# MORE EVIDENCE OF NON-VOICE BUNDLING IN NYUNGWE

by

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## Abstract

*While Marantz (1984) was the first to present the idea supporting the assumption that external arguments are not true arguments of their verbs, as has widely been discussed in the literature (Grimshaw 1990, Parsons 1990, Koopman & Sportiche 1991, Pylkkänen 1999, for example), it was Kratzer (1996) who first developed a theory about how Marantz's (1984) proposal can be executed in syntax.*

*The aim of the present paper is to discuss non-Voice bundling parameter as proposed by Pylkkänen (2008) using data from Nyungwe, a Bantu language spoken by 457.290 people in two Mozambican provinces, namely, Tete and Manica, (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000).*

*The study suggests that in Nyungwe Voice° and Cause° are two functional heads projected independently.*

*The paper is organized in four sections as follows. Section 1. Introduction; Section 2. Pylkkänen's (2002, 2008) proposal; Section 3. Discussion of Nyungwe data; Section 4. Conclusions of the study.*

**Key-words**: Bantu languages; Minimalist Program; Voice-Bundling Parameter; Voice°; Cause°.

## 1.0     Introduction

According to Alexiadou (2014), the term Voice (Kratzer 1996) is used in three ways: first, denoting particular alternation in a verb's argument structure; second, a morpho-syntactic category of the verb and, lastly, as a syntactic head introducing the verb's external argument. In this study, we are dealing with Voice as syntactic head introducing a verb's external argument which is separated from Cause.

Marantz (1984) was the first to present the idea supporting the assumption that external arguments are not true arguments of their verbs. He observed that a particular kind of internal arguments triggers special interpretation of the verb, what cannot be said about the verb and the external argument. Below are some of the examples Marantz uses for his claim (Marantz 1984:49):

1a)     throw a baseball
 b)     throw support behind a candidate
 c)     throw a boxing match (i. e., take a dive)

2a)     kill a conversation
 b)     killing an evening watching TV
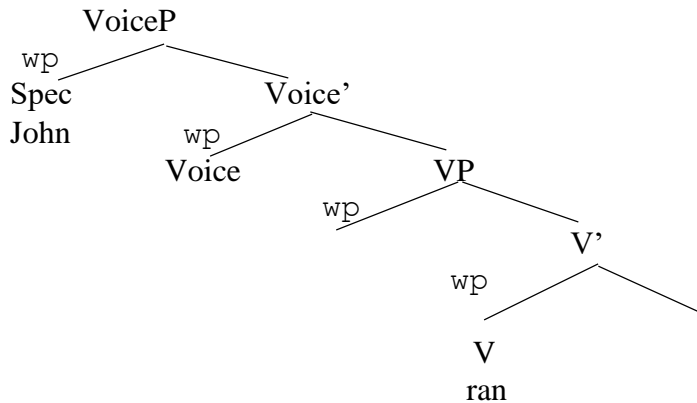 c)     kill an audience (i. e., wow them)

According to Marantz (1984), the examples above call our attention to a distinction between the basic uses of the verbs presented from in (1a-c) and (2a-c) from their metaphoric and idiomatic uses, yet no clear lines divide the classes. In the explanation of these examples, Marantz (1984) also argues that, the sentences above are only possible if objects are arguments directly selected by the verb and with their thematic role attributed by them, the same cannot be said in relation to the subjects, since they do not have the same status. They are additional arguments, though required in many syntactic environments. As we can see Marantz (1984) separated from the same level the VP and its internal arguments from the subject. Marantz provided the idea of separation the external argument from the verb and its argument, but did not say how external argument was introduced in syntax. From the study of Marantz (1984), several theoretical and empirical proposals followed. One of them belongs to Kratzer (1996) who, through the neo-Davidsonian approach states that "...the external argument of a verb is not an argument of the verb..." (Kratzer 1996: 112).

Kratzer (1996) developed a theory of how Marantz (1984) idea can be executed in syntax proposing that external arguments are introduced by Voice, which has VP as its complement. Thus, it is above the VP. The external argument is generated as a Voice specifier. Kratzer (1996) shows that Voice is only a functional head denoting a relation between the external argument and the event described by the verb.

Let's take a quick look at the partial structure of the example below:

3a) John ran yesterday.

(i)

```
              VoiceP
        wp  /      \
      Spec        Voice'
      John    wp  /     \
            Voice         VP
                  wp  /       \
                              V'
                        wp  /    \
                           V
                           ran
```

The diagram above summarizes what we have said so far. That is, the event expresses an activity that is why the external argument has the thematic role of agent. But, if it were causative, it would be a causer; if stative theme and so on (Morais 2006). It means that the thematic role of the external argument is determined by the nature or properties of the VP. Now, the assumption that the external argument is not a true argument of the verb has become standard in all current work within Minimalist Program as assumed by many scholars (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2006, Marantz 2005, Alexiadou 2014).

The aim of the present paper is to present more examples that support the idea of *Non-Voice-Bundling* in Nyungwe, i.e., the idea that Voice and Cause can be phonologically realized in this language.

Our intuition comes from the existence of causative constructions that do not involve an external causer argument: causative-passive constructions and causative-stative constructions, indicating the existence of causing event constructions without relating any participant to it. The use of these constructions comes from the assumption that the passive and stative morphemes are syntactic core of the Middle Voice in Bantu languages (Dom, Kulikov & Bostoen 2017; Seidl & Dimitriadis 2003).

Nyungwe is N43, according to Guthrie's 1967-71 classification. It is a Bantu language spoken in Tete and Manica provinces of Mozambique (Ngunga and Faquir 2011).

The paper is organized in four sections as follows. After this introductory section, we move into the second section where we discuss Pylkkänen (2002,

2008) theoretical proposal. Then, in the third section, we describe and discuss what happens in Nyungwe and, lastly, in section four, we present the conclusions.

## 2. Non-Voice Bundling proposal (Pylkkänen 2002, 2008)

Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) proposed non-voice bundling hypothesis as she was discussing cross-linguistic variation in causative constructions. According to the author, it is not always that causativization increases the number of verbal arguments and, therefore, introduction of a new syntactic argument is not a core property of causativization. Thus, what distinguishes causative verbs from their non-causative counterparts is a syntactically implicit event argument. It means that all causative constructions involve a Cause head which, when combined with non-causative predicates, introduces a causing event to their semantics. Therefore, cross-linguistic variation in causative constructions has two sources: Voice bundling and cause selection. Voice bundling refers to the syntactic variation in the realization of cause. According to Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), Voiceº and Cause can be phonologically realized by two different functional heads, meaning that vP can be divided into two independent projections: VoiceP and *v*PCause. Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) argues that Finnish and Japanese have causative heads that are independent of Voice, as can be seen in the diagram below:

(ii)

VoiceP
Spec      Voice'
      Voice      vPCause
            Cause      VP
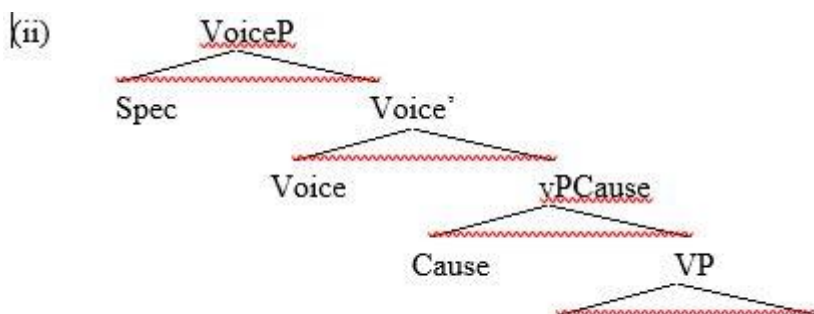
As we can see in the diagram above, VoiceP is projected independently from vPCause. In using this structure, we are assuming that both Voiceº and Cause can be phonologically realized. To test that these two languages are non-voice bundling, Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) uses causative constructions that lack an external argument, the causer, to prove that Voice and Cause can be phonologically realized. These constructions are adversity causatives. Let's see the Japanese examples presented below:

|      | Japanese      | Pylkkänen (2008:90): |              |
| ---- | ------------- | -------------------- | ------------ |
| 4.   | *Taroo-ga*    | *musuko-o*           | *sin-**ase**-ta*. |
|      | Taro-NOM      | son-ACC              | die-CAUS-PAST |

(i)     'Taro caused his son to die.'
(ii)    'Taro's son died on him.' (adversity causative)

According to the author, the causative construction presented above has adversity interpretation because the NP *Taroo-ga* is interpreted as an external argument in (i) and as an affected argument in (ii). Moreover, the interpretation in (ii) calls our attention to the fact that although the construction displays causative morpheme, it does not have causative meaning. The adversity causative asserts the existence of a causing event without relating any participant to it. Although, adversity causative has a causing event in it meaning the nominative argument, in these constructions it is not an external argument and it does not have implicit external argument (it is not a passive).

Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) uses passive construction presented in (4) to show that if the nominative argument in the adversity causative is a derived subject, passivization should make the adversity causative reading disappear.

|      | Japanese      | Pylkkänen (2008:90): |
| ---- | ------------- | -------------------- |
| 5.   | *musuko-o*    | *sin-ase-rare-ta*.   |
|      | son-ACC       | die-CAUS-PASS-PAST   |

(i)     "The son was caused to die."
(ii)    * 'Somebody's son died on them' (implicit affected argument)

According to Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), the example presented above shows that adversity causative. Although it lacks an external argument, it has a causative meaning. It means that, the adversity causative has a causative head that introduces the caused event, but not an external argument.

Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) gives a clearest way to show that in Japanese, we have a causative that does not introduce an external argument by contrasting it with the adversity passive. See the example (6), below:

|      | Japanese      | Pylkkänen (2008:90) |              |
| ---- | ------------- | ------------------- | ------------ |
| 6a)  | *Taroo-ga*    | *musuko-nio*        | *sin-are-ta*. |
|      | Taro-NOM      | son-DAT             | die-PASS-PAST |
|      | 'Taro's son died on him.' |         |              |

The adversity passive construction presented in (6) has similar meaning to the one of adversity causative in (5), but lacks the causative morphology. We have

the same meaning but its morphological spell-out is different. Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) argues that the semantic similarity between the adversity causative and adversity passive is only superficial. In these two constructions, only the adversity causative has in fact causative meaning. The semantic difference between these constructions can be seen if the adversity causative is combined with *ni-yotte* (by-phrase). We present below two examples used by Pylkkänen (2008:91).

Adversity causative+ by-phrase naming a causing event

7a) *Taroo-ga     sensoo-ni-yotte     musuko-o     sin-ase-ta*.
Taro-NOM     war-by     son-ACC     die-CAUS-PAST
'Taro's son was caused to die on him by the war.'

Adversity passive+ by-phrase naming a causing event

b) * *Taroo-ga     sensoo-ni-yotte     musuko-o     sin-ase-ta*.
Taro-NOM     war-by     son-ACC     die-CAUS-PAST
'Taro's son died on him by the war.'

According to Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), the ungrammaticality of (7b) shows that only adversity causative can combine with *ni-yotte* (by-phrase), a modifier that can be used to specify an implicit argument. Thus, if a structure does not have an implicit argument, by-phrase should be impossible, as what happens in (7b). Moreover, these examples tell us that adversity causative has an implicit event, which is absent in adversity passive, and this implicit argument is not an agent.

We must remember that by-phrase is a modifier to be used to specify an implicit argument. Thus, it will be impossible in structures that have no implicit argument. Consider the examples below:

Unaccusative: No implicit external argument

8a) * Yasai-ga     Hanako-ni-yotte     kusa-tta.
vegetable-NOM     Hanako-by     rot-PASS-PAST
*'the vegetable rotted by Hanako.'

Unaccusative: No implicit causing argument

b) * Yasai-ga     Hanako-ni-yotte     kusa-tta.
vegetable-NOM     Hanako-by     rot-PASS-PAST
*'the vegetable rotted by Hanako.'

The ungrammaticality of the examples above illustrates that unaccusatives do not have implicit external argument even if there is an implicit causing event.

Now, we present another example that Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) used to prove that the implicit argument in the adversity causative is not an external argument. See the example below:

Adversity causative+ by-phrase naming an agent
9. *Taroo-ga        Hanako-ni-yotte        musuko-o        sin-ase-ta.
   Taro-NOM        Hanako-by                son-ACC        die-CAUS-PAST
   'Taro's son was caused to die on him by Hanako.'

The examples (7a) and (9) show that the adversity causative involves a causative head introducing only a causing event, but not an external argument. Therefore, there is no Voice head relating a participant to the causing event, as by-phrase cannot specify an implicit event participant.

According to Pylkkänen (2008), in Finnish it is possible to causativize an unergative verb without introducing a new argument in syntax. It means that in this language, we have VoiceP and CauseP projected as different heads.

Pylkkänen (2008), also argue that different from what we have seen in Japanese and Finnish, in languages such as English, Cause is bundled with the external-argument introducer Voice. The causative in English differs from the Japanese and Finnish only structurally, not semantically. The different structural realization of Cause predicts that unaccusative causatives should be possible in Japanese and Finnish but not in English. Let's take a quick look at the diagram below:

(iii)            VoiceP
        wp
                        Voice'
            wp
        [Voice, Cause]          VP
                    wp
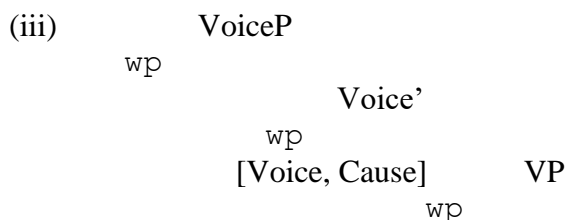
In the diagram above, we can see one projection where Voice and Cause form a complex head. Thus, in languages such as English Voice°/*v*° Cause were unified in this single projection.
Following Pylkkänen (2000, 2002, 2008) and Harley (2013), in this study we propose that in Nyungwe Voice and Cause are two separated functional heads. Our argument is based on the existence of causative constructions that do not involve an external causer argument: causative-passive constructions and causative-stative constructions.

We use Pylkkänen (2000, 2002, 2008) because her proposal includes Kratzer's (1996) view and goes further proposing that Voice° can be realized in some languages.

As we examine Nyungwe data, we intend to answer Legate's (2014:111) question "…why is there little morphological attestation of the distinct Voice vs. v° heads cross-linguistically…?".


## 3. Non-Voice Bundling in Nyungwe

In the previous section, we gave a theoretical assumption that will be used to analyze our data. The present section aims at discussing data that made us suggest that in Nyungwe there are constructions where a causative head introduces a causing event, but not an external causer argument. We are talking about causative-stative verbs and causative-passive verbs.

### 3.1    Causatives without an external causer argument

In this section, we present causative constructions lacking a prototypical causative external argument, a causer.

### 3.1.1 Causative-Passive Constructions

As we shall see in the present section, the evidence that made us suggest non-voice bundling parameter in Nyungwe come from causative-passive constructions. Following Wang (2010), we consider passive voice the whole process of certain event from the patient's point of view. According to Wang (2010), passive constructions can be classified into two categories, passive with agent (agentive passive), where the agent will be implicit in the context, and the passive without agent (the non-agentive passive), where there is no agent at all. In addition, Toyota (2011) proposed that the grammatical characteristics for defining passive Voice are syntactic: presence of formal marker, valency reducing operation and active counterpart and semantic: transitivity.

For the purposes of this study, we suggest that in the causative-passive constructions, the passive morpheme (-**iw**-) is the realization of the Voice head and it is projected separately from cause head (-**is**-) projected by CauseP. In proposing that, we are assuming that passive as voice prevents the insertion of an external agent argument even if the causative morpheme occurs. Thus, by economy, a derivation without an external argument does not require a Voice

head (Alexiadou & Doron 2007). We can see this in the examples presented below:

10a)  mamuna      a-da-sirir-a    n'-kazi.
      1-man       1-TM-like-FV    1-woman
      'the man liked the woman'

  b)  mamuna      a-da-sirir-**is**-a       n'-kazi.
      1-man       1-TM-like-Caus-FV    1-woman
      'the man made (someone) to like the woman'

  c)  n'kazi      a-da-sirir-**is**-**idw**-a    (na mamuna).
      1-woman     1-TM-Refl-like-Caus-Pas-FV
      'the woman was made (by the man) be liked'

11a)  mwana       a-ndza-badul-a      muti.
      1-child     1-TM-break-FV       3-tree
      'the child shall beak the stick'

  b)  mwana       a-ndza-badul-**is**-a          muti.
      1-child     1-TM-break-Caus-FV         3-tree
      'the child shall make (someone) break the stick'

  c)  muti        u-ndza-badul-**is**-**iw**-a       (na mwana).
      3-tree      1-TM-burn-Caus-Pas-FV      (by the child)
      'the child shall make the stick be broken'

In (10a) and (11a), we illustrate that the transitive verb -*sirir*- 'to like' and -*badul*- 'break' have two arguments: the external argument *mamuna* 'man' and mwana 'child', and the internal arguments: *n'kazi* 'woman' and *muti* 'tree', respectively. In (10b) and (11b), when the causative morpheme occurs, one more argument is added even though the lower affected argument is not phonologically realized. It is implicitly there. Different from what happens in (10b) and (11b), in the examples (10c) and (11c), when the passive morpheme is added, the external agent arguments of (10b) and (11b) become adjuncts and so, it should not occur in VoiceP Spec. Moreover, the external arguments *n'kazi* 'woman' and *mwana* 'child' in the example (10c) and (11c) must be interpreted as affected arguments and because of that cannot occur in VoiceP Spec. We suggest from this data that we have Voice and Cause phonologically realized but we lack an agentive argument.

We can see that a transitive verb become causative-passive verb. Now, we present data using an unaccusative verb. Let's take a look to the examples that follow:

12a)  mwana       w-a-gw-a.
      1-child     1.TM-fall-FV

'the child fall'
b) Maria       w-a-gw-**es**-a         mwana.
   Maria       1.TM-fall-Caus-FV     1-child
   'Maria made the child fall.'
c) mwana       w-a-gw-**es**-**edw**-a    (na Maria).
   1-child     1-TM-fall-Caus-Pas-FV
   'Maria was made to fall (by Maria).'
13a) mwana     a-ndza-gak-a
     1-child   1-TM-burn-FV
     'the child will burn.'
b) nyansala    a-ndza-gak-**is**-a      mwana.
   1-mad person 1-TM-burn-Caus-FV    1-criança
   'the mad person will make the child burn.'
c) mwana       a-ndza-gak-**is**-**idw**-a   (na nyansala).
   1-child     1-TM-burn-Caus-Pas-FV
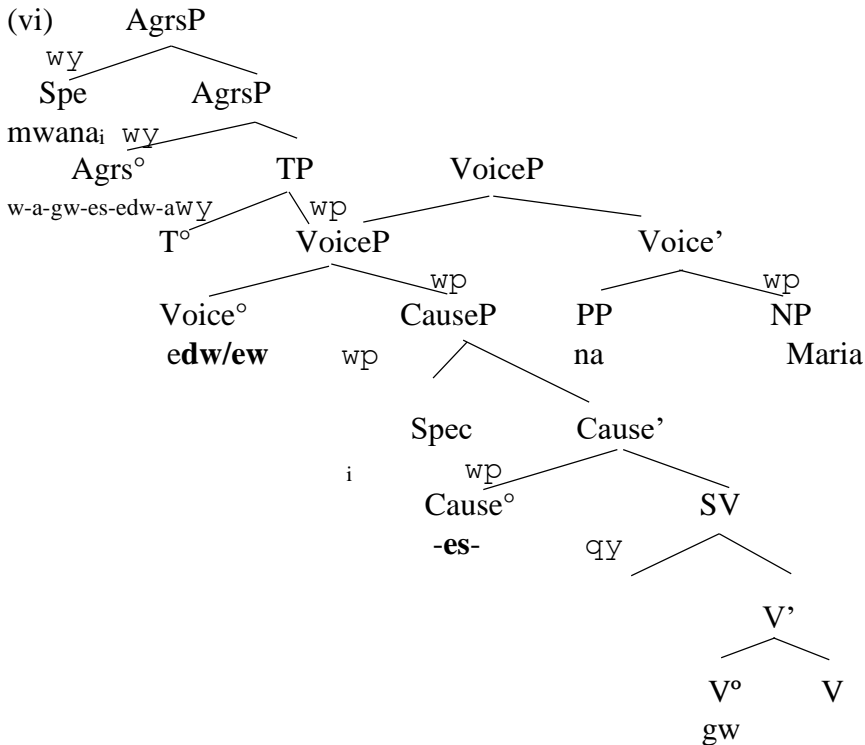   'the child will be made burn (by the mad person).'

The examples in (12c) and (13c) illustrate that unaccusative verbs can be causativized and passivized at the same time and, when that happens, the internal argument in the examples (12b) and (13b) becomes the new subject. This subject must be interpreted as an adjunct and because of that VoiceP Spec should not be occupied by any argument.

In the next examples, we present what happens when the verbs are unergative. See the examples below:

14a) mayi      a-da-mog-a.
     1-mother  1-TM-jump-FV
     'the mother jumped'
b) Maria       a-da-mog-**es**-a       mayi.
   Maria       1.TM-jump-Caus-FV    1-mother
   'Maria made the mother jump'
c) mayi        a-da-mog-**es**-**edw**-a      (na Maria).
   1-mother    1-TM-jump-Caus-Pas-FV      (by Maria)
   'mum was made to jump (by Maria).'
15a) mbwaya    yi-ndza-thamang-a.
     9-dog     9-TM-run-FV
     'the dog shall run.'
b) mbuzi       yi-ndza-thamang-**is**-a      mbwaya.
   1-goat      1-TM-run-Caus-FV         9-dog
   'the coast shall make the dog run.'
c) mbwaya      yi-ndza-thamang-**is**-**idw**-a    (na mbuzi).
   9-dog       9-TM-run-Caus-Pas-FV         (by goat)

'the dog shall be made run (by goat).'

The data in (15) and (16) illustrate that though *-mog-* 'jump' and *-thamang-* 'run' are unergative verbs. In causative-passive constructions in (15c) and (16c), the causative morpheme is realized and the Voice° heads also. In these constructions, we do not have a causer in the VoiceP Spec. Thus, taking into account the data presented in causative-passive constructions and considering that Passive is a Voice, we assume that **-idw-**/**-iw-** is a phonological realization of the Voice° head in Nyungwe. For these constructions, we propose the diagram below:

(vi)

```
                    AgrsP
                  wy
        Spe              AgrsP
    mwanaᵢ  wy
            Agrs°           TP              VoiceP
    w-a-gw-es-edw-awy
                    T°      VoiceP                   Voice'
                          wp
                Voice°          CauseP      PP              NP
                edw/ew    wp              na              Maria
                        Spec        Cause'
                    i       wp
                          Cause°              SV
                          -es-      qy
                                            V'
                                        V°      V
                                        gw
```

The diagram (vi) illustrates that the nominative argument Maria must not be interpreted as an agent. It is an adjunct. Thus, we are assuming that in descriptive terms we have a causative construction that does not project an external agent argument. In addition, the NP *mwana* 'child' is projected in Spec of CauseP it is interpreted as an affected argument but it moves from here to Spec AgrsP when the verb moves to Agrs° to check agree feature.

### 3.1.1 Causative-Passive Constructions

The last piece of evidence that made us to suggest that Voice and Cause are two different heads lies in stative-causative constructions. As in passive, stative morphology, prevent the insertion of the external argument. It derives intransitive verbs, as it only allows the merge of the root argument into the derivation (Alexiadou & Doron 2007). Thus, in causative stative construction an intransitive verb can be derived without relating any external causer argument to it. In these constructions we have a Voice head realized by the morpheme -**ek**- and the Cause head realized by the causative morpheme -**is**- without relating any external argument to it. Let's take a quick look at the examples below:

17a)  mwana      a-ndza-mal-a          madosi.
      1-child         1-TM-finish-FV       6-sweets
      'the child shall finish the sweets'

  b)  mayi   a-ndza-mal-is-a            madosi
      1-mother       6-TM-finish-Caus-FV   6-sweets
      'the mother shall make the sweets finish'

  c)  madosi        ma-ndza-mal-is-ik-a.
      6-sweets        6-TM-finish-Caus-Stat-FV
      'the sweets will be made to be finished'

18a)  mamuna       a-da-sirir-a    n'-kazi.
      1-man            1-TM-like-FV   1-woman
      'the man liked the woman'

  b)  mamuna       a-da-sirir-**is**-a          n'-kazi.
      1-man            1-TM-like-Caus-FV     1-woman
      'the man made (someone) to like the woman'

  c)  n'kazi        a-da-sirir-**is**-**ik**-a.
      1-woman        1-TM-like-Caus-Pas-FV
      'the woman was made to be liked'

The examples above illustrate that we are dealing if two transitive verbs. In the example (17a) the verb *-mal-* 'finish' has two arguments *mwana* 'child' as the external argument and *madosi* 'sweets', the internal argument. In the following example (17b), the causative morpheme is added and because of that a new argument is added although it is not phonologically realized. The example (17c) has a causative and stative morpheme and because of that, the ditransitive verb of the example (17b) become intransitive. The theme is the only argument realized and occupies the subject argument.

The verb, *-sirir-* 'to like' in (18a) has also two arguments: the external argument *mamuna* 'man' and the internal argument *nkazi* 'woman'. In (18b)

with the attachment of the causative morpheme, a new argument was added, the external affected argument, but not phonological realized agent.

In (18c) the attachment of the causative and stative morpheme, the object was raised to the subject position and become the only realized external argument in the derivation. In the examples (17c) and (18c), the external argument must not be interpreted as agent although a subject with a thematic role of theme. Thus, in descriptive terms we have a causing event without relating any causer to it. Using the examples (17c) and (18c), we propose that -**ik-** is the phonological realization of Voice° and -**is**- is the phonological realization of cause°.

We have other examples that prove that we can have a causative head without relating it to a causer argument. See the example that follow:

19a)  nyumba       yi-da-gak-a.
      9-house       9-TM-burn-FV
      'the house burned.'
  b)  nyansala     a-da-gak-**is**-a        nyumba.
      1-mad person  1-TM-burn-Caus-FV   9-house
      'the mad burned the house.'
  c)  nyumba       yi-da-gak-**is**-**ik**-a.
      9-house       9-TM-burn-Caus-Stat-FV
      'the house was burnable.'

In the example (19b), we illustrate that unaccusative-causative verbs are possible in Nyungwe and a new external argument is added when a causative morpheme is added in the verb. In (19c), different from what we saw in the latter example, the theme *nyumba* 'house' was raised to the subject position. It is important to note that in cases similar to this, we have causative construction that doesn't project an agent. Thus, Voice is realized by the stative morpheme -**ik**- and Cause by the causative morpheme -**is**-.
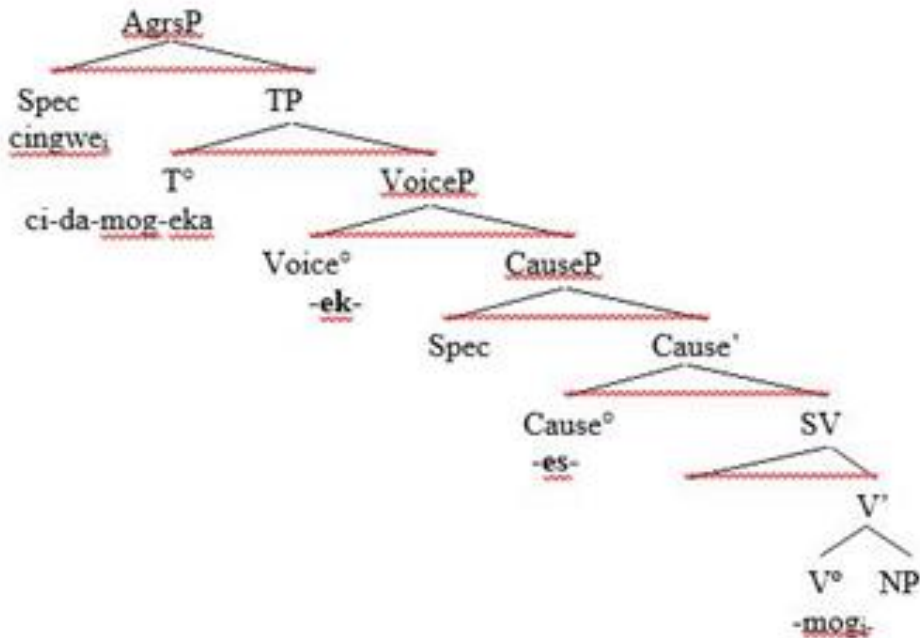
In the examples that follow the causative stative construction is derived from an unergative verb. In the example below we illustrate that causative-stative with unergative verb project a VoiceP for the realization of Voice° although the Spec VoiceP is not realized by any causer.

20a)  mayi         a-da-mog-a.
      1-mother      1-TM-jump-FV
      'the mother jumped.'
  b)  Maria        a-da-mog-**es**-a       mayi         cingwe.
      Maria         1.TM-jump-Caus-FV   1-mother      7-rope
      'Maria made the mother jump the rope.'
  c)  cingwe        ci-da-mog-**es**-**ek**-a.

7-rope          7-TM-jump-Caus-Stat-FV

'the rope was made to be jumpable.'

The data in (20) we present an underived unergative verb. In the following example (20b), when the causative morpheme is added, the verb become transitive and because of that two arguments are added: an affected external argument *mayi* 'mother' and the theme *cingwe* 'rope'. In the example (20c), when in the causative verb of the example (20b) is attached the stative morpheme, the former transitive verb become intransitive, with only one argument, the theme *cingwe* 'rope' which is raised to the subject position. As we have seen from the beginning, the examples (17-19), the theme raised to the subject position must not be interpreted as a causer. Although the position it appears is, the theme. Thus, in causative-stative constructions we argue that -**ik/ek-** is the phonological realization of Voice° and -**is-** is the phonological realization of cause°. We propose the next structure for these constructions:

(vii)



In the diagram above, we propose a structure of the example (20c), a causative-stative structure. In this diagram the VoiceP is projected only to account for the realization of the Voice° head -**ik-** above the CauseP head which is also realized by the morpheme -**is-**. The external causer argument is not projected in the Spec of VoiceP because this nominative argument is not an external causer argument. Thus, to fulfill the EPP, we propose that the external

argument must occur in the Spec of the AgrsP. We think that this structure accounts for the realization of Voice and Cause in causative-stative constructions lacking an external causer argument.

## 4. **Conclusions**

The aim of the study was to discuss non-Voice bundling parameter as proposed by Pylkkänen (2008) using data from Nyungwe. In the study, using causative-passive constructions and causative-stative construction, we proposed that passive and stative morphemes must be treated as Voice. Evidence has been adduced to prove that in Nyungwe Voice° and Cause° are two functional heads projected independently, realized by two different morphemes. In descriptive terms, in these constructions we have a causative head but not a VoiceP head. Therefore, in Nyungwe it is possible to have a causative construction without an external causer argument. The study has thus been our contribution to the debate on the VoiceP functions in the Bantu languages.

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