
The Subcategorization of Derived Verbs in Kifipa

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Abstract: This paper aims at investigating Subcategorizations of derived verbs in Kifipa. Kifipa is a Bantu language spoken in south-west Tanzania by the people denoted to as Wafipa. Wafipa live in a bigger area between Lake Rukwa and Lake Tanganyika. Currently, the area is located in Rukwa region. Verbs are subcategorized differently in different languages. In isolating languages, verb subcategorization is a syntactic study while in Bantu languages verb subcategorization is a morphosyntactic study. In some languages derivation does not affect the subcategorization of verbs except passive while in other languages especially Bantu, derivation (verb extension) alters the subcategorization of basic verbs. The paper focuses on three morpho-syntactic aspects of derived verbs in Kifipa. The paper is guided by the theory known as Government and Binding theory and Burzio's Generalization Principle in particular. Burzio's generalization is the work of a linguist known as Luigi Burzio in 1986. Burzio's generalization deals with the organization of verb harmony, and how these verbs behave towards their arguments. In his theory, Burzio came up with a general classification of verbs. Qualitative approach and explanatory research design were employed in the analysis and presentation of data. A sample of six respondents from Matai and Singiwe villages were selected using snowball sampling technique on the basis of age and language ability. Data were collected through sentence questionnaires, grammaticality judgements and extraction from written materials. The findings reveal that Kifipa has three subcategories of derived verbs including the verbs which allow only a single argument, the verbs which allow the occurrence of two or three arguments and lastly the super transitive verbs which allow the occurrence of more than three arguments which is a result of the co-occurrence of two or more extension suffixes. Extension affixes in Kifipa affects the subcategory as they increase the number of arguments these extensions are applicative and causative verb extensions. On the other hand, extensions such as passive, reciprocal, stative and reflexive decrease the number of arguments while extension such as intensive does not affect the arguments of the verb.

Keywords: Verb Subcategorization, Derived Verbs, Passive Verb, Applicative Verb, Causative Verb, Reciprocal Verb, Stative Verb, Reflexive Verb

1. Introduction

The article focuses on subcategorization of derived verbs in Kifipa. Derived verbs in Kifipa have been taken as independent verbs from their basic counterparts. Thus, their subcategories are discussed separately from the basic verbs. This makes Kifipa to have many subcategories of verbs. It is true that these subcategories may carry the same number of arguments as basic verbs, but they have extra morpho-syntactic behaviours which differentiate them from their basic counterparts.

Some involves movements, change in positions and case marking, number of arguments and morphological

behaviours which affect their syntax. The attachment of extensions on basic verbs affect case assignment as argued by Burzio's generalization that passive verb cannot assign an accusative case to its complement. He calls these kinds of verbs unaccusative verbs. The applicative and causative verb can assign an accusative case to their complement. Kifipa is a Bantu language spoken in south-west Tanzania by the people denoted to as Wafipa. Wafipa live in a bigger area between Lake Rukwa and Lake Tanganyika. Currently the area is known as Rukwa region. Kifipa as a Bantu language is an agglutinating language which the attachment of morpheme to

the verb root can either increase or decrease arguments as in most Bantu languages. Syntactically, Kifipa like many Bantu languages contains SVO structure in the order of syntactic elements.

2. Verb Subcategorization

The term verb subcategorization was presented in 1965 by Chomsky during the phrase structure grammars. According to Grzegorz, subcategorization is the word traditionally used to refer to the subdivision of major syntactic categories, particularly verbs according to what other constituents they co-occur with [13]. The concept of verb subcategorization has been defined differently by different scholars. The discussion differs in one way or another due to language differences. For instance, Carnie; Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams; Haegeman; Hammadi & Ab Aziz; and Katamba & Stonham discuss verb subcategorization in English [7, 12, 14, 15, 16]. In their discussion, they argue that verb subcategorization is the process of dividing verbs into their subtypes by considering arguments occurring with a verb.

2.1. Verb Subcategorization in Different Languages

Al-Seghayar, based on Burzio's generalization argues that Arabic Language contains three subcategories of verbs namely: transitive, intransitive, and passive and raising verb [1]. Verb subcategorization also was discussed in Bantu languages by different scholars including Mdee who subcategorised Kiswahili verbs into two major groups; intransitive and transitive verbs [18]. On the other hand, Luhende discusses verb subcategorization in Kisukuma. He argues that Kisukuma verbs are divided into three subcategories: intransitive, mono-transitive and ditransitive [17].

Verb extensions are verb suffixes which are added to the verb root resulting into a new verb stem. The occurrence of verb extensions is limited, they are placed immediately after the verb root and before the final vowel.

For example:

1. (a) John alipigia mpira

John a- li- pig- a mpira

John AgrS- Pst-kick-FV mpira

'John kicked the ball'

(b) John alimpigia Amina mpira

John a- li- m- pig- i- a Amina mpira

John AgrS-Pst-OM-kick-A-FV Amina mpira

'John kicked the ball for Amina'

(c) Mpira ulipigwa

Mpira u- li- pig- w- a

Mpira AgrS-Pst-kick- P-FV

'The ball was kicked'

In 1(a) the basic verb *piga* 'kick' is monotransitive it allows the occurrence of two syntactic arguments. The verb is able to assign an accusative case to its complement and theta marks its arguments. In 1 (b) the addition of the applicative extension suffix *-i-* to the verb root changes the verb from *piga* 'kick' to *pigia* 'kick for'. The stem *pigia*

'kick for' allows the occurrence of three syntactic arguments while in 1(c) the stem is changes to *pigwa* 'be kicked' due to the additional of passive extension *-w-* which reduce the number of syntactic argument from two on *piga* to one. The verb *pigwa* 'be kicked' does not assign accusative case and it allows the occurrence of only one syntactic argument.

Complementing the above argument, Rugemalira asserts that the suffixing of two or three verb extensions raises the number of arguments to six. He gives an example in 2 from Runyambo [20]:

2. Sara 'cut'

Akakansariza omwana [isoke] [ahamutwe]

a-ka-ka-n-sar-iz-a omwana [isoce] [ahamutwe]

he-pst-it-me-cut-A+C-FV child hair on head

'He cut the child's hair on the head with it for me'.

The above discussion presents the disparities in verb subcategorization across different languages of the world which necessitates the study on verb subcategorization in Bantu language particularly Kifipa.

2.2. Burzio's Generalization Principles

This kind of verb subcategorization fits into Burzio's generalization, a work of a linguist known as Luigi Burzio in 1986. Burzio's generalization deals with the organization of verb harmony, to how these verbs behave toward their arguments. In his theory, Burzio came up with a general classification of verbs as in Figures 1, 2, and 3:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | 2 |
| | |

Figure 1. Verb 1.

A verb which theta mark its object traditionally is known as transitive verb: it has two arguments and assigns two theta-roles for example, *kill* which assigns the roles of AGENT and THEME, or *fear* which assigns EXPERIENCER and THEME. Such a verb must be able to case-mark its complement NP (Burzio, 1986, p. 178).

| |
|---|
| 1 |
|---|

Figure 2. Verb 2.

This is the theta grid of a verb traditionally known as an intransitive verb: it has only an external argument; for example, the verb *arrive* which assigns the role AGENT. The D- Structures (henceforth DS) and S-Structures (henceforth SS) of clauses containing such intransitive verbs are as follows:

3. (a) D- Structure

$[_{IP} NP [I' [V]]]$

(b) S-Structure

$[_{IP} NP [I' [V]]]$

According to Burzio's generalization, these verbs could not case mark a complement NP.



Figure 3. Verb 3.

The third type of verbs, are verbs which have only an internal argument such as passive verbs. As a result of passivization, the external argument becomes repressed. The D-structure of clauses [IP: e [I' [VP Verb NP]]]. According to Burzio's generalization, a verb containing the structure above cannot assign accusative case to its complement. This is because passive verbs fail to assign case to its complement. In the S-structure, the NP on which the internal theta role is assigned move to the subject position to be case -marked. That is, we move the NP from the object position to the subject position in order for it to be case -marked. The structure of a clause with such a verb will be: [IP NP_i [I' [VP Verb t_i]]]. Burzio's verb three is used to explain passive and raising together with all extended verbs. Therefore, the paper expands the classification into other extensions that may allow only external arguments and those with more than one argument in Kifipa. The effects of extensions are easily discussed through this subcategory.

3. Kifipa Derived Verbs

Derived verbs in Kifipa have been taken as independent verbs from their basic counterparts. Thus, their subcategories will be discussed separately from the basic verbs. This makes Kifipa to have many subcategories of verbs. It is true that these subcategories may carry the same number of arguments as basic verbs, but they have extra morphosyntactic behaviours which differentiate them from their basic counterparts. Some involves movements, change in positions and number of arguments which will be discussed in 2.1 and morphological behaviours which affect their syntax. The attachment of extensions on basic verbs affect case assignment as argued by Burzio's generalization that passive verb cannot assign an accusative case to its complement. He calls these kinds of verbs unaccusative verbs.

3.1. Anaccusative Verbs: Passive, Stative, Raising and Reciprocal Verbs

This subcategory of derived verb covers verbs which allow only a single argument that is internal argument including passive, stative, raising and reciprocal verbs. Raising verb is not a derived verb but according to Burzio it shares the same feature as passive such as movement.

3.1.1. Passive Verb

A passive verb is derived from the basic verb by the attachment of extension. In Kifipa, a passive construction is characterized by the attachment of the suffix *-w-* and *-iw-* to the verb root. This is supported by Burzio in his discussion about verb 3 which is passive and raising. He argues that passive verb has the theta grid of 2. Passive verb allows only one argument which is internal argument. The passive verb cannot assign an accusative case to its argument. The

following are passive verbs in Kifipa:

Table 1. Passive Verb.

| Basic verb | Gloss | Passive verb | Gloss |
|------------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| Uma | Beat | Umwa | Beaten |
| China | Dance | Chinwa | Danced |
| Soma | Read | Somwa | Read |
| Potola | Cut | Potolwa | Cut |
| Lima | Cultivate | Limwa | cultivated |
| Koma | Plant | Komwa | planted |
| Kala | Buy | Kalwa | bought |
| Pisha | Drive | Pishwa | driven |
| Lemba | Write | Lembwa | written |
| Yala | Close | Yalwa | closed |

Source: Field Work.

Passive verbs in table 1 allow only internal argument and they do not assign an accusative case. Its internal argument is repressed so that the external argument position becomes unfilled for the moved category to fill it. This is presented as follows;

- 4. D-structure
[_{IP} e [_{I'} [_{VP} Verb Pass NP]]]

The D-structure in 4 can be presented in a sentence as follows;

- 5. Umwana atafwa
U-mu-ana a-ta-fw-a
AUG-NC1-child AgrS-Pst-die-FV
'A child died'

In 5 a passive verb atafwa 'died' allows only one argument and it cannot assign accusative case. The external argument Umwana 'child' bears agentive theta role and is assigned nominative case by INFL.

The sentence in 5 can be represented in a deep structure as follows;

- 6. D-Structure
[_{IP} NP e [_{I'} AgrS -a-, [_{VP} V tafwa, NP umwana]]]

The D-structure in a) can be presented in a tree diagram as in 1.4.:

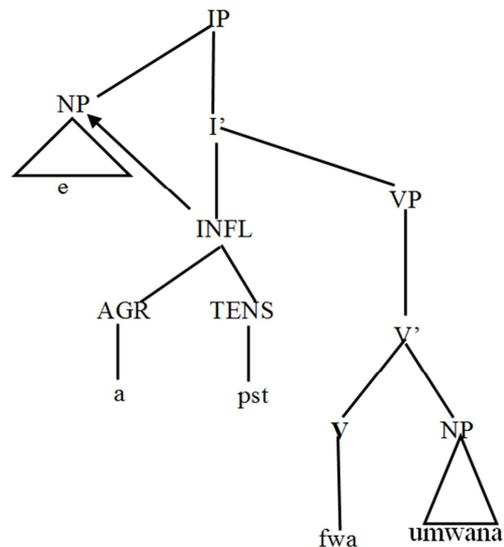


Figure 4. Deep Structure.

The tree diagram in 1.4 shows that the passive verb in Kifipa allows only one argument and it cannot assign an accusative case. The external argument position is empty to allow the moved category to fill it and be case marked.

7. S-structure

$[_{IP} NP_i umwana [_{I'} AgrS -a- [_{VP} V tafwa, NP t_i]]]$

The S-structure is shows that the category which has been moved from its original position to the new position left a trace behind. That is to say, the internal argument moves from its original position to the external argument position (referred to as A position in GB) to be case marked. The internal argument at the subject position is assigned nominative case by INFL and it bears patient theta role.

The S-structure can be represented in a tree diagram as follows;

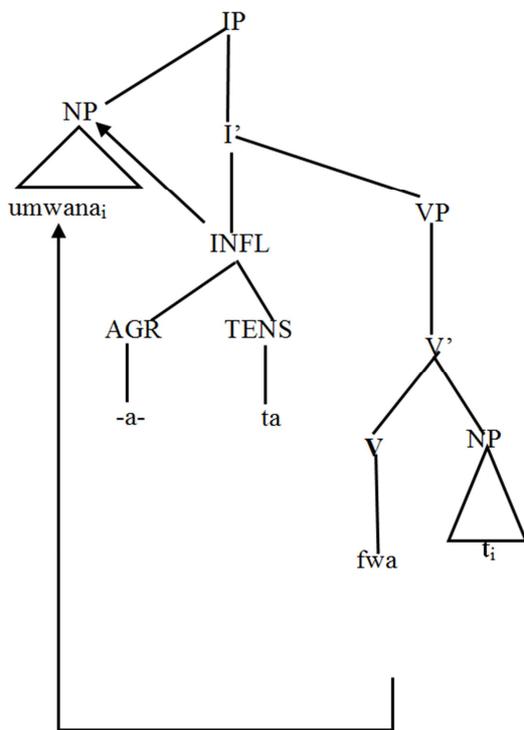


Figure 5. Surface Structure.

The tree diagram in 1.5 shows that the internal argument has moved from its original position to the new position leaving a trace t_i in order to be case marked. It bears nominative case which is assigned to it by INFL and patient theta role which assigned to it by a verb. The passive verb 'kalwa' cannot assign an accusative case.

8. (a) Umwana atuumwa

U- mu-ana a- ta- umw- a

AUG-NC1-child AgrS-Past-be beaten- FV

'A child was beaten'

(b) Makonde iyakalwa

Ma-konde i- ya- kal- w- a

NC6-maize AgrS-Pst-be bought- FV

'The maize was bought'

In the 8 (a) and (b) each of the verb passive verbs *umwa* 'be beaten' and *kalwa* 'be bought' takes only an internal

argument which is moved from its original position to the new position which is an argument position in order to satisfy case filter, i.e. to be case marked. The nominative case is assigned to it by INFL. This is similar to Burzio's argument that a passive verb cannot assign an accusative case. However, Kifipa has another group of verbs which are similar in behaviour to the passive and raising verbs. Such verbs include stative verbs which are also classified by the research under the subcategory of verb 3 which include verbs which allow only one argument.

3.1.2. Stative Verb

In Kifipa stative verb allows only one syntactic argument which is internal argument. The stative verb in Kifipa is formed by the attachment of extension suffix *-ik-* or *-ek-* which is placed after the verb root. The addition of stative extension to the verb root express state rather than action. A stative verb lacks an accusative case. Just like passive the internal argument is moved to an empty external argument position to be assigned nominative case by INFL. Mostly a stative verb bears an affective theta role which is assigned to it by a verb. The D-structure of a sentence with stative verb is:

9. D-structure

$[_{IP} e [_{I'} [_{VP} V NP]]]$.

The stative verb can be represented in the sentence as in

10:

10. Untii wapotoleka

U- m- tii wa-potol-ek-a

AUG-NC3-tree AgrS-cut- S-FV

'The tree is broken down'

The sentence in 10 has the D-structure as presented in 11 and the S-structure as in 12.

11. $[_{IP} NP_e [_{I'} AgrS u-, Prs -a- [_{VP} Vpoteleka NP untii]]]$

12. $[_{IP} NP untii_i [_{I'} AgrS u-, Prs -a- [_{VP} Vpoteleka NP t_i]]]$

Stative verb in Kifipa allows only one syntactic argument, an internal argument which moves to a subject position which is empty in the deep structure to acquire a nominative case. Its case assigner is INFL which assigns nominative case to the external argument.

The verb *potoleka* 'be broken' takes only one argument *unti* 'tree' which is assigned nominative case by INFL after it has been moved to the argument position.

Table 2. Stative Verb.

| No | Stative verb | Gloss |
|----|--------------|-----------|
| 1 | Loleka | be seen |
| 2 | Yalika | be closed |
| 3 | Poneka | Fall down |
| 4 | Umika | be beaten |
| 5 | Yulika | be opened |

Source: Field Work 2021.

The stative verbs in table 2 allow only one syntactic argument which bears nominative case which is assigned to it by INFL and affective theta role assigned by a verb. Stative verb in Kifipa is like a passive verb as it allows the occurrence of one argument which different from other

intransitive verbs is an internal argument. Also, stative verb just like passive does not assign an accusative case as in the following example:

13. Maembe iyalyika
Ma-embe i- ya- ly- ik-a
 NC6-mango AgrS-Pst-eat-S-FV
 ‘The mangoes have been eaten’

The stative verb *lyika* ‘eaten’ takes only a single syntactic argument which bear nominative case and affective theta role which is assigned to it by a verb. This is supported by Friesen (2002: 27) who argues that the stative seems to have its main meaning and takes only a single syntactic argument.

3.1.3. Raising Verb

The raising verb is like passive it allows the occurrence of one syntactic argument. The verb does not assign an accusative case. The subject of the argument is raise to the matrix IP position to be assigned case. For example:

14. Ana ataloleka kumuuma Maria
Ana a- ta-lolek-a ku- mu-uma Maria
 Ana AgrS-Pst-see-FV AUG-OM-beat Maria
 ‘Ana seem to beat Maria’

The sentence in 51 is represented in a D-structure and S-structure as follows;

15. D-structure
 [_{IP} e ataloleka [_{IP} Ana kumuuma Maria]]

The D-structure shows that the IP position is empty to allow the NP Ana to raise from its original position to the new position in order to be case marked.

16. S-structure
 [_{IP} Ana_i [_I Pst [_{VP} ataloleka [_{IP} t_i [kumuuma Maria]]]]]

The S-structure shows that the subject of the lower clause which is Ana is raised out of the clause shifted into a higher clause in order to be case marked. The moved category is assigned nominative case by INFL and it bears agentive theta role. Raising verbs in Kifipa are few than passive verbs. The raising verb is like passive verb because both lack external argument. Raising and passive verb seem to be the product of movement because they cannot assign an accusative case, so most of the time the argument are shifted to the argument position to be assign case.

3.1.4. Reciprocal

In Kifipa reciprocal verb is derived from the basic verb by the attachment of extension *-an-* which is placed after the verb root. The addition of suffix *-an-* to the verb root indicates that the action is done equally by both members. Reciprocal verb assigns theta role to the external argument while INFL assigns nominative case. Let us consider the following sentences:

17. (a) ayaana yaluumana
a- ya- ana ya- lu- um- an- a
 AUG-NC2 children AgrS-Prog-beat-REC-FV
 ‘Children are beating each other’

(b) ayanafunzi yaluwaolana
a- ya-nafunzi ya- lu- waol- an- a AUG-NC2-student AgrS-Prs-hug-REC-FV

‘Students hug each other’

In 17 (a) the reciprocal verb *umana* ‘beat each other’ allows the occurrence of only one syntactic argument which is *ayaana* ‘children’. The external argument *ayaana* is assigned nominative case by INFL and it bears two theta role agentive and affected theta roles. In 17 (b) the reciprocal verb *waolana* ‘hug each other’ also allows the occurrence of one syntactic argument *ayanafunzi* ‘students’ which is assigned nominative case by INFL and it bears both agentive and affected theta roles. This can be presented in a tree diagram as follows.

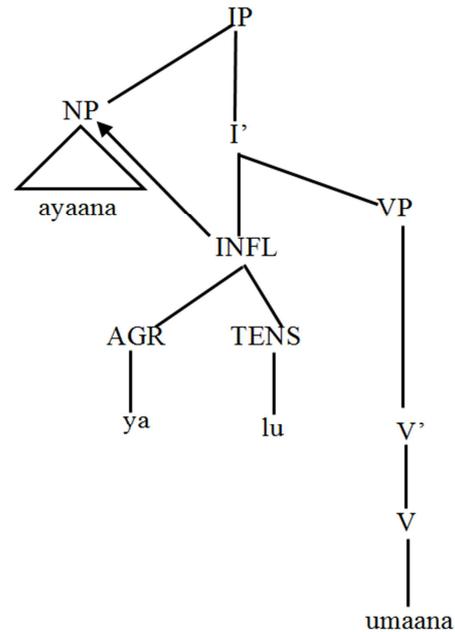


Figure 6. Reciprocal Verb.

The tree diagram in 1.6 presents the reciprocal verb *umana* assigns agentive and affected theta roles to the external argument *ayaana* while the same argument is assigned nominative case by INFL. In Kifipa it is observed that although reciprocal verb allows only one syntactic argument the verb is able to assigns two theta role to its argument.

18. Iyafunana amakulu
i-ya- fun- an- a a- ma-kulu
 AgrS-NC2-break-REC-FV AUG-NC6 leg
 ‘They have broken each other’s legs’

The reciprocal verb in Kifipa can stand as a sentence. In 19 the reciprocal verb allows two arguments. The external argument is assigned an accusative case and bears agentive theta role while the internal argument is assigned an accusative case and bears patient theta role. The reciprocal verb in Kifipa also can be called transitive verb because it theta marks and case marks its arguments. Let us consider the following D-structure and S-structure of Kifipa reciprocal verbs.

19. D-structure
 [_{IP} e [_I Prog lu [_{VP} REC waolana [_{NP} ayanafunzi]]]]

In the D-structure reciprocal verb in Kifipa generates an empty position in the IP in order to allow the category which

is moved to fill the empty position. This can be presented in as follows:

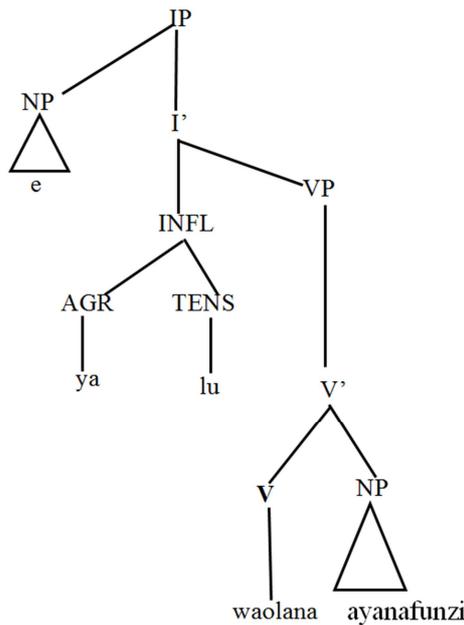


Figure 7. D-structure.

20. S-structure

$[_{IP} \text{ayanafunzi}_i [I' \text{ya, lu} [_{VP} \text{waolana} [_{NP} t_i]]]$

The IP position is filled by the moved category which has been moved from its original position to the new position in order to be case marked. It is represented in a tree diagram as follow.

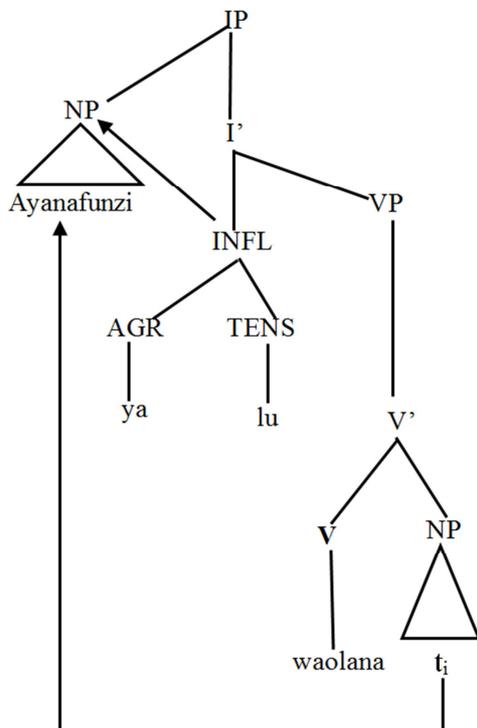


Figure 8. S-structure.

The following are reciprocal verbs in Kifipa.

Table 3. Reciprocal Verbs.

| No | Reciprocal verb | Gloss |
|----|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | Molana | kill each other |
| 2 | Sakana | marry each other |
| 3 | Sandana | shave each other |
| 4 | Waolana | hug each other |
| 5 | Umana | beat each other |
| 6 | Yulana | close each other |

Source: Field Work 2021.

Reciprocal verbs in Kifipa allow the occurrence of one syntactic argument as passive, stative and raising but they differ from other verbs in this group. Reciprocal verb assigns two theta roles to the external argument. The external argument is assigned agentive and affective theta roles at the same time.

3.2. Derived Transitive Verbs: Applicative and Causative Verb

This part deals with the applicative and causative verbs. In Kifipa Applicative and causative verbs have similar characteristics. Both of them allow the occurrence of more than one syntactic argument to the verb. Also, both are able to assign case and theta role their arguments.

3.2.1. Applicative Verb

In Kifipa an applicative verb is formed by the addition of extension suffix *-il-* and *-el-* to the verb root. Applicative verb allows the occurrence of more than one syntactic argument in the sentence construction. Applicative verbs such as *ndolela* ‘see for’, *fulila* ‘wash for’, *somela* ‘read for’, *elekela* ‘cook for’ etc. are able to assign theta role and to case mark their arguments. Let us observed the following examples:

21. (a) Umusungu akumfulila mkolechi e-myenda
U-m-sungua-lu-m-ful-il-am-kolechi i-mi- enda
 AUG-NC1-girl AgrS-Prog-OM-wash-A-FV NC1-grandmother AUG-NC4-clothes

‘We are washing the clothes for our sister’

(b) Kalonga atamuumila Malema umwana
Kalonga a- ta- muum- il- a Malema u- mu- ana

Kalonga AgrS-Pst-beat- A- FV Malema AUG-NC1-a child
 ‘Kalonga beat a child for Malema’

In Kifipa, the applicative verb in 21 (a) allows the occurrence of three syntactic arguments namely: *umsungu*, *mkolechi* and *emyenda*. *Umsungu* is external arergument which bears agentive theta role and assigned nominative case by INFL while *mkolechi* is the first internal argument which bears beneficially theta role and is assigned an accusative case by a verb and *emyenda* is the second internal argument which bears patient theta role and assigned oblique case by a verb. Also in 21 (b) the verb *atamuumila* ‘beat for’ is applicative verb which allows the occurrence of three syntactic arguments such as *Kalonga*, *Malema* and *umwana*. These three arguments are assigned different theta role and case as follows; the external argument *Kalonga* is bears agentive theta role and nominative case which is assigned to

it by INFL. The internal argument Malema bears beneficially theta role and is assigned an accusative case by a verb while umwana bears patient theta role and is assigned oblique case by a verb.

Table 4. *Applicative Verb.*

| Applicative Verb | Gloss |
|------------------|-----------|
| Njalila | close for |
| Elekela | cook for |
| Ndolela | see for |
| Fulila | wash for |
| Somela | read for |
| Chinila | dance for |

Source: Field Work.

Kifipa applicative verbs in table 4 take more than one arguments and they are able to theta mark and case mark their arguments. The external argument of an applicative verb is assigned nominative case by INFL and they bear an agentive theta role while internal arguments assigned an accusative case and bear locative/patient/them/instrument etc. the applicative verb in Kifipa has the following structure:

22. $[_{IP} NP [_{I'} [_{VP} VApp [NP, NP]]]]$

The structure of applicative verb can be represented in figure 9.

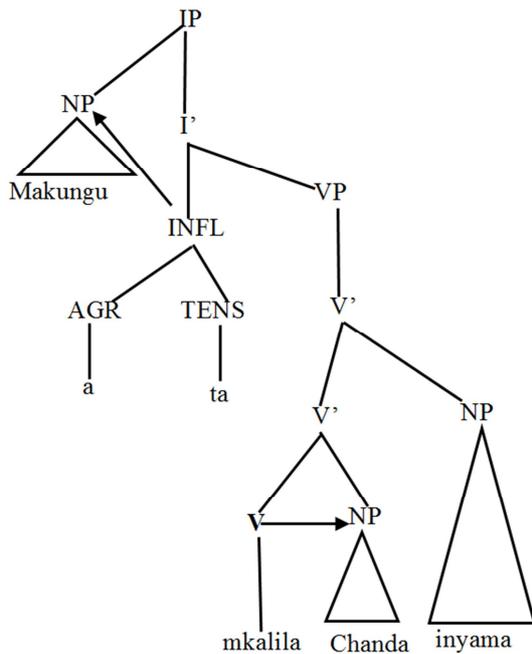


Figure 9. *Applicative Verb.*

The verb *kalila* ‘buy for’ is an applicative verb and it allows three syntactic arguments, one external argument and two internal arguments. External argument *Makungu* is assigned nominative case by INFL and it bears agentive theta role. The first internal argument *Chanda* is assigned an accusative case by the verb and it bears beneficially theta role. The second argument *inyama* ‘meat’ is assigned oblique case by a verb and bears theme theta role.

Applicative verb is a ditransitive derived verb because it

allows the occurrence of three arguments. The verb is able to assign theta role and theta mark its arguments. In Kifipa applicative verb takes NPs as its complement. These NPs bear different theta role and is assigned different case as in the example 23:

23. *Nyina atamkomela tata makonde*

Nyina a-ta-m-kom-el-a-tata-a-ma-konde

Mother AgrS-Pst-OM-plant-A-FV father AUG-NC2-maize

‘(My) mother planted maize for father’

The applicative verb *komela* ‘plant for’ allows the occurrence of three syntactic arguments such as *nyina* ‘mother’, *tata* ‘father’ and *makonde* ‘maize’. The external argument *nyina* bears agentive theta role and is assigned nominative case by INFL. The internal argument *tata* bears beneficially theta role and is assigned an accusative case by the verb while internal argument *makonde* bears patient theta role and is assigned oblique case by the verb.

3.2.2. *Causative Verb*

Causative verb is derived from basic verb by the attachment of extensions. In Kifipa causative verbs are formed by the addition of suffix *-ish-* or *-esh-* to the verb root. Mutaka (2000) supports this argument by saying that, the causative verb implies to cause or to make somebody do something or cause something to become something different. Causative verb allows the occurrence of three arguments, and it assigns different theta roles and cases to its arguments as seen in 24:

24. 24.(a) *Kusongwa alusakisha Ndasi unchi*

Kusongwa a-lu-sak-ish- a- Ndasi u-m- chi

Kusongwa AgrS-Prog- marry-C-FV Ndasi AUG-NC1-wife

‘Kusongwa is making Ndasi marry a wife’

(b) *Tata wakalishe nyina ichtabu*

Tata wa-kal- ish- e nyina i- chi- tabu

Father AgrS-buy-C-FV mother AUG-NC7-book

‘Father is making mother buy a book’

In example 24 (a), the verb *sakisha* ‘make someone to marry’ allows the occurrence of three syntactic arguments. *Kusongwa* is an external argument which bears agentive theta role and is assigned nominative case by INFL. The other two syntactic arguments are internal arguments the first internal argument *Ndasi* bears beneficially theta role and is assigned an accusative case by a verb while the second internal argument *unchi* ‘a wife’ bears patient theta role and is assigned oblique case by a verb. Also, in 24 (b), it is observed that the verb *kalishe* ‘cause someone to buy something’ allows the occurrence of three arguments. The external argument *tata* ‘father’ bears agentive and is assigned nominative case by INFL. The internal argument *nyina* ‘mother’ bears patient theta role and is assigned an accusative case by the verb and the internal argument *ichtabu* ‘a book’ bears theme theta role. The structure of a causative verb is represented as follows;

25. $[_{IP} NP[_{I'} [_{VP} V NP, NP]]]$

The structure of causative verb can be seen in the

following tree diagram.

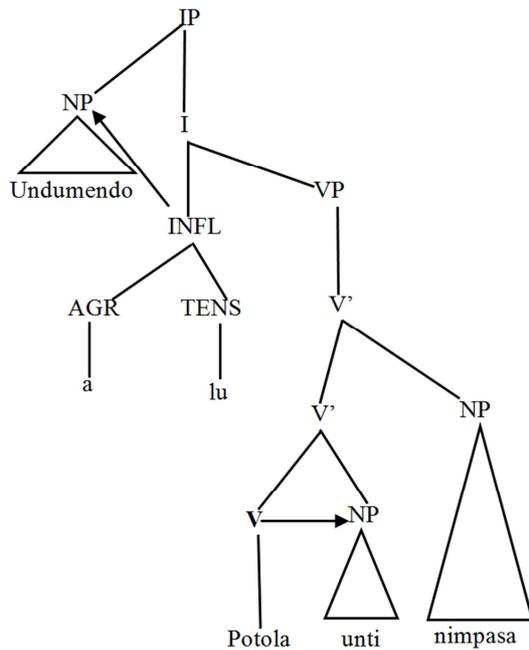


Figure 10. Causative Verb.

It is observed that INFL assigns nominative case to the external argument *Undumendo* 'a boy' and it bears agentive theta role which is assigned to it by VP. An accusative case and patient theta role are assigned to internal argument *unti* 'tree' by the verb. Oblique case and instrument theta role are assigned to internal argument *mpasa* 'axe' by the verb.

26. (a) *Senje alunsomesha wikolo ichitabu*
Senje a-lu-mu-som-esh-a wikolo i-chi- tabu
 Aunt AgrS-Prog-OM-read-C-FV uncle AUG-NC7 book
 'Aunt is making uncle read a book'
 (b) *Mkombe atanjalisa mkolechi umlyango*
Mkombe a-ta-mu-jal-ish- mkolechi u-mu-lyango
 Grandfather AgrS-Pst-OM-close-C-FV grandmother
 AUG-NC3-door

'Grandfather has made grandmother close the door'

It is observed that the causative verb *alunsomesha* 'cause someone to read' in 26 (a) allows the occurrence of three syntactic arguments namely: *senje* 'aunt', *wikolo* 'uncle' and *ichitabu* 'a book'. The external argument *senje* bears agentive theta role and is assigned nominative case by INFL. The first internal argument *wikolo* bears patient theta role and is assigned an accusative case by the verb while the second internal argument *chitabu* bears theme theta role and is assigned an oblique case by the verb. In 26 (b) the verb *atanjalisha* 'cause someone to close the door' also allows the occurrence of three arguments, the external argument *mkombe* 'grandfather' bears agentive theta role and is assigned nominative case by an INFL. The internal argument *mkolechi* 'grandmother' bears patient theta role and assigned an accusative case by the verb while the internal argument *umlyango* 'door' is assigned oblique case by a verb and it bears theme theta role.

Table 5. Causative Verbs.

| Causative verb | Gloss |
|----------------|---------------------------------|
| Sandisha | cause someone to shave somebody |
| Elekesha | cause someone to cook food |
| Yalisha | made someone to close the door |
| Umisha | cause someone to beat somebody |
| Somesha | Cause someone to read |

Source: Field Work.

In summary Kifipa causative verb is allows the occurrence of three syntactic arguments and the verb is able to theta mark and case mark its arguments. The external argument of the causative verb bears agentive theta role and is assigned nominative case by an INFL. The first internal argument of the causative verb is assigned accusative case by a verb and it bears patient theta role while the last argument bears theme theta role and is assigned oblique case by a verb.

3.3. Super Transitive Verb

In Kifipa the construction of super transitive verb involves the co-occurrence of multiple extensions. That is, the co-occurrence of two or more extensions may form super transitive verbs in Kifipa. A super transitive verb allows the occurrence of more than three syntactic arguments. It is able to case mark and theta marks its arguments. For example,

27. (a) *Senje atamwelekesha wikolo ichilemba u-kwijiko*
Senje a- ta- mw-elek- el-esh-a wikolo i- chi-lemba u- ku- i- jiko

Aunt AgrS-Pst-OM-cook-A- C-FV uncle AUG-NC7-bean
 AUG-NC18-NC5-kitchen

'(My) aunt made uncle to cook beans in the kitchen'

(b) *Chipeta alufunilisha Wapata ikulu ukwidarasa*

Chipeta a lu-fun-il-ish-a Wapata i- kulu u- ku- i- darasa

Chipeta AgrS-Prog-break-A-C-FV Wapata NC5-leg AUG-NC18-NC5-class

'Chipeta is making Wapata to broke the leg in the class'

As observed in 27 (a) verb '*elekesha*' are formed by the combination of two extensions which are applicative and causative. The verb allows the occurrence of four arguments such as *Senje* 'aunt', *wikolo* 'uncle', *ichilemba* 'beans' and *ukwijiko* 'in the kitchen'. The external argument *senje* bears agentive theta role and assigned nominative case by INFL. The first internal argument *wikolo* bears patient theta role and accusative case. The second internal argument *ichilemba* bears theme theta role while the third internal argument *ukwijiko* bears locative theta role which assigned to it by a verb.

In 27 (b) the combination of applicative and causative extension suffixes form derived verb *funilisha* 'broke something' which allows the occurrence of four syntactic arguments such as *Chipeta*, *Wapata*, *ikulu* 'leg' and *ukwidarasa* 'in the class'. The external argument *Chipeta* assigned nominative case by INFL and it bears agentive theta role. The first internal argument *Wapata* bears patient theta role and is assigned accusative case by a verb. The third internal argument *ikulu* bears theme theta role which assigned to it by a verb while the fourth argument *ukwidarasa* bears locative theta role.

Table 6. Super transitive Verbs.

| Super transitive verb | Gloss |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Funilishwa | Made him/her to broke something |
| Komeleshwa | Made somebody to plant |
| Elekeleshwa | Made somebody to cook |
| Someleshwa | Made somebody to read |
| Kalilishwa | Made somebody to sit |

Source: Field Work (2021).

In summary super transitive verbs in Kifipa are formed by the combination of two or three extensions which change the category of the verb, from intransitive to super transitive. The verbs are able to theta and case marks their argument. Also, they allow the occurrence of more than three syntactic arguments.

4. The Effects of Extensions Affixes on Verb Subcategorization in Kifipa

In this part the researcher focuses on the extension affixes which affect the subcategorization of verbs in Kifipa. These extensions are divided into two groups, namely valence increaser and valence decrease.

4.1. Valence Increasing

In Kifipa, valence increasing extensions are applicative and causative suffixes. When these suffixes are attached to the verb root they increase the number of syntactic arguments up to three arguments leading into the new subcategories of verbs in Kifipa. Increasing the number of arguments changes the verb from intransitive or monotransitive to ditransitive.

4.2. Valence Decreasing

In this section, I will be dealing with the extensions which decrease the number of syntactic argument when added to the verb root. In Kifipa these extensions are passive, stative and reciprocal. The addition of passive, stative and reciprocal suffixes to the verb root reduce the number of arguments up to one.

5. Conclusion

From the findings it is observed that Kifipa verbs are subcategorised depending on the number of arguments carried by the verb. Passive, stative and raising verbs have similar features. These verbs allow the occurrence of only one syntactic argument and they cannot assign an accusative case. Reciprocal verbs in Kifipa has different feature the verb is assign two theta roles to the external argument these are agentive and affective. The co-occurrence of two or three extension suffixes can form super transitive verb in Kifipa by increasing the number of arguments up to four arguments.

In Kifipa only seven extension suffixes are observed. These extensions can either affect the subcategorizations of

the basic verbs or not. For those which affect the subcategories of the verbs, they either increase or decrease the valence of the verb when added to the verb root. For those they do not affect the subcategories of the verb they add a certain quality to the verb, but the subcategory of the verb remains the same. Verb extensions allow even what are known as monotransitive verbs in English to unfold as ditransitive verbs in Bantu languages. In addition verb extensions may be ditransitive verbs in English to unfold as monotransitive verbs in Bantu languages.

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