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Verbal Derivation and Reduplication in the Kinga Language

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Abstract

This paper describes verbal extensions and reduplication in the Kinga language. Thirteen verbal extensions are examined. Most of Kinga's verbal extensions align with those reconstructed for Proto-Bantu. These extensions include causative, applicative, passive, separative, stative, reflexive, reciprocal, associative, impositive, intensive, extensive, positional, and contactive. Reduplication is discussed because it is another means of derivation. However, it is less productive, especially with verbs. There are highly productive, moderately productive, and unproductive extensions. The highly productive extensions are causative, applicative, and passive, while separative and stative are moderately productive. Conversely, contactive, extensive and impositive extensions are less productive. There are cases of multiple extension where the verb is formed by attaching more than one affix to it. Reduplication in Kinga appears in two forms, full reduplication and partial reduplication.

Keywords: Kinga, verbal extension, suffix, causative, applicative, passive

Introduction

Verbal derivatives are traditionally known as verbal extensions. They are among the most widely described grammatical features of Bantu languages. Some extensions are highly productive, whereas others are less productive. In addition, some extensions add arguments (increase valence), while others remove arguments (decrease valence). Verbal extensions have been studied in some languages in Tanzania, such as Kagulu (Petzell, 2008). Under-documented Bantu languages such as Kinga necessarily rely on broader reconstructions and typological generalisations established for Proto-Bantu. The lack of language-specific studies leaves these languages without detailed descriptions or empirically grounded examples. Documentation enables extensive language-specific analyses.

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This study focuses on the verbal extensions in Kinga, a Bantu language spoken in the Makete District of Njombe region in Tanzania. The language is known as *ikhikhingā*; it is also referred to as Ekikinga or Kikinga in Kiswahili. The Kinga people are known as βakinga (Wakinga in Swahili). The Kinga language belongs to the G60 Bena-Kinga group of Bantu languages (Guthrie, 2017). It is specifically classified as a G65. Other languages in this group are G61 Sango Rori, G62 Hehe, G63 Bena, G64 Pangwa, G66 Wanji, and G67 Kisi. The Kinga language has a restricted tone system (Schadeberg, 1973). It has three dialects: *ikhikhingā*, *ikimagoma* and *Mahanji*. *ikhikhingā* is the most widely spoken dialect. This study is based on the *ikhikhingā* dialect.

According to the 2022 national census, the Makete District has a population of 109,160 people (URT, 2022). Estimates of the number of Kinga speakers vary across sources: one source reports 150,000 native speakers as of 2003 (Joshua Project, 2003) Another study reports 217,173 speakers (Muzale & Rugemalira, 2008), while a more recent source estimates 450,000 native speakers (Lugha yangu, 2025). In addition to those living in the Makete District, the Kinga are scattered throughout Tanzania, primarily in the southwestern regions. Kinga is one of the least documented languages. Like many ethnic community languages in Tanzania, such as Vidunda (Legère, 2007), Kinga is endangered by the hegemony of Kiswahili. Kinga is losing speakers to Kiswahili due to the dominance of Kiswahili across all formal domains. Accordingly, this paper describes verbal extensions in Kinga.

Theoretical Background and Literature Review

The study is guided by the mirror principle (Baker, 1985). This principle asserts that morpheme arrangement in a word with multiple suffixes reflects the order in which the corresponding syntactic operations or heads are merged in the syntactic structure. For instance, when the causative and the passive suffix appear in a single word, the causative will precede the passive suffix in the verb. This means that the causative suffix will be closer to the verb root than the passive suffix. Another theory employed was the templatic morphology (TM) theory (Hyman, 2003) which posits a universal order of morphemes in Bantu languages. The suggested template was causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive.

Different verbal extensions bring about different meanings. Some extensions are common in one language but less so in others. For example, the Nen language (A44) in Cameroon lacks passive extension, whereas Swahili has (Mous, 2003). Verbal extension in Bantu languages includes morphemes that function as derivational and inflectional. Derivation and inflection basically differ. Derivation involves affixes that trigger semantic change. Therefore, it forms new words by affixation, usually from readily existing words, and may include a change in word class. Conversely, inflection involves affixes that only lead to grammatical alterations such as marking person, number, mood, voice, tense, aspect, and polarity (Spencer & Zwicky, 1998).

Methodology

The study employed the qualitative approach. Data were collected using interviews with nine native speakers of Kinga; six men and three women. These respondents were purposively selected, focusing on those who could provide sample verbs for each extension and sentence. Elders and adults aged 40 and above were preferred due to their fluency in Kinga, native mastery and their ability to give sample verbs and sentences as examples. Interviews were recorded by a mobile phone, and in some circumstances, information was recorded in a notebook. Ethics were considered as all data were used solely for research purposes, and consent was sought before interviewing. The study also used observation to collect data, with a researcher being a participant observer. The researcher, however, avoided influencing the respondents. The researcher personally visited the study area multiple times to observe and analyse the language's patterns. He therefore has a reasonable level of competence in the language. Data demonstrated methodological triangulation because observation and semi-structured interviews exhibited similar key patterns. Insights drawn from observed verbal extensions as Kinga speakers were speaking were consistently similar to participants' responses. This indicated a high degree of agreement between the observed practices and the accounts reported in the interviews.

Kinga Verbal Extensions

Several studies on verbal extensions have been conducted in Bantu languages. Verbs can be derived from other verbs by suffixation, prefixation or reduplication. Some suffixes are very common, and others are not. The verbal suffixes and prefixes in Kinga include applicative, causative, passive, reciprocal, stative, reflexive, intensive, separative, extensive, impositive, positional and contactive. Verbs are also formed by reduplication. Some verbs appear with multiple suffixation, where more than one suffix is attached to the verb. The Kinga verbal extensions suffixes and prefixes are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Kinga Verbal Extension Affixes

Affix	Extension
<i>-i-is,-ets,-its</i>	Causative
<i>-il, -el</i>	Applicative
<i>-w</i>	Passive
<i>-ul,-ukh,</i>	Separative
<i>-an</i>	Reciprocal
<i>-ani</i>	Associative
<i>-ikh</i>	Stative
<i>khi-</i>	Reflexive
<i>-ih, -eh</i>	Impositive
<i>-ani</i>	Intensive
<i>-al</i>	Extensive
<i>-am</i>	Positional
<i>-at</i>	Contactive

Causative *-i, -is, -its/-ets*

The suffixes in this extension indicate that one entity causes another to do something: the forms *i* and *is* are not always observed. The allomorphs of these suffixes are *its* and *ets*, respectively. The shape of the suffix is VC. This extension is productive in Kinga. As in other Bantu languages, the causative verbal extension can appear with both transitive and intransitive verbs (Schadeberg, 2003). The suffixes perform the causative function in Kinga as shown in example 1.

(1) <i>lia</i>	<i>Liisa</i>
<i>li-a</i>	<i>li-is-a</i>
<i>eat-FV</i>	<i>eat-CAUS-FV</i>
'eat'	'cause to eat/ to feed'

As in the following sentence:

(2) *Ū Amie iliisa umwana vamwene*

'Amie is feeding her child.'

The *-its/-ets* suffixes appear in such words as exemplified in 3 and 4.

(3) <i>Lima</i>	<i>limitsa</i>
<i>Lim-a</i>	<i>lim- its-a</i>
<i>Dig-FV</i>	<i>dig-CAUS-FV</i>
'dig'	'cause someone to dig'
(4) <i>ḡutsa</i>	<i>ḡutsitsa</i>
<i>ḡuts-a</i>	<i>ḡuts-its- a</i>
<i>sell-FV</i>	<i>Sell-CAUS-FV</i>
'sell'	'cause to buy or to sell'

Similar examples are presented in 5 and 6.

(5) <i>pyupa</i> <i>piup-a</i> boil-FV 'boil (INTR)	<i>pyusa</i> <i>piu-is-a</i> boil-CAUS- FV 'boil (TR)'
(6) <i>tova</i> <i>tov-a</i> beat-FV 'beat'	<i>tovetisa</i> <i>tov-ets-a</i> beat-CAUS-FV 'make someone beat or hit someone/sth on sth'

The verb produced from the suffix depends on the preceding base (**B**), for instance, in the word *suala* 'put on clothes' the causative extension leads to the verb *sual-ets-a* 'cause someone to dress or dress someone'. In contrast, *longol-a* 'go ahead of others' becomes *long-ots-a* (lead). Here, neither suffix **-its** nor **-ets** is seen, but rather the suffix **-ots**. This pattern is associated with the dropping of some sounds. Since humans are always time-saving, it might be that *longotsa*, in its basic underlying morphology before dropping, is *longol-ets-a* (lead). Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that the suffix **-ots** has emerged as a result of the sound dropping or the deletion of [l]. This deletion may be associated with speakers' avoidance of monotony, as the consonant [l] occurs twice within a word. It is worth considering the suffix **-ots** to be another rising causative suffix, but with low productivity. This is because the author identified another word with similar characteristics. This word is *notsa* 'cause sth to be beautiful', which comes from the word *noġela* 'look beautiful, or taste sweet'. When a causative extension **-ets** is added, the verb becomes *noġelets* 'make sth beautiful'. The words *notsa* and *noġelets* are still in use in Kinga; hence, it is likely that the word *longola* underwent the same process of deletion as *noġelets*. The difference is that *longolets* and *longots* are not both used in contemporary Kinga; only *longots* is attested, while *noġelets* and *notsa* are both used to mean the same thing.

Applicative -il/-el

Applicative suffixes are used to direct the individual for whom the action is done or the receiver of an action. Accordingly, verbs in applicative extensions are transitive. When these suffixes are added, they increase the number of arguments to the verb (valence). An applicative extension is also referred to as a prepositional and directive (Petzell, 2008). Examples 7, 8 and 9 demonstrate how applicative suffixes function.

(7) <i>telekha</i> <i>telekh-a</i> Cook-FV 'cook'	<i>-telekhela</i> <i>-telekh-el- a</i> cook-APPL-FV 'cook for someone'
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As in the following sentence:

(8) *ikhuntelekhela untwave ikhyakhulya*
'She is cooking food for her husband'

(9) *Ivombela ilitumbu*
'S/he works for the stomach' (less profitable job)

The applicative suffix is also used with natural phenomena that affect humans or other things, for example, when it is raining, as shown in example 10.

(10) *tima*

<i>tima</i>	<i>-timila</i>
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<i>tim-a</i> rain (V)-FV	<i>-tim-il-a</i> rain(V)-APL FV
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As in the following sentence:

- (11) *tsula jitimila vbhutine khunzi*
'The rain is wetting the flour outside'

The suffix is also used to identify the instrument used for performing an activity, the location an activity takes place and the reason for doing something, as in the words *ğenda* 'walk', *lima* 'dig', and *tova* 'beat'. When indicating the reason, the suffix is used interrogatively to elicit the reason for an action. The sentences in 12–15 show each of these functions of the applicative suffix — sentence 12 is morphologically analysed and glossed for illustration.

- (12) *lğendela ibasikheli*

<i>i-</i>	<i>Ğend</i>	<i>-el</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>ibasikheli</i>
3SG	Walk	APL	FV	bicycle

S/he uses a bicycle to move around (Instrument)

(13) <i>lilimila khulukhinga</i>	'S/he does farming activities in Lukinga (Location)'.
(14) <i>ilimila ilikhumbulu</i>	'S/he uses a hoe to dig (Instrument)'.
(15) <i>ikhuntovela khekhi?</i>	'What is the reason for beating her/him?' or what is s/he using to beat him/her?

There are rare reduplicative applicatives in Kinga. Semantically, the reduplicated applicative suffix means doing something repetitively, the length of time for doing an action, or intensification. Table 2 provides examples of single suffixation and reduplicated verbs.

Table 2: Reduplicative Applicatives

Word	Single Suffixed	Reduplicated Suffix
<i>ğona</i> 'sleep'	<i>ğonela</i> 'sleep on sth'	<i>ğonelela-</i> 'deeply sleep'
<i>tova</i> 'beat'	<i>tovela</i> 'hit with'	<i>tovelela</i> 'hit sth many times'
<i>vomba</i> 'do/ work'	<i>vombela</i> 'work for'	<i>vombelela</i> 'do sth repeatedly'
<i>ğenda</i> 'walk'	<i>ğendela</i> 'visit'	<i>ğendelela</i> 'visit around'
<i>lima</i> 'dig'	<i>limila</i> 'dig for'	<i>Limilila</i> 'dig around or weed'

In Table 2, the single-suffixed verb *ğonela* 'sleep on something' also connotes 'sleep without eating food' (sleeping hungry). Still, the term literally means 'sleep on something', such as *ğonela ilitesu* 'sleep on the mat', as translated in the table. Single applicative suffixes differ from multiple or reduplicated suffixes in meaning. Single suffixation indicates the recipient of an action or the tool used for performing the action; in contrast, reduplicative suffixes intensify the actions of verbs. They morphologically appear as *elel* or *illil*, come after the root, and precede the final vowel. In example 16, the verb *vomba* (work) is parsed to illustrate single-suffixation and reduplicated suffixation.

- (16) *vomba*

Single Suffixation	Reduplicative Suffix
<i>vombela</i> <i>vomb-el-a</i> work-APL-FV 'work for'	<i>vombelela</i> <i>vomb-el-el-a</i> work-APL-APL-FV 'do sth repeatedly'

Passive -w

The affix for this extension is **-w**. This derivational suffix is rich in Kinga. It indicates that the subject is affected by the action done, as examples 17 and 18 demonstrate.

(17) <i>tova</i> <i>tov-a</i> beat-FV 'beat'	<i>-tovwa</i> <i>-tov-w-a</i> beat-PASS-FV 'be beaten'
(18) <i>tola</i> <i>tol-a</i> take-FV 'take'	<i>tolwa</i> <i>tol-w-a</i> take-PASS-FV 'be taken'

An example sentence in Kinga is *Jitolwa khumwakha* 'She will get married next year'. Other verbs with passive suffix derivation are presented in 19–21.

(19) <i>ibata</i> 'arrest'	<i>-ibatwa</i> 'be arrested'
(20) <i>buda</i> 'kill'	<i>-budwa</i> 'be killed'
(21) <i>βunga</i> 'teach morals'	<i>-βungwa</i> 'be taught morals'

The **-w** suffix follows the root in the infinitive, progressive and future. However, when the sentence is in the present perfect or past simple, the **-w** suffix typically follows the other suffix **-il**. In such multiple suffix verbs, the passive suffix precedes the final vowel. This arrangement of suffixes in Kinga agrees with the mirror principle, which states that, when the causative and the passive suffix appear together in a single word, the causative will appear before the passive suffix in the verb. When they occur in a sentence, the two Kinga examples above will appear as follows:

(22) <i>tova</i> (beat)	<i>tovwa</i> (be beaten)
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an example sentence in Kinga is;

υkhutovwa soni – 'to be beaten is shameful' (Simple present)

(23) *atovilwe*

A	<i>tov</i>	<i>il</i>	-w	<i>e</i>
s/he	beat	CAUS	PASS	FV

'S/he has been beaten – (present perfect).'

(24) *atolile* 'He has married, taken or picked (men).'

(25) *atolilwe* 'She has been married (for women).'

A	<i>tol</i>	<i>il</i>	-w	<i>e</i>
She	take	CAUS	PASS	FV

'She has been married or taken (present perfect).'

As the data show, the TAM can determine the position of the passive suffix **w**. In addition, the cultural aspect that accounts for the structural difference between English and Kinga in examples 24 and 25 is worth noting. In the Kinga society, a man marries, but a woman is married. Hence, the notion of a man getting married does not exist in Kinga.

Reciprocal -an

This suffix extension stands for two-way traffic expressions. These expressions indicate individuals or entities that affect one another; this extension is similar to the Proto-Bantu reciprocal extension (Schadeberg, 2003)). Examples 26 and 27 are worth considering.

(26) <i>lola</i> <i>lol-a</i> look-FV 'look'	<i>lolana</i> <i>lol-an-a</i> look-REC-FV 'look at each other.'
(27) <i>taanga</i> <i>ta:ng-a</i> help-FV 'help'	<i>tangana</i> <i>tang-an-a</i> help-REC-FV 'help each other.'

Other verbs indicating reciprocity are presented in 28 and 29.

(28) *Tovana-* 'beat each other (fight)'

(29) *Manyana* 'know each other'

The reciprocal suffix **-an** is, in some cases, used to express similar attributes of resemblance, look at example 30;

(30) <i>huana</i> <i>huan-a</i> resemble-FV 'resemble'	<i>hwanana</i> <i>huan-an-a</i> resemble-REC-FV 'resemble each other'
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An example sentence is *Avana ava vihwanana* 'These babies resemble each other.'

Associative -ani

An expression that closely resembles reciprocity is associative, which denotes actions performed together but not necessarily mutually as in reciprocal expressions. This kind of extension is done by the suffix **-ani**. Examples 31–34 demonstrate are represented by the breakdown of the word *vuja* 'go back'.

(31) <i>vuja</i> <i>vuj-a</i> go back-FV go back	<i>-vujanya</i> <i>-vuj-ani-a</i> 'go back-ASS-FV go back together
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(32) <i>khina</i> 'play/dance'	<i>khinanya</i> 'play/dance together'
(33) <i>imba</i> 'sing'	<i>imbanya</i> 'sing together'
(34) <i>ǧenda</i> 'walk'	<i>ǧendanya</i> 'walk together'

This is similar to some Bantu languages, such as Kagulu, in which the verbal extension **-ani** is more associative than reciprocal, denoting activities performed together rather than activities performed to each other. Reciprocity in Kagulu is expressed by the suffix **-ki** (Petzell, 2008).

Reflexive khi-

The prefix expresses an action done by oneself or directed toward oneself. It indicates that the action of the verb is performed by the subject and is directed back to the subject. When the reflexive **khi-** is used, the verb's meaning shows that the agent and recipient or patient are the same. This prefix is mainly similar to other Bantu languages, such as Kongo also known as Kikongo in which it is realised as **-ji**. The prefix **ki-** appears as **khi-** in Kinga, reflecting its pronunciation. The pronunciation of **kh** in **khi** is similar to the sound **kh** in the Swahili word *kheri* 'good' and in the Arabic word *khalas* 'finished'. This appears so because there is no voiceless velar plosive [k] in Kinga, although it can be seen in the literature. Instead, there is a voiceless velar fricative [kh]. The use of [k], seen in the Kinga literature, is due to the use of the Latin script in writing. The suffix appears in reflexive expressions, as shown in examples 35–39.

(35) *ndikhítanga*

<i>Ndi</i>	<i>khi-</i>	<i>tang</i>	<i>a</i>
1SG	REF	help	FV

'I try my best.'

(36) *vukhívona*

<i>Vu</i>	<i>khi</i>	<i>von</i>	<i>a</i>
2SG	REF	see	FV

'You are proud of yourself.'

(37) *ikhibakha amafuta*

<i>I</i>	<i>khi</i>	<i>bakh</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>amafuta</i>
3SG	REF	smear	FV	oil

'S/he is smearing herself with oil.'

(38) *ikhíhonga*

<i>I</i>	<i>Khi-</i>	<i>hong</i>	<i>a</i>
3SG	REF	familiarise with bad behaviour	FV

'S/he familiarises him/herself to bad behaviour.'

(39) *vikhíġatatsa*

<i>Vi</i>	<i>khi</i>	<i>ġata</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>a</i>
3PL	REF	tire out	CAUS	FV

They are tiring themselves out.'

Separative -ul/-ukh

This extension is realised with the suffixes **-ul** and **-ukh**, which are similar to extensions reconstructed for Proto-Bantu. They are also termed as reversive. Separative extension denotes the movement from one position to another (Schadeberg, 2003). The suffix **-ul**, on the one hand, typically makes a verb which requires an object (transitive verb). The suffix **-ukh**, on the other hand, does not require an object (intransitive); it indicates habitual action or possibility of an action, as illustrated in examples 40–43.

(40) *Pungula* 'pour something from one vessel to the other.'

<i>pung</i>	<i>-ul</i>	<i>a</i>
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<i>Pour</i>	<i>SEP</i>	<i>FV</i>
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As in the following Kinga sentences:

'*Pungula amağasi mundoβo* 'Pour water into the bucket.'
versus '*Amağasi ği pungukha* 'The water pours or is pourable.'

(41) *pindula* 'Turn sth from its original position.'

<i>pind</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>Turn</i>	<i>SEP</i>	<i>FV</i>

Pindukha 'turnable/ turn around or change your ways.'

(42) *ğubukhula* –'Uncover'

<i>Ğubukh</i>	<i>-ul</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>Uncover</i>	<i>SEP</i>	<i>FV</i>

As in the following examples: *ğubukhula inz#ilo* 'remove the pot lid'
and *ğubukha* 'able to be uncovered.'

(43) *dindula* 'Open'

<i>dind</i>	<i>-ul</i>	<i>a</i>	
<i>Close</i>	<i>SEP</i>	<i>FV</i>	

The following two examples illustrate this further:

Dindula u ndiango 'Open the door' and *u ndiango ğudindukha* 'The door opens or can be opened.'

Intensive *-ani* and *-es*

This intensive suffix *-ani* intensifies the action; it indicates that the doer performs the action vigorously, with force, emphasis, or greater than usual. The suffix *-ani* differs from the suffix *-es* reconstructed for proto-Bantu. The suffix *-es* is also used in Kinga, but it is less productive than *-ani*. Structurally, the suffix *-ani* is realised similarly as it does in associative extension, but the meaning is different; here, it is intensification. The intensive suffix allows only one person to be involved in an action, while the associative suffix requires more than one individual to act together. The underlying shape of the intensive suffix is *-ani*, but its surface realisation is *any* due to assimilation. The cause is the need for ease of articulation and pronunciation fluency, especially when speaking rapidly. The following examples are illustrative.

(44) <i>Naanga</i> <i>Naang-a</i> 'destroy-FV' 'destroy'	<i>naanganya</i> <i>naang-ani-a</i> destroy-INT-FV 'destroy vigorously/badly'
(45) <i>batsula</i> <i>batsul-a</i> break-FV 'break'	<i>batsulanya</i> <i>batsul-ani-a</i> break-INT-FV 'break vigorously/ angrily /without care'
(46) <i>pendula</i> <i>pendul-a</i> turn over-FV 'turn over'	<i>pendulanya</i> <i>pendul-ani-a</i> turn over-INT-FV 'turn something over carelessly'

In some occurrences, intensive extension can appear after other extension(s), such as applicative. When the doer of an action wants to demonstrate greater emphasis, then more than one intensifier will show up, as shown in examples 47–49.

(47) <i>nyapa</i> <i>nyap-a</i> uproot-FV 'uproot'	<i>nyapeleng'anya</i> <i>nyap-el-eng-ani-a</i> uproot-APPL-INT-INT-FV 'uproot repeatedly, carelessly (especially with intention to destroy).'
(48) <i>tsuva</i> <i>tsuv-a</i> weed-FV weed	<i>tsuviling'anya</i> <i>tsuv-il-ing-ani-a</i> Weed-APPL-INT-INT-FV 'weed carelessly/angrily (especially unwillingly).'
(49) <i>tsova</i> <i>tsov-a</i> talk-FV 'talk'	<i>tsoveleng'anya</i> <i>tsov-el-eng-ani-a</i> talk-APPL-INT-INT-FV 'Talk quickly, repeatedly, carelessly especially when angry.'

Since examples show intensification by repeated actions, the intensive suffix **-ani** in Kinga can be said to be functionally similar to the repetitive extension **-ang** in Bena. According to (Nurse & Philippson, 2006, p. 192) the intensive extension **-ang-** in Bena, when used with a verb such as 'buy', means 'in large quantities'. Likewise, (Morrison, 2011, p. 311) asserts that **-ang** is used in Bena to indicate repeated action. The current study argues that the function of **-ani** in Kinga is similar to that of **-ang** in Bena. Petzell(2008) also considers the occurrence of repetition along with intensification. The use of one suffix for more than one extension, such as associative and intensive, cannot be considered a distinctive feature in Kinga. Such cases show up in many Bantu languages, including Chichewa, Ciluba, Kiswahili and the southern languages such as Shona, Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu. In these languages, a single suffix can be used with different verbal extensions; for example, Zulu, Xhosa, and Ndebele have the suffix **-an**, which is used with associative and intensive extensions. On the one hand, associative use of the suffix **-an** realises as in verbs *ukubona* 'to see' which becomes *ukubon-an-a* 'to see each other'. On the other hand, the intensive use of the same suffix **-an** is as in a verb *ukuhleka* 'to laugh', which, after suffixation, forms *ukuhlek-ana* 'to laugh repeatedly or to laugh a lot'.

This is similar to what happens in the Kinga language, where in associative the suffix **-ani** comes immediately after the root, while the intensive suffix **-ani** usually comes after other extensions, such as the applicative **el** and the separative **ul**, as the examples above demonstrate.

The **-es** suffix is also used to intensify actions, as in the word *lola* 'look', which becomes *lolesa* 'look here and there repeatedly or look around'; however, **-es** suffix is not as productive as **-ani** in Kinga.

(50) <i>Lola</i>	<i>Lolesa</i>
<i>lol-a</i>	<i>lol-es-a</i>
<i>look-FV</i>	<i>look-INT- FV</i>
'look'	'look around'

The following sentence is also illustrative: *llolesa ivuta ndiasi* 'S/he looks around as if s/he is a thief.'

Extensive **-al**

According to Schadeberg (2003), this kind of derivation denotes a spread-out position. This meaning aligns with the Kinga language since most of its words are derived with the suffix **-al**, which denotes remaining in a certain state over an extended period. However, this extension is not highly productive in Kinga.

(51) <i>Siğala</i>	'remain'
(52) <i>Subhala</i>	'be dormant'
(53) <i>Lemala</i>	'get hurt'

As in the following Kinga sentence: *Siğala baha twilitse!* 'Remain here so we buy time.'

Stative/Neuter *-ikh* and *-il*

Stative extensions in Kinga are *ikh* and *il*. These extensions are used to express the state of an individual, the state resulting from an action or a process that has occurred. In Kinga, stative verbs are formed when the original object is made to become a subject. The construction of sentences by this extension decreases the number of arguments (valence). This means that when a sentence is formed with an original subject, the predicate will have many arguments, whereas with a stative derivational suffix, the number of arguments decreases. The following examples illustrate constructions before and after the insertion of the stative suffix.

(54) <i>batsula</i> <i>batsul-a</i> break-FV 'break'	<i>batswikhe</i> <i>batsw-ikh-e</i> break-STAT-FV 'broken'
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(55) Before: *Ūmwana abatsue etsupa-*
'The child has broken the bottle.'

(56) After: *e tsupa jibatwsikhe.*
'The bottle is broken.'

(57)

<i>Vomba</i> <i>vomb-a</i> Work-FV Work	<i>vombikhe</i> <i>vomb-ikh-e</i> Work-STAT-FV Work done
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(58) Before: *Avadeemi vavombile imbombo*
'The youth have done a good job.'

(59) After: *imbombo jivombiikhe vunonu*
'The job is well done.'

Stative suffixes in Kinga also indicate possibility; for instance as one can say 'this food is edible' in English. The stative suffix denoting possibility is the same as the suffix *-ikh-ekh*. Although this suffix is used with impositive, there are words whose meanings are more stative than impositive; a stative suffix suggests that something can be done, as illustrated in examples 60–63.

(60) *Suala-* 'dress or put on clothes'
Swalikha 'dressable'

An example sentence in Kinga is: *Ūmuenda ġuswalikha* 'a dress can be dressed'. In addition, the following verbs demonstrate similar characteristics.

(61) <i>vova</i> <i>tov-a</i> beat-FV 'beat'	<i>tovekha</i> <i>Tov-ekh-a</i> Beat-STAT-FV 'beatable (possible to beat)'
(62) <i>vona</i> <i>von-a</i> see-FV 'see'	<i>vonekha</i> <i>Von-ekh-a</i> See-STAT-FV 'visible'
(63) <i>pulikha</i> <i>Pulikh-a</i> Hear-FV 'hear'	<i>pulikhikha</i> <i>pulikh-ikh-a</i> hear-STAT-FV 'heard or audible'

Some verbs take *-il* for stative extension. Most involve verbs related to feelings, taste and senses, as in examples 64-66.

(64) <i>lula</i> <i>lul-a</i> ferment-FV 'ferment'	<i>lulile</i> (go sour) <i>lul-il-e</i> ferment-STAT-FV 'gone sour'
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An example sentence in Kinga is *uvulanzi vululile* 'Bamboo juice has gone sour'

(65) <i>nung'a</i> <i>nung'-a</i> Smell bad-FV	<i>nung'ila</i> (smell) <i>nung'-il-a</i> Smell good-STAT-FV
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An example sentence in Kinga is; *Ūmpunga ġunung'ila*, 'rice smells good'

(66) <i>ġana</i> <i>ġan-a</i> Love-FV Love (V)	<i>ġanile</i> (love feeling) <i>ġan-il-e</i> love-STAT-FV Loves
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An example sentence in Kinga is as in; *Ūmminza uju aġanilwe*. 'This girl is loved.'

Impositive *-ekh*

(Schadeberg, 2003) argues that impositive is a kind of causative, typically expressing *direct causation*. Its more precise meaning is 'to put (sth) into some position'. The impositive extension does not appear to be very productive in any particular language. It is similarly unproductive in Kinga and even in neighbouring languages, such as Bena G63 (Morrison, 2011)). Very few words can be associated with this kind of verbal derivation. Examples 67–69 below can demonstrate the impositive extension.

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (67) <i>Oġekha</i> | 'put sth somewhere temporarily' |
| (68) <i>Tumbekha</i> | 'hang' |
| (69) <i>Hudekha</i> | 'tie' |

Positional -am

A positional verbal extension occurs in contexts which a verbal suffix indicates position or location. This type of extension typically provides more semantic information about the position or location of the subject or object that appears with the verb. The suffix **-am** serves as a positional extension in Kinga. This suffix is not productive, only a few verbs are attested with it. Examples 70 to 73 are illustrative.

(70) *Suḡama* 'Kneel'(71) *dulama* 'Crouch'(72) *ḡundama* 'Bend'(73) *saḡama*. 'Stand straight'

As in a sentence like;

ndimbwene idulama musitimbwe

I have seen him/her crouching in bamboo tree clusters

Contactive -at

This kind of extension is not productive in Kinga because only a few verbs take the suffix **-at**. According to the verb extensions reconstructed for Proto-Bantu, this derivational suffix denotes the active making of firm contact (Schadeberg, 2003). The extension appears in Kinga as in examples 74–76.

(74) *lbata* 'hold or catch'(75) *paḡata* 'hold on a lap'(76) *khuvata* 'threshing grains'**Reduplication**

Another way of forming verbs in Kinga is by reduplication. Reduplication is the repetition of a word element. There are two types of reduplication in Kinga: full and partial.

Full reduplication involves repetition of the whole verb; this type of reduplication may have more than one meaning. A reduplicated verb may mean distribution, number (plurality), repetition, continuation, and pejoration. Examples 77–85 show reduplicated words in Kinga and the meaning communicated.

(77) <i>tsova</i> 'speak'	<i>tsovatsova</i> 'talk repeatedly or talk nonsense'
(78) <i>khonga</i> 'follow'	<i>khongakhonga</i> 'follow someone everywhere'
(79) <i>ḡenda</i> 'walk'	<i>ḡenda ḡenda</i> 'walk around/ walk without purpose'
(80) <i>hola</i> 'give birth'	<i>holahola</i> 'give birth to many children without planning'
(81) <i>voja</i> 'palpate'	<i>Vojavoja</i> 'palpate repeatedly'
(82) <i>hekha</i> 'laugh'	<i>hekha hekha</i> 'laugh repeatedly or without a proper reason'
(83) <i>lila</i> 'cry'	<i>lilalila</i> 'cry repeatedly'
(84) <i>mela</i> 'grow'	<i>melamela</i> 'grow haphazardly all around'
(85) <i>ḡona</i> 'sleep'	<i>ḡonaḡona</i> 'stay longer'

As seen in examples above, the verbs formed through reduplication can represent distinct semantic concepts, including pejoration, iteration, repetition, intensification, distribution and diminution. In the data above, *tsovatsova* is pejorative, this reduplicated Kinga verb disqualifies the speaker who speaks nonsense or without clarity. Moreover, *khongakhonga* reflects iterative action, *vojavoja* shows repetition, and *melamela* reflects distribution.

Another type is partial reduplication. It happens when only initial syllables are reduplicated. Although the concept of the original word remains the same, there is a slight difference in the meaning when the verb is reduplicated. For instance, *ng'uula* means 'produce a grieving sound', while *ngu'ng'uta* means 'produce a grieving sound repeatedly'.

Some words seem to have originated from reduplication, but their unduplicated forms do not exist. Examples are provided in 86 and 87.

(86) *lulutila* 'ululate'(87) *lalatula* 'tear apart'

Another type of reduplication though not very productive, is that which the augment is changed. In this kind of reduplication, the noun classes replace each other see (Mbilinyi & Joshi, 2023) for Kinga noun classes. The class 15 prefix replaces the class 1 Kinga prefix, but the root is repeated, as shown in the following example.

(88) *Mwilya khu-khulya* (a Kingan taunt)

<i>Mui</i>	<i>Lia</i>	<i>khu</i>	<i>khu</i>	<i>lia</i>
CL1 2PL	Eat	CL15	CL15	eat

'You are eating without end or without working.'

In extract (88), the verb *lia* (eat) is reduplicated with the repetition of the noun class 15 prefix, this needs more study or description.

Discussion

The study intended to describe the verbal extensions in Kinga. It demonstrated that some extensions are productive, others are less productive, and yet others are unproductive. Some verbs have multiple extensions where more than one affix is attached to the verb; examples of such verbs are *ḡonelela* (*el* and *el*), *tovelela* (*el* and *el*), *dodeletsa* (*el* and *ets*). As in other Bantu languages (Maho, 1999), verbal extensions in Kinga occur between the verb root and the final vowel.

Various morphophonological processes take place when verbal extension suffixes are added to the verb. An example is with the causative extension in words such as *noḡela* 'look good or taste sweet', the suffix is added but three sounds which are [ḡ], [e] and [l] are deleted, the voiced velar plosive [ḡ] is replaced by an alveolar affricate [ts]. This forms the word *notsa* 'cause to look good, cleanse or cause sth to taste sweet'. Likewise, when the causative suffix *-is* is attached to the verb *piṽpa* 'boil (INTR)', the voiceless bilabial plosive [p] that precedes the final vowel is replaced by a voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. This change forms the verb *piṽisa*, which is pronounced as *pyusa* in rapid speech to mean 'cause to boil' (TR). These morphological processes are also observable in the nominalisation of verbal roots. For example, the verb *telekha* 'cook' becomes the noun *ṽntelezi* 'cook' after lenition, whereby the voiceless velar fricative [kh] shifts to voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. This study, however, focused on structural and semantic results of the verbal extensions. Dealing with all morphophonological processes fell beyond the scope of the article. These will be considered for another research.

Multiple extensions were also worthy of analysis. Multiple or reduplicated extensions yield two results: structural and semantic. The structural result is valence increasing, which is making the number of slots of the verb multiply, as observed in causative and applicative extensions. Other extensions result in valence decreasing, for example with the stative *ikh*. The semantic significance of multiple or reduplicated extension involves changes in the meaning of the verb. The changes may reflect various concepts, such as repetition, intensity, prolonged action, repletion and pejoration.

The sequencing of verbal extensions in Kinga conforms to both the mirror principle and the templatic morphology (TM) theory. For example, when the causative and passive co-occur within a single verb, the causative morpheme systematically precedes the passive suffix, with the passive suffix appearing more productive.

Verb extensions reconstructed for Proto-Bantu show the verbal derivations which occur in languages across all zones. Compared with Kinga, there are slight differences. Still, the extensions are broadly similar despite some differences in the way these suffixes are pronounced, for instance, the suffix *-ici* in PB sounds *-its* in Kinga.

Kinga demonstrates similarities with other G60 group of languages. Some common extensions influence meaning, valence and argument. Examples are the applicative *il/el*, the causative *-is/es,-ish -s* , and passive *-iw/-w* and reciprocal *-an*. In addition, suffixes are inserted between the verb root and the final vowel. Furthermore, extensions represent either location, beneficiary or instrument (in applicative), action caused (in causative) or making a verb transitive or intransitive (in passive and stative). There is also a possibility of multiple extension. Differences that arise are mainly phonological and allomorphic; the same suffix may have varying realisation from one language to another. Together with Kinga G65, other languages in the G60 Bena-Kinga group include G61 Sango, Rori, G62 Hehe, G63 Bena, G64 Pangwa, G66 Wanji, and G67 Kisi.

Conclusion

Drawing on the findings, as well as insights from the comparative Bantu literature, the majority of verbal-extension suffixes reconstructed for Proto-Bantu exhibit forms cognate with those found in Kinga. Nevertheless, notable phonological divergences in their surface realisation persist. Furthermore, certain extensions vary across individual Bantu languages; for instance, reciprocity in Kinga is marked by the suffix *-an*, whereas in Kagulu it is encoded by the suffix *-ki*.

The investigation of verbal extensions in Kinga also revealed several phenomena that in the researcher's view, need systematic study and documentation, particularly given the limited descriptive work currently available on the language. Among the areas requiring further inquiry are the morphophonological processes triggered during verbal suffixation, such as consonant weakening, imbrication, segmental deletion, and various types of assimilation, which appear to play a significant role in shaping the language's verbal morphology.

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