Misah Natumanya

MORPHO–PHONOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC PATTERNS OF RUNYANKORE–RUKIGA APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

'Ente Enchwezi (Enyankore)' The Ankole long-horned cow, a breed of cows loved and cherished by most Banyankore-Bakiga cattle keepers in Uganda

NTNU
Norwegian University of Science and Technology

MORPHO-PHONOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC PATTERNS OF RUNYANKORE-RUKIGA APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

by

Misah Natumanya

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Dedicated to Edith Natumanya, Derrick Natumanya, Jackson Betegyereza, Naome and my Late mother Bariireeta Esteeri.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TypeCraft POS Tags

Pos tag	Post description
ADJ	Adjective
ADJC	comparative adjective
ADJS	superlative adjective
ADV	Adverb
ADVneg	negative operator
ADVplc	place adverb
ADVtemp	temporal adverb
ART	Article
AUX	Auxiliary
CARD	cardinal numeral (e.g.4, sixty-five)
CIRCP	Circumposition
CL	Clitic
CLFnom	nominal classifier
CLFnum	numeral classifier
CN	common noun
COMP	Complementiser
CONJ	Conjunction
CONJC	coordinating conjunction (e.g. and, or)
CONJS	subordinating conjunction (e.g. although, when)
COP	Copula
COPident	identity copula
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner

EXPL	expletive pronoun
MARinf	infinitive marker
MOD	Modifier
N	common noun
Nbare	bare noun
Ncomm	common noun (Norwegian) gender
NDV	deverbal noun
NFEM	feminine noun
NMASC	masculine noun
NNEUT	neuter noun
NNO	noun neutral for number (e.g. data, aircraft)
NPRO	proper noun
Nspat	spatial noun
NUM	Numeral
NUMB	Numeral
NUMpart	partitive numeral
ORD	Ordinal
P	Preposition
PART	Particle
PARTC	Participle
PARTexist	existential marker
PARTint	interrogative particle
PARTn	nominal particle
PARTposs	possessive particle
PARTpred	predicative particle
PARTv	verbal particle

PN	Proper noun
PPOST	Postposition
PREP	Preposition
PREPdir	directional preposition
PREP/PROspt	hybrid locative category (Bantu)
PREPtemp	temporal preposition
PRO	personal pronoun
PROana	pronominal anaphor
PROint	interrogative pronoun
PRON	personal pronoun
PRONposs	possessive pronoun
PROposs	possessive pronoun
PROrefl	reflexive pronoun
PROrel	relative pronoun
PTCP	participle
QUANT	quantifier
REL	relative clause marker
V	verb
V1	first verb in a SVC
V2	second verb in a SVC
V3	third verb in a serial verb construction
V4	fourth verb in a serial verb construction
Vcon	converb
Vdtr	ditransitive verb
Vitr	intransitive verb
Vlgt	light verb

Vmod	modal verb
Vneg	negative verb
$APPL_{BEN}$	Benefactive applicative
Vtr	transitive verb
V-trScpr	transitive verb with a secondary predicate
Wh	wh-word
AGR	agreement
S	strong
ST	strong
W	weak
CONS	verbmarking in SVCs (e.g. in Akan)
ANIM	animate
HUM	human
INANIM	inanimate
ADD	additive
ASP	aspect - underspecified
CESSIVE	cessative=egressive
CMPL	completive
CONT	continuous
DUR	durative
DYN	dynamic
EGR	egressive
FREQ	frequentive
HAB	habitual
IMPF	imperfective
INCEP	inceptive
INCHO	inchoative
INCOMPL	Incomplete imperfective
INGR	ingressive
INTS	intensive
ITER	iterative
PERF	perfect(ive)
PNCT	punctual
PRF	perfect(ive)
PROG	progressive
SEMF	semelfactive
STAT	stative

FV	verb-final vowel (Bantu)
IV	initial vowel (Bantu)
ABES	abessive 'without'
ABL	ablative 'from'
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
AD	additive
ADESS	adessive 'at', 'near'
ALL	allative
BEN	benefactive
CASE	case marker - underspecified
COMIT	comitative
CONTL	contlative
DAT	dative
DEL	delative 'down from'
DEST	destinative 'to'
ELAT	elative 'out of'
EQT	equative
ERG	ergative
ESS	essive
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative 'into'
INE	inessive 'inside'
INSTR	instrumental
LAT	lative
MALF	malfactive
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
PERL	perlative
POSS	possessive
PRTV	partitive
TER	terminalis
VIAL	vialis
VOC	vocative
CLITadv	cliticized adverb
CLITdet	cliticized determiner
CLITn	cliticized noun
CLITp	cliticized preposition
CLITpron	cliticized pronoun
CLITv	cliticized verb

DEF	definite
INDEF	indefinite
SGbare	bare singular (e.g. used in Norwegian)
APPROX	approximate
DIST	distral 'remote'
DIST2	far distral
DXS	deixis
MEDIAL	medial
PROX	proximal
ADJ>ADV	deadjectival adverb
ADJ>N	noun derived from an adjective
ADJ>V	deadjectival verb
DIM	diminutive
N>A	noun-to-adjective
N>ADJ	derives an adjective from a noun
NMLZ	nominalizer
N>N	noun derivation
NUM>N	derives a noun from a numeral
N>V	derives a verb from a noun
V>ADJ	deverbal adjective
V>ADV	verb-to-adverb
vbl	verbal
>Vitr	intransitivizer
V>N	deverbal noun
>Vtr	transitivizer
ACAUS	anti-causative
APASS	anti-passive
APPL	applicative
CAUS	causative
DR	direct
PASS	passive
ASRT	assertive
DECL	declarative
EXCL	exclamative
IMP	imperative
IMP1	imperative
IMP2	imperative
IND	indicative
INTR	interrogative
MAVM	main clause affirmative

Q	question
RPS	reported speech
COMM	common gender
FEM	feminine
MASC	masculine
NEUT	neuter
COMPL	complement
DO	direct object
ICV	inherent complement verb (Akan)
OBJ	object
OBJ2	second object
objcogn	cognate object
OBJind	indirect object
OM	object marker
SBJ	subject
SC	small clause
SM	subject marker
TEMP	temporal
AFFMT	affirmative
CNTV	contative
COND	conditional 'if' or conditional 'would'
CONJ	conjunctive=subjunctive
CONTP	contemporative
EVID	evidential
IRLS	irrealis
JUSS	jussive
MOD	mood underspecified
OPT	optative
RLS	realis
SBJV	subjunctive
MNR	manner
MO	motion
CL	noun class marker
CL1	noun class 1
CL10	noun class 10
CL11	noun class 11
CL12	noun class 12
CL13	noun class 13
CL14	noun class 14
CL15	noun class 15

CL16	noun class 16
CL17	noun class 17
CL18	noun class 18
CL2	noun class 2
CL20	noun class 20
CL21	noun class 21
CL22	noun class 22
CL23	noun class 23
CL3	noun class 3
CL4	noun class 4
CL5	noun class 5
CL6	noun class 6
CL7	noun class 7
CL8	noun class 8
CL9	noun class 9
Npref	noun prefix
landmark	proper nouns indicating landmarks
DU	dual
PL	plural
SG	singular
x	multiply by (used in number systems)
DISTRIB	distributive
1	1st person
1excl	1st person exclusive
1incl	1st person inclusive
1PL	1st person plural
1SG	1st person singular
2	2nd person
2PL	2nd person plural
2SG	2nd person singular
3	3rd person
3PL	3rd person plural
3Pobv	3 person obviative
3Pprox	3 person proximative
3SG	3rd person singular
FT	foot
H	high tone
!H	downstep high
L	low tone
MT	mid tone

RT	relative tone
NEGPOL	negative polarity
POSPOL	positive polarity
PART	part-of
2HML	addressee-humble
2HON	addressee-honorific
HON	honorific
TTL	title (Mr., Dr.)
AGT	agent
GOAL	goal
PSSEE	possessee
PSSOR	possessor
PT	patient
SRC	source
TH	theme
CIRCM	circumscribe
CTed	contained
DIR	directional
ENDPNT	endpoint
EXT	exterior
INT	interior
LINE	line
LOC	locative
PATH	path
SPTL	spatial
STARTPNT	startpoint
VIAPNT	viapoint
DM	discourse marker
MU	marked use
PS	pause
ANT	anterior
AOR	aorist
AUX	auxiliary(morpheme)
FUT	future
FUTclose	close future
FUTim	immediate future
FUTnear	near future
FUTrel	relative future
FUTrm	remote future
NF	non-future

NFUT	non-future
NPAST	non-past
PAST	past perceived as a whole
PASThst	hesternal past: yesterday or earlier but not remote
PASTim	very recent, in the last minute or so
PASTpast	past in the past
PASTre	in the last few days
PASTrel	relative past
PASTrm	more than a few days ago
PRES	present
PRET	preterite
FOC	focus
TOP	topic
CV	converb
GER1	gerund I
GER2	gerund II
INF	infinitive
itr	intransitive
PRED	predicative
SU	supinum 'infinitival verb form
Vstem	verbal stem
ACTV	active voice
ABB	abbreviation
ASS	adnominal
ATT	attributive
CMPR	comparative
CO-EV	co-event
CONSEC	consecutive 'so that'
COP	copular
EMPH	emphatic
EXPLET	expletive
GNR	generic
NEG	negation
QUOT	quotation
RECP	reciprocal
REDP	reduplication
NP_{TH}	theme noun phrase

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to document and investigate the morph-phonological and syntactic patterns of Applicative Constructions in Runyankore-Rukiga. The thesis consists of two parts. A research corpus composed of conversations and dialogues, hymns, excerpts from local newspaper, literary and linguist text, Interlinear Glosses examples excerpted from the linguistic literature and a collection of sentences based on introspection. This research corpus is accessible under the link: http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/User:Misah_Natumanya

My thesis explores the morph-phonological processes that determine the realization of the applicative morpheme such as vowel harmony, palatalisation, epenthesis, deletion, metathesis, voicing and devoicing. These processes are explained, described and exemplified. In the syntactic section of my thesis, I classify applicative constructions according to the thematic role realized by the applied object. I discuss benefactive, instrumental, locative, circumstantial, possessive and temporal applicative constructions. For each of these constructions, we assess the primary object properties of the applied object, such as variation in object order, object marking and passivization.

The thesis discusses also methodological questions related to field work, structuring of field work data and the creation of a research corpus.

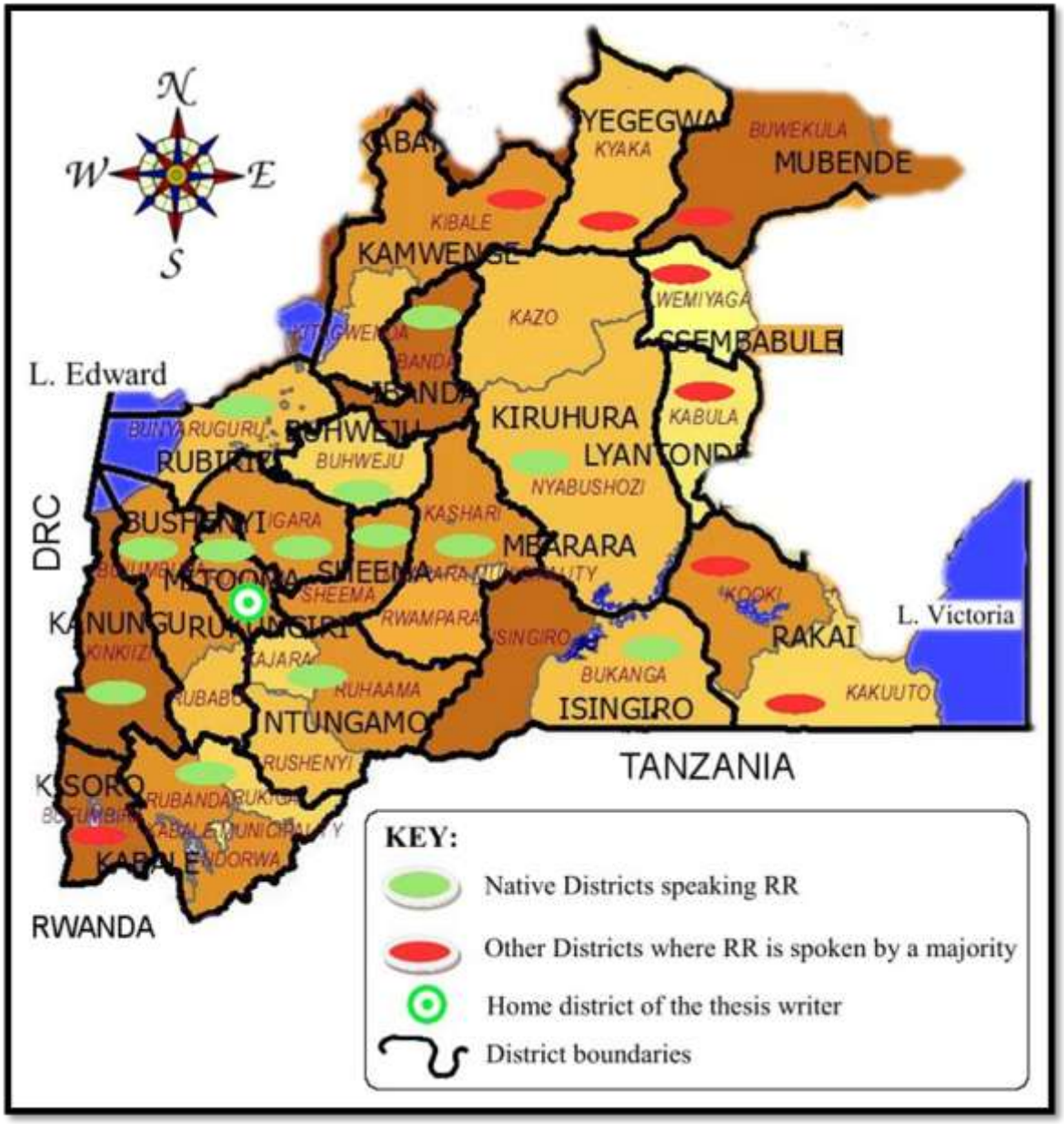
CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1 Runyankore-Rukiga

Runyankore-Rukiga, later to be called RR, is a Bantu language of the interlacustrine group (Guthrie E.13) spoken by the Banyankore and Bakiga who mainly live in the South-West and in same areas of Central Uganda. Map 1 below, shows the RR speaking districts in Uganda.

Map 1 *RR speaking districts of Uganda.*



Map 1 also indicates the Western Province, formerly comprised of the great Ankole and Kigezi regions, located in the East of Lake Edward and South-West of Lake Victoria, as an area where RR is spoken.

As can be seen from the map, currently, the RR speaking region is comprised of the districts: Rubirizi, Buhweju, Isingiro, Mitooma, Sheema, Mbarara, Ntungamo, Kabale, Ibanda, Kiruhuura, Rukungiri, Bushenyi[1] and Kanungu. Other districts in Uganda where RR is spoken by a majority of people include most parts of the Kisoro, Lyantonde, Sembabule, Mubende, Kamwengye and Rakai districts.

RR is composed of two languages; Runyankore and Rukiga. Ethnologue[2] estimates that the total population of RR speakers is 3.9 million (Nyankore with 2.33 million and Chiga with 1.5 million). These figures are based on the National Population Census of 2002 conducted by Uganda Bureau of Statistics[3].

According to the Ethnologue, both Runyankore (Nyankore) and Rukiga (Chiga) belong to the Nyoro-Ganda group of Southern Bantu, which is part of the Niger-Congo language family, classified as J(10)12[4]. The classification is summarized in a language family index taken from Ethnologue and reproduced in Figure (1) below.

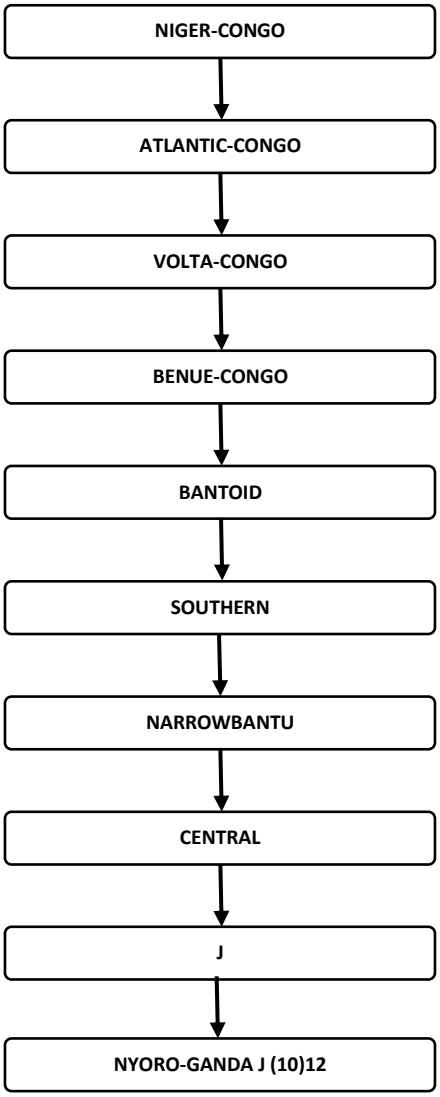
[1]Bushenyi District as mentioned and shown in National Population Census of 2002, was further divided into the new districts of Rubirizi, Mitooma, Shema, Buhweju and Bushenyi.

[2]http://www.ethnologue.com/

[3]http://www.ubos.org/

[4]The classification (10) 12 is based on a geographic zone classification first proposed by Malcolm Guthrie (1967–1971).

Figure 1 *Language family index for RR*



RR falls under 'Nyoro-Ganda' because originally Runyankore-Rukiga and Runyoro-Rutooro were all called Runyoro as Rubongoya (1999: XIII) asserts,

"The language spoken by the people of Bunyoro, Tooro, Ankole and Kigezi is generally known as 'Runyoro'."

Historically, these people were under Bunyoro rule but as each of them asserted their independence, they preferred to name their languages after their tribes. Thus Runyankore, Rukiga, Rutooro and Runyoro were born as independent languages.

With the coming of Christianity and education, there was an urgent need to have common orthographies for the most related languages. The literature and orthography committees which were later established, considered lexical similarities and mutual intelligibility as indicators to pair the four languages into two major languages: Runyoro-Rutooro and Runyankore-Rukiga.

Beermann and Asiimwe (2012 to appear), found two accounts discussing the lexical similarities between these four language, namely Ladefoged, Glick, Cripper (1971) and Ethnologue. This is summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1 *Lexical similarity between the languages united as Runyankore-Rukiga*

	Runyankore – Rukiga	Runyankore-Runyoro	Rukiga-Rutooro	Rutooro-Runyoro	Rukiga- Runyoro
Ladefoged et.al	94,00%	87,00%	85,00%	93,00%	no information
Ethnologue	84-94%,	68,00%	no information	78-93%	77%.

Given the high similarity between these languages, it is not surprising that at one time, only one Bible translation existed for all the four languages, and that also the main grammars of RR, Taylor (1985) and Morris and Kirwan (1972) treated these languages as dialects of one language.

RR is related to Haya, Nyambo, Zinza and Kerewe; all found in North Western Tanzania. These languages like any other Bantu language, have a rich verb morphology with verbs that carry derivational affixes (verb extension[5] affixes). Among these affixes is the applicative or applied affix. The applicative affix is an interesting morpheme, and since it affects the morpho-syntax and semantic structure of the sentence that it occurs in, it has attracted much linguistic research. Also this thesis has as its focus, the applicative morpheme. But before we turn to the focus of this thesis, we will give a brief overview of Bantu verb extensions, and applicative constructions in subsections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 of this introduction.

[5]Note that in this thesis, verbal derivations and extensions are used to mean the same thing and the two terms are used interchangeably to refer to all pre-verbal and post verbal root derivational elements or affixes.

1.1 A brief review of Bantu Applicative Constructions and Verb extensions.

1.1.1 Verb extensions

RR verbs may carry a wide range of derivational affixes, often referred to as verb extensions in Bantu linguistics. Mchombo (2004:110) cites Guthrie's classification (1962) of these verb extensions which, according to Guthrie fall into three types:

1. Valency increasing affixes which expand the verb's valency by one argument. Causative and applicative affixes are valency increasing.

2. Valency decreasing affixes; which reduce the expressible arguments by one. Stative, passive and reciprocal affixes are valency decreasing.

3. Neutral affixes; which affect the meaning of the predicate but do not affect the number of arguments. These include; reversive, reflexive and some other affixes depending on the language and the classification system.

Lodhi (2002:4-26) lists verb extensions basing himself on the works of Doke (1943) and Ashton (1944). Following his work and that of Rubongoya on Runyoro-Rutooro (1999), RR verb extensions in this study, are tabulated and exemplified in Table 2.

Table 2 *RR Verb extensions exemplified*

Verb extension	**Verb stem**	**Gloss**	**Extended verb stem**	**Extension Marker**	**Gloss**
Causative	-teera	‘ *hit’*	-teer**es**a	-es	‘*cause to hit’*
Applicative	-teera	,,	-teer**er**a,	-er-	‘*hit for’*
Reciprocal	-teera	,,	-teer**an**a	-an-	‘*hit each other’*
Passive	-teera	,,	-teer**w**a	-w-	‘*being hit’*
Intensive	-teera	,,	-teera**gur**a	-gur-	‘*hit with intensity’*
Repetitive	-teera	,,	-teera**guz**a	-guz-	‘*hit several times’*
Reflexive	-teera	,,	-**e**teera	-e-	‘*hit self’*
Reduplicative	-teera	,,	-**teer**a **teer**a	Vs Vs	‘*hit repetitively and intensively’*
Stative	-igura	open	-ig**uk**a	r→k (uk)	*'be open'*
Reversive	-	close	-king**uur**a	-uur-	‘*reverse action’open*

Linguists have named verb extensions differently. For instance Ashton (1944), Morris & Kirwan (1971), Chesswas (1952), use the terms prepositional for applicative or applied, associative for reciprocal, reversive for conversive, and stative for neutral. For this thesis I will use terms '*applicative* construction', ‘*applied* verb', or ‘*applicativised* verb’.

1.1.2 Applicative constructions in Bantu

As already said, applicative constructions across Bantu languages license an additional argument called the applied object. Using Chichewa (Mchombo 2004:78), I illustrate this fact in (1) and (2) below:

(1) Kalulú akuphíká maûngu

“The hare is cooking pumkins”

Kalulú		akuphíká				maûngu	
ka	lulú	a	ku	phíká	á	ma	ûngu
CL1	*hare*	SM	PRES	*cook*	FV	CL6	*pumpkin*
N		V				N	

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(2) Kalulú akuphíkíla Mkángó maûngu

"The hare is cooking (for) the lion some pumpkins"

Kalulú	akuphíkíla					Mkángó		maûngu	
ka lulú	a	ku	phík	íl	a	m	kángó	ma	ûngu
CL1 *hare*	1SM	PRES	*cook*	APPL	FV	CL3	*lion*	CL6	*pumpkin*
V	V					N		N	

Generated in TypeCraft.

Phík- 'cook' is a transitive verb. Its argument structure[6] is abbreviated as: phík- <AGENT, PATIENT>. In (2), after applicativisation, which introduces the suffix /– **íl** -/, the verb stem becomes '*-phíkíl*' 'buy for' which now lincenses the additional BENECIARY argument, *mkango'* lion', which is the applied object. Its position is adjacent to the verb. 'Mkango', becomes an applied object and exhibits primary object properties[7] according to Hyman & Duranti (1982:218)'s work on object relations in Bantu. Yet, not all applicative constructions work alike, as we will see for RR. In addition, Bantu languages differ. This also holds for allomorphic variations which are dependent on language specific morpho-phonological processes.

1.1.3 The applicative morpheme

Ngonyani (1994), working with Kindendeule[8], shows how the applicative is constructed by suffixing *–il-* to the verb. He explains that the applicative suffix is realized differently depending on vowel harmony. According to Ngonyani, /-il/ may become [el], [ɛl] or remain [il] itself. His findings are summarized in Table 3 below.

[6]According to Bresnan (2001:304): "Argument structure encodes lexical information about the number of arguments, their syntactic type, and their hierarchical organization necessary for the mapping to syntactic structure". The presentation of the argument structure used in this thesis, is an abbreviated form that only shows the syntactic form (mapping) of arguments in a sentence.

[7]Primary object properties are a restricted set of patterns of syntactic behavior of the applied object such as: location or adjacent to the verb (object ordering), object agreement (object marking), and passivisation among others (Ngonyani.D, 1995:8).

[8]Kindendeule is a Bantu language spoken in Southern Tanzania. Though not classified by Guthrie (1967-72), it is known to be a close relative of Kingindo classified as P14 (Ngonyani 1994)

Table 3 *Effect of vowel harmony on the Kindendeule applicative affix*

Last syllable of the stem	**Realisation of the applicative affix**
/ɛ, ɔ /	-ɛl-
/e, o /	- el-
/u, a /	-il-

As for RR, vowel harmony is also a crucial factor that determines the form of the applicative morpheme. This will be discussed and illustrated in details in section 3.3 of this thesis.
According to Mchombo (2004), Bantu languages generally mark the applicative with suffixes of the form /–*il*-/, /-*el*-/. These two forms occur in Chichewa whereas Gitonga (classified by Guthrie as S62) only realizes /–el-/. Possible applicative allomorphs in Kiswahili are [*i*] and [*e*] as well as [*li*] and [*le*] (Ven, 1999:5) and (Lodhi, 2002:6). (3), (4) and (5) below, illustrates Kiswahili applicative allomorphs:

(3) Mpishi alipikia jikoni

"The cook was cooking in the kitchen (habitually)"

Mpishi		alipikia					jikoni	
m	pishi	a	li	pik	**i**	a	jiko	ni
CL1	*cook*	3SG	PAST	*cook*	**APPL**	IND	*kitchen*	LOC
N		V					N	

Generated in TypeCraft.

(4) Juma alimletea Fatuma Kahawa

"Juma brought coffee to Fatuma."

Juma	alimletea						Fatuma	kahawa
Juma	a	li	m	let	**e**	a	fatuma	kahawa
	3SG.SM	PAST	OM	*bring*	**APPL**	IND	CL9	*coffee*
Np	V						Np	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

(5) Maryamu amewanunulia watoto kitabu

"Maryamu has bought the children a book"

Maryamu	amewanunulia						watoto	
Maryamu	a	me	wa	nunu	**li**	a	wa	toto
	CL1.SM	PFV	CL2.OBJ	*buy*	**APPL**	FV	CL2	*child*.SBJ
Np	V						N	

kitabu	
ki	tabu
CL7	*book*.OBJ
N	

Generated in TypeCraft.

[i] in (3) [e] in (4) and [li] in (5) are realisations of the applicative suffix marking the locative, goal and benefactive/recipient applicative constructions in the above Kishwahili phrases. Due to allomorphy, it sometimes become difficult to identify the applicative morpheme, let me quote Kimenyi (1980) who worked on Kinyarwanda applicatives:

" The applicative suffix -ir- which is also realized as -er- after midvowels , e and o because of vowel harmony or just as -i- or -e- because of the dropping of r in front of the perfective aspect morpheme -ye, has different functions such as possessive, locative, temporal, dative, benefactive, cause/goal and subjective."

Also in RR, as we shall see in chapter 3, allomorphic variation leads to a variety of applicative forms most of which are similar to those mentioned above. Given the variation, it is not easy to identify the underlying form of the applicative morpheme and different Bantuists have considered different forms.

Kimenyi(1980), gives the impression that suggests that the underlying form is /ir/ while Mchombo (2004) seems to suggest that both /il/ and /el/ are underlying forms, a suggestion seconded by Ngonyani(1995). In this thesis, I opt for /ir/ as the underlying form of the RR applicative morpheme. The basis for this consideration comes after examining the allomorphic variations found in my own data which is accessible to the reader on TypeCraft (www.typecraft.org).

Table 4 below, which is an adaptation from Morris & Kirwan (1957: 112-116) gives a first indication of the allomorphic variation found in RR.

Table 4 *RR applicative forms by Morris & Kirwan (1957)*

Verb stem	**Gloss**	**Applicative**	**Gloss**	**APPL morpheme**
-kora	work	-kor**er**a	work for	er
-gamba	say	-gamb**ir**a	say to	ir
-taasya	bring in	-taah**iz**a	bring in for	iz
-ozya	wash	-ogy**ez**a	wash for	es

Let me stress again that although most of the realisations identified by Morris & Kirwan (1957) can also be found in other Bantu languages like Chichewa (Kroeger, 2004:72-73; Mchombo, 2004), Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi, 1980), Chingoni (Ngonyani & Githinju, 2006:32), to just name some; each language may feature different forms, and one will not know which ones they are unless one studies these languages in detail.

1.1.4 Classification of applicative constructions.

In Bantu languages, applicative classes are determined by the syntactic behavior of the applied object and mostly named after the applied object. Important to note is that the applicative extension indicates that the action is applied on behalf of, toward or with regard to some object (Lodhi, 2002:6). Crucial is the semantic role that is realized by the object. Hyman & Duranti (1982:224), as an example, talk about the semantic role hierarchy and how it influences object order in most Bantu languages. Below, I reproduce their semantic hierarchy in Figure 2:

Figure 2 *Thematic hierarchy following Hyman & Duranti (1982)*

Benefactive >[9] Recipient > Patient/Theme > Instrument > Locative.

Figure 2 predicts that the object bearing the benefactive role is more adjacent to the verb stem than other objects (Hyman & Durant,1982). Taylor (1985:96) comes to a similar conclusion, although he does not order the different semantic types into a hierarchy of semantic roles.
Lodhi (2002:12), comparing Kishwahili and Nyamwezi verb extensions, identifies some of the meanings introduced by the applicative:

[9]According to Hyman & Duranti (1982), the sign >, means not only that the benefactive is higher on the hierarchical order but also that the benefactive is more likely to undergo or trigger grammatical processes than the recipient, and so on.

" a) to do to, for, or on behalf of, or to the benefit or detriment of someone or something, b) motion towards; c) purpose; d) finality or completeness; e) "why?" with the interrogative nini? Or the enclitic –ni; and f) "of oneself, by oneself" with a reflexive –ji-"

Applicative meanings identified by Lodhi (2002) are also named for RR by Taylor (1985). Table 5 is a list of his findings. Note that Taylor does not indicate which meanings are more likely to be expressed as an applicative.

Table 5 *Semantic functions of applicatives (Taylor 1985)*

Semantic Function	**Applied Verb stem**	**Gloss**
Benefactive	-reet**er**a	bring for
Function	- kukor**es**a…..	use for
Purpose	-kor**er**a	work for
Source	-tandik**ir**a aha/omu/owa	- started at/from/-
Cause	-tiin**ir**a	fear for
Instrumental	-gyend**es**a ---	go with/ buy
Manner	-gamb**ir**a n'ekiniga	speak with anger
Reference	- gamb**ir**a aha….	tell on/about…..
Value	-gur**ir**a ahari---	buy at
Inclusion	- bariramu	count in/include in

As a tendency, linguistic work on applicative constructions like Chichewa (Mchombo, 2004, Nurse, 2004, Lam, 2007), Kindedeula and Kiswahili (Ngonyani,1995), seem to focus only on a few applicative constructions. Their center of interest are mostly the Benefactives, Instrumentals and Locatives.

In describing RR applicative construction classes (types), I will adopt some of Taylor's terms but I will also use a more general terminology, used by the Bantuists mentioned above.

1.2 Research Objectives

The major objective of this thesis is to investigate and document applicative constructions in RR. The specific objectives include:

1. To document RR applicative constructions through annotated data.
2. To identify, describe and analyze the forms of the RR applicative morpheme
3. To identify the morpho-phonological rules that determine the realisation of the forms of the applicative morpheme in RR.
4. To describe the different classes of RR applicative constructions.

1.3 The Scope of the Study

This thesis investigates and describes applicative constructions in RR basing on the annotated data derived from my own field work. My corpus consists of recordings and texts from different genres. In addition to RR data, I have compiled over 200 annotated phrases from the following Bantu languages: Kinyarwanda, Chichewa, Kiswahili and Kindendeule. To some extent, I have also made use of the already existing TypeCraft corpus of RR. The aquisition and processing of this data represents a substantial part of this thesis.

In the thesis text, I have focused on identifying different forms as well as describing and illustrating the morpho-phonological processes that determine the realisation of the RR applicative morpheme, and the classification of applicatives, relying on the semantic characterization of the applied objects and their syntactic behavior.

1.4 Purpose and Significance of the Study

The overall purpose of this study is to document applicative constructions in RR. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis is based on the first ever RR research corpus dedicated to the linguistic description and study of the language. I consider it as a special bonus that this corpus is freely available online. It is my hope that the methods and tools of digital linguistics will make research data easier accessible than the case it was in 1970s and 1980s when Taylor's grammar was written.

The thesis contains in-depth annotated examples; additional data is available on Typecraft. Scholars, native and non-native language learners, and language enthusiasts, will hopefully find the additional databased material helpful for their own studies of my language.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

2 Introduction

This chapter addresses methodological issues. I discuss the choice of my topic, describe my field work, that is, the tools and methods that I used in collecting and analyzing my data. The writing process is discussed as well, and challenges that I met are identified.

2.1 Topic choice

A thesis topic is not simply decided upon, but it slowly develops. It all started back in 2003, in Uganda, when we were studying lexicography. Dr Oriikiriza introduced us to verb derivatives, and we learned that they can extend the meanings of the verb. Later, during the work on the first ever RR monolingual dictionary (Kashoboorozi Ya Runyankore-Rukiga) in which I was involved as a research assistant and as a copy editor, I was immersed in realizing the different verb derivatives in RR. I tried to understand verb extensions, however, I remained challenged by the order of different verb arguments especially during the exemplification of dictionary entries and their senses. In the process, I found prepositional and causative verb derivatives to be the most interesting ones.

In 2009, when I came to study linguistics at NTNU, my professor also talked about verb extensions, especially valency increasing arguments in Bantu languages. But now, the formatives, previously referred to as prepositional verb derivatives, were now referred to as applicative. This increased my curiosity. Through the use of the multi-lingual database TypeCraft, I gained access to annotate RR data. I became particularly interested in the RR applicative morphemes annotated as *'-ir-'* and *'-er-*'. It was then, that I started to be interested in investigating the morpho-phonological and syntactic structure of the RR applicative.

2.2 Field work

In 2010, I set out for field work in Uganda, yet struck by illness; I had to settle for a less ambiguous plan than originally envisioned. I started to work with the RR novel 'Abagyenda Bareeba'; written by the late Benedicto. K. Mubangizi, a writer, who at the same time used to work at Makerere University as an external examiner for Runyakitara. My task was to extract sentences exemplifying applicative constructions. Mubangizi's novel, served as one of my

primary sources. In summer 2011, I went on field work again and completed my data collection. I have made my corpus public on my user page available on TypeCraft, http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/User:Misah_Natumanya . The material is availbale as raw data and in an annotated format.

2.2.1 Informants

My field study took place in South-West Uganda, in the new district of Mitooma; a rural area of only RR speakers. The intention was to collect data of native speakers in areas with little language contact. This new district is located in a rural area of only RR native speakers. The selection of informants was based on age only, and the overall goal, was to record spontaneous speech in a local setting. Yet, in practice, things turned out to be a little different. The elderly were afraid and refused to be recorded despite my effort in explaining to them the purpose of the study. Others demanded a lot of money which I did not have. This necessitated me to select informants from my friends and relatives who live in Kashenshero Sub County. Their ages were between 25-60 years.

2.3 Research corpus

The corpus is composed of a variety of different sources, including audio recordings, excerpts from local newspapers, excerpts from a novel, secondary data from other Bantu languages and the already existing TypeCraft corpus of RR[10]. In the next subsection, I will present this data in some more detail.

2.3.1 Dialogues and conversations

I recorded only 2 dialogues and 3 monologues. The 3 monologues were recorded with the same informant. The informant was very wordy and insisted on an uninterrupted monologue on three different topics. Together, the data has a size of 26.55 MB, with a total length of 15:52 minutes.

Table 6 shows a list of dialogues and monologues which constitute my audio sources. Links in the table lead directly to the recordings online.

[10]Main contributors to the RR TypeCraft corpus are Allen Asiimwe and Justus Turamyomwe.

Table 6 *Detailed list of dialogues and conversations*

File name	Informant	Age	Language	Type of recording	Size in MB	Duration in min
Conversation1_with_B.J.J	Betegyereza JJ	60	Runyankore	Conversation	2.59	01.37
Conversation2_with_B.J.J	Betegyereza JJ	60	Runyankore	Conversation	4.26	02.39
Conversation3_by_B.J.J	Betegyereza JJ	60	Runyankore	Conversation	6.99	04.21
Dialogue_with_AE	Arinaitwe .E	25	Runyankore	Dialogue	5.35	03.20
Dialogue_with_BP	Byaruhanga.P	30	Runyankore	Dialogue	7.36	04.35

Unlike the monologues where I left the participant the freedom to talk with little or no interruption, in the two dialogues, I used specific questions which aimed at eliciting applicative constructions.

The topics were relevant to the participants. One of them was a teacher; so we talked about his profession but with questions phrased in such a way that his responses could yield an applicative construction. The conversation thus was more of a directed interview. I used the same method in the second conversation where my informant was a high school student.

The recordings were done with a digital recorder from EDIROL, 24-bit WAVE/MP3 RECORDER R-09, which I borrowed from the TypeCraft project. I recorded and stored the 4 files on a 4 GB memory card from where they were transferred onto my computer. In the digital recorder, the sound files were saved as wave files which then were converted to an MP3 format, as I uploaded them to my computer. From there, I loaded the files to TypeCraft. Also my transcripts of the audio material were loaded to TypeCraft using TypeCrafts corpus facility. With the help of the TypeCraft Editor, the data was annotated and stored in a database for later retrieval.

2.3.2 Church hymns

Though I had the intension of recording church songs from Kashenshero Church of Uganda, I did not succeed because my batteries were very low at that point. Listening to hymns during church service convinced me that these songs were rich in applicative constructions. Due to my misfortune concerning battery power, I had to record later from an already recorded tape. I used my digital recorder in front of the cassette playing a tape and recorded the song. This way, I recorded and transcribed 4 RR hymns.

Table 7 *List of recorded hymns*

Hyman.	**Translation**	**Choir**	**Size in MB**	**Duration in min**
Embabazi za yesu	Jesus' grace	Kashenshero COU	3.66	04.58
Yesu_ni_Munywani_Waitu.	Jesus is our friend.	Kashenshero COU	4.55	03.59
Abariisa_ku_baabaire_bariisize	When shepherd were looking after Animals	Kashenshero COU	7.0	07.41
Mukama_ninkutakira	Accept me lord.	Kashenshero COU	2.53	02.45

The above data has the size of approximately 17.80 MB covering 18 minutes in total. This data is also transcribed and annotated in TypeCraft, and is part of my corpus.

2.3.3 Newspaper excerpts

I selected two local newspapers widely read in Western Uganda. These are Orumuri and Entatsi. '*Orumuri*' literary meaning '*the torch'*, is a weekly newspaper read in all districts of South-West Uganda. It publishes political, economic, social, and cultural as well as sports news, covering national and international events.

Entatsi, '*the spy*', is also a widely read local newspaper, but mostly in towns and few districts of South-West Uganda. It contains summarized political, cultural, sports, and entertainment news. It specializes mostly in news related to social life.

From each of these newspapers, I picked over 30 phrases and annotated them in Typecraft. During the selection period, I would first read through the whole page of the news paper and then come back to pick out phrases with applicatives. Also, this material can be inspected in TypeCraft under Excerpts from the Orumuri newspaper : and Excerpts from the Entatsi newspaper : , respectively. Sample pages of 'Orumuri' and 'Entatsi' containing examples of phrases of applicative constructions can also be found in Appendices I & II at the end of this thesis.

2.3.4 Excerpts from Abagyenda Bareeba

As noted in 2.2, some of the data I used for this work was excerpted from the novel *Abagyenda Bareeba*. I found it a credible linguistic source. It has been written by Benedicto. K. Mubangizi in 1964. Mubangizi was a renoun Runyankore-Rukiga teacher and external

examiner of Runyakitara at Makerere University. His novel has remained famous and is still used in teaching and language training at all levels. Again, this material can be found in TypeCraft under "Excepts from the novel "Abagyenda Bareeba". Sample pages of the novel 'Abagyenda Bareeba' with highlighted example phrases containing applicative constructions, can be found in Appendices III at the end of this thesis.

2.3.5 TypeCraft data

TypeCraft contains at present a corpus of 90 000 annotated morphemes of RR. Main contributors and annotators of the corpus, in addition to myself, are Allen Asiimwe (2007) who pioneered the RR corpus on TypeCraft, and Justus Turamyomwe who has worked on Tense and Aspect in RR (2011). Since both Asiimwe and Turamyomwe worked with nature occurring language, their material also contains applicative constructions which were interesting to my own research.

2.3.6 Secondary sources

My corpus contains also Interlinear Glossed Texts (IGT) from linguistic publications. This IGT data contains examples from Chichewa, Kinyarwanda, Kindenduele, and Kiswahili. The material has been provided with the necessary metadata. The annotations I have provided reflect the glossing that was found in the original publications. For each language, a total of 50 phrases have been added to TypeCraft and can be accessed on these **links**[11] [12] [13] [14]

2.3.7 Elicitation data

Part of the data used for this thesis, is based on examples constructed by the thesis writer who is a native speaker of the language. While studying other Bantu languages, I compared constructions in the literature with what is possible in my own language and then entered this data to my corpus. Following this approach, I added of 280 phrases to my annotated corpus[15]

[11] http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Corpus:Chichewa_Applicative_Constructions

[12] http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Corpus:Kinyarwanda

[13] http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Corpus:Kiswahili_(Swahili)_Applicative_Constructions.

[14] http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Corpus:Kindendeule_Applicative_Constructions

[15] http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/User:Misah_Natumanya#Elicitation_data

2.4 Data processing and analysis

Text material was loaded to the TypeCraft database as sentence collections. As far as the selection of material from newspapers and literary text is concerned, I sampled applicatives, loaded them in form of a sentence collections for each of the sources to the TypeCraft system. As for the dialogues, conversations, and hymns, audio files were saved on my computer in a single folder. I transcribed these sources by playing each file using Media Player. I had planned to use Praat, yet I felt that a prosodic study of applicative, which would have justified the additional effort, was beyond the scope of this work. My total contribution to the annotated data of RR and other Bantu languages consists of 13893 annotated morphemes corresponding to 5021 words from 1036 phrases. The data can be accessed online from different links, either directly from my user page User:Misah_Natumanya or from the page. Applicative_Constructions_in_Runyankore-Rukiga_Corpus. Table 8, presents a summary of this data.

Table 8 *Overview: TypeCraft applicative corpus*

Form of Data	**Number of Phrases.**
1. Conversations_and_dialogues	120
2. Newspaper_excerpts	55
3. Songs	50
4. Excerpts_from_literary_texts	35
5. Excerpts_from_linguistic_texts	200
6. Elicitation_data	280

2.5 TypeCraft

TypeCraft, is an online application. By directing a browser, to www.typecraft.org, you reach the TypeCraft wiki, which is the entrance port to the TypeCraft database. Below I briefly illustrate how I used TypCraft.

After transliteration or having finished a collection of sentences as a WORD document, I copy & pasted the material into TypeCraft. I opened TypeCraft by signing in using a personal password. On opening TypCraft, I would click on ‘new text’. This opens the TypeCraft

Editor. I can now specify the language by selecting the language name from a drop down window. I then paste the text into the left part of the Editor window. I move the cursor to 'Create phrases' where I click and numbered phrases are created (instantiated) on the right hand side of my Editor window. From there, I start to go through the phrases one-by- one , colour-coding tells me which sentences I have already annotated.

Before I enter the annotation table, I am prompted for a morphological break-up, this then allows me to use hyphens to indicate morpheme breaks. In the annotation table, I normally start with giving a free translation, after that I tab vertically through the annotation table to fill in fields for a first light annotation.

Part of the analysis of this data, was done concurrently with the annotation of phrases. Even simple annotation presupposes linguistic analysis and as the depth of the annotation increases, morpho-phonological, syntactic and semantic relations get established.

In many respects, TypeCraft was to me, a learning by doing experience and I was in the lucky situation to be able to talk directly to the developers of this tool. My supervisor and I spent time together, thinking about annotations, swapping examples and counter-examples, in a process that one could call "incremental annotation".

2.6 Challenges

I met some challenges in using TypeCraft. I must say that it was my first encounter with a linguistic tool, so I initially didn't even have a simplest knowledge about digital linguistics. Classes in digital and language processing involving data analysis helped me, though some challenges listed below, were still encountered.

Infixation: In the process of analyzing my data, it so happened that some applicative morphemes are infixes. I had all along only known the applicative marker to be a suffix that occurs between the verb root and the final vowel. But as an infix, it penetrates the verb root and it thus became a challenge for me to present this phenomenon in TypeCraft. An example of the applicative infix, and its annotation, is shown and discussed in chapter 3.

Annotating other languages of which you are not a native speaker: I first found annotating secondary sources (Chichewa, Kiswahili, Kindendeule, and Kinyarwanda) a very big challenge. Though some of the secondary data that I had found had some glosses, some of its inflectional and derivational morphemes were not clearly identified by the author. Although some translational glosses suggested for example the existence of Tense and Aspect, I could

find myself running out of morphemes for an obviously required Tense and Aspect annotation. For some languages such as Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda, I overcame the challenge by contacting resource people at the Makerere Institute of Languages who advised me. As for Chichewa and Kindendeule, I did my own research both online and in textbooks, to fill in the information gaps that the original Interlinear Glossed examples had.

Shared data (collaborative corpora): TypeCraft has an option for working together on a language for instance in a language group, classroom group or other kinds of special interest groups. However, I felt that in some cases that could slow down my progress. The reason is that other RR annotators in our Runyakitara group didn't recognize other forms of applicative morphemes than –er- and –ir-. So in cases where the morpheme would be –e- or –i-, it would be considered to be part of TAM inflections. Consider for instance phrases (6) and (7) below, the applicative morpheme, is annotated as a Perfective morpheme:

(6) Ebi onkoreire mukama tindibyebwa

"I will never forget everything you (God) have done for me"

Ebi	onkoreire					mukama		tindibyebwa					
e	bi	o	n	kor	**eire**	mu	kama	ti	n	di	by	ebw	a
IV	CL8	2SG	1SG	*do*	PFV	CL1	*owner*	NEG	1SG	PRES	CL8	*forget*	FV
CONJ		V				N		V					

Generated in TypeCraft.

(7) Ndeeba rukundo egyo ei yangiriire

"I see that love which he had for me"

Ndeeba			rukundo			egyo		ei	
n	deeb	a	ru	kund	o	e	gyo	e	i
1SG	*see*	FV	CL11	*love*	NMLZ	CL9	*that*	IV	*which*.REL
V			N			DEM		CONJ	

yangiriire				
y	a	n	gir	**iire**
3SG	PASTrm	1SG	*have*	PFV
V				

Generated in TypeCraft.

The correct annotations are shown in (8) above and (9) below:

(8) Ebi onkoreire mukama tindibyebwa

"I will never forget everything you (God) have done for me"

Ebi	onkoreire						mukama	
e	bi	o	n	kor	**e**	ire	mu	kama
IV	CL8	2SG	1SG	*do*	APPL	PFV	CL1	*owner*
CONJ	V						N	

tindibyebwa					
ti	n	di	by	ebw	a
NEG	1SG	PRES	CL8	*forget*	FV
V					

Generated in TypeCraft.

(9) Ndeeba rukundo egyo ei yangiriire

"I see that love which he had for me"

Ndeeba			rukundo		egyo	ei
n	deeb	a	ru	kundo	e	gyo	ei
1SG	*see*	FV	CL11	*love*	IV	*that*	*which*
V			N		DEM	REL	

yangiriire					
y	a	n	gir	**i**	ire
3SG	PASTrm	1SG	*have*	APPL	PFV
V					

Generated in TypeCraft.

In (6) and (7) the applicative morpheme -e- and -i- , are annotated as belonging to the Perfective Aspect morpheme -ire. Cases like this, made me re-annotate my data manually, overwritting some of the automatically given annotations. Obviously, this slowed me down.

Technical challenges: It was challenging to create a corpus on TypeCraft and to organize data on TypeCraft. You start for example with loading audio files to the system; you then create a TCwiki corpus page on which you need to embed the audio file. I feel that this process should be simplified.

As far as annotation is concerned, it took me some time to get used to the difference between POS and GLOSS tags and their labels.

Despite these challenges, the tool has several strong points some of which are listed here:

(i) One of the most important advantages of making a thorough morpheme-to-morpheme analysis of the data by doing manual annotation is that it leads the linguist to an early identification of linguistic phenomena that might have been overlooked in earlier analysis.

(ii) On the basis of well annotated phrases in TypeCraft, I have been able to quickly identify different forms of the applicative affix, something I had not paid attention to before. With morpheme-to-morpheme annotations, it has been made easier for me to work out morpheme boundaries, and therefore identify different morphemes in the RR verbal complex.

(iii) TypeCraft annotations use a defined set of glosses and are in that way more systematic than the glosses that I had to work with in secondary sources. Although the TypeCraft corpus facility is somewhat tedious at this point, it is already an improvement to managing my linguistic data files somewhere on my private machine. TypeCraft offers a safe storage for both audio and text data and it can be easily accessed anytime and anywhere. I hope for the future that the management of a research corpus like mine becomes easier and the import and export of corpus files more straightforward than it is right now.

(iv) Helpful has been knowledge sharing between TypeCraft users. Through constructive discussions on linguistic phenomenon via TC mail, squibs and discussion pages, I have been helped on how to annotate some morphemes which have been problematic. For instance, the participle form ‘riku’ which other RR annotators have commented on, has been of great help.

All in all, TypeCraft is a useful and important data management and glossing tool. It has immensely contributed in organizing, illustrating and analyzing data for my thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

RR APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

3 Introduction

In this chapter, we talk about applicative constructions in RR. The syllable structure of the RR applicative morpheme, the rule of vowel harmony as well as other morpho-phonological processes responsible for the realization of different RR applicative allomorphs, are discussed and illustrated.

3.1 The RR applicative morpheme

The RR applicative morpheme is a derivational morpheme which in most cases appears in a post-verb root position. Consider (10) below:

(10) Tinaakimuheerayo

"I have not given it to him from there."

Tinaakimuheereireyo

ti	n	aa	ki	mu	ha	er	a	yo
NEG	1SG	PASTim	OM	SM	*give*	APPL	FV	LOC
V								

Generated in TypeCraft.

By modifying a table presented by Salting (2004:4)'s work on Olusaamia[16], Table 9 below, gives an overview over the RR verbal morphology.

[16]Olusaamia is a cross boarder Bantu language spoken in Eastern Uganda (Samia-lugwe) and Western Kenya (Luyia), and according to Guthrie's zonal classification, it is classified as Masaba-Luyia J.30.

Table 9 *RR Verbal morphemes*

Sequence	Symbol	Name	Status	Comments
1	NEG	Negative marker	Optional	Changes its form with Tense/Aspect
2	SP	Subject marker	Obligatory	Several and ambiguous functions
3	T/A	Tense/Aspect[1]	Obligatory	Marked one at a time ; informs T/A[2] and FV
4	OP	Object marker	Optional	Pronominal marker; with a Max=2,
5	Root	Verbal Root	Obligatory	Verbal foundation (verb core)
6	DERV Suf	Derivational Suffix	Optional	Marks Voice; applicative, passive causative, reciprocal, etc (max=4)
7	T/A	Tense /Aspect[2]	Optional	Marked one at a time
8	FV	Final Vowel	Obligatory	Marks Aspect or Mood in modified verb stems, basic verbs with default='a'

From Table 9, we can derive a morphological template which takes the form shown in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3 *RR Verbal morphological template*

[(NEG) - SM-(T/A)]- ([OM])-ROOT-([EXT]) [(T/A)]-[FV]

We should note that RR derivational affixes (verb extensions) are not restricted to only post-verb root positions since the reflexive marker is a prefix. This is exemplified in (11) below:

(11) Titwayebatirizayo

"We have not baptized ourselves from there."

Titwayebatirizayo
ti tu[17] a ye bati ri z a yo
NEG 1PL PASTim REFL *baptise* APPL MOD LOC
V

Generated in TypeCraft.

(11) shows that in RR, we may at times have two derivational affixes; one in a pre-verbal root position and another one in the post-verbal root position. Figure 4 below, illustrates it further.

[17]In RR and almost all Bantu languages, semi vowel or glides [j] and [W] are formed on morphological boundaries when high vowels precede other vowels. [W] is formed when a vowel sound /u/ combines with any other vowel except /u/ itself, and [j] or y, is formed when /i/ combines with any other vowel except /i/ itself. So, /W/= /u/ + [a, e, I, o] while /j/ or /y/ = /i/ + [u, o, a, e].

Figure 4 *RR verb: Modified morphological template*

[(NEG)- SM-(T/A)]-([DERV->REFL])-ROOT-([EXT)])ROOT [(T/A)]-[FV](LOC)

The derivational suffixes and their order are shown in Figure 5:

Figure 5 *Post -root derivational suffixes in RR*

ROOT-([(CAUS) (APPL) (REC) (PASS)]) [(T/A)]-[FV]

Root templates remain stable while the actual verb morphology might change dependent of the construction and the morphological rules that apply. In the following section I discuss and illustrate the canonical positions of the RR applicative morpheme.

3.2 Positions of the RR applicative morpheme

My fieldwork data shows that the RR applicative morpheme has 2 canonical positions Example (12) below, illustrates the RR applicative morpheme in a post-verbal root position.

(12) Omushomesa yaagurira omwana ekitabo.

"The teacher has bought a book for a child."

Omushomesa				yaagurira					omwana		
o	mu	shomes	a	ya	a	gur	ir	a	o	mw	ana
IV	CL1	*teacher*	DEL	3SG	PASTim	*buy*	APPL	FV	IV	CL1	*child*
N				V					N		

ekitabo		
e	ki	tabo
IV	CL7	*book*
N		

Generated in TypeCraft.

Yet, it is also possible that the morpheme occupies a different position, depending on the structure of the verb as well as its tense and aspect inflections. For instance RR verbs whose verb roots end in /**z /,** have applicative infixes.

This applicative marker occupies a position between /z/ as the last consonant of the root and the vowel of the preceding syllable of the root. This is illustrated in (13) and (14) below:

(13) Omwahure yaabatiza omwana

"The reverend has baptized a child"

Omwahure			yaabatiza				omwana		
o	mu	ahure	y	aa	batiz	a	o	mw	ana
IV	CL1	*reverand*	3SG	PASTim	*baptise*	FV	IV	CL1	*child*
N			V				N		

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(14) Omwahure yaabatiriza omwana ahansi y'omuti

"The reverand has baptised a child under the tree"

Omwahure			yaabatiriza					omwana		
o	mw	ahure	y	aa	bati	**ri**	z a	o	mw	ana
IV	CL1	*reverand*	3SG	PASTim	*baptise*	APPL	FV	IV	CL1	*child*
N			V					N		

ahansi			y'	omuti		
a	ha	nsi	y'	o	mu	ti
IV	CL16	*under*	*of*	IV	CL3	*tree*
ADV			PREP	N		

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As seen in (12), the applicative morpheme *–ir-*, is a suffix relative to the verb stem -gur***ir***a '*buy for'*. In (14), we have the verb stem –bati***ri***za '*baptize for'* with the applicative morpheme as an infix *–ri-;* between the syllable ***'ti'*** and the last consonant */z/.* As mentioned above, this realisation of the applicative marker as an infix is restricted to all RR verbs ending in the consonant /z/.

Morris and Kirwan (1972:116), mention this formation when they say, "*Verbs in –za change za into –riza or –reza".* Yet, they do not clearly relate this phenomenon to applicative formation. Let us consider Table 10.

Table 10 *Realisation of the applicative morpheme as an infix in RR*

Basic Verb	**Gloss**	**Applied Verb stem**	**Gloss**	**Applicative marker**
-hez-a	finish	-herez-a	finish for	-re-
-batiz-a	-baptise	-batiriz-a	baptize for	-ri-
-ikiriz-a	believe	-ikiririz-a	believe for/in	-ri-
-taz-a	disagree	-tariz-a	disagree on	-ri-
-tooz-a	search	-toorez-a	search from	-re-
-tiiz-a	borrow	-tiiriz-a	borrow for	--ri-

Infixation under applicativisation can also be observed in Runyoro-Rutooro and Luganda. The pattern seems to be the same; affected are verbs ending in –za. Provided the verb in all these languages end in *-za* , the applicative marker is realized in the same way and in a similar position. Data from Runyoro-Rutooro (Rubongoya: 1999) and Luganda (Chesswas: 1967), present the fact. Consider Table 11 and 12 below:

Table 11 *Realisation of the applicative infix in Runyoro-Rutooro*

Basic verb	**Gloss**	**Applied verb**	**Gloss**	**Applicative marker**
guza	sell	-guliz-a	sell in/from	-li-
baza	speak	-baliz-a	speak at	-li-
-kiza	heal	-kiliz-a	heal from	-li-
-koza	eat	-kolez-a	eat from	-le-
-semeza	clean	-semelez-a	clean for	-le-

Table 12 *Realisation of the applicative infix in Luganda*

Basic verb	**Gloss**	**Applied verb**	**Gloss**	**Applicative**
-buuz-a	greet	-buu-li-z-a	greet for/in	-li-
-yuz-a	tear	-yuu-liz-a	tear from	-li-
-yoz-a	wash	-yo-le-z-a	wash for	-le-
-woz-a	plead	-wo-le-z-a	plead for	-le-
-jaguz-a	celebrate	-jagu-li-z-a	celebrate from	-li-

McGregor (2009:340) defines an infix as, "*an affix that is inserted within a root*", Given our illustrations and the facts reviewed, we can safely conclude that RR verbs ending in /z/, realise their applicative allomorphs ([re] and [ri]) as infixes.

RR applicative morphemes are thus realised in two positions. As suffixes, they are positioned between the verb root and the final vowel, while infix applicative markers are positioned inside the verb root.

3.3 The Syllable Structure of RR Applicative Morpheme

Most Bantu languages realize the applicative morpheme as [er] and [ir], that is, as a vowel + a consonant pattern (VC). Yet, it is interesting to find that my field work data reveals that RR applicative morpheme, has five different vowel structures exhibited by the different applicative allomorphs. Table 13 below illustrates RR applicative allomorphs and their syllable structure.

Table 13 RR applicative morphs and their syllable structure.

APPL Morpheme	**Syllable Structure**
-er-, -ir-, -es-, -ez-, -ir-, -is-, -iz-	VC
-yes-, -yer-, -yez-	CVC
-ri-, -re-	CV
-i-, -e-	V
-z-	C

In the next section, I discuss how vowel harmony determines RR applicative morpheme realisation.

3.4 Vowel harmony and RR applicative morpheme realisation

The form of the RR applicative morpheme is determined by vowel harmony. The trigger of vowel harmony is the last vowel of the verb root. I illustrate this relationship using data in Table 14.

Table 14 *Vowel harmony in RR*

Applied verb	Meaning	Last root vowel	Applicative form
-re**e**t**er**a	bring for	e	[er]
-p**i**m**ir**a	measure for	i	[ir]
-tu**u**r**ir**a	leaving for/on	u	[ir]
-ro**o**t**er**a	dream from	o	[er]
-r**a**ng**ir**a	announce for	a	[ir]
-ig**u**r**i**ire	opened for	u	[i]
-re**e**b**e**ire	saw from	e	[e]

On the basis of Table 14, we realize that:

(i) The realization of different forms of the RR applicative morpheme depends on the last vowel of the verb root.

(ii) The exact shape of the RR applicative affix is a subject to vowel height harmony.

(iii) The RR applicative morpheme takes the value of the front vowels only.

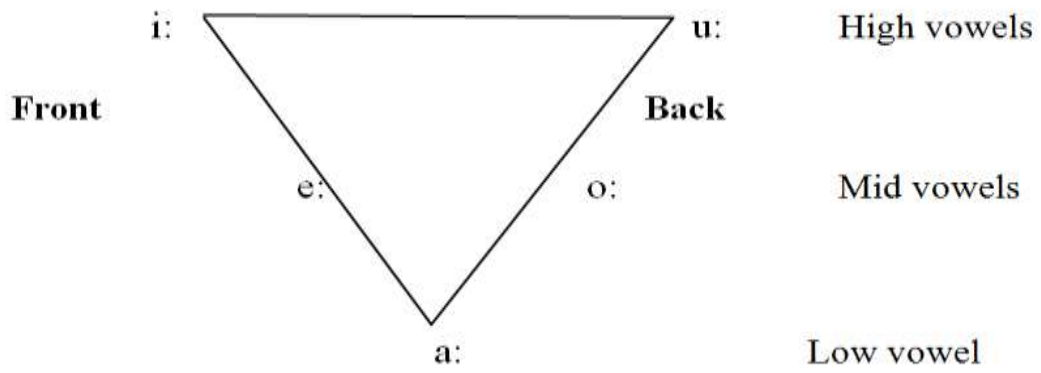
To be more specific, if the last vowel of the root in the RR applied verb stem is /e/ and /o/, the applicative morpheme must also bear the vowel sound /e/, as part of its form. This includes the applicative forms like: [er], [e], [ez],[yes] [yes], [yer] and [es]. On the other hand, if the last vowel of the RR applied verb stem has the vowel sounds /u/, /i/ and /a/, the applicative morpheme must also bear the sound /i/, leading to [ir], [i], [iz], [is].

3.4.1 RR Vowel harmony in perspective

Katamba (1989:211) defines vowel harmony as: *"a process whereby within a certain designated domain, usually the word, all vowels are required to share one or more phonological properties"*

In order to understand how vowel harmony takes place between RR applied verb roots and the applicative morpheme, it's important to look at RR vowel properties. I show this, using the RR vowel chart in Figure (6) below:

Figure 6 *RR Vowel chart*



According to Figure (6), RR has 5 cardinal vowel sounds. Vowels /**i/** and /**u/,** are high vowels with a feature [+HIGH], while /**e**/ and /**o**/, are mid vowels and bear the feature [-HIGH] Vowel /**a**/ is a low vowel and has **[**+LOW] as its height feature. Since vowel /**a**/ is neither [+HIGH] nor [-HIGH], it may be underspecified, that is, it may drop its [+LOW] feature to adopt another feature, for example [+HIGH]. This process is illustrated in Table 14. Phonologically, the underspecified element takes up the features of the underlying form. When the last vowel of the verb stem is /a/, the applicative morpheme is /ir/ or any other allomorph with vowel /i/ in its structure.

Given this alternation, we assume that the underlying representation of the RR applicative morpheme is /ir/. It is commonly assumed by Bantuist that the common applicative forms in RR are [ir] and [er], and it is also assumed that the variation we observe is based on vowel harmony (/ir/ → [ir] [er]). However, besides [ir] and [er], RR has other applicative allomorphs which are also determined by vowel harmony or other phonological processes. These facts will be discussed in the section that follows.

3.5 Morpho-Phonological realizations of the Applicative Allomorphs in RR

In section 3.4, we noted that /ir/ is an underlying form of the RR applicative morpheme, however, in the annotated data, the applicative is realized in different forms. The realization of these allomorphs is determined by rules of vowel harmony (as discussed in section 3.4), as well as other phonological processes. Below, different forms of the applicative morpheme are discussed and illustrated.

3.5.1 [ir] and [er]

Allomorphs [**ir]** and **[er]** are the most common forms of the applicative morpheme in RR. Other Bantu languages like, Chichewa, Luganda, Haya, and Kindendeula realise them as [il] and [el], a difference that might be caused by orthographic conventions. I illustrate these two allomorphs in (15) and (16):

(15) Nitureeba embwa neeraba aha bantu kandi boona barikugitangaarira.

"We see the dog passing by people and it surprises all of them."

Nitureeba				embwa			neeraba				aha	
ni	tu	reeb	a	e	m[18]	bwa	ni	e	rab	a	aha	
PROG	1PL	*see*	FV	IV	CL9	*dog*	PROG	3SG.SM	*pass*	FV	IV	
V				N			V				PREP	

bantu		kandi	boona	barikugitangaarira								
ba	ntu	kandi	ba[19]	ona	ba	ri	ku	gi	tangaar	**ir**	a	
CL2	*people*	*and*	CL2	*all*	CL2	PROG	INF	CL9.AGR	*wonder*	APPL	FV	
		CONJ	QUANT		V							

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(16) Diguri ye akagishomera omu Yunivasite ya Mukono.

"He studied his degree from Mukono University"

Diguri		ye		akagishomera							omu
	diguri	ye		a	ka	gi	shom	**er**	a		omu
CL9	*deegre*	3SG	*his*.POSS	3SG	PASTrm	CL9.SM	*study*	APPL	FV		*in*
N		PROposs		V							PREP

Yunivasite		ya	Mukono
	yunivasite	ya	mukono
CL9	*university*	*of*	
N		PREP	Np

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In (15), the last vowel in the verb stem is realized as /a/ so that the applicative suffix becomes –ir-, in (16), the last vowel in the stem is /o/ and the applicative suffix becomes –er-.

[18]In (6), **m** represents **n** which is supposed to mark CL9 or CL10 according to the RR noun class system. However, RR nasals /m/ and /n/ are conditional variants such that, if / n/ precedes a bilabial plosive /b/, it changes into /m/.

[19]This is a case of regressive assimilation where syllable [bo] from the word 'boona' is presented as [ba]. /a/ is modified so that it becomes more like /o/. So, when /a/ is assimilated regressively by /o/, [ba-ona] becomes [boona].

3.5.2 [ri] [re]

Unlike other applicative allomorphs, [ri] and [re] are infixes (refer to section 3.2). [ri] and [re] are specifically conditioned to be realised in RR verbs ending in sound /z/. Sentences (17) and (18) below, illustrate the use of the applicative infixes:

(17) Rwakyekoreire yaaguriza Byabazaire ente

"Rwakyekoreire has sold a cow for Byabazaire"

Rwakyekoreire	yaaguriza							Byabazaire	ente		
Rwakyekoreire	y	aa		gu	**ri**	z	a	Byabazaire	e	n	te
	3SG	PASTim		*sell*	APPL		FV		IV	CL9	*cow*
Np	V							Np	N		

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(18) Ndoreza amaarwa ago

"Taste that beer for me(Taste that beer on my behalf)"

ndoreza					amaarwa				ago	
n	do	**re**	z	a	a	ma	arw	a	a	go
1SG	*taste*	APPL		FV	IV	CL6	*beer*	FV	IV	*that*
V					N				DEM	

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In (17) and (18) above, we have verb stems ending in the sound / z/ ('**-roza'** *taste*, and '**-guza**' *sell*). When applicativised, they become 'roreza' *taste for* and 'guriza' *sell for*. Interesting is the phonological process when applicative infixation combines with the Perfective suffix *–ire*. (19) Below, illustrates it:

(19) Omwahure abatiriize omwana ahansi y'omuti

"The Reverend baptised a child (from) under the tree"

Omwahure			abatiriize					omwana			ahansi		
o	mw	ahure	a	bati-	**ri**	**ize**		o	mw	ana	a	ha	nsi
IV	CL1	*reverand*	3SG	*baptise*	**APPL**	**PFV**		IV	CL1	*child*	IV	CL16	*under*
N			V					N			ADV		

y'	omuti		
y'	o	mu	ti
of	IV	CL3	*tree*
PREP	N		

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(19) *–ire,* becomes *–ize*, in an amalgamation of the root final *–z* of the verb and the perfective marker *–ire*. (18) and (19) above, bear the same applicative allomorph [ri] though their verb stems encodes a different Aspect and Tense. In (19), the verb encodes the perfective aspect and the verb stem becomes 'bati-ri-ize' *baptised for*; with the last part of the verb stem –z-, changed to *–ize*. RR infixation of the applicative morpheme could be the result of metathesis[20].

Taylor (1985:216), acknowledges: *"Metathesis though a rare process, has left traces in modified forms of RR verbs ending in –za",* where for instance '**-batizir-**'becomes '**batiriz**' after metathesis. Figure 7 formulates this point as a template:

Figure 7 *Realisation of RR applicative infix by metathesis.*

[-batiz**-] + [/ir/]= [-**bati**zir-] + [Metathesis] ⇒ [-**bati**riz-]**

3.5.3 [e] and [i]

The applicative morpheme /ir/, can also be realized as [e] and/or [i]. These two allomorphs occur when the verb is in the perfective aspect and yesterday tense. Consider the contrasts below:

(20) Omubumbi akanogooresa enyungu omusyo

"A potter made a pot with a knife"

Omubumbi			akanogooresa					enyungu			omusyo		
o	mu	bumbi	a	ka	nogoor	es	a	e		nyungu	o	mu	syo
IV	CL1	*potter*	3SG	PAST	*mould*	APPL	FV	IV	CL9	*pot*	IV	CL3	*knife*
N			V					N			N		

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(21) Omubumbi anogooreise enyungu omusyo

"The potter made a pot with a knife"

Omubumbi			anogooreise				enyungu			omusyo		
o	mu	bumbi	a	nogoor	**e**	ise	e		nyungu	o	mu	syo

[20]The term metathesis refers to the reversal of two elements: **xy** ⇒ **yx**, a morphophonemic process that reverses the order of two phonemes in a particular phonological context Kroeger (2005:311).

IV	CL1	*potter*	3SG	*mould*	APPL	PASThst	IV	CL9	*pot*	IV	CL3	*knife*
N			V				N			N		

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In (21), the applied verb is *-nogooreise* 'moulded with', but unlike (20), it is in yesterday tense. RR yesterday tense is always realized in post-verbal stem positions as a suffix –ise. So, the realization of the past tense -ise as a suffix leaves the applicative marker [e] to be realized as an infix. (22) below, I illustrate how [i] can be realised as an applicative infix in a perfective aspect.

(22) Ahabwenki Rwebinumi ariisiize ente omu misiri?

"Why did Rwebinumi graze cows in the garden?""

Ahabwenki	Rwebinumi	ariisiize					ente			omu		
Ahabwenki	Rwebinumi	a	riis	i		ize	e	n	te	omu		
why		3SG	*graze*	APPL		PFV	IV	CL9	*cow*	*in*		
Wh	PN	V					N			PREP		

misiri?	
mi	siri
CL4	*garden*
N	

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In (22), the applied verb is '-riisiize' graze in, the applicative morpheme [i] is realized as an infix, marked between the verb root 'riis' graze, and the perfective aspect –ize. From the examples (21), (22) and (23) above, it becomes evident that whenever the RR applied verb is in the perfective aspect or in the near past tense, the applicative morpheme /ir/ is either realised as an allomorph [i] or [e] depending on the rule of vowel harmony.

In realising allomorphs [i] and [e] from the applicative morpheme /ir/, RR drops /r/. Kimenyi (1980) working on Kinyarwanda mentions a similar deletion process.

Yet, this phenomenon tends to form a pattern in RR applied disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs that are modified by perfective aspect and yesterday tense. In Table (15), I illustrate how differences in Tense and Aspect bring about sound deletion in RR disyllabic applied verb stems.

Table 15 *Tense and Aspect and Applicative marking in RR disyllabic verb stems*

Verb stem	**gloss**	**APPLIED stem in other Tenses**	**APPL affix**	**gloss**	**APPLIED stem in PFV Aspect**	**APPL affixes**	**Deleted sound**	**gloss**
-reet-a	bring	-ka-reeter-a	-er-	brought for	-reeteire	-e-	r	brought for
-naab-a	wash	-aa-naabir-a	-ir-	washed for	-naabiire	-i-	r	washed for
-rind-a	wait	-aa-rindir-a	-ir-	waited from	-rindiire	-i-	r	waited from
-shom-a	study	-shomer-a	-er-	studied from	-shomeire	-e-	r	studied from
-rund-a	pile	-ka-rundir-a	-ir-	piled for	-rundiire	-i-	r	piled for
-kor-a	work	-aa-kores-a	-es-	worked with	- koreise	-e-	s	worked with

Yet, applied monosyllabic verb stems encoding yesterday tense and perfective aspect behaves differently when applicatised.

3.5.3.1 RR applied monosyllabic verb stems inYesterday Tense and Perfective Aspect

Table (16) below, illustrates how differences in Tense and Aspect brings about vowel epenthesis in RR applied monosyllabic verb stems with Yesterday Tense or Perfective Aspect.

Table 16 *Applicative marking in RR monosyllabic verb stems*

Verb stem	**gloss**	**APPLIED stem in other tenses**	**APPL affix**	**gloss**	**APPLIED stem in PFV Aspect**	**APPL affix**	**Extra vowel**	**gloss**
-sa	grind	-seera	-er-	grind on	-seeriire	-er	i	ground on
-ta	put	-aa-teera	-er-	put for	-teeriire	-er-	i	put for
-ha	give	-aa-heera	-er-	given for	-heeriire	-er-	i	gave for
-cwa	break	-cwera	-er-	breakfor	-cwereire	-er-	i	broke for
-fa	die	-ka-feera	-er-	died for,..	-feeriire	-er-	i	died for
-rya	eat	-aa-riira	-ir-	ate for...	-riiriire	-ir-	i	ate for

3.5.4 [yer], [yes] and [yez]

Applicative allomorphs [**yer], [yes]** and **[yez]** are suffixed to RR verb stems that end in the velar sounds /k/ and /g/. In RR, when velar sounds precede front vowel /e/, they are fronted and pronounced from the palate with a semi vowel /j/ realised as / y/ in RR orthography. This process is known as palatalisation. A series of phonological processes are involved in the realisation of applicative allomorphs [**yer], [yes]** and **[yez]**. In Table 17, we illustrate the realization of [yer].

Table 17 *[–yer-] applicative marker*

Verb stem	Gloss	Applied verb	APPLmarker	Gloss
-te**ek**-	cook	-teekyer-	-yer-	cook for
-re**eg**-	tighten	-reegyer-	-yer-	tighten for
-she**eg**-	beg	-sheegyer-	-yer-	beg for
-tw**ek**-	send	-twekyer-	-yer-	send for
-he**ek**	carry	-heekyer-	-yer-	carry for

Figure 8 summarizes the processes of vowel harmony and palatalisation in form of two templates:

Figure 8 *Palatalisation and the realisation of the applicative allomorph [yer]*

[[(-o/-e) k]+[[/ir/]→[er]]=[o/ekyer] hence [yer]

[[(-o/-e) g]+[[/ir/]→[er]]=[o/egyer] hence [yer]

In Figure 8, we have vowel harmony as a first process determined by the vowels preceding the velar sound /k/ or /g/. When the vowels are /o/ or /e/, the applicative underlying form /ir/ becomes [er] and when the velar sound [o/ek] precedes [er] then palatalisation occurs [o/ekyer] as a second phonological process in the realization of [yer].

In Table (18) below, I give more data to show the morpho-phonological environments in which allomorph [yez] and [yes] are realized.

Table 18 *Realisation of [yes]and [yez] applicative allomorphs*

verb	meaning	Applied verb	APPL marker	meaning
-te**ek**-	cook	-teeky**es**-	-yes-	cook with
-re**eg**-	tighten	-reegy**es**-	-yes-	tighten with
-she**eg**-	beg	-sheegy**es**-	-yes-	beg with
-tw**ek**-	send	-tweky**es**-	-yes-	send with
-he**ek**	carry	-heeky**es**-	-yes-	carry with
-ozya	wash	-ogyez-	-yez-	wash for/in
-osya	burn	-okyez-	-yez-	burn for

Also, the allomorphs [yes] and [yez] are realized by vowel harmony as well as palatalisation. But unlike [yer] which ends in a liquid sound /r/, [yes] and [yez] ends in a voiceless alveolar fricatives /s/ and a voiced alveolar fricatives /z/. Although, /ir/ with a sonorant[21] sound /r/ may turn into a voiceless fricative /s/ when devoiced, it cannot become a voiced fricative /z/ because it is already a voiced sound. Therefore the applicative morpheme /ir/ can account for the allomorph [yes] to be the result of vowel harmony, palatalization and devoicing. For [yez], we offer a simple template that illustrates the process at hand.

Figure 9 *Palatalisation and the realisation of applicative allomorph [yez]*

[[-ozy] +e] = [ogy] and, [[ozy] + er]⇒ [ogyez], hence [yez]

[-osy] +e] = [oky] and, [[oky] + er]⇒ [okyez] hence [yez]

We assume that the root with sound /s/ changes into /k/. This usually happens when /s/ precedes sound /y/ followed by a front vowel /e/. Since -osy +e= oky, oky + -ez-= okyez, hence the realization of an applicative allomorph -yez.

[21]A usually voiced speech sound characterized by relatively free air flow through the vocal tract and capable of being syllabic, as a vowel, liquid, or nasal.

3.5.5 [is] and [es]

Allomorphs [is] and [es **]** encode both causative and applicative constructions in RR.

(23) Omwana yaariisa ekigiiko.

"The child has eaten with a spoon."

Omwana			yaariisa					ekigiiko		
o	mw	ana	y	aa	ri	is	a	e	ki	giiko
IV	CL1	*child*	3SG	PASTim	*eat*	APPL	FV	IV	CL7	*spoon*
N			V					N		

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(24) Rubarenzya akatemesa omuhoro ekiti

"Rubarenzya cut a stick (with) a panga"

Rubarenzya	akatemesa						omuhoro			ekiti		
rubarenzya	a	ka	tem	es	a		o	mu	horo	e	ki	ti
	3SG	PASTrm	*cut*	APPL	FV		IV	CL3	*panga*	IV	CL7	*stick*
Np	V						N			N		

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According to my data, the allomorphs [es] and [is] seem to be associated with instrumental arguments. Even the semantic relations portrayed in table 14 below, illustrates it further.

Table 19 *Realisation of [is] and [es] from RR verbs*

Verb stem	gloss	Applied verb stem	gloss	Appl allomorph
-tah-	fetch	-tahis-	fetch with	[is]
-igur-	open	-iguris-	open with	[is]
-rond-	search	-rondes-	search with	[es]
-shar-	cut	-sharis-	cut with	[is]
-kor-	work	-kores	work with	[es]

[es] and [is] and [z] seem to share some properties in terms of the arguments that precede them. It is not surprising that in some cases, a cross section of RR speakers substitute [es] for [z] in expressing Instrumental applicatives:

(25) Omubumbi akanogooresa enyungu omusyo

"A potter made a pot with a knife"

Omubumbi			akanogooresa						enyungu			omusyo		
o	mu	bumbi	a	ka	nogoor	**es**	a		e	nyungu		o	mu	syo
IV	CL1	*potter*	3SG	PAST	*mould*	APPL	FV		IV	CL9	*pot*	IV	CL3	*knife*
N			V						N			N		

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(26) Omubumbi akanogooza enyungu omusyo

"A potter made a pot with a knife"

Omubumbi			akanogooza						enyungu			omusyo		
o	mu	bumbi	a	ka	nogoo	**z**	a		e	nyungu		o	mu	syo
IV	CL1	*potter*	3SG	PAST	*mould*	APPL	FV		IV	CL9	*pot*	IV	CL3	*knife*
N			V						N			N		

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-noogores- in (25) and -noogooz- in (26), carry the same meaning '*mould with',* and both are conditioned to precede an instrumental argument. Phonologically, sound /s/ is a voiceless fricative while /z/ is a voiced fricative. [is] or [es] can also be realised when RR verb root ends in a voiced sound –*z*. (27) and (28) illustrates this.

(27) Omukazi yaarozesa amaarwa ekikopo.

"The woman has tasted beer with a cup (She used a cup to taste beer)"

Omukazi			yaarozesa						amaarwa				ekikopo		
o	mu	kazi	y	aa	roz	es	a		a	ma	arw	a	e	ki	kopo
IV	CL1	*woman*	3SG	PASTim	*test*	APPL	FV		IV	CL6	*beer*	FV	IV	CL7	*cup*
N			V						N				N		

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(28) Entebe baazitiizisa emotoka

"They have borrowed chairs with a car (They used a car in collecting borrowed chairs)"

Entebe			baazitiizisa							emotoka		
e	n	tebe	ba	a	zi	tiiz	is	a		e	motoka	
IV	CL9	*chair*	3PL	PASTim	CL9.AGR	*borrow*	APPL	FV		IV	CL9	*car*
N			V							N		

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It follows that in RR, when a verb stem ends in a voiced sound /-z/, it is licensed to precede a voiceless fricative sound /s/ as part of its applicative morpheme; [is] or [es]. Table (20) below illustrates this point.

Table 20 *Realisation of [is]and [es] from RR verbs ending in /z/*

Verb stem	gloss	Applied verb stem	gloss	Appl suffix
-rooz-	taste	-roozes-	taste with	[es]
-koz-	eat	-kozes-	eat with	[es]
-kor-	work	-kozes-	work with	[es]
-tiiz	borrow	-tiizis-	borrow with	[is]

The applicative allomorphs [es] and [is] are realised not only by vowel harmony, but also by devoicing, where by the voiced liquid sound /r/ of the applicative underlying form /ir/, is devoiced to become a voiceless fricative /s/.

3.5.6 [iz] and [ez]

Allomorphs [iz] and [ez **]** may encode either causative or applicative constructions in RR. Consider the following examples:

(29) Omuporiisi yaareeseza omu nju

"The policeman has smoked from the house"

omuporiisi			yaareeseza					omu	nju	
o	mu	poriisi	y	aa	rees	ez	a	omu	n	ju
IV	CL1	*policeman*	3SG	PASTim	*smoke*	APPL	FV	*in*	CL9	*house*
N			V					PREP	N	

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(30) Ahabwenki Rwebinumi yaariisiza ente omu misiri?

"Why has Rwebinumi grazed cows in the garden?"

Ahabwenki	Rwebinumi	yaariisiza					ente			omu
Ahabwenki	Rwebinumi	y	aa	riis	iz	a	e	n	te	omu
why		3SG	PASTim	*graze*	APPL	FV	IV	CL9	*cow*	*in*
Wh	Np	V					N			PREP

misiri?	
mi	siri
CL4	*garden*
N	

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If the verb stem ends in a voiceless sound /–s/, the following applicative marker ends in a voiced fricative sound /z/. Table 21 below, illustrates the realization of these two allomorphs further.

Table 21 *Realisation of [iz] and [ez] from RR verbs ending in /s/*

Verb stem	gloss	Applied verb stem	gloss	Appl suffix
-riis-	graze	-riisiz-	graze for/from	[iz]
-shomes-	teach	-shomesez-	teach for/from	[ez]
-tebeekanis-	prepare	-tebeekanisiz-	prepare for/from	[iz]
-sheesh-	pour	-sheeshez-	pour with / from	[ez]
-rees-	smoke	-reesez	smoke from	[ez]
-tees-	discuss	-teesez-	discuss from	[ez]

In Table 21, verb stems ending in /s/, realise applicative suffixes either as [iz] or [ez] depending on vowel harmony.

The above realizations seem to be similar to those of RR applicativised causatives, however, during the process of the applicativisation of some causativised verb stems, the applicative morphemes are suffixed on the original (basic) verb stems (consider the first 3 verbs in Table below) and RR applicative allomorphs **[**iz] and [ez] are realized. In Table 22 below, I illustrate how RR applicative allomorphs are realized from causativised verbs

Table 22 *RR applicativised causatives*

Verb	**Gloss**	**CAUS form**	**Gloss**	**APPL** Form **of the Caus**	**Gloss**	APPL suffix
-ham-a	confirm	-ham**y**-a	cause to confirm	-hamiz-a	cause to confirm for	[iz]
-taah-a	enter	-taasy-a	cause to enter	-taahiz-a	cause to enter for	[iz]
-imuk-a	stand	-imusy-a	cause to stand	-imukiz-a	cause to stand for	[iz]
-hing-a	dig	-hingis-	cause to dig	-hingisiz-a	cause to dig for	[iz]
-gyend-a	go	-gyendes-a	cause to go	-gyendesez-a	cause to go for	[ez]
-byam-a	sleep	-byamis-a	cause to sleep	-byamisiz-a	cause to sleep for	[iz]
-shom-a	read	-shomes-a	cause to read	-shomesez-a	cause to read from	[ez]

Therefore, [iz], [ez] are also allomorphs of the applicative morpheme /ir/. Like in [es] and [is], their structure is as a result of rules of vowel harmony as well as other sound changing processes.

3.5.7 [z]

[z] is realized in derived verb stems ending in /r/. The allomorph is illustrated below:

(31) Omubumbi akanogoora enyungu

"The potter made a pot"

Omubumbi			akanogoora				enyungu		
o	mu	bumbi	a	ka	nogoor	a	e		nyungu
IV	CL1	*potter*	3SG	PASTrm	*make*	FV	IV	CL9	*pot*
N			V				N		

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(32) Omubumbi akanogooza enyungu omusyo

"The potter made a pot with a knife"

Omubumbi			akanogooza					enyungu			omusyo		
o	mu	bumbi	a	ka	nogoor	z	a	e		nyungu	o	mu	syo
IV	CL1	*potter*	3SG	PAST	*make*	APPL	FV	IV	CL9	*pot*	IV	CL3	*knife*
N			V					N			N		

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In (31), the verb root '-nogoo**r**' *make (a pot)* ends in sound /r/, while in (32), where the verb precedes an instrumental argument 'omusyo' *knife*, the verb stem becomes '-nogoo**z**-' *make(a pot) with.* In Table (23) below, lists more verb stems ending in /r/.

Table 23 *[z] applicative marker occurring on verb stems ending in -r*

Verb stem	**Meaning**	**Applied verb stem**	**Meaning**	**APPL allomorph**
-tee**r-a**	hit	-tee**z-a** **ekiti**	hit with **a stick**	[z]
-sha**r**-a	cut	-sha**z**-a **omusyo**	cry with **a knife**	[z]
-huri**r**-a	hear	-huri**z**-a **okutu**	hear with **an ear**	[z]
-re**r**-a	babysit	-re**z**- a **engozi**	babysit with **a cloth**	[z]
-hindu**r**-a	turn	-hinduz-a **omuhoro**	turn with **a panga**	[z]

A similar process occurs in Chichewa where, the /l/ changes into /z/. According to Mchombo (2004:76-77), the affix –z, replaces the verbs final liquid. Taylor (1985) recognizes the derivational allomorph [z] but seem to restrict it to causativization. Below I reproduce his example sentence (399b) but with my annotations.

(33) Yaagihinduuza enkoni

"He turned it with a stick"

Yaagihinduuza						enkoni			
y	aa	gi	hinduur	z	a	e	n	koni	
3SG	PASTim	OM	*turn*	APPL	FV	IV	CL9	*stick*	
V						N			

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In (33), the verb root is '–hinduur-' *turn around* but with the introduction of the instrument NP argument 'enkoni' *stick,* the verb stem becomes '-hinduuz-' or *turn around with*.

We interpret (33) as an applicative construction. Looking at the applicative allomorph [z], we then come to the conclusion that it undergoes sound mutation, from the underlying form /ir/ ⇒ [is] ⇒ [z].

As an applicative, /ir/ the underlying form of the applicative morpheme is devoiced to become [is] which coincidently happens to be the underlying form of RR causatives (/s/). [is] further

undergoes mutation to become a voiced alveolar fricative [z]. While as an instrumental causative, the underlying form /is/ undergoes voicing to become [z].

To sum it all, we have seen that the RR applicative morpheme /ir/ is associated with a series of allomorphs which are either infixed or suffixed to the verb. The allomorphs have different syllable structures which are determined by the interplay of vowel harmony and other phonological processes such as Metathesis, Deletion, Mutation, Assimilation, Voicing and Devoicing, and Epenthesis. These processes determine the structure of the applicative allomorphs.

CHAPTER FOUR:

A CLASSIFICATION OF RR APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

4 Introduction

In this chapter, we describe different classes of applicative constructions. Let us start with intransitive verbs which may become transitive when applicativised. The verb 'fa' *die* takes only a subject:

(34) Omukaikuru akafa.

"The old woman died."

Omukaikuru			akafa		
o	mu	kaikuru	a	ka	fa
IV	CL1	*old woman*	3SG	PASTrm	*die*
N			V		

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We can abbreviate the argument structure of the verb fa *die* as; fa < SUBJ >. When applicativised as in (35), a locative argument such as 'omu kafuuha' *in the hut*, may become applied.

(35) Omukaikuru akafeera omu kafuuha

"The old woman died in a small hut."

Omukaikuru			akafeera						omu	kafuuha	
o	mu	kaikuru	a	ka	fe	er	a		omu	ka	fuuha
IV	CL1	*old woman*	3SG	PASTrm	*die*	APPL	FV		*in*	CL12	*hut*
N			V						PREP	N	

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The verb 'rya' *eat*, is often used intransitively, yet it is mostly classified as a transitive verb.

(36) Omwana yaarya

"The child has eaten"

omwana			yaarya			
o	mw	ana	y	aa	ry	a
IV	CL1	*child*	3SG	PASTim	*eat*	FV
N			V			

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(37) Omwana yaariisa ekigiiko

"The child has eaten with a spoon."

Omwana			yaariisa					ekigiiko		
o	mw	ana	y	aa	ri	is	a	e	ki	giiko
IV	CL1	*child*	3SG	PASTim	*eat*	APPL	FV	IV	CL7	*spoon*
N			V					N		

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While (36) illustrates the intransitive use of the verb, (37) shows an applied Instrumental. Let us now consider the transitive verb 'gur' buy.

(38) Omushomesa aguzire ekitabo

"The teacher bought a book"

Omushomesa			aguzire				ekitabo		
o	mu	shomesa	a	guz	ire	e	ki	tabo
IV	CL1	*teacher*	3SG	*buy*	PFV	IV	CL7	*book*
N			V			N		

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In (38) 'gur' *buy*, supports two arguments; a subject and an object which I have abbreviated as 'gur'< SUBJ, OBJ >. In (39) below, the verb has been applicativised:

(39) Omushomesa aguriire omwana ekitabo

"The teacher bought a book for the child."

Omushomesa			aguriire					omwana			ekitabo		
o	mu	shomesa	a	gur	**i**	ire		o	mw	ana	e	ki	tabo
IV	CL1	*teacher*	3SG	*buy*	APPL	PFV		IV	CL1	*child*	IV	CL7	*book*
N			V					N			N		

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(39), the suffix –ir- is added and '-gur-' *buy* becomes *'-guriir-' buy for.* The applied verb 'guriir' now supports two arguments which I have abbreviated as '*guriir* < SUBJ, OBJ_{APPL}, OBJ >. As mentioned earlier, the accessibility of noun phrases to applicativisation seems dependent on the thematic hierarchy, a variant of which is proposed by Hyman & Duranti (1982:224) as mentioned in chapter 1 of this thesis. Below, I will discuss and illustrate the different classes of RR applicative constructions based on my corpus.

4.1 Benefactive applicatives

The most common applicative construction in RR is the benefactive applicative:

(40) Abanyabuzaare bakareetera omwana ebirabo

"Relatives brought gifts for the child (Lit: Relatives brought the child gifts)"

Abanyabuzaare			bakareetera					omwana		
a	ba	nyabuzaare	ba	ka	reet	er	a	o	mw	ana
IV	CL2	*relatives*	CL2	PASTrm	*bring*	APPL	FV	IV	CL1	*child*
N			V					N		

ebirabo		
e	bi	rabo
IV	CL8	*gift*
N		

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In (40), the applied verb supports three arguments: 'reeter' < SUBJ OBJ_{APPL} OBJ_{TH} >. Let us now compare benefactive applicatives with RR ditransitives. Consider (41) and (42):

(41) Entumwa yaaha ebaruha omwishiki

"The messenger has given a letter to a girl"

Entumwa			yaaha					ebaruha		omwishiki		
e	n	tumwa	y	aa	h	a		e	baruha	o	mu	ishiki
IV	CL9	*messenger*	CL1.SBJ	PASTim	*give*	IND		IV	CL5 *letter*	IV	CL2	
N			V					N		N		

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In (41) above, 'ebaruha' *letter*, a NP_{TH} is adjacent to the verb, while 'omwishiki' *girl*, a NP_{BEN} is preceded by the theme NP. In (42), the order of the internal arguments is reversed.

(42) Entumwa yaaha omwishiki ebaruha

"The messenger has given a letter to a girl"

Entumwa			yaaha					omwishiki			ebaruha	
e	n	tumwa	y	aa	h	a		o	mu	ishiki	e	baruha
IV	CL9	*messenger*	CL1.SBJ	PASTim	*give*	IND		IV	CL2		IV	CL5 *letter*
N			V					N			N	

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The order of two objects in the above RR ditransitive constructions is free, such that the NP_{BEN} may precede the NP_{TH} and vice verse, without any change in meaning. Applied benefactive

are different in that they need to occur in the position adjacent to the verb, while the true ditransitive constructions allows a free order of objects.

Lets us now look at the applied object ‘omwana’ *child,* of the benefactive applicative construction. The applied object seems to have primary object properties. It does not only appear adjacent to the verb phrase but it also can be passivised as illustrated in (43) below:

(43) Omwana akareeterwa ebirabo

“Gifts were brought to the child (by relatives)”

Omwana			akareeterwa						ebirabo		
o	mw	ana	a	ka	reet	er	w	a	e	bi	rabo
IV N	CL1	*child*	3SG V	PASTrm	*bring*	APPL	PASS	FV	IV N	CL8	*gift*

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Likewise, the NP_{BEN} can also be pronominalised and as such appear as object marker within the verb. (44) illustrates it:

(44) Abanyabuzaare bakamureetera ebirabo

“Relatives brought him gifts.”

Abanyabuzaare			bakamureetera							ebirabo		
a	ba	nyabuzaare	ba	ka	mu	reet	er	a		e	bi	rabo
IV N	CL2	*relatives*	CL2 V	PASTrm	OM	*bring*	APPL	FV		IV N	CL8	*gift*

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In the next subsection, I describe and illustrate RR Instrumental applicative constructions and their primary object properties.

4.2 Instrumental Applicatives

RR instrumental applicative constructions introduce the instrumental as the applied object. (45) features the transitive verb ‘tem’ cut and a free prepositional phrase expressing the instrument. The preposition used to introduce the instrument is the preposition ‘na’ with.

(45) Rubarenzya akatema omuti n'omuhoro

"Rubarenzya cut a tree with a panga."

Rubarenzya	akatema				omuti			n'	omuhoro			
Rubarenzya	a	ka	tem	a	o	mu	ti	na	o	mu	horo	
	3SG	PASTrm	*cut*	FV	IV	CL3	*tree*	*with*	IV	CL3	*panga*	
Np	V				N			PREP	N			

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It is also possible to consider the verb 'tem' *cut*, (45), as a three place predicate, thus adding the instrument to the argument structure of the verb: 'tem'< SUBJ OBJ_{PAT} OBL_{INSTR}>. May that be as it is, in (46) below, the instrumental argument becomes an applied object positioned adjacent to the verb.

(46) Rubarenzya akatemesa omuhoro ekiti

"Rubarenzya cut the stick with a panga"

Rubarenzya	akatemesa					omuhoro			ekiti			
Rubarenzya	a	ka	tem	es	a	o	mu	horo	e	ki	ti	
	3SG	PASTrm	*cut*	APPL	FV	IV	CL3	*panga*	IV	CL7	*stick*	
Np	V					N			N			

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In (46), the applicative suffix –es- is introduced to the verb stem to become 'temes' *cut with.* This promotes the previous PP_{INSTR}, and the verb now licenses two NP objects; OBJ_{INSTR} and OBJ_{PAT}, with an argument structure *temes*< SUBJ OBJ_{INSTR} OBJ_{PAT} >. The preposition 'na' *with,* is dropped.

Unlike RR benefactive applicative constructions, where the applied object has to directly follow the verb, the arguments in RR instrumental applicative constructions can freely interchange positions as shown in (47):

(47) Rubarenzya akatemesa ekiti omuhoro

"Rubarenzya cut a stick with a panga"

Rubarenzya	akatemesa					ekiti			omuhoro			
Rubarenzya	a	ka	tem	es	a	e	ki	ti	o	mu	horo	
	3SG	PASTrm	*cut*	APPL	FV	IV	CL7	*stick*	IV	CL3	*panga*	
Np	V					N			N			

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The same observation about the free interchange of positions between the applied objects and theme objects has been made by Alsina & Mchombo (1993:21) for Chichewa.

Alsina & Mchombo (1993:21):

"One of the most striking differences between beneficiary and instrumental applicative has to do with the ability of either the applied argument or the theme or patient (in structures with two objects like arguments) to follow the verb immediately. The beneficiary object must appear immediately after the verb."

It thus turns out that, instrumental applicatives have different syntactic properties than applicativised beneficiary arguments. In Instrumental applicatives, whatever argument is closest to the verb, is able to pronominalise as an object marker. Interesting is passivisation. in which the instrumental needs to be fronted. Consider (48) and (49) below:

(48) *Ekiti kikatemesibwa omuhoro

*"*The stick was cut with a panga."*

ekiti			gukatemesibwa						omuhoro		
e	ki	ti	ki	ka	tem	es	ibw	a	o	mu	horo
IV	CL7	*stick*	3SG	PASTrm	*cut*	APPL	PASS	FV	IV	CL3	*panga*
N			V						N		

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(49) Omuhoro gukatemesibwa ekiti

"The stick was cut with a panga."

omuhoro			gukatemesibwa						ekiti		
o	mu	horo	gu	ka	tem	es	ibw	a	e	ki	ti
IV	CL3	*panga*	3SG	PASTrm	*cut*	APPL	PASS	FV	IV	CL7	*stick*
N			V						N		

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As far as object marking (OM) is concerned, both instrumental and theme objects, can be pronominalised and cliticised to the verb:

(50) Rubarenzya akakitemesa omuhoro.

"Rubarenzya cut it with a panga"

Rubarenzya	akagutemesa							omuhoro		
Rubarenzya	a	ka	**ki**	tem	es	a		o	mu	horo
	3SG	PASTrm	**CL7.OM**	*cut*	APPL	FV		IV	CL3	*panga*
Np	V							N		

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(51) Rubarenzya akagutemesa ekiti.

"Rubarenzya cut the stick with it."

Rubarenzya	akagutemesa						ekiti		
Rubarenzya	a	ka	**gu**	tem	es	a	e	ki	ti
	3SG	PASTrm	**CL3.OM**	*cut*	APPL	FV	IV	CL7	*stick*
Np	V						N		

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4.3 Locative applicative constructions

RR locative applicatives promote oblique locatives. This is illustrated in (52) below:

(52) Omushaija akahiigira omu maizi enjubu

"The man hunted a hippopotamus in the water"

Omushaija			akahiigira					omu	maizi		
o	mu	shaija	a	ka	hiig	ir	a	omu	ma	izi	
IV	CL1	*man*	3SG	PAST	*hunt*	APPL	FV	*in*	CL6	*water*	
N			N					PREP	N		

enjubu		
e	n	jubu
IV	CL9	*hipopotamus*
N		

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(52) above, shows that unlike benefactive and instrumental applied objects, locatives remain PPs even when they are applied object. Like instrumental applicatives, they have a free object order and can either preceed (52) or follow the direct object (53).

(53) Omushaija akahiigira enjubu omu maizi

"The man hunted the hippopotamus in water"

Omushaija				akahiigira						enjubu				omu
o	mu	shaija		a	ka	hiig	ir	a		e	n	jubu		omu
IV	CL1	*man*		3SG	PAST	*hunt*	APPL	FV		IV	CL9	*hipopotamus*		*in*
N				N						N				PREP

maizi	
ma	izi
CL6	*water*
N	

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According to Kimenyi, the locative applicative brings the locatedness of the event in focus. In (52) as well as (53), the fact that the hunter (omushaija) is not at the bank (of a river or lake), but probably standing in water, where the action takes place, is foregrounded. Kimenyi also points out that the foregrounding of the locatedness of the event is also possible for locative adjuncts, as shown in (54), while in (55) it is the hunting aspect of the event that is in focus.

(54) Omushaija akahiiga omu maizi enjubu

"The man hunted a hippopotamus in the water"

Omushaija				akahiiga				omu	maizi		enjubu			
o	mu	shaija		a	ka	hiig	a	omu	maizi		e	n	jubu	
IV	CL1	*man*		3SG	PAST	*hunt*	FV	*in*	*water*.CL6		IV	CL9	*hipopotamus*	
N				V				PREP	N		N			

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(55) Omushaija akahiiga enjubu omu maizi

"The man hunted a hippopotamus in the water"

Omushaija				akahiiga				enjubu				omu	maizi
o	mu	shaija		a	ka	hiig	a	e	n	jubu			maizi
IV	CL1	*man*		3SG	PAST	*hunt*	FV	IV	CL9	*hipopotamus*		*in*	*water*.CL6
N				V				N				PREP	N

It is important to note that both the locative OBL and the theme NP have primary object properties. Both arguments can be pronominalised and cliticised to the verb.

(56) Omushaija akagihiigira omu maizi

"The man hunted it in water."

omushaija			akagihiigira						omu	maizi	
o	mu	shaija	a	ka	**gi**	hiig	ir	a	omu	ma	izi
IV	CL1	*man*	3SG	PASTrm	OBJ	*hunt*	APPL	FV	IV	CL6	*water*
N			V						PREP	N	

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(57) Omushaija akagahiigiramu enjubu

"The man hunted the hippopotamus in it (water)."

omushaija			akagahiigiramu						
o	mu	shaija	a	ka	**ga**	hiig	ir	a	mu
IV	CL1	*man*	3SG	PASTrm	OBJ	*hunt*	APPL	IND	LOC
N			V						

enjubu		
e	n	jubu
IV	CL9	*hippopotamus*
N		

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In (56), the object 'enjubu' *hippopotamus,* is marked on the verb with the OBJ agreement marker '**gi**'[22]. Likewise, in (57), '**ga**'[23] is an OBJ agreement marker for the object 'amaizi' *water.* It is also evident in (57), that a RR locative argument is marked on a verb by means of the endclitic '**mu**'.

Interestingly under passivisation, both the locative object and the theme object can be promoted to the subject position. Both can appear in sentence initial position and agree with the verb. This is illustrated in (58) and (59).

[22]'**gi**' is a pronominal agreement marker for CL 9 (n-n class) in RR noun class system.

[23]'**ga**' is a pronominal agreement marker for CL6 (ri-ma class) in RR noun class system

(58) Enjubu ekahiigirwa omu maizi

"The hippopotamus was hunted from water"

enjubu			ekahiigirwa						omu	maizi	
e	n	jubu	e	ka	hiig	ir	w	a	omu	ma	izi
IV	CL9	*hipopotamus*	3SG	PASTrm	*hunt*	APPL	PASS	FV	*in*	CL6	*water*
N			V						PREP	N	

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(59) Omu maizi hakahiigirwamu enjubu.

"In water, the hippopotamus was hunted."

Omu		maizi		hakahiigirwamu						
O	mu	ma	izi	ha	ka	hiig	ir	w	a	mu
IV	*in*	CL6	*water*	CL16	PASTrm	*hunt*	APPL	PASS	IND	LOC
PREP		N		V						

enjubu		
e	n	jubu
IV	CL9	*hippopotamus*
N		

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However, passivisation of RR locative applicative constructions may also take another form which is shown in example (60). Now it is not the locative prepositional that is passivised but the object of the locative preposition alone.

(60) Amaizi gakahiigirwamu enjubu.

"From water, the hippopotamus was hunted."

Amaizi				gakahiigirwamu						
a	ma	izi		ga	ka	hiig	ir	w	a	mu
IV	CL6	*water*		CL6.AGR	PASTrm	*hunt*	APPL	PASS	IND	LOC
N				V						

enjubu		
e	n	jubu
IV	CL9	*hipopotamus*
N		

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Whereas in (59) the agreement is between a locative preposition '**omu**' and a locative prefix '**ha-**', (60)'s agreement is between a locative noun ' amaizi' *water* and CL6 pronominal agreement marker '**ga**', which is a mere class prefix. However, what makes it more of a

locative construction, is the locative endclitic '**-mu'**, on the verb.. Both the locative phrase as a whole and its object alone may be passivised when applied.

4.4 Circumstantial applicatives

Like in other Bantu languages, RR circumstantial applicative constructions introduce a NP related to goal, purpose, motive, reason or cause of the action of the verb. Although some Bantu linguists name goal, purpose, motive, reason, and cause as individual applicative constructions, I have collectively categorised them as circumstantial applicative[24] because of the similar syntactic and semantic behavior of most of their arguments. (61) illustrates this construction

(61) Mariya akateerera sente omwana

"Mariya hit the child for money"

Mariya	akateerera						sente		omwana		
Mariya	a	ka	teer	er	a		sente		o	mw	ana
	3SG	PASTrm	*beat*	APPL	FV		CL9	*money*	IV	CL1	*child*
Np	V						N		N		

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In (61) above, 'sente' *money* expresses the reason for the action and 'omwana'*child,* is a theme. Compared to other applicative constructions like locatives and instrumentals where the order of objects is flexible, this is not the case for circumstantial. It is always that arguments following the verb directly, which will be interpreted as a cause or reason for the event described. However, the applied object can neither be passivised nor pronominalised.

[24]The term circumstantial applicative is also associated and adopted from some Bantu Linguists like Hyman & Mchombo(1992) and Mchombo (2004)

4.5 Temporal applicatives

Also temporal expressions can be applicativized. This is illustrated in (62) below.

(62) Omukazi ahingiire omusiri eizooba ryona.

"The woman dug the garden for the whole day."

omukazi			ahingiire				omusiri		
o	mu	kazi	a	hing	**i**	ire	o	mu	siri
IV	CL1	*woman*	3SG	*dig*	APPL	PASThst	IV	CL3	*garden*
N			V				N		

eizooba			ryona	
e	i	zooba	ry	ona
IV	CL5	*day*	CL5	*all*
N			ADJ	

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Again, the order of the two arguments in temporal expressions is free:

(63) Omukazi yaahingira eizooba ryona omusiri.

"The woman has dug the garden for the whole day"

Omukazi		yaahingira					eizooba			ryona	
O	mukazi	y	aa	hing	ir	a	e	i	zooba	ry	ona
IV	*woman*	3SG	PASTrm	*dig*	APPL	FV	IV	CL5	*day*	CL5	*all*
N		V					N			ADJ	

omusiri			
o	mu	siri	
IV	CL3	*garden*	
N			

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When 'dig' is used intransitively together with a temporal adjunct, the applicativisation of the temporal argument is for many many speakers, impossible:

(64) Omusiri guhingiirwe eizooba ryona.

"The garden has been dug for the whole day."

omusiri			guhingiirwe					eizooba			ryona	
o	mu	siri	gu	hing	i	irw	e	e	i	zooba	ry	ona
IV	CL3	*garden*	3SG	*dig*	APPL	PASS	SBJV	IV	CL5	*day*	CL5	*whole*
N			V					N			ADJ	

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(65) Omukazi aguhingiire eizooba ryona

"The woman dug it for the whole day."

omukazi			aguhingiire					eizooba		
o	mu	kazi	a	gu	hing	i	ire	e	i	zooba
IV	CL1	*woman*	3SG	CL3.AGR	*dig*	APPL	PASThst	IV	CL5	*day*
N			V					N		

ryona	
ry	ona
CL5	*whole*
ADJ	

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Just like circumstantial applied objects, temporal applied objects do not gain primary object properties.

4.6 Value related applicative constructions

The locative preposition aha which we already know from locative applicatives is also used to express prices. This is illustrated in (66):

(66)Yowaana akagurira ekitabo ahari shiringi bitaano.

"Yowaana bought a book at five hundred shillings"

Yowaana	akagurira					ekitabo			ahari	shiringi
Yowaana	a	ka	gur	ir	a	e	ki	tabo	ahari	shiringi
	CL1.SBJ	IV	*buy*	APPL	IND	IV	CL7	*book*	*at*	
	V					N			PREP	N

bitaano	
bi	taano
CL8	*five*
ORD	

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Before 'shiringi' which is a loan word,'aha'*on/at,* must be used in its long form (for discussion see Beerman and Asiimwe to appear). We note that THEME NP 'ekitabo' remains the primary object. Yet, it should be noted that although the applied object has none of the primary object properties, some speakers allow it to appear adjacent to the verb. Consider (67)

(67)Yowaana akagurira ahari shiringi bitaano ekitabo

"John bought a book for five hundred shillings."

Yowaana	akagurira					ahari	shiringi		bitaano	
Yowaana	a	ka	gur	ir	a	ahari		shiringi	bi	taano
	CL1.SBJ	IV	*buy*	APPL	IND	*for*	CL9	*shilling*	CL8	*five*
PN	V					PREP	N		ORD	

ekitabo		
e	ki	tabo
IV	CL7	*book*
N		

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4.7 Subjective applicative constructions

The subjective applicatives, a term that I found in Kimenyi (1980), appears in constructions with a reflexive pronoun clitic and can be used with any kind of verb in any kind of tense. The form of the reflexive morpheme used in RR is '**ye**' as illustrated in (68) below:

(68) Omukazi yaayeriira

"The woman has eaten"(Lit:The woman has eaten to her satisfaction)

omukazi			yaayeriira					
o	mu	kazi	y	aa	ye	ri	ir	a
IV	CL1	*woman*	3SG	PASTim	REFL	*eat*	APPL	FV
N			V					

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I simply would like to note that Kimenyi categorizes this construction as being in the 'middle voice' As for RR, we noticed that it allows a construction which is also found in Kinyarwanda and which is illustrated for RR in (69).

(69) Reka omwana ayebyamire yaayerwarira

"Let the child to sleep, he is sick."

Reka	omwana			ayebyamire					
reka	o	mw	ana	a	**ye**	byam	**ir**	e	
let	IV	CL1	*child*	3SG	REFL	*sleep*	**APPL**	SBJV	
PART	N			V					

yaayerwarira						
y	aa	**ye**	rwar	ir	a	
3SG	PASTim	REFL	*sick*	APPL	FV	
V						

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Like in Kinyarwanda, also RR may render the applied verb in the subjunctive which is probably introduced by the permisiive modality of the sentences introduced by the particle 'reka'*let*. The subjective use of the applicative, is an interesting construction which needs more of our attention. According to Kimenyi (1980), this class of applicative construction is also common in other languages. He mentions Kilega (Kinyalolo 1995).

4.8 Inclusive applicative constructions

The inclusive applicative construction is illustrated in (70), its function is to express the meaning '*put on'* or '*add on'*

(70) Baizire boona otaireho abaami

"They all came including the chiefs."

Baizire				boona	otaireho					
ba	a	iz	ire	bo	ona	o	ta	ir	e	ho
CL2	PASTrm	*come*	PFV	CL2	*all*	*you*	*put*	APPL	MOD	LOC
V				QUANT	V					

abaami		
a	ba	ami
IV	CL2	*chief*
N		

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In (70), the applied object is the argument 'abaami' *chief*s. The subject of the applied verb is always **o** 'you', independent of the real discourse referent. Notice also that the verb is in the subjunctive by virtue of the final vowel which sets the modality, and finally that the FV is

followed by the endclitics ‘ho’, ‘yo’or ‘mu’, which fixes the location of the event. In figure 10 below, I give a simple template representing the formations of this class of RR applicative.

Figure 10 *RR Inclusive applicative construction template*

[[Verb stem‘put/add’] + [APPL AFFIX] + [MOD] + [LOC]] ⇒ Inclusive applicative

At the moment, the literature about this applicative is still scanty although it is a common construction.

4.9 ‘About’ or referential applicative constructions

Since Taylor (1985), mentions an applicative related to verbs of communication such as ‘tell’, we will include, what I call here ‘About Applicatives’ It is exemplified in (71) and (72):

(71) Abantu baagambira omukaikuru aha mutabani

“People have told the old woman about her son.”

Abantu			baagambira					omukaikuru			aha
a	ba	ntu	ba	a	gamb	ir	a	o	mu	kaikuru	aha
IV	CL2	*person*	CL2	PASTim	*tell*	APPL	FV	IV	CL1	*old-woman*	*about*
N			V					N			PREP

mutabani	
mu	tabani
CL1	*son*
N	

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(72) Rwakafuuzi akagambira Rwabyoma ahari Kampala

“Rwakafuuzi told Rwabyoma about Kampala.”

Rwakafuuzi	akagambira					Rwabyoma	ahari	Kampala
Rwakafuuzi	a	ka	gamb	ir	a	Rwabyoma	ahari	kampala
	3SG	PASTrm	*tell*	APPL	FV		*about*	*Kampala*
Np	V					Np	PREP	Np

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The only difference between (72) and (73) is that the locative preposition ‘aha’ needs to be used in its long form ‘ahari’ before proper names such as Kampala. The argument of the preposition is not restricted to noun phrases but can also be a verbal expression.

(73) Bindeeba akagambira Byabazaire aha kubura kw'ebishumuruzo

“Bindeeba told Byabazaire about the loss of keys.”

Bindeeba	akagambira						Byabazaire	aha
Bindeeba	a	ka		gamb	ir	a	Byabazaire	aha
	3SG	PASTrm		*tell*	APPL	FV		*about*
Np	V						Np	PREP

kubura			kw'	ebishumuruzo			
ku	bur	a	kw'	e	bi	shumuruzo	
INF	*disappear*	FV	INF	*of*	IV	CL8	*keys*
V			PREP	N			

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In this chapter, I described and illustrated different classes of applicatives. Starting from the most frequent applicatives: the Benefactive applicatives, I have discussed the Instrumental, and the Circumstantial applicatives. For each of these applicatives we have accessed the object properties of the applied object. All the applicatives discussed in this section, are attested in my data and may be found also in other Bantu languages.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Short summary

In this thesis, I have documented RR applicative constructions. My work is based on a Typecraft corpus which consists of 5021 annotated words corresponding to 1036 annotated phrases. My annotated data is the result of my field work which I conducted in July 2011.

In the first part of the thesis, I discuss my RR corpus. In addition my corpus features 200 annotated phrases from the following Bantu languages: Chichewa, Kinyarwanda, Kindendeule and Kiswahili. My corpus can be accessed by pointing a browser to http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/User:Misah_Natumanya

In my thesis, I study the morpho-phonological processes of applicativisation and identify the list of allomorphs that realize the applicative morpheme /ir/. Table 23 below summarizes my findings.

Table 23 *Summary of RR Applicative allormorphs with their phonological processes*

Allomorphs	**Phonological processes**
[ir] [er]	Vowel harmony
[i] [e]	Vowel harmony, Elision, Epenthesis, Assimilation
[yez] [yes] [yer]	Palatalisation,Vowel harmony,Voicing, Devoicing
[ri] [re]	Metathesis, Vowel harmony
[is] [es] [iz] [ez]	Vowel harmony, Voicing & devoicing
[z]	Deletion, Mutation & voicing

I have identified several classes of applicative constructions and discussed the object properties of the applied object. Table 24 lists the constructions and the verbs that enter into those constructions.

Table 24 ***Applicative classes exemplified with some Verbs***

Applicative Class	**Verbs**
Benefactive applicative	-reetera,'*bring for'* gurira *'buy for'*
Instrumental applicative	-nogooza'*mould with,'* –riisa'*eat with'*, -teekyesa'*cook with'*
Locative applicative	-teekyera*'cook from'*, -ogyeza'*wash from'*,-rindira'*wait from'*
Circumstantial applicatives	-terera, *'bit for',* riira *'eat for'* -hiigira '*hunt for'*
Temporal applicative	-gyendera '*walk for',* -hingira '*dig for'*
Value related	-mpeera ahari '*give at'*,-shahurira '*pay at'*, -gurira ahari'*buy at'*
Subjective	-yebyamira '*he has slept*' riiriire '*he has eaten'*
Inclusion	-twariraho '*include or add on'*, -reeteraho '*bring on*'
Referential	-gambira aha/ahari '*talk about'*

5.2 Further Research

In my data, I have also come across double applicative constructions which seem to be an interesting area for future research. In (74) we find a benefactive and a locative applied object, and it seems as if most speakers prefer the locative argument to precede the benefactive one:

(74) Mwenda akateererera Bubangizi akaruuru Kahinda

"Mwenda casted a vote for Kahinda from Bubangizi."

Mwenda	akateererera							Bubangizi	akaruuru			
Mwenda	a	ka	teer	er	er	a		Bubangizi	a	ka	ruuru	
	3SG	PASTrm	*cast*	APPL	APPL	FV			IV	CL12	*vote*	
Np	V							Np	N			

Kahinda
kahinda

Np

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If the thematic hierarchy would also determine the order of arguments, and Hyman & Duranti (1982)'s thematic hierarchy is correct, it would come as a surprise that the locative precedes the benefactive.

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APPENDIX I: Sample **Text 1** from Orumuri

TEXT.1

'Nituza kukorera n'abataratuhagiire'

Purezidenti Museveni agambire ebi gavumenti erikuza kukukora

NINTABARUSYA Abanyauganda , ahabw okuntenera akaruuru nkasiima na pasenti ya 68.3% okuha Ba Nemba ba Paramenti abu NRM 73%, abebembezi ba disituriikiti (LCS) 79%, abebembezi b'amagombora 71%. Nintabaarutsya ab'ebibiina ebihakani ahabw'entebe ezi bahangwire. Obuhagizi obu nibworeka ngu Uganda tukuzire omu by'obutegyeki titukikuratira bishuba.

Obwegyese

Obhireho bikye ebikuburabura, Uganda omu myaka 25 etaire orutambwe ruhango omu ntunguuka. Twine abaana miriyooni 8 mashomero ga purayimare, miriyooni emwe n'ekicweka omu sinlya. 120,000 omuri za yunivasite na 53,729 omu matendekyero.

Tukabe twine yunivasite emwe hati twine 28.

Eby'empurizana byeyongyeire kuruga ahari 28,000 ababaire nibakoresa amasimu omugwa 1986 kuza ahari 14million abarikugakoresa hati.

NRM nehagira entekateeka erikuretaho enkwatanisa y'amahanga kushubura kumwe n'okugira n'okushuganisa eby obutegyeki . Tushemeire ate ahabw'ekasare k'abantu miriyooni 130 ak'amahanga ga Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi n'agandi mahanga agari omu mashuuma ga Africa aga COMESA.

Okwebaganisamu

Akaruuru ka 2011 korekire ku NRM etungire obuhagizi bw'amaani omu byanga byona bya Uganda. N'ahabwekyo nimwenda kushaba bboona ababaire nibenda kubaganisamu Uganda okubiruga he bakagiita aha Banyauganda abaingi kukorera entunguuka .

Uganda nenda kuba eine entaanya y'ahiguru by 2016, kwonka Uganda yaaza kutunguuka juba nituteekwa kugira enaama emwe.

Tihaine oyombeka ataine musingye

kandi tokayombeka ihanga otaine nguuto n'ebindi ebirikwetaagwa eby'omutindo. Birimu amashanyarazi, enguuto, egaari y'omwika, amaizi ga paipu, eby'amasimu, eby'amahurire, amashomero n'eby'amarwariro.

Eby'empurizana n'amaizi

Eby'empurizana bitirwemu amaani, eby'amaizi hati buri tauni ziine amaizi marungi. Nituza kuhitsya amaizi omu butauni obukye n'ebyaro. Tukukozesa rooni y'Abachina, tuteho netwaaka ya za kompyuta omu mwyanya yoona.

Entunguuka omu bwegyese

Tutunguukire, hati twine ebibiina by'okwegyeramu ebyombekirwe ebirikuhika 148,720; ogwa 1986, tukaba twine 21,959.

Gavumenti etaire amaani omu by'amagara, hati twine oburwariro 166 bw'aha mashaza nari Health Centre ebi twabaire tutaine omugwa 1986. Eby'enguuto, amashanyarazi n'egaari y'omwika ebi bibaire bitakakoziirweho gye, ti mu Uganda honka kwihaho n'omu mahanga ga Africa yoona. Amahanga nka Amerika gaine amashanyarazi agarikwemarira kwonka itwe titukahikire ahaidaara eryo. Okuburwa amashanyarazi ninkwegyekyerera Eishengyero ryaitu ryamukaaga eryaremeise puraani y'okutaho omucungiro gw'okutuhwera kutunga amasharyarazi.

Kwonka kutandika na 2012, Bujagali n'ezindi daamu z'amashanyarazi kuzirahwe ekizibu eki nikiza kutuuba. Za daamu ezindi ezirikuza kuhwa 2016 etakahikire zinmu Karuma, Agayo na Isimba. Ebi byona nituza kubikozesa sente zaitu.

Turikukozesa sente zaitu, nituza kwongyera amaani omu byilnguuto, egaari yomwika, okushomera busha omu haaya na za rooni z'okuha abeegi aba Yunivasite hamwe n'okwongyera amaani'omu bya sayansi n'okucondooza (research).

Okweyongyera kw'emihendo y'amajuta

Ebikwatiraine n'okweyongyera kw'emihendo y'amajuta, twine puraani y'okugura amajuta omuri Sudan etuhereireire aha mihendo y'ahansi. Eki nikiza kutuubya emihendo yaago. Ninza kugamba na gavumenti y'amashuuma Sudan tureebe oku turakikoreho juba. Omu myaka 3 erikwija nituza kuba nitukozesa amajuta agaitu.

Emihendo y'ebyokurya

Eky'emihendo y'eby'okurya kweyongyera n'ekizibu ekirikuza kuhwaho omu mwanya mukye abantu baheza kushaaruura. Gavumenti yatandikaho purogurasamu y'amaizi ga irrigation neeza kumaraho ekizibu eki. Tushemeireire n'okuta amaani omu nkora y'okukoresa ekirasa (fertilizer). Abamiti bikoresa ekirasa omu misiri yaabo eby'okurya nibiza kweyongyera.

Abakugu banyo nibakoresa amaani kuhezaho ekizibu ky'endwara y'ekikooko ky'ekitookye hamwe n'ey'omwani.

Ahaky amaizi g'emigiri omuri Karamoja, Elgon, Rwenzori nikiza kukorwaho omu mwaka gwa 3 n'ogwa 4 eya gavumenti egi.

Omu myaka 2 erikubanza, amaani amaingi nituza kugata omu kukora amashenyarazi, enguuto, egaari y'omwika, okucondooza ebiya sayansi, okushomera busha omu haaya na za rooni omuri yunivasite. Byona nituza kukozesa sente zaitu.

Nituza kuta amaani omu kurwanira obushuma bw'emibazi omu mahwiire. Nituza kwongyera emishara y'abashaho.

"Nimsima Abanyauganda mwena ahabw'obuhagizi bu muhaire NRM omu karuuru akahwaire. Gavumenti nerza kubakorera mwena hamwe n'abo abataratuhagiire.

Purezidenti Museveni yaheza kubandita gavumenti hamwe na Kanyasita omugwa 1986

Aha naarshiziibwa omugwa 1996 yaheza kusinga akaruuru

Ankukoresa ekishumuuzo kwiguza amaka ga mukuru w'ekhanga omugwa 2011 aha kutoma

APPENDIX I: Sample **Text 2** from Orumuri

TEXT · 2

Okwetegyeka kwa South Sudan

Batungire eki Garang yaarwaniire emyaka 20 atariho

Vincent Mujurizi

WIIKI ehweire ebeire eyashemererwa obwe abairaguju bamashuuma ga Sudan barikwetebekanisiza emikoro yeihanga ryabo. Abairaguju omunashuuma abakashabire eihanga eryabo, bakateera akaruru kokwetongora kuruga 9-15/1/2011 kandi batungire akwetegyeka 9/7/2011 aharwamukaaga. Emikoro ehikirweho abebembezi bingi otaireho na Omar El Bashir owamatimba.

Abakuru nibagira ngu okwetongora kwamashuuma nikubaasa obutamaraho emihondaano ahagaati yembaju zombi ngu kweroka nikiza kuhwera amashuuma kukorerera entungunika yabo nk'eihanga.

Okwetegyeka oku kwizire bwanyima y'orugamba orwayebembeirwe Col.Dr. John Garang kuruga 1983 obu yaatandika ekibiina kya SPLM/SPLA kurwanisa obwembezi bw'Abaharabu omu Sudan y'amatemba.

Orugamba orwo rukahahwa 2005 obu Garang yaakora endagaano y'obusingye na Purezidenti Bashir omugwa 2005 omu baikirizaine

Salva Kiir, Purezidenti w'okubanza naayoreka abantu konsitityushoni yaheza kugitaho omukono 9.7.2011

ngi bwanyima y'emyaka etaano nihaija kubaho akaruruuru k'okusharamu baaba nibenda kweshara ahari Sudan bakeetongora.

Ahakya 9.7.2011, ekirooto kya Garang ky'okutunga okwetegyeka bwanyima y'okuriwana kumara

Minista Okello Oryem, Purezidenti Museveni na Janet nabo bahikireho

Purezidenti Salva Kiir na Purezidenti Bashir n'abandi bagyenyi 9.07.2011

emyaka 22 nibwo kihikiriire. Ebendera ya Sudan ey'amatemba bagihanwire shaaha ina z'akasheeshe omu rurembo Juba, baahanika eya Sudan ey'amashuuma.

Okwetegyeka

Ku zibaire shaaha mukaaga z'ekiro aha birikuba ebiro 9.7.2011, abantu barikuhika miriyooni ishatu nibo babaire batugyereize eshaaha egyo ngu ehikye omu rurembo rukuru ocwa Juba.

Ku zihikire ziti, ababaire bari omu motoka, aha bodaboda z'amagaari na pikipiki aha bigyere boona batandikire kutsera orwari, egombe n'ebiflizi ahabw'amashemererwa bagumize 'ekiro eki kyarugaho kyahikiriire'

Abaingi barizire ahabw'amashemererwa kandi baahurirwa nibagira ngu n'eky'obusaasi okureeba ngu baatunga okwetegyeka Garanga owaakurwaniire ataribo. Garang akahungurirwa Gen. Salva Kiir obaire Purezidenti w'okubanza wa South Sudan. Sudan ey'amashuuma eine abantu 12.5m, ebaire eihanga rya 54 omu nahanga g'Africa kandi eya 193 omu nsi yoona. Amahanga maingi nka USA, Russia, China, Uganda n'agandi gaakiire South Sudan

Bashir omu kabi

Amakuru nigagira ngu Purezidenti Omar al-Bashir ari omu kabi kahango bwanyima y'okwetegyeka kwa South Sudan ngu ahabw'okuba obutungi bwona obu Sudan ey'amatemba ebaire eyesigire bubaire nibuguga omu oyiro ngu kandi South Sudan etweire bishatu bya kana by'obutungi obu. Bashir akahamba gavumenti omugwa 1989 okuhitsya na hati niwe akiri Purezidenti wa Sudan ey'amatemba.

Ebendera ya South Sudan ngigi

Gaddafi aine obutwa

Ekiri omu irashaniro omuri Libya n'ekindi

TRIPOLI, SUNDAY

COL. Muammar Gaddafi n'obu orugamba rw'okumwiha aha bwebembezi ruriyo nirwirirra orurembo Tripoli, amakuru agatungirwe Orumuri nigooreka ngu Gaddafi aine eby'okurwanisa eby'akabi kahango ebi atakakoreise ngu kandi ku yaakubikor'Esa akaamaraho eihanga rya Libya ryoona.

Ebyo bigambirwe munywani we w'aha maharra kandi owaabaire ari kamanda w'amahe ga Libya na minisita w'ensbonga z'omu nda akaimukyeero akari Libya katakatandikire Gen. Younis Fathah. Gen.Fattah akakora na Gadaffi munonga kandi ari munywani we namba 1. Akakora na Gaddafi kuruga 1964 kubitsya 22/2/2011 obu yaarekura akaza omu baheekyera kandi akaba atuura ari omuhabuzi we.

Fattah agizire at "Gaddafi aine enbundu z'obutwa omu maabakiro gu kandi naabaasa kuzikoresa kwenda kuguma aha ngoma nainga kuhwerekyereza abantu ba Libya yaareeba ebintu byamureeza emikono'. Agizire ngu abarikuteekuteeka ngu Gaddafi naabaasa kwereeza nk'oku Mubarak owa Egypt yaarekwire abo tibirakumanya Gaddafi. Ati "Abarikugira ngu Mubarak akarekura tibarikumanya Gaddafi."Gaddafi tiwe Mubarak"

Agumiizemu yaagira ngu: 'Gaddafi tarikubaasa kwikiriza kufeerwa Tripoli n'ahabw'ekyo aha NATO batemu amaani barahukye kwihaho Gaddafi ataine ki yaakozire, na munonga okukoresa ebyoona eby'obutwa ebi aine ebi arikugambwa kuba yaatungire kuruga North Korea hamwe na Russia.

Okurekura kwa Fattah kukakuratirwa abandi baingi otaireho Moussa Koussa owaabaire ari minisita w'ensbonga z'aheeru na Shukri Ghanem ow'eby'eby'amajuta ahaayegaitsire aha baheekyera.

Orugamba aha mbaju ibiri

Obwahati abaheekyera nibagambwa kuba beeyongyeire kunyweza orugamba obwo barikurumba ocurembo Tripoli aha mbaju ibiri.

Nikigambwa ngu abaheekyera bahambire akatuni kakye aka Al-Qawalish kiromita 100 omu Bugwa-izooba kuruga Tripoli baajaguza nibateera amasasi omu mwanya.

Ngu omu muringo nigwo gumwe abaheekyera nigambwa kuba bahingwire kiromita 13 kuruga omu rurembo Misrata boorekyereire orurembo rwa Zlatan orurikugambwa kuba rurimu amahe maingi ga Col. Gaddafi. Abaheekyera ku barasakwate Zlatan nibaba baasigazuyo kurumba Tripoli bakahirika obwebembezi bwa Col. Gaddafi. (Guma oshome Orumuri buri wiiki obaase kumanya ebya Gaddafi ahi byahika).

APPENDIX I: Sample **Text 3** from Orumuri

Amatungo

20 ORUMURI Kyabahezi/May 02 - 08 , 2011 TEXT: 3

AMON NATWETA

Muzoora Michael ari omu ntu ze aha ka ye eya Mirama omuri Rugando Rwampara

Ekibaro ky'omutungi orikutaasya 1.5m okwezi

Amon Natweta

OMURIISA kandi omuhingi w'orutookye Muzoora Micheal orikushangwa omuri Mirama Rugando Rwampara nagira ngu natunga sente zirikuhika 1.5m okwezi kuruga omu kurisa ente z'amate hamwe n'okuhinga orutookye.

Muzoora agambire omuzhaki w'Orumuri esente ezi oku arikuzitunga.

Nyine irisizo ririkuhika nka hika 17 omu ndikurisiza ente 30 za kuroosi.

Entaasya y'ente

Burizooba ninguza rita 50 kandi buri rita ningiguza sh 600 ekirikworeka ngu omu eizooba nintunga 30,000 okibazamu ebiro 30 aho oshanga nintunga emitwaro 900,000).

Omu mwaka ninguzamu obunimi nka 6 nenyena ka 4 okweenda kuguma enamba nyakubaasa kutwibwa. Itaka eri nyine. Haza enumi ningiguriza aha mitwaro 30 kandi enyena ngiguriza aha mitwaro 50 aho wagaitamu enumi nimba nzaihiremu 1.8m kandi enyena 2m zoona hamwe 3.8m aho okizigabira ameezi 12 oshanga ngu buri kwezi nintunga eziri aha mitwaro 31, okizigaita aha zikuruga omu mate zoona ziba 1.21m.

Entasya y'orutookye

Nintema emirundi 2 omu kwezi kandi buri murundi nintema ebitookye 50 ekikworeka ngu okwezi nimba ntemire ebitookye

Michael Muzoora

100 kwonka buri kitookye ninkiguza ahari 8,000 aho oshanga ninyihamu emitwaro 80.

Ensbohoza y'ente

Omubazi ogw'okwozya okwezi nimba nkoziise nk'ogwa 25000, okugabuura enkuru n'omurundi gumwe omu meezi 3 kandi ninkozesa ogwa 50,000 ekirikworeka okwezi niziba ziri nka 15,000 kandi encwamutwe ninzigabura buri kwezi ogwa 25,000. Omu bunaku bw'enjura nizikira kurwara amashuyo kandi omubazi ogw'ekikatu nigugura 40,000 akacupa ka 50mls.

Ninziha omwonyo gw'okunya gwa 15,000 buri kwezi, nyine abakozi 2 ow'okurisa n'owokugyemura kwonka buri omwe natunga 50,000 buri kwezi kwonka nyine n'abarikukuura faamu. Buri kwezi nimba shoholze nka 85,000.

Aho ashanga nimba shoholze 305,000 okiziha aha 1.21m oshanga naatsigazaho 900,000=.

Ey'orutookye

Nihakoramu abakozi 2 abu ndikushashura emitwaro 10. Omwaka nintamu amasha. Ningaha aha faamu kureka nintamu emotoka y'kugashomba 30,000 kandi nintamu n'abakozi abo rijanjia kandi oshanga ngu buri kwezi nitatwara 50,000.

Aho oshanga nshohoize nka 180,000 zona reero okiziiha aha mitwaro 80 enkuruga omu kuguza ebitookye oshanga hasigaraho nka 620,000.

Aho okikwata 60 y'orutookye okagigaita ahari 90 y'omunte oshanga ngu buri kwezi nimba nyine sh 1.5m.

Ebindikuzikozesa.

Nyine abaana 2 abarikushoma aha yunivasite kandi ondijo ari omu sanya ya kataano kwonka boona fizi nimo ndikushu, nihe ndikweha eby'okureebera eka n'okuraguza, entambura nebindi ebirikuba nibyetagisa aha ka.

Eky'ahamuheru tihaine kihango eki nahiremu kwonka okut wantza hamwe n'iziitubeisaho n'enshohoza mpango ei twine omu kuha fizi kureka mbaasize kutaasya amashanyarazi omu ka kandi twatunguura aha nituura ei turimu ahakuba nitureebera Tivi omuka n'obuharabe hari omu kyaro.

Akareka obwa H/M kuza kuriisa empunu

ROBERT ATUHAIRWE

Herbert Kagezi aine emwe aha mpunu eziri kumutaahiza kihango

Herbert Kagezi ari omu faamu y'embuzi aine abaana be

Robert Atuhairwe

HEBERT Kagezi w'emyaka 35, owa Kihomboza one, Bujumbura omuri, Hoima Municiparite akareeba ngu omurimo gwe nka Heedmasita wa Lake Side College Secondary School, Mukono ogwabaire n'gumuha Shs 600, 000, okwezi gukaba gutarikuza kumuhwera aha famire ye.

Omugwa 2004, akagurekaho yaaza kuriisa empunu n'okweza ebicoori.

Akatandika n'empunu 2 reero omu mwaka gumwe akaba aine 22 yayeyongyera kutunguuka.

Nagira ngu rumwe akaba aine empunu 200 kwonka naguma naziguza. Kagezi agizire ngu ekirikumuhenda hati n'okutunga ebishushu by'omuceeri by'okuziriisa. Empunu nagiguza sh 250,000, 300,000 nari 500,000, kuruginira aha kika kyayo nari omu erikwingana.

Tenda ya NAADS y'okubaha empunu nto kwiha 2008 emutungwire munonga. Empiiha ezi yahire omu mpunu ezi aziguzire mu embuzi.

Kagezi aine n'ebihumi by'enjoki hamwe n'akooma k'ebicoori aha faamu ye erikuheza hika 40.

Aine ekyoma ky'okushohoza obwoki bw'omutindo gw'ahaiguru kuruga omu bihumi bye kandi nabuguza omu kampuni ye ya 'Tembo enterprises'.

Nagira ngu enshaagi ei yahire omu kutunga empunu niyo emubaasiise kutunga ebi.

Ebihumi yashitsya 120 kandi aine puraani y'okutunga 200 ebindi kwongyera aha bizineesi ye.

Kagezi natunga sh 40M omu mwaka kuruga omu mirimo ye yoona kandi abaasize kuta abaane be omu mashomero marungi omuri Kampala n'omuri Hoima.

Aineyo n'akamotoka ke ka Nissan Sunny aku yaaguzire Shs5.8M, karakita erikumuhwera omu kuhinga kandi aine n'engu y'obishengye 3 by'okuraaramu ei yaayeyimukize aha sh 12m, empiiha ezi zoona naziiha omu kuhinga. Nagira ngu ek'hama kye n'okugumisiriza, okukoresa amaani okukora bilingi, hamwe n'okwikiriza kuhaburwa abahingi abakugukire.

Kagezi agizire ngu bimwe aha birikuremerera n'emihendo y'eby'okunya by'empunu, emihendo y'amajuta ga motoka hamwe n'okubuurwa amashanyarazi ahabw'akooma k'okuna ak'aha faamu ye. Enteekateeka ye n'okuteeraho kureeta amashanyarazi kuhika aha faamu ye. Obwahati ebyoma by'amashanyarazi biri mahiro yoona kuruga ei arikutuura.

APPENDIX I: Sample **Text 4** from Orumuri

8 ORUMURI May/Kyabahezi,02 - 08, 2011 **AMAKURU**

TEXT 4

Amabaruha

Edita w'Orumuri P.O. Box 1471, Tel . 0382-276902, Fax 0485421774 Mbarara, website: www.orumuri.co.ug, Nainga za aha simu yaawe omu mesegi ohandiike ekigambo ebaruha sigaho akaanya, handiika ebaruha yaawe reero osindike mesegi egyo aha 8338

Gavumenti eyambe abeegi ba NTC KABALE, ebihoroonyo bikaijura kare kandi obwo aha muhanda n'ente neer-abaho ekinuko kyatumara muturahukire ebishaka byat-waha muna, mumnela, Prossy and Mercy from Mukono. 0753880508

Edita, nyikiriza nshabe ababaire betsimbirebo omu myanya etari emwe,kwonka bateereho okwebwa byona nabo abu babaire batarik-watanisa nabo babaase kuk-watanisa nabo nikwo babaase okutunguura ebyan-ga byaitu hamwe n'eihanga ryaitu reero baije bagarukye 2016 twaba tukiri abahuriire. Mwesigye Nobert. Kyamum-ba, Kashongi Kiruhura. 0793032644

Edita ompikize ebebembezi ba disitwikiti ezi kiruhura namitoma obwitai hamwe nokutoroboza kakyarenga batebo esteka.james bat sikana kazo 0775577098

Uganda, ebintu ebirikukor-erwamu newbitaho omushero mwingi. Ekibiriiti kiri kukorerwa Kabale kushanga nikinganisa n'ekya China, India, Pakistan kibikire? 0716338980

Mwebare obuheereza. Kan-imbashaba kuguma nimba-manyisa ebirikufa omu'i Kihihi Town council ,NKagabahisa nta? Nassi-gara ndi Byarubanga Evarist, Kanungu, 0782288640

Yoheereza obutuumwa bwawe ahari 8338

Enkumi n'enkumi z'abantu abahikire aheeru y'ekikaari ky'omugabekazi wa Bungyereza kureeba obugyenyi bw'Omwiginya Willian na Kate. Pg. 12, 13

Ebaruha ya wiiki

Besigye ruga aha bwesharingo

SEBO - Col. Kiiza Besigye aherize wiiki ishatu naayesharinga nibamukwata nimuta omu kooti naagaruka naayesharinga.

Niinyenda kugambira omukundwa Col. Besigye, nitumanya ngu nootufeera, nootufaho, kandi nootusaasibwa itwe abantu ba buriijo, kwonka omubazi tiguri omu kuguma nookora ebintu ebi gavumenti erikukuzibira. Mbwenu reeba nk'eijo, bakakuzibira omuhanda iwe waayanga waagyemeserereza ngu nigwo orastooremu, haza ekyo nikyoreka ekishushani kibi, omuntu orikubaasa kwestimba ahabwa Purezidenti ab'eby'okwerinda kumugambira ekintu akanga naaba naayoreka ekishushani kibi.

Mbwenu Col. besigye nitukushabira okukira eshenda egyo ei turikuhurira ngu bakushukire omu maisho, haza waagaruka kuruga Kenya, oruge omu kwesharinga okwo.

Sam Tindibakira
Kabale

Col. Kiiza Besigye

Enkwata ya Kizza Besigye ebaire mbi

SEBO - Wiiki ehweire abareebire Tiivi nizooreka oku ab'eby'okwerinda omu Uganda bakwatsiremu Purezidenti w'ekibiina kya FDC Col. Kizza Besigye bashobeirwe ei Uganda eriyo neetooza.

Nyowe ndi omuhagizi wa NRM ekiti, kwonka ku ndeebire nihafuuhirira omubazi ogutakamanyirwe, barikugufuuhirira omwebembezi w'eihanga eri nyijuka ebi naahuriire nibagamba ngu omu bugtegyeki bwa Milton Obote, bakakwata Yoweri Museveni aha roodibarooka baamushutamya ahansi".

Buzima ningira ngu ab'eby'okwerinda kubonabonesa omwebembezi nka besigye nikyoreka ngu Uganda ebaasa kuba neeyorekyerera habi.

Ninsiima abanyaishengyero ahabw'okujumiirira enkora egyo kandi nshaba ngu aba NRM abarikuhika hahi n'abeebembezi muhabure abu kirikukwataho eihanga eri ririyo nirishoba.

James Tugumisirize
Mbarara

ORUMURI

Ekiragiro ekyo kibaire nikyetengwa

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amakuru@newvision.co.ug

WIIKI ehweire gavumenti etaire omu ishengyero ekiragiro ekirikukwata ahaku penshoni y'okubiikira bukuru bishemereire kutwazibwa(Pension Sector Liberalisation Bill 2011).

Omu mazima ekiragiro eki kibaire nikyetengwa na mbwenu nitushaba abajwekyerwa baitu omu ishengyero kukirabamu juba okwenda ngu enshonga z'empiiha z'abakozi zaabaasa kukorwaho.

Ekitongore kya NSSF kiine ebintu bingi ebi kirikukora kwonka bitarikuhwera abakozi abarikubika empiiha zaabo omu NSSF. N'ahabw'ekyo ekiragiro eki kyatandika n'ebindi bitongore bikaikirizibwa kukora kikaahwera munonga entunguka.

APPENDIX I: Sample **Text 5** from Orumuri

TEXT: 5

Mukaira atairweho ogw'okwita Muzoora

■ Mzee ashabiire akatebe omu kooti ahabw'amagara mabi

BUSHENYI

Abraham Muganzi

MUKURU w'ekibina kya FDC omuri Bushenyi William Mukaira 83 owakwatirwe esabiiti ishatu ezihwire ebiro 9/7/2011 atwirwe omu kooti y'omuramuzi w'eidara ry'okubanza kandi yashomererwa omushagu gw'okwita omunaryenzi Col Edson Muzoora.

Mukaira asimbirwe omu makiiko g'omuramuzi John Patrick Wekesa kandi tiyakiriire kuhurira omushago gwa Mukaira ahabw'okuba omushangu ogu kooti y'eidara ry'okubanza teryakiziihwe kuguhurira.

Kwahiikire omu kooti egi, Mukaira ashomeirwe omushangu gw'okwita Col Muzoora kandi omuramuzi yamugira ngu agyende kabura muriro Luzira mpaka ebiro 20/7/2011 abu aragarurwe omu kooti orubanja rwe rukagaruka rukamushomerwa.

Mukaira ahiturikugambira ari Luzira ahashangire abandi bantu mukaaga nabo abakwatsirwe ahabw'orubanja nirwo rumwe.

Abantu aba ni Didas Atunga Bantu alias Bendera Iddi Kibwama owa Kasese Boniface Mumbere Kinyamabasila alais Ivan Musinguzi naawe owa Kasese, Abel Kacwano Kazoora, Dr Aggrey Byamaka alias Hapiiness Kasigazi abandi ni Simon Mate Mwesigye, Esau Muhwezi orikumanywa nka Rwafafa Tugumisirize.

Omuramuzi asindikire Mukaira Luzira kandi yamuzihira kushaba okwemererwa ngu nabaasa kukushaba omu kooti enkuru yonka.

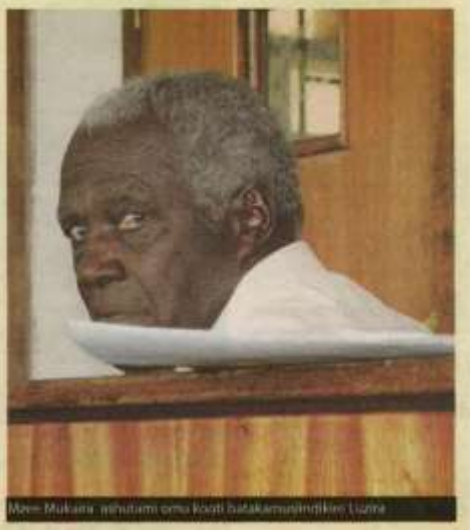
Mukaira kwahikire omu kooti yashaba ngu bamuhe akatebe abase kushutama ahabwa amagara gatari marungi.

Esabiiti ehwire aharw'okubanja abanya Bushenyi barikwingana 20 bakatayayira amaka ga puresidenti. Bingi omuri ryabo bakaba bari aba NRM kandi ebikongi. Bakashaba puresidenti ngu Mukaira yaheza kutwarwa omu kooti bamwikirize bahase kuhurira orubanja rwe arikuruga aheeru ahabw'okuba ngu amagara gye timarungi.

Omwe ahari ba MP ba Bushenyi ahurirwe arikugira ngu nkahaati Mukaira yaheza kufa ari omu kihome nibeija bata ahakuzika kwe kandi nibo beine obujunanizibwa kumurwanaho. Puresidenti akabaraganise ngu naija kukora ekikwetagisa kureeba ngu Mukaira tiyabonabeneesibwa.

Kwonka kandi ekikutaangaza n'okugira ngu Mukaira bamutwire omu kihome Luzira tibaabasa kumuhereza okwemererwa.

Col. Muzoora oherize okwezi afiire omutumbi gwe gukaretwa bantu batakamanyirwe bagutamtika omu maka gye omuri Bushenyi.



Mzee Mukaira ashutumi omu kooti batakamanyirwe Luzira

Masita atoroboize owa S.1

Madam Ahikiriza Herbert

PORIISI omuri Ntungamo eri omukuhiga omushomesa wa stniya omanyirwe nka Ahikiriza Herbert 42 ahabw'okugambwa kuba atoroboize akana k'akeishiki aku abeire nashomesa omu siniya 1, k'emyaka 16.

Masita Ahikiriza abeire nashomesa Rubare S.S.S nagambwa kuba atoroboize akaana ako omunju ye ah'eishomero kandi ngu akana aka kabeire nikatuura owa ishento ori omwegyesa ah'eishomero niryo rimwe.

Ishento w'akeishiki Tweekye Verry atweire enshonga aha poriisi Rubare kandi abaserikare kuhagire kukwata Ahikiriza yagabwa yatorokire.

OC wa poriisi ya Rubare Muhumuza aheire ishento w'omwana ogwo ebaruha kuza kukacebeza omw'irwariro, kandi abashaho bahamize ku akaishiki ako bakatoroboize ngu kandi masita ogwo amutoboize atajweire na kapiira. Enamba y'omushango ogu ni SD10/25/12.

Omuriro gwokize Kyamuhunga

BUSHENYI

Ben Muhoozi

ABEEGI ba St. Mary's voc.S.S mu gomborora ya Kyamuhunga omuri Bushenyi bagwerwirwe akagwe bwanyima y'omuriro kwosya oburaaro byabo n'ebintu byoona bikahiiramu bikahwaho.

Abeegi barikwihika 70 n'abandi bafereirwe ebintu byabo byona ebihiirire omu kyombeko ky'oburaaro bwabo nk'ebitabo, fairo zaabo n'ebindi. Omuriro gubyokize 06/07/2011 omushaha munaana zaihangwe.

Mukuru wa poriisi ya Bushenyi mwami Wabwire Joab agizire ngu omuriro kuza kwosya ebintu guriigiriire ahari omwe obaire nayosya amadirisa g'ekizimbe ekyo ekyo agabaire garimu emyanya mihango abaana bakugyezaho kurahamu obwo barikutoroka omw'ishomero kuza omu bihagaro.

Wabwire ayongyeire ya gira ngu kwaburize mukuru w'eishomero eryo Rev.Fr.Felix Tumuhaise agizire ngu nka bakuru b'eishomero kubaronzire eky'okukorera abeegi abakukira kurabira omu madirisa ago, nikwo kureeta ah'okugakyendeza kugosya.

Aitsire iba ahabw'esindo

NTUNGAMO

AKAGWE! Omukazi empwa bwoba aha kyaro kya Buhanama omuri Itojo Ntungamo disiturikiti omanyirwe nka Happy Baisa aitsire Iba obwo namuziza okuguma nataha asinzire kandi ngu akibika omuka amuraza aha nkoni busbesha.

Happy nagambwa kuba ayejunise obutwa obu aheire iba omugyenzi Kaita Kibonjana omu by'okurya. Ngu kwaherize kubirya, yarendegyeza nikwo abekika kyabo ekya 'Abazigaba Group' kwija nibeirukanga kuza kumutwara omw'irwariro kwonka bambe batakamwihikizeyo gwahwamu.

Omukazi wa nyakufa kwakimanyire ngu diiru yarabamu, yakooma otwe yagyenda arikuhunga abazigaba ngu nawe ogwe batagwegyeka!

Nikigambwa ngu eka ya Kaita etweire erimu emibondano y'amaani ahabw'okuba Kaita kwabaire naruga omu baara abeire naraza omukazi obwo yaheeza kumutera.

Omukazi kubimushobeire yaza omuba mungu-mweema yashaba nabwo byareema yaba ow'okuguma nateerwa burikiro, aho niho asharireemu ati 'kankuhumuze wankabya'

Ishe-nteeko wa LC1 ahabwa ekyaro kya Nyaruteme cell. Itojo Kazzi ateire ripoota aha poriisi bwanyiima y'ekibeireho kwonka omukazi oitsire iba abeire yatorokire.

Muka Revuranda aremeise okuziika

IBANDA

ABANTU b'omuri Ibanda bagwerirwe akagwe obu omukyara wa Revuranda ayesharingire akazibiira abaziiki kuziika omuntu.

Omukyara wa Revuranda Pafura ahikire aha ruufu ba Revuranda bajwire amakaju kuziika Henry, atwo yabagira ngu tibarikubasa kumuziika omu purooti egyo.

Omukyara ogu abaire ari ishenkazi wa Henry owafungire butandu Kampala kandi omutumbi kukaretwa Ibanda ahu babaire bafurukiire.

Omukyara omukukora akavuyo, agumiize ngu batware Henry bamuziikye Bushenyi ahu abaziire be barikurunga.

APPENDIX II: **Sample Text 1 from Entatsi**

TEXT: 6

Omushuubuzi W'ebimuri Bamukwatiire Amabanja Ga 15m=

Omuhandiki wentasi Mbarara

Omushubuzi wahahaighs street orikumnywa nka Annet muka mwana wa mitusera ajandwitrwe porisi ya Mbarara aharwamukaga bwanyima yokuwatwa porisi ngu akarya ibanaja rya 15m owondijo mushubuzi ngu anza kuzigaruzaho atyo yamusingira ekibanaja yamuha ekyapa kitaka atyo obwe kyabire kirimu ebizibu nitaka ritari rye. Annet namanywa ahabwokushubura emimuri byabafu, ebyembaga, hahaihi na zebra crossing na Peraisepermket kandi agaruka amanywa ahabwokuba mukamwana womugaaga Mitusera Binomugisdha orikushuibura ebyyenyananja. Annet atwirwe ahaporisi ya Mbarara kubasa kubishoborera ahabwenki naha ekypam kyekicupuri nam,unywani we okibuzire oubagyuenzire hamwe bakazihayo ezamara emyaka ebiri azinyagira .

Owa UPDF Bamutaahiriire Baatema Entookye

Kwinini naareeba orutookye rwe oru batemire

Wilber Tumurebire Mbarara

ABANTU BOMU kyaro kya Mugarusya omuri Bubaare, Kashaari bagwerierwe akagwe bwanyima y'okureeba abantu abaizire bari aha roore baine emihoro bakatemagura orutookye batyo bakasiga baayosya amaka g'omuserukare wa UPDF.

Amakuru agatungirwe nigagira ngu abantu barikuhika 200 abakugambwa kuba babaire nibaduumirwa omusenkare w'ekitongore ky'aba Saracen bakataahirira amaka ga Afande Kwinini Saidi baayosya enju ye batyo baatemagura n'orutookyeb rwe orunkuhika hiika 4 .

Kwinini agambire Entatsi ngu abataahire owe bakacwekyereza ebintu harimu Richard Kabuye owaizire n'abantu beine emihoro batyo bakamaraho ebye kandi bakaiba n'embuzi ze . Agizire ngu akaba aine omushango na Richard Kabuye omu kooti ahu arikugira ngu Kabuye akagura ekibanja kye atarimu obwe arikukigura omu muringo gutahikire. Ku babaire bari omu kooti yaasharamu ngu Kabuye omushango yaagusinga kwonka abaire arikuza kujuriza kubuza kusheesha akashanga ebye bimazirweho abainazi. Agizire naateekwa kureeba ngu ebi Kabuye na bataahi be basiisire byagarurwaho.

Ekiinyi Okirugyeho Okirekyere Makanika

ABANTU B'OMU Kishenyi Mbarara bareebire Vidiyo ya busha bwanyima y'omwishki kugambira omushaija kabukunyukye ngu taine kasente ebirungi abyesaasire. Nikigambwa ngu Mucunguzi Lucky orikutuura omu Kishenyi agyenzire yaabona omwishiki omanyirwe nka Tukundane Jackline bairkirizana ngu amutaasye baitu kwonka omushaija eishokye riijire ryamuguruka aha mutwe bwanyima y'omwishki we okushwerwa ondiijo ekitararireine. Agatungirwe Entatsi nigooreka ku Mucunguzi yabugaine na Jackline batyo bakaikirizana ngu amushwere ahu baabandize kwikirizana ngu babanze kwekyebeza sirimu bareebe yaaba boona bahuriire kandi ahu boona bashangire bahuriire nikwe kusharamu ngu bashwerane kwonka bwanyima y'ebiro 3 byonka Mucunguzi ku yaagiire kuhurira bamugira ngu Jackline ashwirwe ondiijo mushaija omanyirwe nka Tumusiime Musa orikukanika amasimu. Mucunguzi atebiizeho abapooriisi ku omwishiki anire sente ze kwonka akamwehakana batyo baagyenda bakwata Jackline bamuhisya ahapooriisi okumubuuza kana na katsano ahabw'enki yariire sente z'omwojo arikumuraganisa ngu naaza kumushwerwa kwonka akamuraba eriyima nikwe omwishiki kugambira omwojo kabukunyukye ati nyowe nkarya sente zaawe kandi otaziine?. Agambire abapooriisi ati omwojo akaba aremirwe n'omutwaro gw'okushshura turikuza kwekyebeza nimugira ngu akaba aine sente. Jackline atyo agambira abapooriisi ati nyowe nkareeba ngu Mucunguzi yanshwera tarikuza kubaasa okundeeberera n'ahabw'ekyo atuuze arekye Makanika oine akasente abe niwe yaaleera ekintu Abapooriisi batyo babireeba bibashobera babagambira okweyongyerayo.

Abapooriisi Ibanda Bakozire Embaga Y'abataka

Namaye naakwata omuzigo gw'enyama. Aha rubaju ni RDC Tigurihwayo

Wilber Tumurebire Ibanda

Pooriisi omuri Ibanda esaabiiti ehweire egizireho okugashura enyama hamwe n'abataka nka gumwe aha muringo gw'okukoregana hamwe.

Aha mukoro nigwe gumwe Kiriinju Robert Rutehenda agizire ngu pooriisi omuri Ibanda eyorekire enkora y'abantu ngu we kwiha abaho nk'omwebembezi pooriisi oku etandikire kukora n'abantu n'ekintu eki akirikwebuza ahabw'okushanga ngu nihabaasa kubaho obugyenyi bw' okweteerana hamwe bakarya hamwe nk'obwakare.

Polly Namaye omugambirizi wa pooriisi ahabwa burengyerwa eizooba agizire ngu ekigyenderwa ky'okukora embaga n'okwenda kuhisya pooriisi aha muntu wa buriijo.

Aba Ankole Angels Bakoreire Manegya Embaga Y'amazaarwa

Nabwa tubireebire byatushobera, omuhesi narabaraba omu rurembo rwa Mbarara bwanyima y'okuraba ahari Ankole Angels pub ashanga baniyo nibagashuura nk'abarikugashuurira gwa Baguma nangwa nawe abanza yaariisa amaisho. Ku agiire kubuuza bamugira ngu baniyo nibakorera manegya waabo embaga y'amazaarwa orikumanywa nka Kayesu Jenie obaire nayaguza emyaka 25 y'obukuru orikweshongorera omuri Ankole angels ahu beetihire amaarwe hamwe na za muchomo.

APPENDIX II: **Sample Text 2 from Entatsi**

TEXT:7

Kyamadidi

Byamukama Atandikire Saruuni

NIMUMANYA omushaija orikumanywa nka Peter Byamukama?

Mbwenu agatungirwe omuheesi nigagira ngu we tarikubaasa kugwa kabiri nk'oku yaabeire yaabaire omu karuuru ka Ruhaama kakamuteera ahansi. Nikigambwa ngu eby'obutegyeki ku byamuteire gooro nikwe kweweramu kwetandikira saruuni. Omuheesi amugwireho omu kikuubo aryo naayeta baakasitoma ngu begume nibamuhagira omu kasaruuni ke akarikushangwa aha ruguuto rwa Bishop Wills omu kikuubo.

Bambe Byamukama bikurukye manya ebirimu Mukama n'empaya neezaara.

Rwangire Amaizi Maingi Obaire Noomanyisa Ki?

NIMUMANYA omushomesa wa Mbarara S.S. orikumanywa nka Rwangire Milton ou baabaire bareigire omu kihome ahabw'okwiba oburuuru bwa Katungi wa kamukuzi ngu naakora ki omu by'obutegyeki kandi ari omushomesa.

Ngu mbwenu ijo aha Rwamukaaga oruhwaire habaire hariho okujwara kw'abeegi ba Makerere University kubaha za satifiketi za Public Administration reero we nka kagambirizi w'omukoro atyo agambira abantu aha mukoro ati bantu mwe mugume munywe amaizi na munonga abakazi muganywe n'amaani nimumanya omugasho gw'amaizi ogu gubeiniire nk'oku murikumanya abashaija oku barikugakunda. Mbwenu omuheesi nsakubuuza ngu ago maizi g'ogambirire munonga noomanyisa ki?

Aguzire Ekibanja Kya 200m= Kyakanga Abateezi B'akaruuru

MP Rwampara Kyamdidi Mujuni Vicent Kyamdidi oherize kukikora akapakinga motoka ye nsya ya Prado landcruiser UAQ 684 A ahagati y'oruguuto aha High Street abantu bakashoberwa hati aizire naayotsya.

Enyumaho akatandika kwombeka enju ya 200m= owaabo Bugamba , atyo akagaruka akagurira omukazi we Shifra motoka ya Harrier erikwiragura, akagura puroti Kakika omuri kamukuzi, akagaruka akagura na puroti omuri Katete ngu nabwe naagambwa kuba aguzire endiijo purooti Kampala mbwenu hati akikozire yaagura ekibanja ky'omugaiga Kanuma owa Kanuma Domestic Ware. Ekibanja eki aguzire harimu orutookye orurikutemwamu ebitookye 2000 buri kwezi kandi kiine n'eitaka ry'okurisizamu ente makumi ashatu omukyaru kya Rwentobo, Rugando, Rwampara.

Manya ku aherize kugura ebintu ebyo byona abateezi b'akaruuru baagira ngu n'obu yaakuba atagarukire omu paramenti ekye akiihiremu omu meezi abiri gonka.

Abateezi b'akaruuru bakwasire aha murwa ngu hoona ebyo nibyo bituura omu paramenti nenga hariho ahandi ahu aziihire?

Yaguma Kakye Bamurabyemu Otuhi Tw'amatama

MP wa Kashaari omusya, Yaguma Rutashokwa kimubaireho obu aizire akapakinga emotoka ye aha Banka ya Centenary aho ahu emotoka erikurabya sente erikutaaha omunda omu banka. Yaguma ku aherize kwemerera, nikwe abaserukare ahabw'obutamumanya bakamubingisa motoka ye ya kikumi ya UAH erikwiragura. Manya Yaguma anituraire n'abaserukare batyo baamureega yaagyenda naatongana yaahwera omu banka. Kwonka abantu babaire nibabuuza ngu baitu bwe MP weena naavuga akanyampira ngu gavumenti ka yaabahaire sente z'okugura motoka iwe ezaawe okazita nkahi?

Kithaghenda Hati Sente Naazirondera Omu Bahara

Sylivia Musoki naatambura n'owekye nibasiibura abazaire

NOOMANYA ensi egi eine obutembo n'obushuumo.

Ahabw'okuba owaabaireho ceyamaani LC 5 ahabwa Disituriikiti ya Kasese, Rev. Julius Kithaghenda obwahati atandikire buzineesi y'okuhingira Sbahara buri mwabazyo n'omu kasheshe.

Ahu turikugambira omu kwezi kumwe aziingiire emo abaishiki babiri omu sande emwe ekutaaire, akabanza kuhingira omuhara orikumanywa nka Sylvia Musoki hati aherize kuhingira ondolo ekireeteza abantu baagira ngu shana hati nibo arikuronderamu obugaiga n'ebindi. Kandi ojukye ngu ikuhanga yaakinga omuhanda ogu, naigura ogundi!

Kithaghenda bakamusinga omu buruuru obwahweire arikusingwa Col Mawa baitu ahu turikugambira asigaire ari aringaniire n'embeera yensi.

Obwahati nituhurira ngu naayenda kugaruka owa Biishopu kumushaba engoro ye nikwe agarukye ahari Rutaari anise entaama za Ruhanga. Itwe abaheesi nitukwendeza ebirungi kashita okashanga nigwo waabaire oshomire!

Stratus Bamuteire Burushu Ya 12m= Yaaborooga

ORIKUKORA nka Town clerk wa Mbarara nicipality Stratus Mushabe kimubaireho abashuma batamanyirwe gye kuza omu duuka ye ya Mobile Money eya High Street eya MUNA FOREX BUREAU batyo bakahaanisamu esente z'ebicupuri zirikuhika 12m= batyo bakaburaho.

Manya Stratus abakozi be ku bamugambire ngu baabeebaho 12m= yaagwa kihuumura ati ayi bambeeeeeeeee ebyangye byaba bibi.

Aboroogire yaahwera aha poorisi ahu abapooroisi bariyo nibahiiga abashuma abo

Dr. Bitex Oreetsire Kakoryo Ki?

NOOMANYA ku orikutembesa ebeeyi n'obukoryo oguma noohinduraho. Mbwenu nikyo Dr Bitekyerezo MP wa Mbarara Munsiparite akozire bwanyima y'okureeta akakoryo k'okurya ebirungi omu ndamusyo. Kamera y'omuheesi ekwatsire Dr Bitex naagwa akacuuzi omu maizi g'enda. Haza Dr Bitex ogyende mpora mpora abaishki abo haine sbarikuba nibabatamu sente orekye kuguma noija zoona nk'emotoka z'empaka. Kwonka weeza MP waayenda oyeerise gye ahabw'okuba okabonabona nooronda akaruuru.

APPENDIX III: **Sample Text 1**

Nkamubuuza ekihembo ki yaaba yaagambire ku araabe kwo buzima yaakigamba akiihire aha mutima. Yaakihamiiriza naakiiha omu kanwa ke ku ariha Shiringi 10000/- omuntu weena owaakumuzoorera ebishumuuruzo bye.

Naamugira nti "Oyesigye naaza kuteeraho kukora kyona ekirikubaasika kwiha ebishumuuruzo aha mushuma." Kwonka naamwehanangiriza, nti "Otantaho bambega ngu nyine akakwate n'okwibwa kw'ebishumuuruzo ebi. Ku ndikukyetegyereza ngu obantaireho, nimbireka nibigwayo, noofeerwa."

Ati "Buzimazima ohamye ngu ekyo tindikwija kukikora, nkeefeereza omugisha nk'ogu oguri haihi kumpika."

Ku twainukire omu mwabazyo, muramu wangye yaanyeta bwangu, ati "Ija nze kukuha ebishumuuruzo by'abandi bitarugaho bikambeera obuhano."

Tutyo tutaaha owe Kibuli. Ebishumuuruzo eby'omushamaata abiiha omu bunyaatsi bw'enju bu yaabaire abisherekiremu. Aiha n'akakye omu karugu, akagarura aha bingi ebyabaire biine omukuufu gurikurengyeera. Byona abinkwatsa.

Okuruga aho ngyenda nindamiiriza ngu hatagira owambugana, akanfuuza, akashanga mbiine, nkaba niinye naayetwa omushuma. Kandi hoona naanye owaitu Nakawa timbihitsyayo, kureka ntsiga naabibiika omu kipayipu kitinzire enguuto, omu naabaire niinyesiga ngu tihaine wandeeba nimbitamu. Ntyo ntaaha. Na Byabazaire ku ambuuza ahi naahereire na nyakubiiba, mmugira nti "Ebyo ba obyetsirize; orukanga rw'enju tiruyaagirwamu."

Nkashusha nk'owaabaire naashomera ebaruha omu bahaasa. Ku bwabaire nibuyangayanga, nitwiguraho orwigi, abapuriisi baataaha omwaitu kucaaka ebyo bishumuuruzo. Obwire nibwo bumwe, abandi baagurukira owa mu-

APPENDIX III: **Sample Text 2**

VII. OKUGWERWA AKAGWE N'OKUNAGA OMURIMO

— 1 —

Nkakondooza n'enjara, ntakiine kasente koona omu nshaho k'okugura eby'okurya. Naahika Nakawa omu mwabazyo gw'ekiro. Haza naagwerwa akagwe katagwerwa.

Ku naahikire aha kaju kaitu, naashanga orwigi rwigwire, kwonka hatarikuteerezamu muntu kandi hatarimu kyererezi kyona nk'oku bwabaire nibuza kuba nka shaaha ibiri z'ekiro. Naayeta, haabura owaanyetaba. Naaringuriza ow'eiteekyero ryaitu, haaburayo akateezo.

Nkagabwa nyine akabiriiti omu nshaho. Naakateera, naamurika omu kaju kaitu nintaahamu. Akati ku kaba nikaza kuraara ahabw'omuyaga, naataahiremu, mpurira eki naaribata kiri nk'omuntu. Nteera akati ka kabiri, mmurika. Okuza kwetegyereza nshanga guba omutumbi gw'omuntu agwire agarami. Obu guba omutumbi, guba ogw'omwishiki w'Omugyaruwo ou naabaire ninkira kureeba naija kutaayaayira omwojo, nawe w'Omugyaruwo, owaabaire naaraara omu nju eri embari ya ruguru y'eyaitu.

Obwoba bwankwatsire tibukareebekaga. Manya nigwo gwabaire guri omurundi gwangye gw'okubanza kureeba omutumbi gw'omuntu ogutakomire.

Nkateera akati ka kashatu, naayetegyereza, naashanga omuntu nibwo baaheza kumucumita omu rwano n'omusyo nari shi ekindi kintu ky'obwogi nk'obw'omusyo. Naateekateeka kuteera enduuru nari kweta Abagyaruwo beene waabo abu twabaire tutwire nabo, naatiina ngu bataija bakaba niinye baahoora enzigu, obwo ntaine kuguragurutsya, nimpamya ku yaitwa munywani wangye **Byabazaire, ku nikyo kyamutorora akagyenda.**

APPENDIX III: **Sample Text 3**

Ku naareebire ntaine kundi ku ndaagire, akashanduukye kangye naakaiha n'obwira omu karugu omu naabaire naakakwatsa. Naagyenda nintaragaza n'obwoba, ka ngwe aha, ka ngwe aha, naarugaho naahika Kibuli owa muramu wangye. Naamwiguza, naataaha omu kaju ke ntakiri muntu. Naazaho naamuteekyerereza oku ebintu byemereire, nawe byamushobera. Yaafa kuntindira, twabyama tutabyamire.

Enkoko ku zaabaire niihaga amatama, mbabo abapuriisi, akaju baakabambira. Twaigura nibatuta omu ikumi ry'engaro twembi. Baatubuuza ahi Byabazaire ari, tuti "Titurikuhamanya."

Mishi batandika kutukyebera ebijwaro n'engaro n'ebigyere. Ntakubeiha, ntandika kutetema. Manya ku baabaire nibatushwijuma batyo naijuka ku nyebirwe kunaaba ebigyere ebi ndibatiise omu shagama y'omufu. Kwonka ahabw'okuraba omu mihanda y'orume rw'ekiro n'okushangwa ntakwatsire ha bijwaro by'omufu, tibaine ki bandeebireho.

Bwanyima batubuuza ku turaabe twine eki turikumanya aha kwitwa kw'omuntu ofeereire omu kaju ka Byabazaire aka Nakawa. Ngyeragyera kugamba amazima ku nshangire afiire; kwonka ku ndeeba ntarikumanya gye mwitsi kandi bataine ki bandeebaho mu kunshwijuma, nyehakanira kimwe ku ntaine kyona ki ndikumanya. Na muramu wangye nirwo orwo. Kwonka eki naagambiire ebishuba, ngu nyejune, nkaija kukyefuuza bwanyima.

Hoona tibatureka. Batuta omu motoka yaabo ya tenda, batutwara Nakawa ei omuntu agwire. Bahika nibapima endibatiro y'omuntu otaahiremu akaribata omu shagama. Baija bagigyera aha byaitu bigyere, baihamu ekyangye hatariho kuguragurutsya. Empingo ba-

APPENDIX III: **Sample Text 4**

Ruhanga. Amarira nkaba ntakigatanga: naatandika kugahonooza engaro, ntakiine na gagarukamu ebindi ebi naabaire ninkibuuzibwa.

Bwanyima bambuuza ekirikundiza, mbagambira ku ebintu biri ebya Byabazaire kandi ebaruha ku erikusiibura abaabo, ku erikworeka ngu akatsigaho ebintu bye omu nju naaza kuyeita, ngu abaabo baije babyakiire.

Tibarongyeire kumbuuza bingi. Bangarura omuri mabuushu omu naamazire ebiro bingi ntarikurya, ntarikugwejegyera, obusaasi n'obwoba n'obushoberwa binturukire embaju zoona.

Manya omu buryo obu ebigambo bya munywani wangye byabaire nibireebekamu, orubanja ru yaahungire rukaba ruri orw'okushangwa aine akakwate kandi naamanya oitsire omuntu, kwonka we kiyeita atamwitsire. Owaabaire amwitsire, ou ataragambire iziina, ti ndiijo, ni nyowe munywani we ou yaayangire kurega.

Kwonka, okwijuka okufa kwe, n'oku yaabaire naashusha, n'oku twabaire nitutwaza kumwe, n'ebirungi byona ebi yaabaire ankoreire, byona ebyo bikaba byenda kuncwa amara omu nda. Kandi okwijuka ku naahungire omuka, n'oku kirikuhurirwa ahari Rediyo n'omu mahurire g'empapura ngu nkaita omuntu naaheza kurugayo, kikaba kiri endiga erikufokonkoza omutima gwangye.

Ahabw'abapuriisi kutunga ebintu n'obuhandiikye ebirikworeka gye ku Byabazaire yaafiire, kandi ku atari nyakwita-omuntu, bakahika aha kumariirira ku niinye ndi ow'okwemereraho nyenka kutonganisibwa orw'okufa kw'omwishiki. Baahamya n'ekiro.

Aha Rwokubanza rw'ebiro 17 by'okwa munaana, Kicuransi, 1959, baanyiha omu kihome ki mmaziremu ekicweka ky'okwa mukaaga, Kahingo, n'okwa mushanju,

APPENDIX III: **Sample Text 5**

Nyairurwe. Naakeemereramu akashanduukye kutongana n'omufu owaabaire yaaherize kwejundira kare omu kituuro kye.

Reero omuramuzi yaija yaashutama omu kitebe kye, ajwaire ebirikworekyera kimwe eshagama y'okufa, amaisho ge gataineho mbabazi zirikwingana busha. Naategyereza ebi arambuuze ntakiine na gagamba ekintu kyona eki barikubaasa kwikiriza ngu n'eky'amazima. Manya obwo ninteekateeka ngu ebyo nibiija kuba ebigambo by'aha muheru omu nsi ya Rugaba.

Omutima gukangarura omuka, naijuka ku ntakigaruka Nkore kureeba abaitu. Naateekateeka omukaikuru wangye oku arihuriza akanuuko ngu omutabani oburaare bukamutwara Buganda, yaagiza mutwe-gwa-mperayo. Naateekateeka oku omugurusi arikihurira ngu omwana we omwe w'omwojo nkagwa omu rubanja rukwatiraine n'omwisiniki maraaya, kunu naahungire nibaza kunshwererera owangye omukazi.

Ku naabaire nkiri omuri ebyo, ahonaaho omwisherukare yaareeta akapapura k'esimu, yaakaha karaani w'omuramuzi. Onu nawe yaakaha mukama we. Yaakaakiira, yaakashoma. Twena abaabaire bariho twareeba yaahunama.

Esimu nk'oku twaizire kugigambirwa gye, ngu ekaba neeshoma eti:-

"Hanu Ruzira omuri Puriisi twatungaho omuntu (tibaramwatwire iziina) orikuhamya ngu naamanya gye okufa kw'omuntu owaagwire Nakawa omu meezi agahweire."

Okurugiirira omu bigambo ebi, kikaba kitakiine mutambo kugumizamu nibantonganisa orubanja, kureka okutegyereza obujurizi bw'ogwo otakamanyirwe gye. Batyo bangarura omu kihome ndi omu kushoberwa ogwo muntu