

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE VALENCE ADJUSTING OPERATIONS IN LUGWERE

BY

SAMUEL MUBBALA'

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

JUNE, 2003

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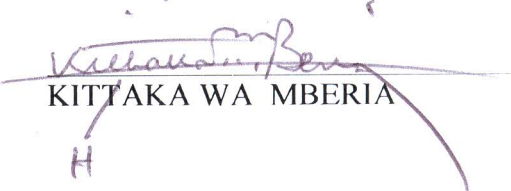
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STUDENT'S DECLARATION.

THE VALENCE ADJUSTING OPERATIONS IN LUGWERE

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

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

(Signed)



JUNE, 2003

ABSTRACT

The object of this paper is to make a brief investigation of valence adjusting operations in the Lugwere language. The paper examines those operations which increase and those which decrease valence in the clause in Lugwere. In conclusion to the investigation, observations of immediate linguistic value are made and further research proposed.

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I thank God for graciously providing all the resources and strength for me to pursue this course of Translation Studies this far. His faithfulness never fails and may all the glory be to Him.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1p	First person plural
1s	First person singular
2p	Second person plural
2s	Second person singular
3p	Third person plural
3s	Third person singular
Abil	Abilitative
Appl	Applicative
art	Causative
Dat Int	Dative of interest
FUT	Future tense
FV	Final vowel
GV	Grammatical valence
Indic	Indicative
IV	Initial vowel
nc	Noun class
Neg	Negation
Obj	Object
Perf	Perfect tense
PREP	Preposition
Pst	Past tense

Rec	Reciprocal
Redup	Reduplication
Refl	Reflexive
Subj	Subject
SV	Semantic valence

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem statement

Lugwere is an unwritten language spoken by about 300,000 people, the Bagwere, who are found in eastern Uganda. The Bagwere do not therefore have a Bible in their language.

A good understanding of the structural basis of the Lugwere grammar would be essential to the task of describing the language. T. Givon observes that

Grammatical rules, by whatever name, occupy a privileged position in the clausal syntax. They form the very matrix of the grammar of simple clauses as well as of the major grammatical processes associated with syntactic complexity- promotion to direct object, de-transitivization, complementization, nominalization, relativization, raising, and various types of anaphoric reference (Givon 1995, 225).

It was therefore thought that a survey of the valence adjusting operations in Lugwere might make some useful contribution toward the task of describing the language. But, could there also be strategies that Lugwere employs, that might be of broader linguistic interest?

1.2 Language classification

Lugwere is a language spoken as a single language by about 300,000 people, the Bagwere, who are found in eastern Uganda. It is classified as: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, and Central J. Nyoro-Ganda. It is closest to Lusiki in vocabulary, and has 68% of lexical similarity with Luganda (Grimes 2000, 245).

Luganda is the most established written Bantu language in Uganda. It is used to a limited extent in Church. Lugwere is vigorously used at home, in the village and market place. It is the medium of instruction in the first two years of primary school and is also used in newspapers and radio programs (Grimes 2000, 245).

1.3 Demographic information

Most of the Bagwere live in Pallisa District, a plain land, west of and adjacent to Mbale town, which is at the foot of Mount Elgon in eastern Uganda. The Bagwere are basically agriculturalist, depending on peasant farming. They grow cotton, rice, and maize as cash crops, and millet, sorghum, cassava, potatoes, beans, and peanuts for subsistence.

The neighboring language to their east, at the slopes of Mount Elgon, is Lumasaba (Lugisu), to the south is Lunyole, to the west is Lusoga, all Bantu languages and to their north is Ateso, a Nilotic language. In the 1960's the Bagwere lived to some extent in contention with one neighboring language group, the Lumasaba speakers. These were considered to be encroachers on the Gwere land, where Mbale town is situated. And they were suspected to have bribed the Government then, to snatch the town from the Bagwere as an administrative center. This attitude has with time diminished considerably.

1.4 Previous research

According to the enquiry that has been made so far, not much linguistic work has been done in Lugwere in the past. There were some efforts made over 25 years ago, to translate some portions of the Bible into Lugwere, based on Luganda orthography. Some few booklets were produced and generally accepted.

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In 1992 an SIL worker Waller Tabb, who did a sociolinguistic survey of some minority language groups in Uganda, established the translation need for Lugwere. In 1998 SIL attached a US missionary family, the Wilsons, to work with the Lugwere Bible Translation and Literacy Project. And in May 2001, Ron Moe of SIL and the Wilsons worked with a team of 18 native speakers for 10 days, to collect and compile a Lugwere wordlist using the semantic domain approach. They came up with a list of about 10,000 Lugwere words.

The word list had been hoped to accelerate the rest of the linguistic and translation activities in the language but it has itself gone a lot slower than was anticipated.

The writer has been, to a fairly good extent, involved in all the aforementioned translation and linguistic activities in the Lugwere language, of which he is a native speaker.

CHAPTER TWO

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX.

2.1 Typology

2.1.1. General categorization of Lugwere

Lugwere is an agglutinating tone language. The verb in Lugwere bears much more functional load as compared to the rest of the major grammatical categories. Through prefixation and suffixation, the verb is marked for the tense, aspect and mood, the Subject and Object, negation and relativization, and devices that adjust semantic roles and grammatical relations in the clause.

2.1.2 Supra segmental features

A full description of the pitch patterns and the tone system that was found, as well as the phonological processes that were observed in the language, is considered to be beyond the scope of this paper. Some of these linguistic features, especially if they appear in the examples that have been used in the paper, will be briefly described and presented in the appendix.

Tone apparently carries a significant functional load in the Lugwere language in that it is used to contrast noun words and also can be the only way to distinguish some tenses in verbal phrases.

2.1.2.1 Tone in Lugwere

Lugwere has a register type of tone system and the tone-bearing unit is the syllable. Tone writing, in this paper, will be limited to the examples that demonstrate

its functions, in order to focus much attention on the topic of study.

There are two contrastive tones in the language, which are H and L. They can be demonstrated as follows:

- a. kàdí ‘the other (small) one’
- b. kádí ‘not at all’
- c. múwólò ‘type of knife’
- d. mùwólò ‘type of tree’

The role of the grammatical tone in differentiating tenses in Lugwere can be demonstrated in the verb *kutema* ‘to cut’.

Yakitemere

y-	á-	kì-	tèm-	ér-	è
3s-	Past-	Obj-	cut-	Past-	Indic

‘he cut it’ (yesterday/middle past)

Yakitemere

y-	á-	kì-	tèm-	èr-	é
3s-	Past-	Obj-	cut-	Past-	Indic

‘he cut it’ (prior to yesterday or distant past)

2.1.3 Constituent order

The constituent order in neutral Lugwere clauses is AVP / SVO, and it is a Head-First marking language. The formal properties that identify grammatical relations in the language are:

- 1) Participant reference marking on the verb as in:

amukubbire

a-	mu-	kubb-	ir-	e
3sSubj-	Obj-	beatV-	Perf-	Indic

‘he has beaten him’

- 2) Constituent order as in:

Omusaiza agulire egaali.

o-	musaiza-	a-	gul-	ir-	e	e-	gaali
art-	manSubj-	3s-	buyV-	Perf-	Indic	art-	bicycleObj

‘the man has bought a bicycle’

2.1.4 Grouping of subject (S), agent (A), and patient (P).

In pragmatically neutral clauses Lugwere treats the Subject and Agent alike by placing them in the preverbal position, but treats the Object of transitive verbs (Patient) differently by placing it in the post verbal position. In other words it groups the SAP in the nominative/accusative system.

2.1.5 Grammatical relations and valence adjustment

Like all languages, Lugwere has various devices for upgrading a peripheral participant to center stage (valence increasing) and downplaying a normally center stage participant to peripheral status, or even eliminating a participant from the scene altogether (valence decreasing). These operations will be briefly discussed in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

VALENCE INCREASING OPERATIONS

3.1 CAUSATIVES

Causatives are devices used to bring a participant onto center stage by adding a causer to the scene and thereby raising the valence of the verb of the clause. The following types are found in Lugwere:

3.1.1 Lexical causatives.

Here the cause is wrapped up in the lexical meaning of the verb. They can be demonstrated in the following examples.

(1) A verb without causative:

afwire

a- fu- ir - e
3s- die- Perf- Indic

‘He has died.’ (SV = 1 GV = 1)

(2) Compare the same verb (semantically) with causative:

amwitire

a- mw - it- ir- e
3sSubj – nc1Obj – kill – Perf - Indic

‘He has caused him to die.’ (SV= 2 GV = 2)

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3.1 Causatives

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a-	mw -	it-	ir-	e
3sSubj -	nc1Obj -	kill -	Perf -	Indic

‘He has caused him to die.’ (SV= 2 GV = 2)

(3) A verb without causative

aboine ekitabo

a-	bo-(i) ¹ -n-	e	e -	ki-	tabo
3sSubj-	see (Perf)-	Indic	art -	nc7-	book

‘He has seen the book.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

(4) Compare the same verb (semantically) with causative

amulagire ekitabo

a-	mu-	lag-	ir-	e	e-	ki-	tabo
3sSubj –	Ind.Obj -	show-	Perf -	Indic	art –	nc7-	book Dir Obj

‘He has caused him to see the book.’ (SV = 3 GV = 3)

In the above two examples of lexical causatives (2) and (4), the verb stems are different from the non-causative forms (1) and (3). There is however an instance, where there is no change in the form of the verb stem, yet with causation being lexically applied. Compare (5) and (6).

(5) A verb without causative

amaizi gatonyere okumenza

a-	ma-	izi	ga-	tony-	er-	e	oku	menza
art –	nc6-	water	nc14-	drip-	Perf -	Indic	PREP.	table

‘The water has dripped on the table.’ (SV = 1 GV = 1)

¹ The [i] is moved from prefix position, forward into the root, by metathesis. See appendix 2 (ii).

(6) The same verb without being overtly causative in form, but causative in meaning.

omwana atonyere amaizi oku menza

o-	mw-	ana	a-	tony-	er-	e	a-	ma-
art -	nc1-	child	3sSubj-	drip-	Perf-	Indic	art-	nc6-
izi		oku	menza					
waterObj		PREP.	table Oblique					

‘The child has dripped water on the table.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

3.1.2 Morphological causatives.

These are ‘causatives which involve a productive change in the form of the verb’ (Payne 2000, 177). There are two types of morphological causatives in Lugwere:

- The shorter form which is marked with /i/ as a suffix on the verb.
- The longer form which is marked with /is/ as an additional suffix on the verb.

3.1.2.1 Short morphological causative.

This is used in causation in which the causer is directly and probably physically responsible for the effect (cf Payne 2000, 181). It is marked with /-i/ as a suffix, and the object marker as a prefix, in the verb. The following examples illustrate the function of the short morphological causative.

(7) A verb without causative

alamire

a-	lam-	ir-	e
3sSubj -	heal-	Perf -	Indic

‘He is healed.’ (SV = 1 GV = 1)

(8) Compare the same verb with causative

amulamirye

a- mu- lam- ir- i- e
3sSubj – Obj- heal- Perf- Caus- Indic

‘He has caused him to be healed.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

(9) Another verb without causative

adodere

a- dod- er- e
3sSubj – be wet - Perf- Indic

‘He has become wet.’ (SV = 1 GV = 1)

(10) Compare the increase in valence of the same verb with causative

omwana amudoderye

o- mw- ana a- mu- dod- er- i- e
art- nc1- child 3sSubj- Obj- become- Perf- Caus - Indic

‘The child has made him become wet.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

3.1.2.2. The long morphological causatives.

In this type of causative the causer is not directly, instantly, and probably physically responsible for the effect. The causer only leads to or brings about circumstances that cause the effect. There is an additional suffix /-is/. The following examples demonstrate the long morphological causation in contrast with the short form.

(11) A transitive verb construction without causative

andumire

a-	n-	dum-	ir-	e
3sSubj-	1s Obj-	bite-	Perf-	Indic

‘He has bitten me.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

(12) The same verb with short morphological causative.

andumiryē

a-	n-	dum-	ir-	i-	e
3sSubj-	Obj-	bite-	Perf-	Caus-	Indic

‘He has made me hurt.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

(13) Compare the increase in valence of the same verb with long morphological causative.

andumisiryē

a-	n-	dum-	is-	ir-	i-	e	e-	nzoki
3sSubj-	Obj-	bite-	Caus-	Perf-	Caus-	Indic	art-	bees

‘He has caused me to be bitten by bees.’ (SV = 3 GV = 3)

(14) An intransitive verb without causative

agotere

a-	got-	er-	e
3sSubj-	get lost-	Perf-	Indic

‘He is lost.’ (SV = 1 GV = 1)

(15) Compare the same verb with a short morphological causative.

agoterye

a- got- er- i- e a- ba- ntu
 3sSubj- get lost – Perf- Caus- Indic art- nc2- person

‘He has caused people to get lost.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

(16) The same verb with a long morphological causative.

agoteserye

a- got- es- er- i- e a- ba-
 3sSubj – get lost – Caus- Perf- Caus – Indic art- nc2-

 ntu
 person

‘He has led people to get lost.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

3.1.3 Analytic causatives.

These involve a separate causative verb to be employed in the clause (Payne 2000, 181). In Lugwere the verbs *kugira* ‘to cause’ and *kukaka* ‘to force’ are used as analytic causatives and put in front of the verb to be caused. In this case, the first verb in the clause is finite (marked for tense and aspect), but the “caused verb” is non-finite (unmarked for the two grammatical categories). The second verb will be in the infinitive form when the *kukaka* causative is used.

(17). A verb without causative

ndiire

n- d- ir- e
 1sSubj- eat- Perf- Indic

‘I have eaten.’ (SV = 2 GV = 1)

(18) Compare the increase in valence of same verb with one of the analytic causatives *kugira* ‘to enable’.

agirire nindya

a-	gir-	ir-	e	ni-	n-	ndi-	a
3sSubj-	enableCaus-	Perf-	Indic	and-	1sSubj	eat -	Indic

‘He has enabled me to eat.’ (SV = 3 GV = 2)

(19) Same verb with the analytic causative *kukaka* ‘to force’.

Ankakire okulya

a-	n-	kak-	ir-	e	o-	ku-	li-	a
3sSubj -	Obj-	forceCaus-	Perf-	Indic	art-	Infin-	eat-	Infin

‘He forced me to eat.’ (SV = 3 GV = 2)

3.2 Dative of interest

This is another device that Lugwere employs to bring a peripheral participant to center stage, thereby raising the valence of the verb. The morpheme *-ku* is used to mark the dative of interest, always as suffix on the verb of the clause. The dative of interest here expresses the notions of separation from or affectedness of what is being owned by or in association with the additional argument. ‘... the argument that is added to the proposition is instantiated as a “dative” participant, i.e., as the third argument in a trivalent construction.’ (Payne 2000, 193). This can be illustrated in the following examples.

(20). A verb construction without dative of interest

omwana agotere

o- mw- ana a- got- er- e
 art- nc1- child 3s- get lost- Perf- Indic

‘The child has gotten lost.’ (SV = 1 GV = 1)

(21) Compare the same verb in a construction with dative of interest

omwana amugotereku

o- mw- ana- a- mu- got- er- e- ku
 art- nc1- child 3sSubj- Ind Obj- get lost- Perf- Indic- Dat. Int.

‘The child has got lost on (from) him.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

(22) Another verb without dative of interest

abantu baabire

a- ba- ntu ba- ab- ir- e
 art- nc2- person 3s- go- Perf- Indic

‘People have gone away.’ (SV = 1 GV = 1)

(23) Compare the same verb with dative of interest construction

abantu banjabireku

a- ba- ntu ba- n(j)²- ab- ir- e- ku
 art- nc2- person 3p- 1s- go- Perf- Indic- Dat. Int.

‘People have gone away on me.’ (Meaning ‘the people I expected to be in company with have gone’). (SV = 2 GV = 2)

² For this sound /d͡ʒ/, see the resyllabification and strengthening processes in Appendix 1) (i), (ii).

3.3 Applicatives

These are operations whereby the verb is marked for the semantic role of a direct object. (See (Hyman 1982, 220)) In Lugwere applicatives are employed usually to indicate either Benefactive, Locative or Instrumental functions of the “new” direct object (participant). The applicative device is therefore employed for valence raising operations.

The same applicative marker /ir/ is used with both intransitive and transitive clause constructions.

The applicative marker in Lugwere is /ir/ but the /r/ is deleted in the presence of the Perfect tense marker which is phonologically identical with the applicative marker /ir/. Both the applicative marker and the perfect marker undergo vowel harmony when the stem vowel is /o/ or /e/. In these cases, the /i/ in /ir/ becomes /e/ and thus the marker is expressed as /er/.

The applicative, which is always closer to the stem than the perfect tense marker, seems to prevent the vowel harmony from spreading to the perfect marker when they co-occur in the verb.

3.3.1 Applicative with intransitive verbs.

These may be illustrated as follows

(24) A verb without applicative

omwana asekere

o-	mw-	ana	a-	sek-	er-	e
art-	nc1-	child	3ssubj-	laugh -	Perf-	Indic

‘The baby laughed.’ (SV = 1 GV = 1)

(25) Compare the same verb with an applicative highlighting benefactee

omwana asekeire omuleri

o- mw- ana a- sek- e³- ir- e o-
 art- nc1- child 3sSubj- laugh- Appl- Perf- Indic art-
 mu- leri
 nc1- babysitterBen

‘The baby laughed for the babysitter.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

(26) A verb without applicative

ayabire okwiduuka

a- yab- ir- e o- ku- iduuka
 3sSubj- go- Perf- Indic art- PREP- shop

‘He went to the shop.’ (SV = 1 GV = 1)

(27) Compare the same verb with an applicative highlighting benefactee

amwabiire oku iduuka

a- mw- ab- i- ir- e oku- iduuka
 3sSubj- nc1Ben- go- Appl- Perf- Indic PREP- shop

‘He went to the shop for him.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

NB. On glossing of the marker in Kinyarwanda, whereby it refers to the benefactee, Palmer says, ‘Kimenyi glosses the marker *-ir* ‘Applicative’ though Benefactive would be preferable in this context (pp. 373-4)’ (Palmer 1994:165). Apparently, in Kinyarwanda, the *-ir* marker, in this function refers specifically to the benefactee role. In Lugwere however, the same marker *-ir*, is employed in referring to three roles, the benefactee, the locative, and the instrument. See (McFebtridge 1992, 1). It

³ The sound /r/ is deleted here in process of deletion see appendix 2) (i).

might therefore be more appropriate, in Lugwere, to gloss the *-ir* ‘Applicative’, and then mark the referents with their respective roles, as is done in this paper.

(28) A verb without applicative

oKeta asekere

o-	Keta	a-	sek-	er-	e
art-	Keta	3sSubj-	laugh-	Perf-	Indic

‘Keta laughed.’ (SV = 1 GV = 1)

(29) Compare the same verb with an applicative highlighting locative

oKeta asekeire omu kanisa

o-	Keta	a-	sek-	e-	ir-	e	omu-	kanisa
art-	Keta	3sSubj-	laugh-	Appl-	Perf-	Indic	PREP-	churchLoc

‘Keta laughed in church.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

3.3.2 Applicatives with transitive verbs

These may be illustrated in the following examples.

(30) A transitive verb without applicative

omukali asembire emere

o-	mu-	kali	a-	semb-	ir-	e	e-	mere
art-	nc1-	woman	3sSubj-	cook-	Perf-	Indic	art-	food

‘The woman has cooked food.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

(31) Compare the same verb with an applicative highlighting benefactee

omukali asumbiire abaana emere

o- mu- kali a- sumb- i- ir- e
 art- nc1- woman 3sSubj- cook- Appl- Perf- Indic

a- ba- ana e- mere
 3s- nc2- childBen art- food

‘The woman has cooked food for the children.’ (SV = 3 GV = 3)

(32) Compare the same verb with an applicative but dropping the original direct object.

omukali asumbiire abaana

o- mu- kali a- sumb- i- ir- e a- ba- ana
 art- nc1- woman 3s- cook- Appl- Perf- Indic art- nc2- child

‘The woman is cooking for the children.’ (SV = 3 GV = 2)

(33) Another transitive verb without applicative

asaliire onkoko

a- sal- ir- e o- nkoko
 3sSubj- cut- Perf- Indic art- chicken

‘He cut the chicken.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

(34) The same verb with applicative highlighting instrument

asaliire onkoko nsone

a- sal- i- ir- e o- nkoko nsone
 3sSubj- cut- Appl- Perf- Indic art- chicken knife

‘He cut the chicken with a knife.’ (SV = 3 GV = 3)

(35) A transitive verb without applicative

anywire amaizi

a- nyw- ir- e a- ma- izi
3sSubj- drink- Perf- Indic art- nc6- water

‘He drank water.’ (SV = 2 GV = 2)

(36) Compare the same verb with an applicative highlighting locative

anywereire amaizi omu motoka

a- nyw- er-ir- e a- ma- izi omu-
3sSubj- drink- Appl- Perf- Indic art- nc2- water

motoka
PREP- carLoc

‘He drank water in the car.’ (SV = 3 GV = 3)

CHAPTER FOUR

VALENCE DECREASING OPERATIONS

These are constructions that downplay a normally center stage participant to a peripheral status or eliminate it from the scene altogether. In this respect they lower or decrease the valence of the verb in the clause. They include: (a) constructions that merge controlling and affected participants, namely reflexives and reciprocals, (b) constructions that downplay the centrality of a controlling participant, namely passives and statives (Abilitatives), and (c) constructions that downplay the centrality of an affected participant, namely object omission and object demotion.

4.1 Constructions that merge controlling and affected participants

4.1.1 Reflexives.

These are constructions in which subject and object are the same (cf Payne 2000,198).

4.1.1.1 Lexical reflexives

Here the reflexive effect is intrinsically embedded in the lexical meaning of the verb. They can be demonstrated in the following examples.

(40) Lexical reflexives with intransitive verbs.

naaba

n- naab- a
1s- bathe- Indic

‘I bathe (myself).’

(S V = 1 G V = 1)

agotere

a- got- er- e.
3s- get lost Perf Indic

‘He has become lost.’ (He has lost himself.) (S V = 1 G V = 1)

4.1.1.2 Morphological reflexives.

These are marked by the morpheme *e-*, prefixed immediately before the verb stem.

(41) A transitive verb construction.

yamukubbire

y- a- mu- kubb- ir- e
3s- pst- 3sObj- beat- pst- Indic

‘He beat him.’ (S V = 2 G V = 2)

(42) Compare the valence decrease the same verb in the basic reflexive construction.

yeekubbire

y- e- e- kubb- ir- e
3s- pst- Refl- beat- pst- Indic

‘He beat himself.’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(43) A transitive verb construction

atemere eitooke.

a-	tem-	er-	e	e-	i-	tooke
3s-	cut-	pst-	Indic	art-	nc5	banana

‘He has cut the banana’ (S V = 2 G V = 2)

(44) The same verb in a reflexive and inalienable possession construction.

yeetemere ekigere.

y-	e-	e-	tem-	er-	e	e-	ki-	gere.
3s-	pst-	Refl-	cut-	pst-	Indic	art	nc7-	foot

‘He has cut his foot.’ (literally: he has cut himself the foot) (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(45) The same verb in the basic reflexive construction

yeetemere.

y-	e-	e-	tem-	er-	e
3s-	pst-	Refl-	cut-	pst-	Indic

‘He cut himself.’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(46) A transitive verb

ndumire eibbaale.

n-	lum-	ir-	e	e-	i-	bbaale.
1s-	bite-	pst-	Indic	art-	5nc-	stone.

‘I bit a stone.’ (S V = 2 G V = 2)

(47) The same verb in reflexive and inalienable possession construction

neerumire ohulimi.

n-	e-	e-	lum-	ir-	e	o-	lu-	limi.
1s-	pst-	Refl-	bite-	pst-	Indic	art	11nc	tongue.

‘I bit my tongue.’ (literally: I have bitten myself the tongue)

(S V = 1 G V = 1)

(48) The same verb in the basic reflexive construction

neerumire.

n-	e-	e-	lum-	ir-	e
1s-	pst-	Refl-	bite-	pst-	Indic

‘I bit myself.’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

4.1.1.3 Analytic reflexives.

These are signaled by the Lugwere post verbal reflexive pronoun *nanyere* ‘self’ (literally: owner). The following are examples of analytic reflexives.

(49) A verb with analytical reflexive construction

yeitire onanyere.

y-	e-	it-	ir-	e	o-	nanyere
3s-	Refl-	kill-	pst-	Indic	art-	self

‘He killed himself.’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(50) An intransitive verb with analytical reflexive construction

omusaale gugwire ogunanyere.

o-	mu-	saaale	gu-	gw-	ir-	e	o-	gu-	nanyere
Iv-	3s-	tree	3s-	fall-	pst-	Indic	art-	3s-	self

‘The tree fell by itself’ (literally: fell by its own). (S V = 1 G V = 1)

4.1.1.4 Pseudo Reflexive.

This is a type of reflexive that is commonly used in Lugwere, and probably some other Bantu languages. It is a construction in which the reflexive morpheme (the prefix *e-*) and the applicative marker (the suffix *-ir*) co-occur in the verb. It may not fit quite well under the label of reflexives because the subject and object of the verb are not the same. But neither does it fit well under the applicatives label because the Agent/Subject of the verb becomes the benefactee in the construction;

consequently the valence of the verb is not increased. This construction serves not only the Applicative, but also another and even more targeted function, to express the notion that the action of the verb is or was, of all others, “the preferred option”. It carries the nature of a higher-level explicature in that the speaker expresses an attitude of arbitrariness in the action. The pseudo reflexive can be demonstrated as follows.

(51) A transitive verb without a reflexive

agula nyanyi

a- gul- a nyanyi
3s- buy- Indic fish

‘He is buying fish’ (S V = 2 G V = 2)

(52) Compare the same verb with pseudo reflexive

yegulira nyanyi

y- e- gul- ir- a nyanyi
3s- Refl- buy- Appl- Indic fish

‘He is buying fish’ (despite other seemingly better or suggested alternatives)
(S V = 2 G V = 2)

(53) A pseudo reflexive in an intransitive verb

yegonera

Y- e- gon- er- a
3s- Refl- sleep- Appl- Indic

‘He is sleeping’ (He is just sleeping despite the responsibilities or problems requiring his attention). (S V = 1 G V = 1)

4.1.2 Reciprocals.

These are constructions in which two participants equally act upon each other, i.e. both are equally Agent and Patient. (Payne 2000, 200). In this respect reciprocals do decrease the valence of the verb in the clause. In Lugwere we find the following reciprocals.

4.1.2.1 Lexical reciprocals.

These are verbs for which reciprocity is a built-in component of their semantics. They may be illustrated as follows.

(54) Reciprocal construction

enumi gilwaana

e- numi gi- lwaan- a
art- bull- 3p- fight- Indic

‘The bulls are fighting (each other).’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(55) Reciprocal construction

abaana bazenya

a- ba- ana ba- zeny- a
art- 2nc- child- 3pl- play- Indic

‘The children are playing (with each other).’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(56) Reciprocal construction

abakali balonsya

a- ba- kali ba- lonsi- a
art- 2nc- woman 3pl- chat- Indic

‘The women are chatting (with each other).’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

4.1.2.2 Morphological reciprocals.

Lugwere uses the morpheme *-angan*, which is different from the reflexive marker, to express reciprocity morphologically. These morphological reciprocals may be illustrated as follows.

(57) A transitive verb construction

abanyeete bakubba ente.

a-	ba-	nyeete	ba-	kubb-	a	e-	n-	te
art-	nc2-	boy	3p-	beat-	Indic	art-	nc10-	cow

‘The boys are beating the cows.’ (S V = 2 G V = 2)

(58) Compare the same verb in a reciprocal construction.

abanyeete bakubbangana.

a-	ba-	nyeete	ba-	kubb-	angan-	a
art-	nc2-	boy	3p-	beat-	Recip-	Indic

‘The boys are beating each other.’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(59) A transitive verb construction

abaala babbeya abaisuka.

a-	ba-	ala	ba-	bbey-	a	a-	ba-	isuka
art-	nc2-	girl	3p-	deceive-	Indic	art-	nc2-	boy

‘The girls are deceiving the boys.’ (S V = 2 G V = 2)

(60) Compare the same verb in a reciprocal construction

abaala babbeyangana.

a-	ba-	ala	ba-	bbey-	angan-	a
art-	2nc-	girl	3pl-	deceive-	Recip-	Indic

‘The girls are deceiving each other.’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

4.2 **Constructions that downplay the centrality of a controlling participant**

These include (a) Passives and (b) Stative constructions. By downplaying the centrality of the controlling participant these constructions are valence-decreasing operations.

4.2.1 **Passives.**

Lugwere does not naturally have what Shopen calls the ‘basic passives’ ‘...the most widespread across the world’s languages’ (Shopen 1985, 247). Lugwere normally makes passive constructions by using the impersonal third person plural subject marker *ba-*. There is also the unmarked passive that occurs in proverbial constructions.

4.2.1.1 **Impersonal passives (only in third person plural forms).**

The third person plural form only serves to downplay the centrality of an Agent, but does not function as subject marker. This is evidenced by the fact that the referent of the third person plural morpheme does not necessarily have to be plural in number. Quite often the referent of the plural morpheme is a single person but the plural form serves to render the Agent unspecified. This effect also helps in cases where either the Agent is unknown or deliberately concealed.

Impersonal passives can be formed from intransitive as well as transitive verbs as are shown in the following examples.

(61) Impersonal passive construction in a transitive verb

bakukubba.

Ba – ku – kubb – a
3p- 2sObj- beat- Indic

“You will be beaten.” (literally: they will beat you) (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(62) Impersonal passive construction with a intransitive verb

bakumanya.

Ba – ku – many – a
3p- 2sO- find out Indic

“You will be found out.” (literally: they will know you) (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(63) Impersonal passive construction with a transitive verb

babaita.

Ba – ba – it – a
3p- 2pObj- kill- Indic

“You (pl) will be killed.” (literally: they will kill you) (S V = 1 G V = 1)

4.2.1.2 Proverbial Passives.

In Lugwere proverbial passives, the constituent order of the semantic roles in the clause is often altered from the normal A V P to P V A. The meaning in such constructions is construed only pragmatically because, by just literally interpreting the clause, it wouldn't make sense since the Patient is presented as directly acting upon the Agent. See (Wiersbicka 1988, 15ff).

These proverbial constructions, by swapping the grammatical roles, do promote the Patient to the subject position and downplay the centrality of the Agent.

(64) A Patient – Agent passive construction

ekibisabise kirya omese.

e- ki- bisabis- e ki- ry- a o- mese.
 art- 7nc- hide Redup- Pst Perf 7Subj- eat Indic art- rat

‘A rat eats something hidden.’ (literally: something hidden eats a rat)

(S V = 1 G V = 1)

The context of the above proverb is a mud and wattle grass thatched upcountry house, usually infested with rats. A mean person attempts to hide some nice edible thing, away from others, only for it to be found and eaten by a rat. The meaning is that there is no blessing in hiding useful information; in attempting to be mean, one may lose rather than gain.

(65) Another Patient – Agent passive construction

ekitagote kironda onyere.

e- ki- ta- got- e ki- rond- a o-
 Rel- 7nc- Neg- get lost- Pst Perf 7Subj- find- Indic art-

nyere
 owner

‘The owner of something that is lost may accidentally find it himself.’

(literally: what won’t get lost finds the owner) (S V = 1 G V = 1)

The meaning is that sometimes luck leads a person who is in a problem, quite unknowingly, to the very person who has the much needed solution.

4.2.2 **Stative constructions.**

A stative construction in Lugwere is marked by the morpheme *-ik* which is suffixed directly onto the verb stem. It has the effect of promoting the patient to

logical subject and the obligatory omission of the subject. In Lugwere the stative construction always carries abilitative aspect.

4.2.2.1 **Stative (Abilitative)** verb constructions may be illustrated as follows.

(66) A transitive verb construction

oKemu azwala enkofira.

o-	Kemu	a-	zwal-	a	e-	n-	kofira
Iv-	Kemu	3sSubj-	wear-	Indic	art-	9-	hat

‘Kemu wears a hat.’ (S V = 2 G V = 2)

(67) Compare the same verb with abilitative passive construction

ezwalika.

E-	zwal-	ik-	a
9nc-	wear-	Abil-	Indic

‘It can be worn.’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(68) An abilitative passive construction may be with negated action as in

engoma tekubbika

e-	n-	goma	t-	e-	kubb-	ik-	a
art-	9nc-	drum	Neg-	9Subj-	beat-	Abil-	Indic

‘The drum cannot be beaten.’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

(69) Abilitative construction may be with positive action as in

egaali egulika

e-	gaali	e-	gul-	ik-	a
art-	bicycle	9Subj-	buy-	Abil-	Indic

‘A bicycle can be bought.’ (S V = 1 G V = 1)

A stative verb construction may result from detransitivising a verb and may be illustrated as follows:

(70) A transitive verb construction

ombuli aatire ensuwa

o-	m-	buli	a-	at-	ir-	e	e-	n-	suwa
art-	9nc-	goat	9Subj-	break-	Perf-	Indic	art-	9-	pot

“The goat broke the pot.” (S V = 2 G V = 2)

(71) A Stative construction in a detransitivised verb

ensuwa eyatikire

e-	n-	suwa	e-	(y) ⁴ at-	ik-	ir-	e
art-	9nc-	pot	9Subj-	break-	Detrans-	Perf-	Indic

“The pot broke.” (S V = 1 G V = 1)

4.3 Constructions that downplay the centrality of an affected participant

In this respect these constructions decrease the valence in the verb of the clause. These include (a) Object omission, (b) Object demotion and (c) Object incorporation.

4.3.1 Object omission.

‘It is an operation that downplays the centrality of a P argument’ (Payne 2000, 220). The following are examples of object omission.

⁴ The vowel /a/ becomes [y] through resyllabification. See appendix 1) (i)

(72) Object omission with a transitive verb

oKebba aliire

o-	Kebba	a-	li-	ir-	e.
art-	Kebba	3sSubj-	eat-	Pst-	Indic

‘Kebba has eaten.’ (S V = 2 G V = 1)

(73) Object omission with a transitive verb

oKebba alima.

o-	Kebba	a-	lim-	a
art-	Kebba	3sSubj-	dig-	Indic

‘Kebba digs.’ (S V = 2 G V = 1)

4.3.2 Object demotion.

Like object omission, object demotion is an operation that downplays the centrality of a P argument. ‘Object demotion sometimes indicates “less involvement” of the P in the event expressed by the verb’ (Payne 2000, 220). In Lugwere object demotion can be demonstrated as follows.

(74) A transitive verb construction

omwisuka akubbire onyonyi eibbaale

o-	mwisuka	a-	kubb-	ir-	e	o-	nyonyi	e-	ibbaale
art-	boy	3s	hit-	Perf-	Indic	art-	birdObj	art-	stone

‘The boy has hit the bird (with a) stone’ (S V = 3 G V = 3)

(75) Compare with the following object demotion construction

omwisuka akanyugire onyonyi eibbaale

o-	mwisuka	a-kanyug-	ir-	e	o-nyonyi	e-	ibbaale	
art-	boy	3s-	throw-	Perf-	Indic	art-birdObj	art-	stone

‘The boy has thrown a stone at the bird’ (S V = 3 G V = 2)

4.3.3 Object incorporation.

This is a construction whereby the object of the verb is incorporated in the verb. It may be illustrated as follows.

(76) Lexicalised object incorporation construction

bataka kwingira nyumba.

ba- tak- a kw- ingir- a nyumba
3p- like- Indic Inf- enter- Indic house

‘They want to enter the house’ (“to begin living in”) (S V = 1 G V = 1)

“To enter house”, which is a unit in this case, is not the same as “entering a house.”

4.3.4 Object incorporation through pronominalization.

This is different from the type of object incorporation where the lexical object becomes attached to the verb in its lexical form. While it may not actually reduce the valence of the verb, from a functional standpoint, it moves the object off center stage. This is demonstrated in the following example.

(77) A verb construction with an expressed object

oKemba asomere ekitabo.

o- Kemba a- som- er- e e- ki- tabo
art- Kemba 3sSubj- read- Perf Indic art- 9nc- book

“Kemba read the book.” (S V = 2 G V = 2)

(78) A verb construction with incorporated object

amakeezi akimalire.

a-	makeezi	a-	ki-	mal-	ir-	e
art-	morning	3sS-	Obj-	finish-	Perf	Indic

“This morning, he finished it.” (S V = 2 G V = 2)

CHAPTER FIVE

OBSERVATIONS

The following are some of the interesting observations that have been elicited in the survey of the valence adjusting operations in the Lugwere language.

a) The short causative morpheme takes the slot after the tense marker suffix in the valence increasing operation of causatives. The long causative morpheme, in contrast, prefers the slot just next to the verb stem.

b) It is interesting to note that when the long causative morpheme is employed the short type morpheme is still maintained. It seems that the long causative morpheme is not, by itself, adequately capable of expressing the notion it represents.

c) In the applicatives with transitive verbs, in example (32), it is possible to bring in the 'new' direct object on center stage and then drop the original direct object, thereby not increasing the grammatical valence in the clause.

d) The construction called "pseudo reflexive" in this paper has an apparently wide scope of function in the Lugwere language. Could this actually be an equivalent of the middle voice?

e) The proverbial passives in Lugwere demonstrate, to some extent, the importance of context, in the interpretation of utterances.

In conclusion, it is in my view that the pseudo reflexive is a linguistic device that deserves further investigation.

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APPENDIX

The common natural phonological processes occurring in Lugwere include:

1) those that result from conditioning by surrounding segments such as

(i) Resyllabification. This is a syllable structure process where a vowel becomes a consonant to prohibit internal vowel sequences, as for example

[u] > [w]/__[a]

This may be illustrated by the following word

mu -ana > [mwana]
nc1 -child

‘child’

Compare with the plural below.

ba -ana > [βaana]
nc2 -child

‘children’

[i] > [j]/__[a]

This may be shown in the following word

a -li -a > [alja]
3s -eat -Indic

‘he eats/ he is eating’

Compare with “he has eaten” below.

a -li -ir -e [ali:re]
3s -eat -Perf -Indic

‘he has eaten’

(ii) Consonant strengthening, for example

/l/ > d/ ñ__

This may be illustrated in the following word

n -dim -a
 1s -dig -Indic
 'I dig'

Compare with the third person singular as subject.

a -lim -a
 3s -dig -Indic
 'he digs'

(iii) Flapping which occurs as

/l/ > [r]/ i,e__ thus [ile/ ele] > [ire/ ere]

This may be illustrated with the following word

atwaire

a -twa(i)r -e
 3s -take(Perf) -Indic

'he has taken' (involves metathesis explained in 2) (ii) below)

Compare with the same word in the present tense:

atwala

a -twal -a
 3s -take (Pres) -Indic

'he takes/ he is taking'

(iv) Neutralization whereby

/β/ and /b/ are neutralized /ɱ__ as in [kuβona] 'to see':

he two sounds contrast in identical environment as in

[kwa:βa] 'to go'

[kwa:ba] 'to collect a necessity from a place of abundance'

The neutralization can be demonstrated with the following word

[aβona] 'he sees'

a	-bon	-a
3s	-see	-Indic

'he sees'.

Compare with

[ambona] 'he sees me'

a	-m	-bon	-a
3s	-1s	-see	-Indic

'he sees me'

2). Those that result from conditioning by syllable structure.

These are deletion and metathesis, which occur within the context of normal syllables coming in contact. These processes seem not to be fully accounted for only by the motivation to preserve or restore a syllable or word pattern that is acceptable within the phonotactics of the language. See Burquest (2001, 169,175).

(i) Deletion:

$r > \emptyset / _r$

This occurs, as a rule, when the applicative marker [ir] and Perfect aspect marker [ir] are affixed in the same verb word.

agulire

a	-gul	-ir	-e
3s	-buy	-Perf	-Indic

'he has bought'

Compare with

amuguliire

a	-mu	-gul	-i	-ir	-e
3s	-Obj2	-buy	-Appl	-Perf	-Indic

‘he has bought for him’

Here, the [r] of the Lugwere applicative morpheme [ir], is deleted, being in contact with another [ir] morpheme which is for the perfect tense.

(ii) Metathesis. According to the data that has been analyzed so far, the process of metathesis occurs in the perfect tense in some verbs, and always involves deletion as well. The process seems to begin with the deletion of [r] from the Lugwere perfect tense marker [ir], then the [i] is moved forward into the root of the verb to form a glide with root vowel. The consonant in the final syllable then receives the vowel of the perfect aspect [e]. This has been observed to occur in words (verbs) whose final syllables have consonants [m], [n], [l], [t], and [ɲ]. We thus have the following rules that precede the metathesis:

$r > \emptyset / m_$

$r > \emptyset / t_$

$r > \emptyset / n_$

$r > \emptyset / \eta_$

$r > \emptyset / l_$

[kuβona] ‘to see’

a	-bon	-a
3s	-see	-Indic

‘he sees’

a	-bon	+ire	> [aβoine]
3s	-see	+Perf	

‘he has seen’

a -bon +ire > * [aβonire]

3s -see +Perf

Using the above example it may be understood that the metathesis works in the following rules: 1) [r] deletion and 2) [I] movement (metathesis). This derivation may be illustrated as follows

a- bon- ire
 r deletion > a- bon- iøe
 metathesis > a- boi- ne
 [aboine]

This process is further complicated in the verb [kuməɲa] ‘to know’ when the final consonant [ɲ] is converted to /t/ in the perfect tense to get [amaite], thus:

ɲ > t/ __#
 a -maɲ -a
 3s -know -Indic
 ‘he knows’ (he would know)
 a -maɲ +ire > [amaite]
 3s -know +Perf
 ‘he already knows’
 a -maɲ +ire > * [amajire]
 3s -know +Perf

Here the derivation may be illustrated as follows

a- maɲ- ire
 r deletion > a- maɲ- iøe
 metathesis > a- mai- ɲe
 [amaite]

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