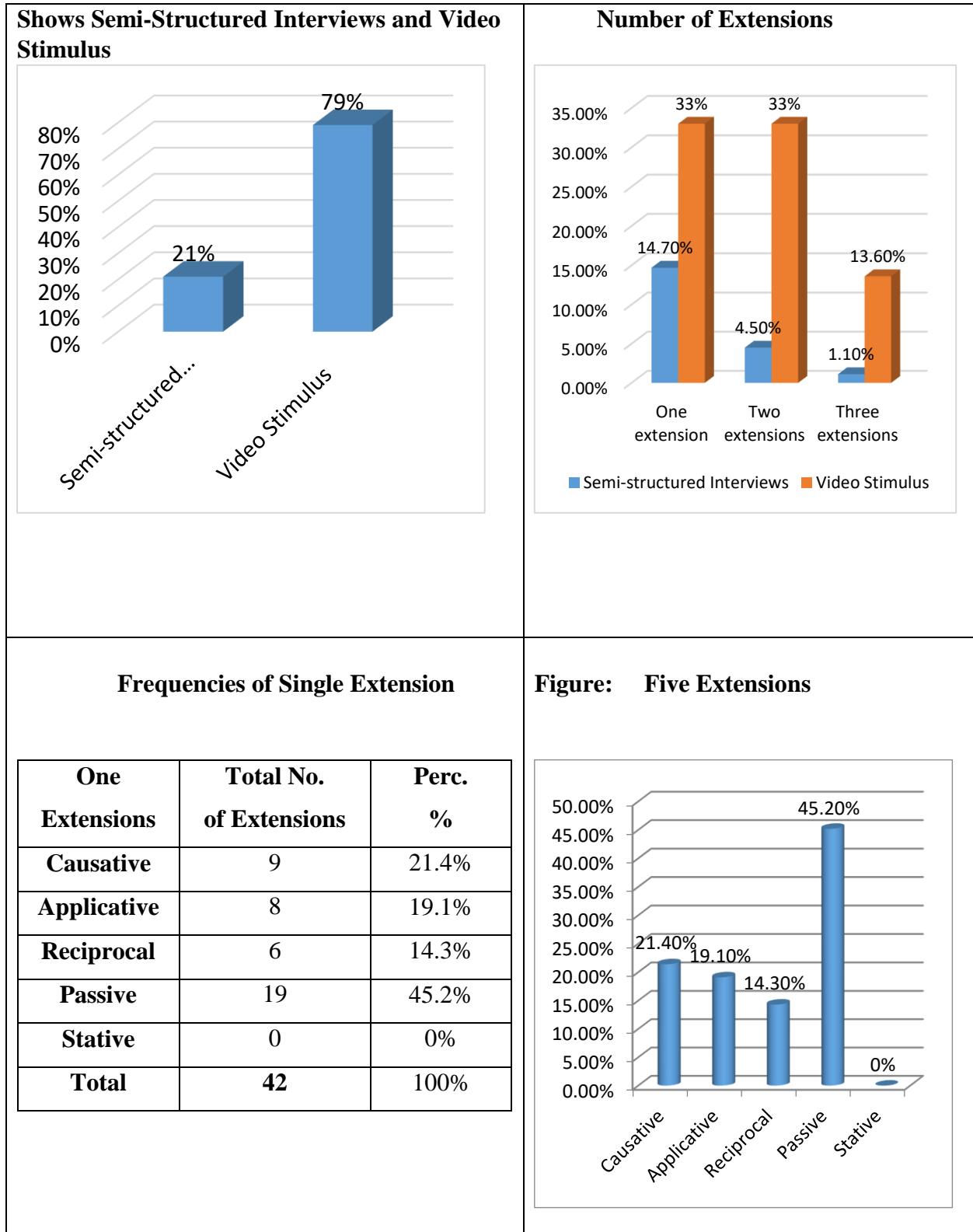
Extensions	Semi-struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus				Total No. of Extensions Interv. & Video
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Total	
C	0	8	1	0	9	9
A	3	0	5	0	5	8
R	2	0	4	0	4	6
P	8	1	6	4	11	19
S	0	0	0	0	0	0
C+P	1	4	1	0	5	6
A+R	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+P	2	0	1	0	1	3
A+C	1	2	12	8	22	23
R+C	0	0	0	1	1	1
S+R	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+C+P	1	2	4	5	11	12
A+R+C	0	1	0	0	1	1
A+C+R	0	0	0	0	0	0
R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>88</b>



**Table 4.4.2 Total Number of Extensions in Different Levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
C	0	9	9	10.2
A	3	5	8	9
R	2	4	6	7
P	8	11	19	21.5
S	0	0	0	0
<b>One extension</b>	<b>13 = 14.7%</b>	<b>29 = 33%</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>47.7</b>
C+P	1	5	6	7
A+R	0	0	0	0
A+P	2	1	3	3.4
A+C	1	22	23	26
R+C	0	1	1	1.1
S+R	0	0	0	0
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>4 = 4.5%</b>	<b>29 = 33%</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>37.5</b>
A+C+P	1	11	12	13.6
A+R+C	0	1	1	1.1
A+C+R	0	0	0	0
R+C+P	0	0	0	0
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>1 = 1.1%</b>	<b>12 = 13.6%</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14.7</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18 = 21%</b>	<b>70 = 79%</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.4.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**



**App. No. 4.            Group 'B' (Aged 40s)**  
**App. No. 4.5            M3**

**Table 4.5.1   Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus**

Extension s	Semi- struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus				Total No. of Extensions Interv & Video
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Total	
C	1	12	7	0	19	20
A	4	9	9	3	21	25
R	0	1	3	0	4	4
P	38	9	12	3	24	62
S	0	2	0	0	2	2
C+P	0	7	1	0	8	8
A+R	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+P	5	1	8	2	11	16
A+C	1	1	2	5	8	9
R+C	0	0	1	0	1	1
S+R	3	0	0	0	0	3
A+C+P	0	0	1	0	1	1
A+R+C	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+C+R	0	0	1	4	5	5
R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>156</b>

**Table 4.5.2: Total number of Extensions in different levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
C	1	19	20	13
A	4	21	25	16
R	0	4	4	2.6
P	38	24	62	39.7
S	0	2	2	1.3
<b>One extension</b>	<b>43 = 27.6%</b>	<b>70 = 45%</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>72.6</b>
C+P	0	8	8	5.1
A+R	0	0	0	0
A+P	5	11	16	10
A+C	1	8	9	6
R+C	0	1	1	0.6
S+R	3	0	3	2
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>9 = 5.8%</b>	<b>28 = 17.9%</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>23.7</b>
A+C+P	0	1	1	0.6
A+R+C	0	0	0	0
A+C+R	0	5	5	3.2
R+C+P	0	0	0	0
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>0 = 0%</b>	<b>6 = 3.8%</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3.8</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>52 = 33.3%</b>	<b>104 = 66.7%</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.5.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**

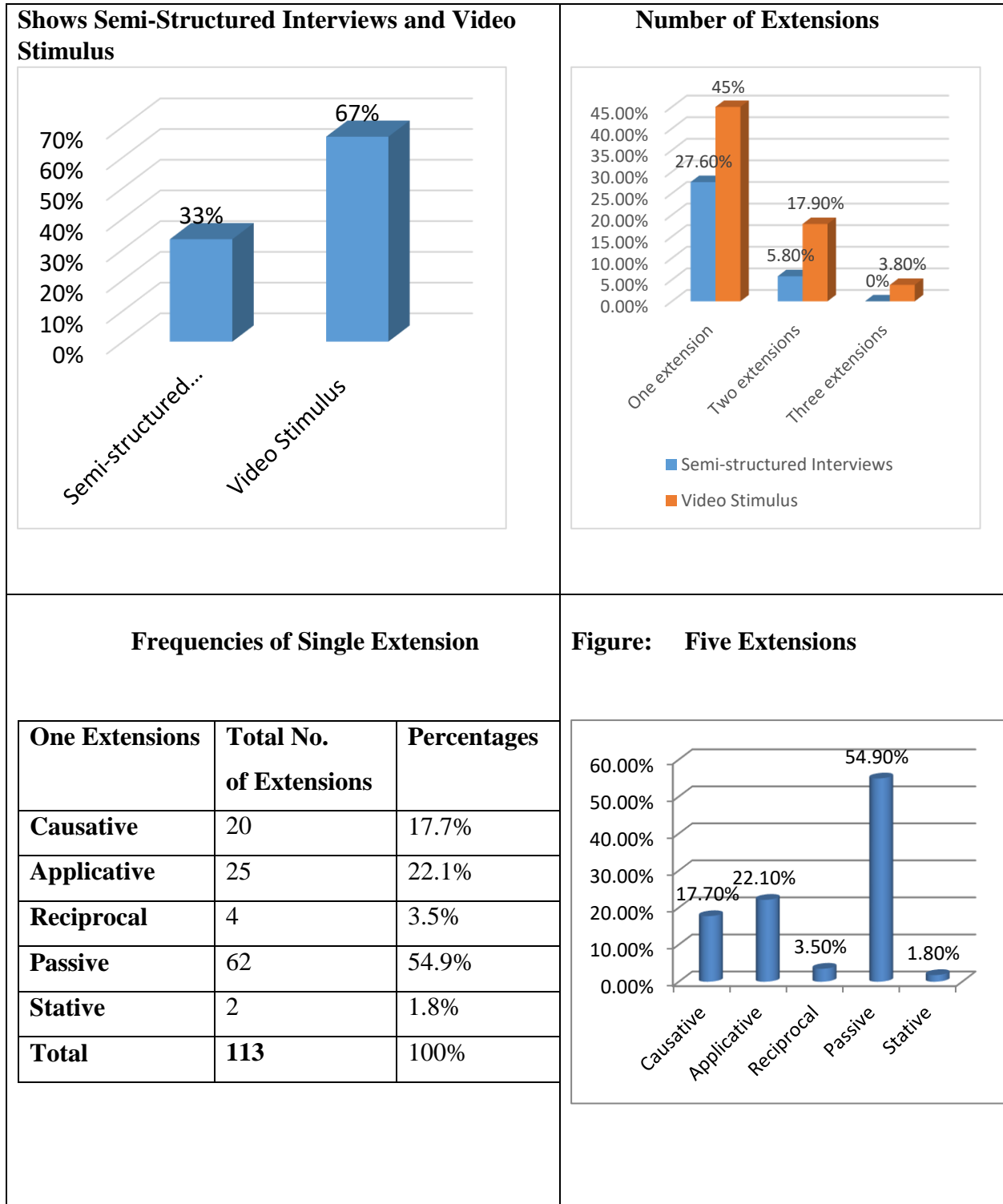


Table 4.6.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus

Extensions	Semi-struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus				Total No. of Extensions Interv. & Video
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Total	
C	9	7	20	3	30	39
A	11	11	12	11	34	45
R	19	3	15	0	18	37
P	35	20	39	8	67	102
S	0	2	0	0	2	2
C+P	12	21	23	1	45	57
A+R	4	0	15	5	20	24
A+P	2	2	4	6	12	14
A+C	10	10	15	2	27	37
R+C	3	2	10	2	14	17
S+R	1	2	0	0	2	3
C+R	1	0	0	0	0	1
R+P	0	0	1	0	1	1
A+C+P	3	6	14	3	23	26
A+R+C	1	5	11	1	17	18
A+C+R	2	0	1	0	1	3
R+C+P	0	3	1	0	4	4
A+R+C+P	0	0	2	0	2	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>319</b>	<b>432</b>

**Table 4.6.2 Total number of Extensions in different levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
C	9	30	39	9
A	11	34	45	10.4
R	19	18	37	8.6
P	35	67	102	23.6
S	0	2	2	0.5
<b>One extension</b>	<b>74 = 17.12%</b>	<b>151 = 35%</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>52.1</b>
C+P	12	45	57	13.2
A+R	4	20	24	5.6
A+P	2	12	14	3.2
A+C	10	27	37	8.5
R+C	3	14	17	4
S+R	1	2	3	0.7
C+R	1	0	1	0.25
R+P	0	1	1	0.25
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>33 = 8%</b>	<b>121 = 28%</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>35.7</b>
A+C+P	3	23	26	6
A+R+C	1	17	18	4
A+C+R	2	1	3	0.7
R+C+P	0	4	4	1
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>6 = 1.3%</b>	<b>45 = 10%</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>11.7</b>
A+R+C+P	0	2	2	0.5
<b>Four extensions</b>	<b>0 = 0%</b>	<b>2 = 0.5%</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0.5</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>113 = 26%</b>	<b>319 = 74%</b>	<b>432</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.6.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**

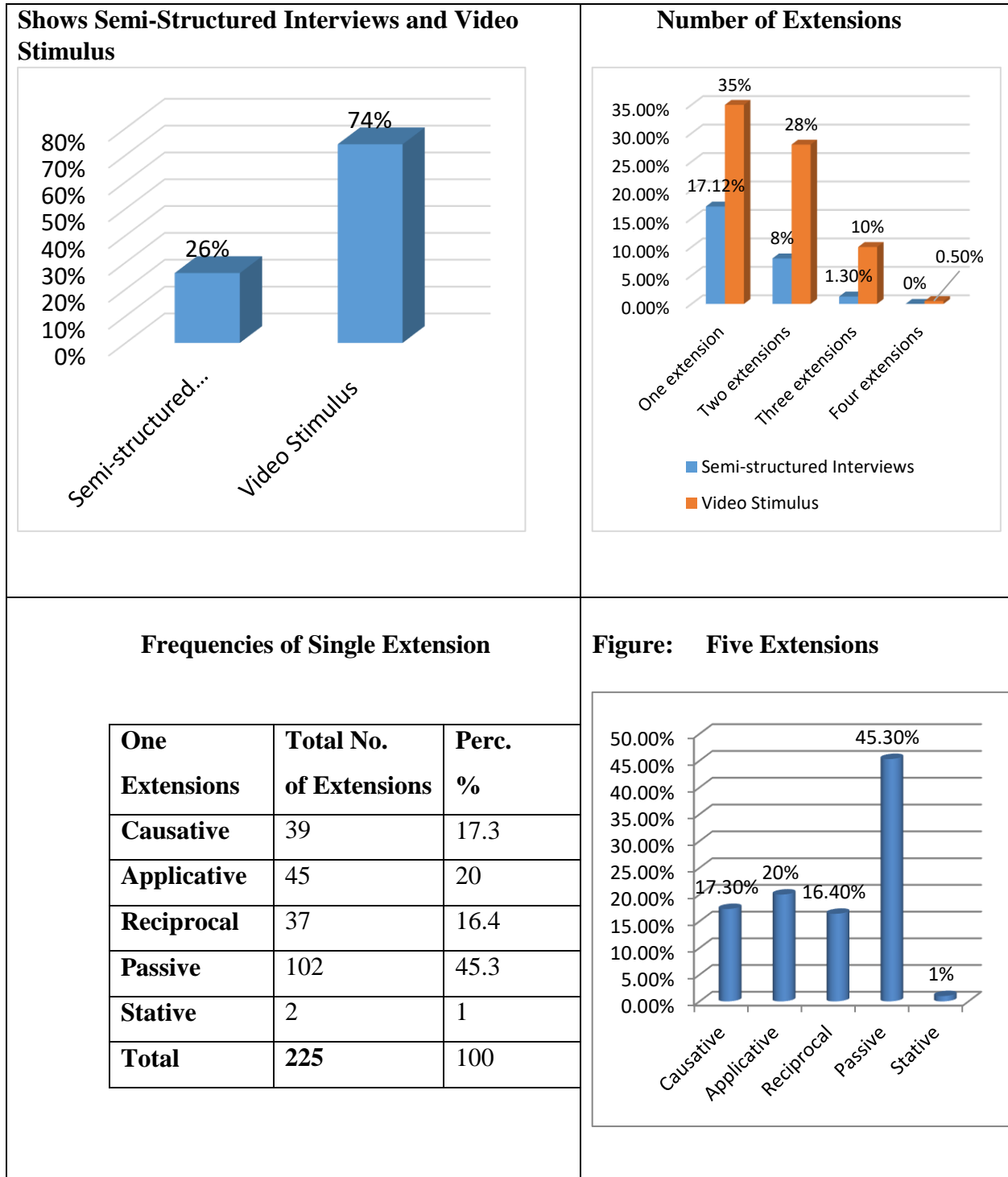




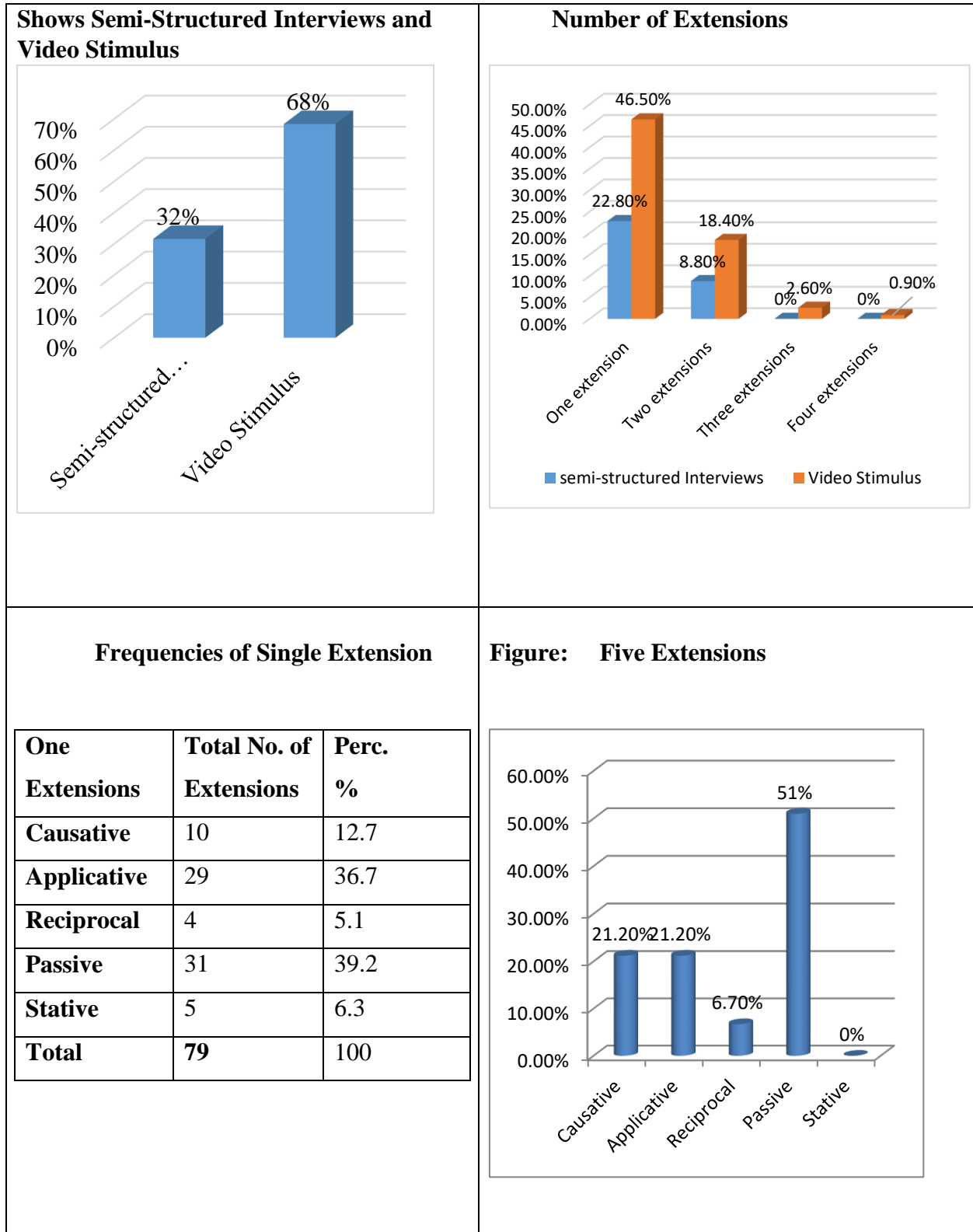
Table 4.7.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus

Extensions	Semi-struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus				Total No. of Extensions Interv. & Video
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Total	
C	1	3	6	0	9	10
A	12	2	8	7	17	29
R	1	0	2	1	3	4
P	8	7	15	1	23	31
S	4	1	0	0	1	5
C+P	0	1	4	0	5	5
A+R	1	0	1	3	4	5
A+P	9	1	1	0	2	11
A+C	0	1	3	4	8	8
R+C	0	0	0	2	2	2
S+R	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+R+C	0	2	0	0	2	2
A+C+R	0	0	0	1	1	1
R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	
A+R+C+R	0	0	0	1	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>114</b>

**Table 4.7.2 Total number of Extensions in different levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
C	1	9	10	8.8
A	12	17	29	25.4
R	1	3	4	3.5
P	8	23	31	27.1
S	4	1	5	4.4
<b>One extension</b>	<b>26 = 22.8%</b>	<b>53 = 46.5%</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>69.3</b>
C+P	0	5	5	4.4
A+R	1	4	5	4.4
A+P	9	2	11	9.6
A+C	0	8	8	7
R+C	0	2	2	1.75
S+R	0	0	0	0
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>10 = 8.8%</b>	<b>21 = 18.4%</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>27.2</b>
A+C+P	0	0	0	0
A+R+C	0	2	2	1.75
A+C+R	0	1	1	0.9
R+C+P	0	0	0	0
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>0 = 0%</b>	<b>3 = 2.6%</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2.7</b>
A+R+C+R	0	1	1	0.9
<b>Four extension</b>	<b>0 = 0%</b>	<b>1 = 0.9%</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36 = 31.6%</b>	<b>78 = 68.4%</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.7.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**



**App. No 4.8 F4**

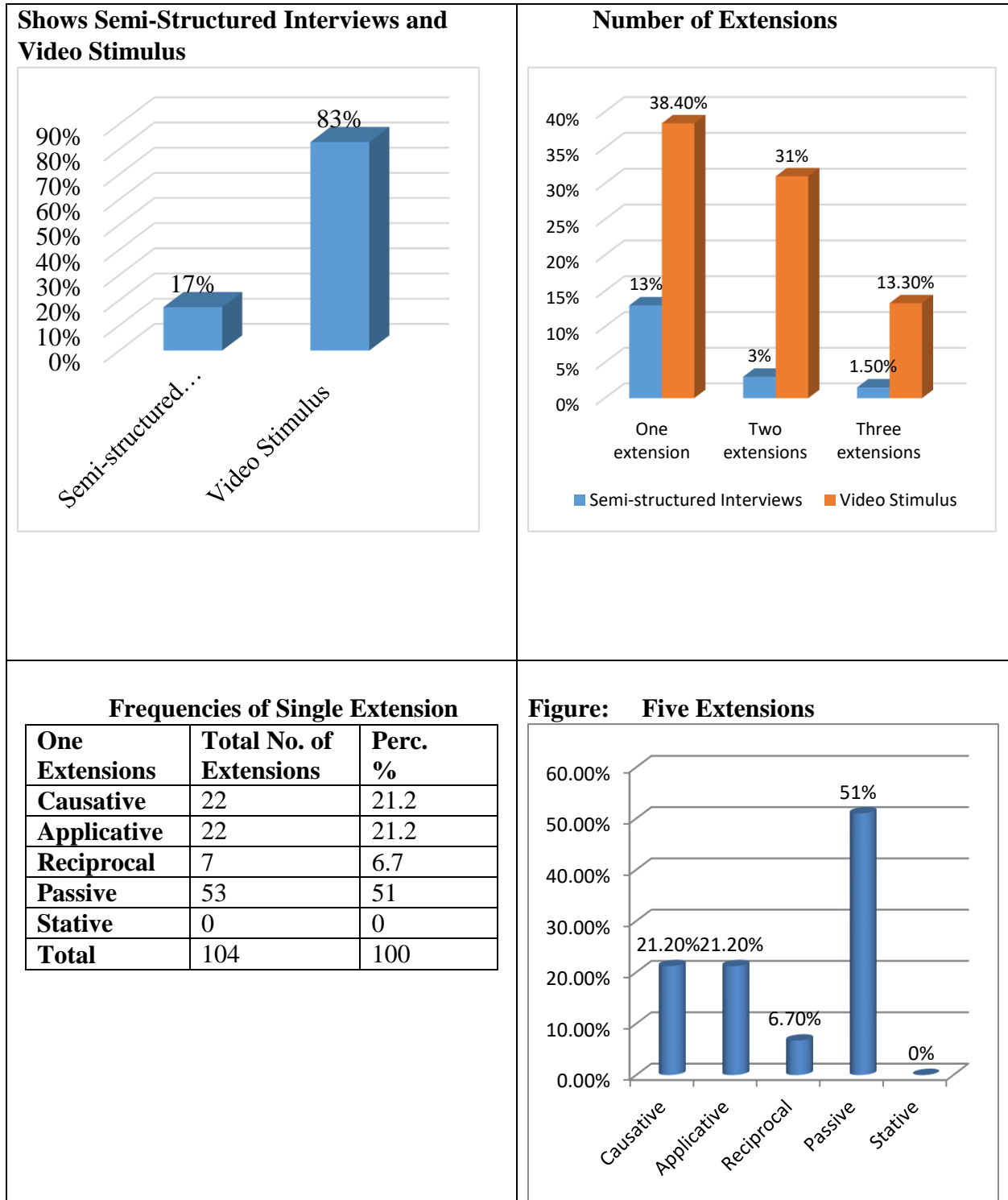
**Table 4.8.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus**

Extensions	Semi-struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus			Total of Video	Total No. of Extensions
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3		
C	3	5	14	0	19	22
A	5	5	9	3	17	22
R	4	0	3	0	3	7
P	14	8	27	4	39	53
S	0	0	0	0	0	0
C+P	0	7	3	0	10	10
A+R	2	3	14	0	17	19
A+P	2	1	4	0	5	7
A+C	0	5	15	6	26	26
R+C	1	0	5	0	5	6
S+R	1	0	0	0	0	1
A+C+P	1	3	13	4	20	21
A+R+C	0	0	1	5	6	6
A+C+R	1	0	0	1	1	2
R+C+P	1	0	0	0	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>203</b>

**Table 4.8.2 Total number of Extensions in different levels,**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
C	3	19	22	11
A	5	17	22	11
R	4	3	7	3.4
P	14	39	53	26
S	0	0	0	0
<b>One extension</b>	<b>26 = 13%</b>	<b>78 = 38.4</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>51.4</b>
C+P	0	10	10	4.9
A+R	2	17	19	9.3
A+P	2	5	7	3.4
A+C	0	26	26	12.8
R+C	1	5	6	3
S+R	1	0	1	0.4
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>6 = 3%</b>	<b>63 = 31%</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>33.8</b>
A+C+P	1	20	21	10.3
A+R+C	0	6	6	3
A+C+R	1	1	2	1
R+C+P	1	0	1	0.5
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>3 = 1.5%</b>	<b>27 = 13.3%</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>14.8</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35 = 17.2%</b>	<b>168 = 82.8%</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 4.8.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**



**App. No. 4 Group 'C' (Aged 50s and Above)**

**App. No. 4.9 M5**

**Table 4.9.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus**

Extensions	Semi-struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus				Total No. of Extensions Interv. & Video	Percent ages
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Total		
C	5	7	4	5	16	21	18.3
A	2	4	7	4	15	17	14.8
R	6	0	0	0	0	6	5.2
P	14	6	15	1	22	36	31.3
S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C+P	0	1	2	2	5	5	4.3
A+R	0	0	1	0	1	1	0.9
A+P	2	5	2	0	7	9	7.8
A+C	0	2	10	1	13	13	11.3
R+C	0	0	2	0	2	2	1.7
S+R	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.9
A+C+P	0	1	0	0	1	1	0.9
A+R+C	0	0	2	0	2	2	1.7
A+C+R	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.9
R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.9.2 Total Number of Extensions in Different Levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
<b>C</b>	5	16	21	18.3
<b>A</b>	2	15	17	14.8
<b>R</b>	6	0	6	5.2
<b>P</b>	14	22	36	31.3
<b>S</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>One extension</b>	<b>27 = 23%</b>	<b>53 = 46%</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>69.6</b>
<b>C+P</b>	0	5	5	4.3
<b>A+R</b>	0	1	1	0.9
<b>A+P</b>	2	7	9	7.8
<b>A+C</b>	0	13	13	11.3
<b>R+C</b>	0	2	2	1.7
<b>S+R</b>	1	0	1	0.9
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>3 = 2.6%</b>	<b>28 = 24.3%</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>26.9</b>
<b>A+C+P</b>	0	1	1	0.9
<b>A+R+C</b>	0	2	2	1.7
<b>A+C+R</b>	1	0	1	0.9
<b>R+C+P</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>1 = 0.9%</b>	<b>3 = 2.6%</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3.5</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>31 = 27%</b>	<b>84 = 73%</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100</b>



**Table 4.9.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**

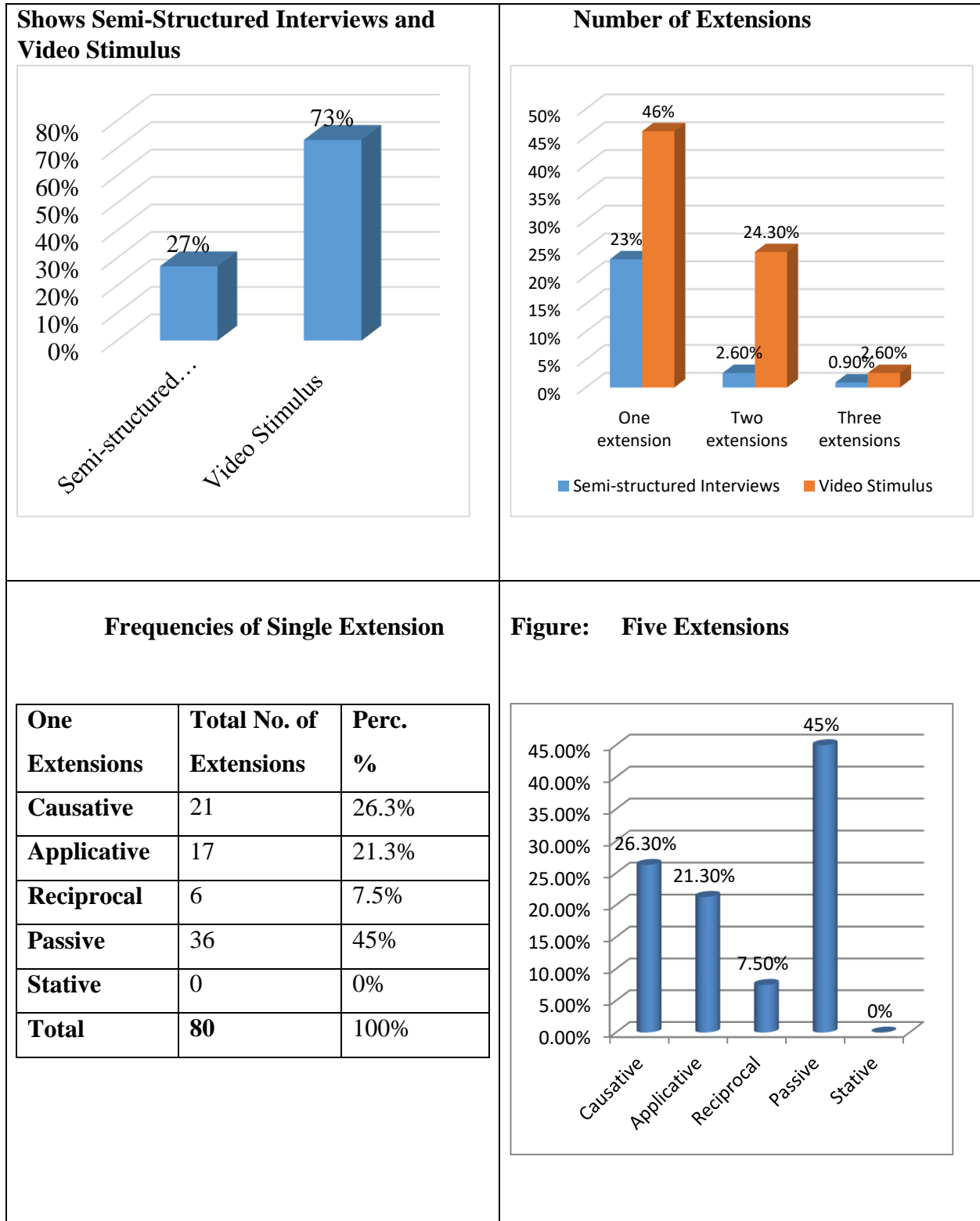


Table 4.10.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus

Extensions	Semi-struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus				Total No. of Extensions Interv. & Video	Percent ages
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Total		
C	1	25	21	5	51	52	18.5
A	3	8	15	3	26	29	10.3
R	1	3	8	0	11	12	4.3
P	12	18	37	0	55	67	23.8
S	5	1	1	0	2	7	2.5
C+P	0	17	6	0	23	23	8.2
A+R	0	0	4	1	5	5	1.8
A+P	1	1	14	0	15	16	5.7
A+C	1	5	24	15	44	45	16
R+C	0	3	7	0	10	10	3.6
S+R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C+R	0	0	1	0	1	1	0.4
A+C+P	0	1	4	1	6	6	2.1
A+R+C	0	7	0	0	7	7	2.5
A+C+R	0	0	0	1	1	1	0.4
R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>257</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.10.2 Total Number of Extensions in Different Levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
C	1	51	52	18.5
A	3	26	29	10.3
R	1	11	12	4.3
P	12	55	67	23.8
S	5	2	7	2.5
<b>One extension</b>	<b>22 = 7.8%</b>	<b>145 = 51.6%</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>59.4</b>
C+P	0	23	23	8.2
A+R	0	5	5	1.8
A+P	1	15	16	5.7
A+C	1	44	45	16
R+C	0	10	10	3.6
S+R	0	0	0	0
C+R	0	1	1	0.4
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>2 = 0.7%</b>	<b>98 = 35%</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35.7</b>
A+C+P	0	6	6	2.1
A+R+C	0	7	7	2.5
A+C+R	0	1	1	0.4
R+C+P	0	0	0	0
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>0 = 0%</b>	<b>14 = 5%</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>24 = 8.5%</b>	<b>257 = 91.5%</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.10.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**

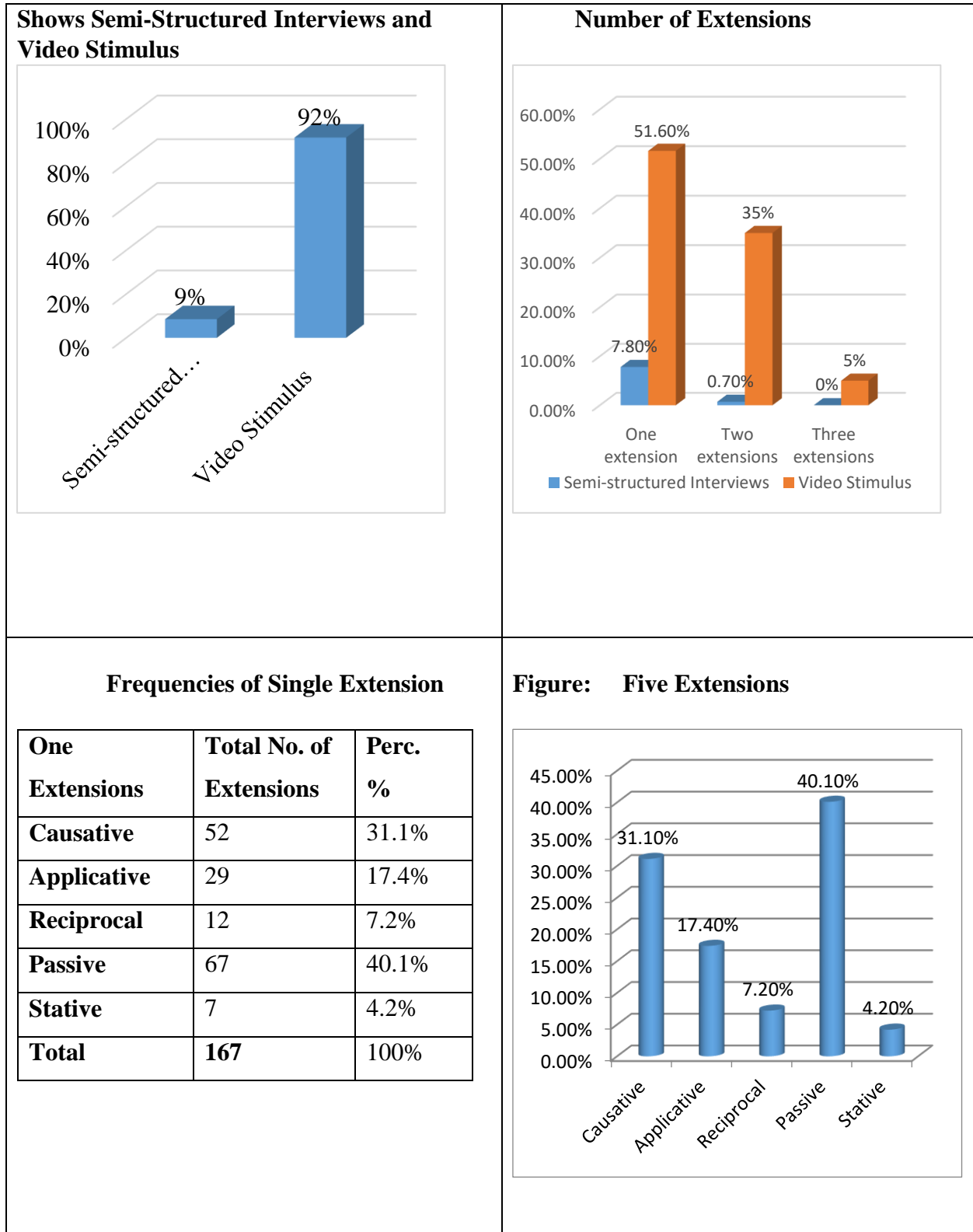


Table 4.11.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus

Extensions	Semi-struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus				Total No. of Extensions Interv. & Video	Percent ages
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Total		
C	0	9	8	1	18	18	31
A	0	1	1	0	2	2	3.4
R	0	0	2	0	2	2	3.4
P	1	6	4	1	11	12	21
S	0	1	0	0	1	1	1.7
C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+R	0	0	2	0	2	2	3.4
A+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+C	1	6	5	3	14	15	25.9
R+C	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
S+R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+C+P	1	2	2	0	4	5	8.6
A+R+C	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+C+R	0	0	0	1	1	1	1.7
R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.11.2 Total Number of Extensions in Different Levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
C	0	18	18	31
A	0	2	2	3.4
R	0	2	2	3.4
P	1	11	12	21
S	0	1	1	1.7
<b>One extension</b>	<b>1 = 1.7%</b>	<b>34 = 58.6%</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>60.3</b>
C+P	0	0	0	0
A+R	0	2	2	3.4
A+P	0	0	0	0
A+C	1	14	15	25.9
R+C	0	0	0	0
S+R	0	0	0	0
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>1 = 1.7%</b>	<b>16 = 27.6%</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>29.3</b>
A+C+P	1	4	5	8.6
A+R+C	0	0	0	0
A+C+R	0	1	1	1.7
R+C+P	0	0	0	0
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>1 = 1.7%</b>	<b>5 = 8.6%</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10.3</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3 = 5%</b>	<b>55 = 95%</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 4.11.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**

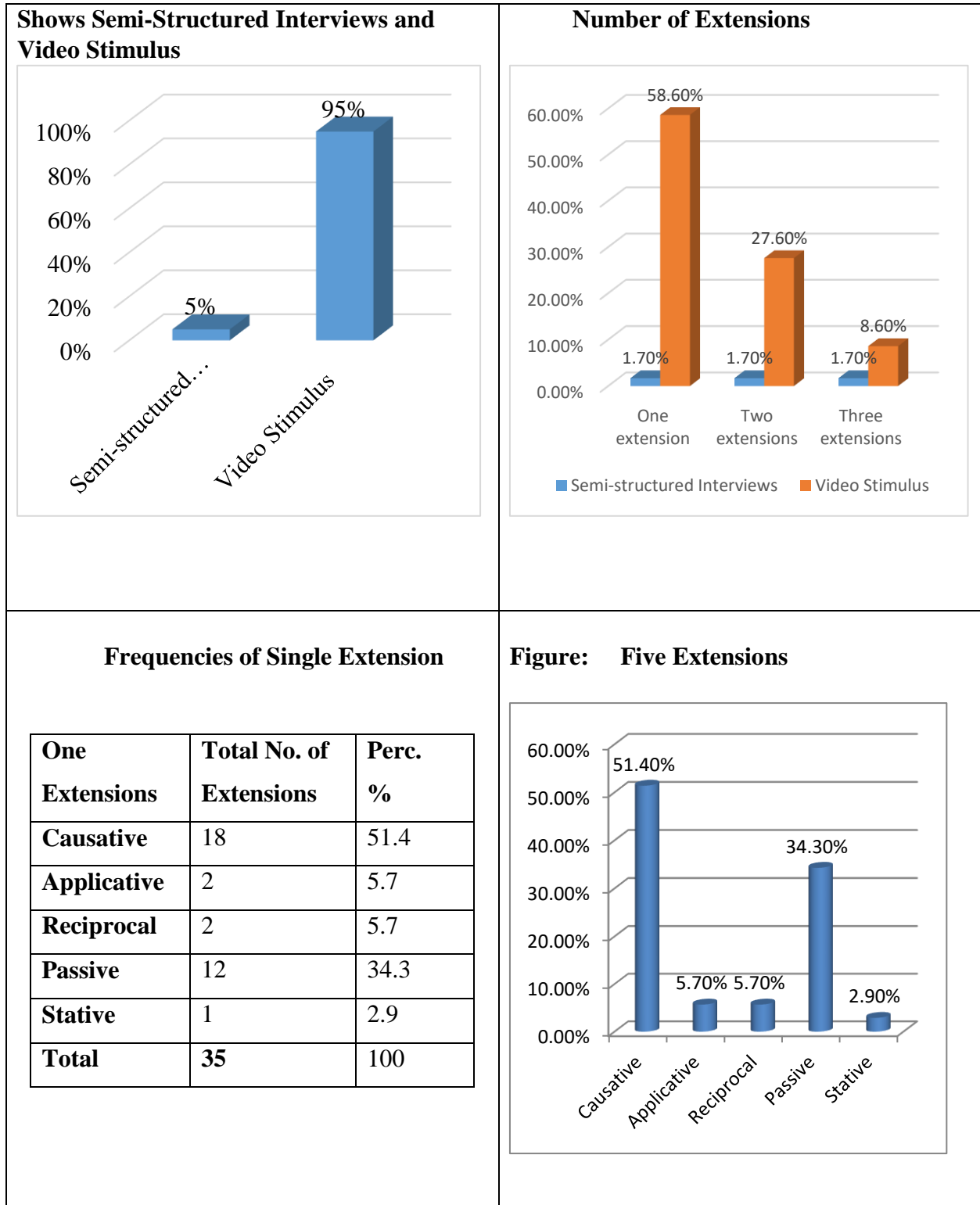


Table 4.12.1 Semi-structured Interview and Video Stimulus

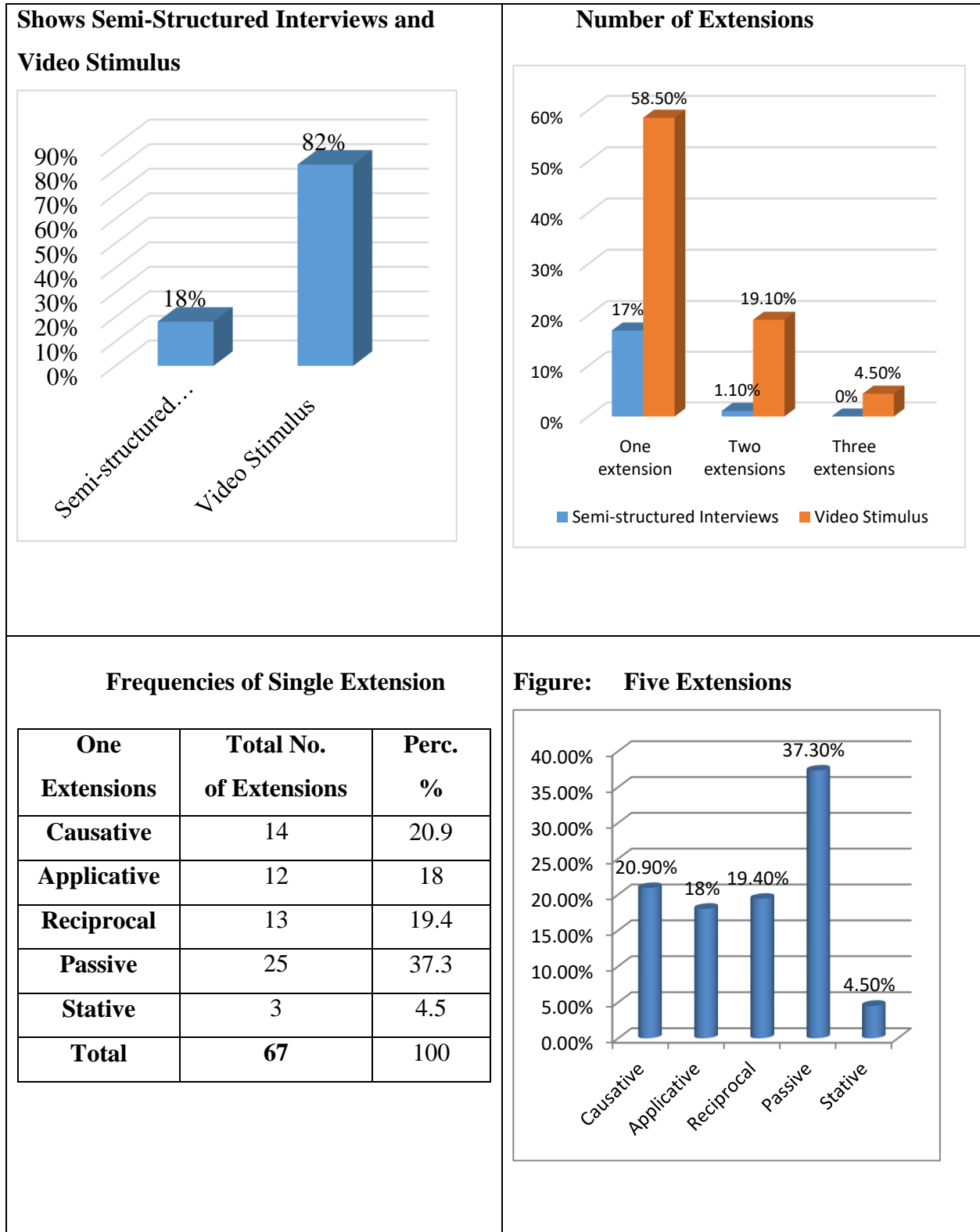
Extensions	Semi-struct. Interv.	Video Stimulus				Total No. of Extensions Interv. & Video	Percent ages
		Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Total		
C	1	3	10	0	13	14	16
A	1	2	8	1	11	12	13.5
R	0	0	13	0	13	13	14.6
P	13	2	8	2	12	25	28
S	0	2	1	0	3	3	3.4
C+P	0	0	5	0	5	5	5.6
A+R	0	1	1	0	2	2	2.2
A+P	1	1	1	0	2	3	3.4
A+C	0	3	3	0	6	6	6.7
R+C	0	0	0	2	2	2	2.2
S+R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A+C+P	0	0	0	1	1	1	1.1
A+R+C	0	2	0	1	3	3	3.4
A+C+R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R+C+P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100</b>



**Table 4.12.2 Total Number of Extensions in Different Levels**

<b>Extensions</b>	<b>Semi-struct. Interv.</b>	<b>Video Stimulus</b>	<b>Total No. of Extensions Interv. &amp; Video</b>	<b>Percentages %</b>
C	1	13	14	16
A	1	11	12	13.5
R	0	13	13	14.6
P	13	12	25	28
S	0	3	3	3.4
<b>One extension</b>	<b>15 = 17%</b>	<b>52 = 58.5%</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>75.5</b>
C+P	0	5	5	5.6
A+R	0	2	2	2.2
A+P	1	2	3	3.4
A+C	0	6	6	6.7
R+C	0	2	2	2.2
S+R	0	0	0	0
<b>Two extensions</b>	<b>1 = 1.1%</b>	<b>17 = 19.1%</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>20.2</b>
A+C+P	0	1	1	1
A+R+C	0	3	3	3.4
A+C+R	0	0	0	0
R+C+P	0	0	0	0
<b>Three extensions</b>	<b>0 = 0%</b>	<b>4 = 4.5%</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4.5</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16 = 18%</b>	<b>73 = 82%</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.12.3 Figures and Frequencies of Single Extension**



**Summary: Number of Words and Verb Extensions used in Spoken Kuria Form**

Below is the general picture of the occurrences of verb extensions in spoken Kuria. The total number of words collected from all respondents in spoken Kuria is 29,981 in which males have 8627 words more than females. And the total number of verb extensions in this form is 2147; females have less than half of the males; in other words, males are two times more than females. The analysis done in this study shows that there is a variation in the occurrences of verb extensions among the twelve respondents of Kuria language. Table 7.1 shows that the verb extensions used in the spoken data is 7.2% as shown in the operation below.

$$\frac{\text{Total Number of Verb Extensions}}{\text{Total Number of Words}} \times 100 = \frac{2147}{29,981} \times 100 = 7.2\%$$

The calculations above are elaborated in Table 4.13 below in which the total number of verb extensions and number of words are represented. The main aim of this information is to show the percentage of words with extensions.

**Table 4.13 Number of Words and Verb Extensions Used in Spoken Kuria**

Code		Group A		Group B		Group C		Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
Male	Number of words	1613	3993	2145	4983	1852	4718	<b>19304</b>
	Number of Extensions	112	350	156	432	115	281	<b>1446</b>
	Percentage	6.9%	8.8%	7.3%	8.7%	6.2%	6%	<b>7.5%</b>
Female	Number of words	2348	1121	2187	2943	877	1201	<b>10677</b>
	Number of Extensions	149	88	114	203	58	89	<b>701</b>
	Percentage	6.4%	7.9%	5.2%	6.9%	6.6%	7.4%	<b>6.6%</b>

Source: Field data, 2014