

**THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF KIKAMBA VERB
DERIVATIONS: A MINIMALIST APPROACH**

BY

MARIANE KOKI MUNYAO

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DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE

This is a dissertation of my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.



MARIANE KOKI MUNYAO

23/10/2006

DATE

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.



DR. HELGA SCHROEDER
DOCTOR OF LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

25/10/2006

DATE



PROF. LUCIA OMONDI
PROFESSOR OF LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

27/10/2006

DATE

DEDICATION

God, you took back who you gave us
You did not lose when you gave him to us,
and we lost nothing by his return to you.

Being bitter will amount to selfishness,
for life is a gift.

God gave us the strength to bear and the courage
to accept that you had returned to him.

I think of your encouragement since the days
of “kituliani” , “teacher , just do what is best for you”

And this has in a way led me up to this point
Plus the knowledge that though physically gone,
you are very much with us spiritually

My prayer is that you are somewhere

Looking at me and happy to see that I have moved just a step higher.

In loving memory of **HERMAN KISINI** (1961-2004) R.I.P

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May God in his own secret ways bless each one of you?

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ABSTRACT

The study is an investigation of the morphosyntax of Kikamba verb derivations within the minimalist program's framework as outlined by Chomsky. The research problem focused on how the basic sentence structure in Kikamba is affected by verbal derivations with valency changing power and how to account for the mismatch between the logical and natural order of arguments that result from co-occurrence of various valency changing morphemes.

To start with verb derivations with valency changing power affect the basic sentence structure by adding an extra internal argument, re-arranging arguments and merging existing arguments. Consequently the logical order of arguments in the sentence is accounted for by implications and this brings the issue of interpretation that involves pragmatics.

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one gives a general background information of the study that includes language background statements of the problem, guiding objectives and hypothesis in the study and rationale for the study. Theoretical issues, review of related literature and research methodology are also highlighted here.

Chapter two dwells on the morphological aspects of the verbs in Kikamba. It has been noted that a Kikamba verb can have ten morpheme slots and one of the slots is filled by the derivational affixes. The Kikamba verb therefore exhibits an extraordinary high development in the conjugation with great wealth of verbal derivations and other inflectional categories. The central concern in this chapter is to show the position of verbal derivations in the verb. Other inflectional categories are also considered in the analysis.

Chapter three describes the valency changing processes and presents an analysis using the checking theory of the minimalist program. Valency increasing processes of benefactive and causative and valency decreasing processes of passive, reciprocal and

reflexive are vividly analyzed using data from Kikamba. Such processes have been shown to have an effect on the basic sentence structure and in some cases the one to one correspondence between the basic and the derived sentences is not kept at the syntactic and semantic levels. Under the minimalist program all valency changing processes are considered as heads and valency changing processes that add an extra argument build a new Spec-head relationship for the licensed head.

Chapter four is a development of chapter three as it discusses the combination of several valency changing processes in the verb. To begin with co-occurrence of valency increasing processes is analyzed followed by the co-occurrence of valency decreasing processes. Further the valency increasing and decreasing processes are combined in a co-occurrence test. Analysis of data in this chapter shows that valency changing derivational affixes do not combine in haphazard manner in the verb but there is an order of co-occurrence. The most complex Kikamba derived verb has four valency changing affixes. The morphological and syntactic information presented by the co-occurrence is well analyzed by the checking theory but implied arguments cannot be represented.

Chapter five provides a summary of research finding and conclusion by giving a review of research problem objectives and hypothesis of the study.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

AGR	Agreement
Agro(P)	Agreement object (phrase)
Agrs(P)	Agreement subject (phrase)
ASP, Asp	Aspect
BEN	Benefactive
Beno (P)	Benefactive object (phrase)
CAUS	Causative
Causo(P)	Causative object (phrase)
CL	Class
C (P)	Complementizer phrase in Chomsky's basic structure
CV	Consonant vowel
DS	Deep structure
EXT	Extension
FI	Full Interpretation
FOC	Focus
GB	Government and Biding
INFI	Infinitive
INFL	Inflection
LAD	Language Acquisition Device
LF	Logical Form
M	Mood
MP	Minimalist Program
NEG	Negative
NP	Noun Phrase
PASS, Pass	Passive
PF	Phonological Form
PL	Plural
P.PL	Person plural

P.SG	Person singular
RECP, Recp	Reciprcoal
REFL, Refl	Reflexive
SG	Singular
Spec	Specifier
SS	Surface Structure
SVO	Subject Verb Object
t	trace
tb	trace benefactive
tc	trace causative
TNS, Tns	Tense
ts	Trace subject
tv	trace verb
UG	Universal Grammar
V	Verb
VP	Verb phrase
X	Any word category
Xp	Any phrase
()	Optional constituents
-	Morpheme boundaries
/	In minimalist program it means "of"
/	In Argument Structure means "also"

KIKAMBA VOWELS

Orthography of Kikamba vowels is confusing because there are two set of vowels that appear to have the same realization despite the fact that their phonological realization is different. The following illustration shows that orthography of Kikamba vowels and their phonological realization.

IPA SYMBOL	ORTHOGRAPHY	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
/i/	i	th <u>i</u> na	“problem”
/e/	ĩ	k <u>ĩ</u> t <u>ĩ</u>	“tree”
/e/	e	mb <u>e</u> te	“ring”
/o/	ũ	m <u>ũ</u> i	“clever”
/ɔ/	o	ng <u>o</u> mbo	“slave”
/u/	u	k <u>u</u> ma	“from”
/a/	a	s <u>a</u> ma	“taste”

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides introductory areas or aspects of the study. The background of the language, the statement of the problem, the objectives and the hypothesis of the study are discussed. The rationale or significance of the study, scope and limitation, theoretical literature, review of relevant literature and research methodology are also examined.

1.2 LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

This section gives the background information of the language under investigation under the subtitles;- The Akamba people, the language classification and its dialects and the morphological characteristics of the language.

1.2.1 The Akamba

The language under investigation is Kikamba, language spoken in Kenya's administration districts of Machakos, Makueni, Kitui and Mwingi. There are other places where the language is predominantly spoken like Kwale, Kilifi, and Taita-Taveta districts of Coast province and Mwea division of Central province.

Lindbolm (1926:7) in his pioneer work on the language notes that the original root of the word "Kamba" was "hamba"¹ and it means to travel or go about. The root "Kamba" can be marked with various prefixes to give the following specific meanings.

¹ This root does not exist in the language but it can be traced in other Bantu languages. The meaning of the original root can therefore be said to reveal essential characteristic of this people who were historically recognized as long distance traders and travelers. Lindbolm assertion is however not proven.

- Mukamba “person”
- Akamba ”people”
- Kikamba(i) “language”
- Kikamba (ii) “issues related to Kamba culture”
- Ukamba “place inhabited by this people”

Kaviti (2004 :1) observes that because of influence from Kiswahili, the prefix “wa”-is used by many people to refer to speakers of this language hence Wakamba.

1.2.2 Classification of the Language and its Dialects

The language can be classified using different models. Genetically, Kikamba is a Bantu language and for Doke and Cole (1969:1), the root “-ntu” in Bantu languages means people. Various scholars have come up with different genetic classification of the language. Guthrie (1948) classified Bantu languages into zones. Kikamba in this classification has been put in class 50 of E zone and this is the Gikuyu group. This group includes languages like Kikuyu(E51), Kiembu (E52), Kimeru (E53), Kitharaka (E51), Kikamba (E55) and Kithaisu (E56). Guthrie’s Kikuyu group of (E50) has come to be known as the Thagicu group.

Heine and Mohlig (1980:9) recognize five Bantu groups in Kenya namely

- The Coastal group
- The Taita group
- The Central Kenya group
- The South -Nyanza group
- The Luhya group.

Kikamba is classified in the Central Kenya group with Kikuyu , Kiambu, Kimeru, Kimbeere and Kitharaka. Heine and Mohlig's classifications is both genetic and areal. This is because it distinguishes Bantu languages in Kenya according to geographical proximity.

Typologically, the language can be classified using the phonological, morphological and syntactic parameters.

Phonologically,

- Kikamba is a seven-vowel system language.
- The preferred syllable structure is CV.
- Tone is a prosodic feature that creates distinctive meaning.

Morphologically The language is agglutinative.

Syntactically The sentence structure is SVO

The NP has a head initial parameter

The genetic, areal and typological classifications overlap because genetically related languages like Bantu languages share structural properties and they can be close geographically.

The question of dialects in the language has also been tackled. Maundu (1986) classified Kikamba into five varieties.

- The Kitui North variety
- The Central Kitui variety
- Eastern-Southern variety
- Kilungu and Makueni variety
- Machakos variety

Generally, the language has three major regional dialects. The Machakos dialect is a spoken in Machakos district and large part of Makueni district. It is also the Kimasaku dialect. The Kitui or Kithaisu dialect is spoken in Kitui and Mwingi districts. The last dialect is Kikilungu , which is spoken in a small area of Makueni district . Among the three dialects, the Kitui dialect has sub-dialects. The dialectal variations between the three dialects are phonological and can be recognized through accent and intonation. However, there are few lexical variations, which do not affect mutual intelligibility of the dialects.

It is important to note that Kikamba speakers recognize two regional dialects namely, Kikamba kya iulu and Kikamba kya thaisu. This distinction is based on early

administrative divisions of Ukamba. For Larry (1944:3) Ukamba was divided into two (Machakos and Kitui) by the Athi river. Machakos was referred as iulu meaning "high" because of Iveti, Kilungu and Mbooni ranges while Kitui was on the other lowland side of Athi river. People of Machakos or iulu refer to the Kitui dialect as "Kikamba kitekilungalu" meaning "not true Kikamba". The two districts of Machakos and Kitui have since been divided further to Makueni and Mwingi districts respectively.

The idea of "true Kikamba" among the native speakers of the language prompts the assertion that the Machakos dialect is the standard variety. It appears in print and it is used in writing bibles, hymn books and prayer books. As linguists we are therefore bound to view it as the selected, codified and standardized variety.

The question of the borderline between dialects and languages is still very complex because there is no clear-cut differences between the two. The study is a morphosyntactic analysis and it is therefore instructive to note that dialectal differences at this level do not impede any interpretation of data in the languages. The study is based on the standard Machakos dialect.

1.2.3 Morphological Characteristics of the Language

Bantu languages share some verifiable morphological properties. Morphology ^{being} ~~been~~ the study of the internal structure and form of words uses the morpheme as its base in analyzing languages.

Kikamba is an agglutinative language with high morphological inflection and derivation. Grammatical relationships and word structure are indicated by the free combination of constituents. Affixes can be separated with each grammatical morpheme bearing its meaning. Words in the language therefore have elaborated structure brought by affixes that are attached to the root.

There exists a systematic concordial agreement in phrases and sentences. The grammatical concord is operated by means of prefixes of agreement. See the example below;

1. Ki-vila ki-la ki – seo kya-tulik -a kuu
CL5 chair CL5 that CL5 good CL5/ASP break M leg
“That old good chair has broken its leg” .

The classes five prefix ki-marks agreement between the noun and its modifiers and the verb and its subject.

There is a high conjugation in the verb. Verb in the language consists of roots that have a minimum of two syllables but prefixes and suffixes are added to create a wealthy verbal form. This characteristic is shown in the next chapter.

Gender and case categories in the language are not morphological. ²

² Kikamba has natural gender that is marked lexically. Case on the other hand is structural and is clearly separated by the SVO order. The subject is in nominative case while the object is in accusative case.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In Kikamba, the basic word order is SV(O). This might be assumed to be a fixed pattern in the language. However, a critical view of valency changing processes will reveal that this assumption is a case of obvious over-generalization. This study seeks to examine the argument structure brought about by the presence of valency changing affixes in the verb. There is even a more complex problem when case bearing derivational affixes co-occur. What is intriguing is that this co-occurrence will give a mismatch between the logical and natural order of arguments. Co-occurrence of two valency increasing processes will mean that the verb will take four arguments while co-occurrence of two valency decreasing processes will mean that the verb will not take any argument.

The following data exemplifies the ability of the sentence SV(O) order to change when derivational affixes are included in the verb

2(a) Mbatha a- ka- u- a liu

Mbatha 3P.SG TNS cook M food.

“Mbatha will cook food”

2(b) *Mbatha a- ka- u- i- a liu

Mbatha 3P.SG TNS cook BEN M food

“Mbatha will cook for food”

2(c) *Mbatha a- ka- u- w- a liu

Mbatha 3P.SG TNS cook PASS M food

“Mbatha will be cooked food”

Example 2(b) and (c) are derived by the addition of a benefactive and a passive morpheme respectively. However, they are ungrammatical because in 2 (b) there is an unfilled argument slot while 2(c) requires some re-arrangement of arguments. This means that a derived verb acquires some special syntactic as well as semantic sense.

Payne (1994:147) states that every language has operations that adjust the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations in a clause. These processes are part of verb derivation and they contain valency changing power. The study analysis the verbal derivation in Kikamba and their valency changing power. The nominal participants involved in the state of affairs expressed by the verb are arguments.

Affixes in Kikamba verbs are clearly identifiable and they represent specific meaning. In the sentence morphology and syntax disciplines of linguistic are integrated thus any adequate analysis in the language must put this into considerations. Many theories of grammar have not been able to precisely and explicitly analyze structures with complex verb morphology. Chomsky's minimalist programme of (1993,1995) is a morphosyntactic theory that can describe how a small morpheme in a word forms a relationship at the syntactic level. A semantic approach will also be used in analyzing the argument structure because in verb valency semantic roles recursively occur with syntactic functions in sentence compositionality.

In this study, the aim is not only to provide a precise analysis for Kikamba verbal derivations but also answer the following research questions.

1. What are the syntactic and semantic effects of valency changing morphemes in the Kikamba verbs
2. How is the basic sentence structure in Kikamba affected when valency changing morphemes are affixed in the verb?
3. How can the mismatch between the natural and the logical or expected occurrence of arguments be explained in Kikamba
4. Is the minimalist program's checking theory adequate in accounting for verb derivation in Kikamba

1.4 OBJECTIVES

This study will be guided by the following objectives

- To examine the argument structure presented by verbal derivations in Kikamba by comparing the basic and the derived sentences?
- To determine whether verbal derivations in Kikamba effect the isomorphism³ (one to one correspondence) at the syntactic and semantic levels?
- To investigate how verb derivations effects structure building and word order in Kikamba?
- To test whether verbal derivations can be precisely and adequately analyzed using the checking theory of Chomsky's minimalist program?

³ Isomorphism is a concept used to refer to the structural parallelism between different levels of description in linguistics. In this study parallelism is assumed at syntactic and semantic levels.

- To find out if there are correspondences between co-occurring valency changing affixes and the number of arguments manifested in the verb
- To investigate if there are co-occurrence restrictions and a possible order of Kikamba verb derivations.

1.5 HYPOTHESES

The working hypothesis in the study are:-

- The derivation of Kikamba verbs create valence change that has syntactic effect on the sentence as well as semantic effect.
- There exists a non-isomorphic relationship between the basic sentence and the derived at the syntactic and semantic levels.
- The basic SV(O) word order in Kikamba is effected by combinations of various valency changing morphemes.
- The checking theory and principle of full interpretation of the minimalist program can adequately analyse complex derivational verbal structures.
- There is a mismatch between the logical and the natural or expected order of arguments when various valency changing morpheme combine.
- There are co-occurrence restrictions in Kikamba verb derivations and a possible order for all the derivations.

1.6 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Verbs form an important word class in the study of any language and their syntactic role is that of sentence prediction. Bybee (1988) cited in Payne (1994:149) asserts that

valency increasing and decreasing operators are common in verb morphology. Ninety percent of the languages he investigated had valence marked on the verb and in most languages, it was derivational rather than inflectional. Valency in linguistics is used to refer to the number and types of bonds that syntactic elements form with each other, Singleton (2000:21). Valency presents the verb as the fundamental or central constituent of the sentence and it focuses on the relationship between the verb and constituents that depend on it. Many words^k on Bantu verbal extensions have been done but most of them involve mere description and documentation that only shows change of meaning in the derived verbs. Apart from identifying and listing all possible verbal derivations in a language, it is important to analyze their syntactic as well as semantic effects on the sentence so this study hopes to fill the gap that seems to exist in the area of verbal derivations.

Many linguistic phenomena in Kikamba reflect the interaction of morphology and syntax components of grammar. Grammatical constructions are placed under morphology while sentences are surveyed in syntax. There is thus a justification in bringing the two divisions of grammar together and this is Chomsky's motivation in the minimalist program. This study is therefore an insight into Chomsky's idea of universal grammar (UG) as it puts to test Kikamba an African language thus contributing to the evaluation of the minimalist program.

The morphosyntax of Kikamba verb derivations presents itself as a justifiable research topic and this study is geared towards providing some concrete information and insights in this area and also suggesting avenues for further research.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section gives a theoretical framework adopted in the investigation of the problem.

The checking theory in the minimalist program is the main aspect of analysis but it is necessary to look at the historical background of the theory which highlights Chomsky's school of thought and his ideas on language. The theoretical framework will be discussed under the topics of ; the main concepts of the minimalist program, the checking theory, the place of morphology and finally a demonstration of the computation process from the lexicon to the interface.

The minimalist program is a recent development of Chomsky's generative grammar. It is a development from the principles and parameter theory which has been in place since early 1980s. In this recent development, Chomsky (1993, 1995) aims at making statements about language which are as simple and general as possible.

1.7.1 Historical Background of the Theory

For Chomsky a grammar generates sentences of a language and gives its semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological properties. Writing a grammar of a language thus involves not only listing sentences with appropriate grammaticality judgments but also using scientific methods.

A grammar must explicitly enumerate all sentences which are grammatical or well formed in the language of study. Haegeman (1994:5) states that a hypothesis is formed and tested on given data. The result of the hypothesis leads to predicting of grammaticality and ungrammatically.

According to Chomsky, a grammar is viewed as a theory of language if it fulfils the adequacy criteria. The first level is observational adequacy which specifies which sentences are well -formed at all linguistic levels. It is met if a grammar provides a description of observed set of sentences. A descriptive adequate grammar is one which makes correct predictions about a set of sentence and for Jacobson (1977:14) a descriptively adequate grammar explicates the speaker's internalized linguistic knowledge. Explanatory adequacy uses observational and descriptive adequacies to evaluate and explain the objectiveness of a theory of language. A theory of language must be universal in nature by accounting for grammar in all languages.

Chomsky distinguishes between externalized (E) language and internalized (I) language. E language linguistics collects samples of language and then describes their properties using descriptive statements. Cook and Newson (1996:21) state that Chomsky's main goal is to discover what constitutes language knowledge and this is I-language. Competence is a cognitive state that encompasses all those aspects of form and meaning and their relation. The grammar of competence describes I language as it deals with native speaker's ability to utter and produce and comprehend language. Generative grammar concentrates on developing a theory to account for our linguistic competence.

The idea of Universal Grammar (UG) is prominent in Chomskyan school of thought. He believes that human beings have innate ability to acquire language. This is done through the Language Acquisition Device (LAD). Universal grammar is a common possession in all human beings despite of the language differences.

Chomsky's ideas on language present a major breakthrough in modern linguistic. He is a scholar who develops ideas and puts them up for debate with an aim of developing on the criticism thus making the theory better. In doing so, Chomsky has set the research agenda for linguistic theory for several years. The minimalist program forms his latest endeavour in developing a theory which is simple and adequate in description of language.

1.7.2. Main Concepts of the Minimalist Program

The minimalist program continues with the goals of the principles and parameters approach using a reductionalist or minimalist approach. Most innovations of the theory do not depart from the ideas in the principles and parameters theory (Cook and Newson 1996:312). Language structure in the minimalist program is viewed as having fewer complications than in earlier generative grammars. For Hurford (1998:300) "the new simplicity in the minimalist program involves simplicity in representation by the grammarian as a describer and by the native speaker as a storer of competence".

Within the minimalist framework, the lexicon assumes a great importance and parameterization is no longer in syntax but in the lexicon. Constraints on languages

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earlier described in terms of principles and parameters in the minimalist program now fall to a handful of constraints on movement and the specific information stored in the lexicon.

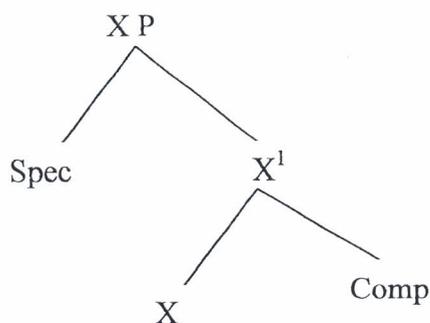
In this theory, all representation processes should be economic as possible. There should be no redundant or superfluous elements in the representation of sentence structure. So syntactic entities not necessary for linguistic explanations are eliminated. This forms the principle of full interpretation.

A computation system in the theory is used to describe a set of operations required to process a sentence combination. The computation system uses information from the lexicon to generate structural description. The two components in this theory are therefore a computation system and the lexicon.

The lexicon specifies the minimal items that enter ~~into~~ the computational system with their idiosyncratic properties. Lexical and morphological information of nouns and verbs is transported from the lexicon to interface through several processes and guiding principles.

The computation process builds structural descriptions by selecting information from the lexicon in a process known as numeration. Another computational process, the merge combines elements into projections and partial trees (Schoeder 2004:2). Individual subtrees are then combined or merged into a single tree.

The specifier-head and head-head relationship of X-bar theory is kept in the minimalist program (Chomsky 1993:6)



The above representation is explained by Radford (1997:174) who supposes that there are three different sets of grammatical features in this theory namely head, specifier and complement features.

The structure building process is driven by necessity and only licenced morphosyntactic and lexical information from the lexicon is represented. The language can produce partial trees with head and no specifier if there is no need for case assignment under the specifier-head relationship because no vacuous positions are allowed in the model.

1.7.3 The Checking Theory

This is a procedure in the minimalist program which determines whether a lexical item has the required features before it is used in a position in the sentence structure. There is some basic relation which allows one element to license another by checking off the

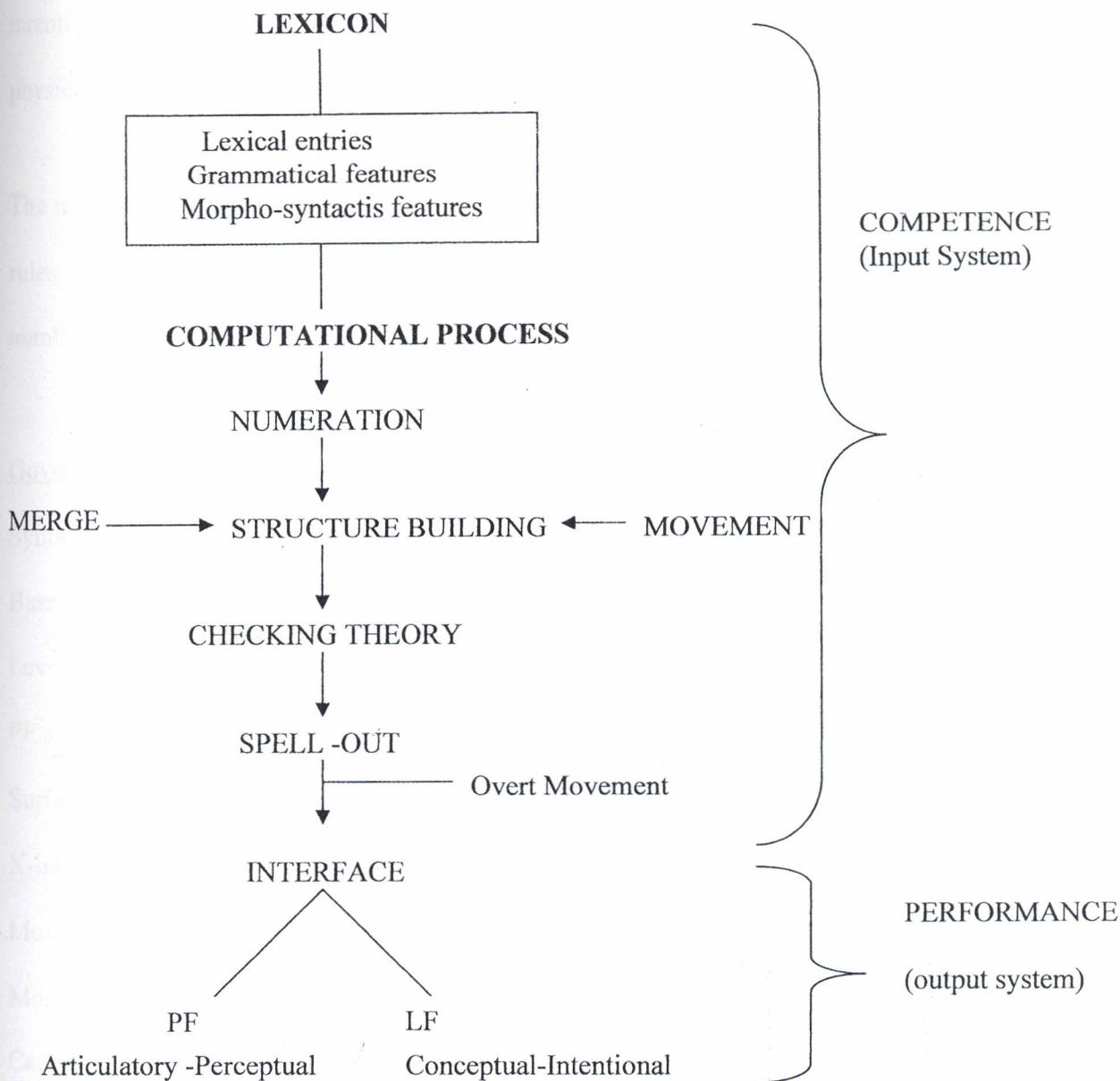
features. All the set of positions to be checked are checking domains. Movement in the theory occurs for feature checking.

There are several guiding principles in this model. Movement is directed by the interacting principles of economy, minimal link conditions and the principles of procrastinate and greed. The economy principle requires that movement and checking be based on evidence from the language. The minimal link principle states that movement is only possible into the nearest position. The procrastinate principle is an economy principle which requires all movement in derivation to be delayed as long as possible, an operation should take place only when required and not before. Principle of greed is also an economy constraint which allows the movement of a constituent only if it satisfies the requirements of the moved constituent. Last resort principles show that a short movement is preferred over a long one.

After structure building, the computational process spells-out information of the lexicon into PF and LF. Spell-out then distinguishes the phonological representation within a structural description from other kinds of logical information. Levels of representation in the theory are reduced to PF and LF and they form an interface level. The PF is an output of the phonological component while LF represents sentence meaning which results from semantic interpretation.

The principle of FI is integrated in spell-out to do away with redundant or superfluous elements that are not licensed. Spell-out motivates the distinction between PF and LF

after numeration and structure-building processes so that it sorts out information according to the principles of FI for phonological and semantic information. If both the PF and LF representations of an expression satisfy the principle of FI, the associated derivation is said to converge. If PF and LF representation violates the principle of FI, the derivation crashes leading to ungrammatical constructions (Radford 1997:171). The diagram below shows the representation of the computational process that leads to the two interface levels.



(Adapted from Schroeder 2004).

FIGURE 1: ORGANIZATION OF THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM MODEL

The above model presented by Chomsky shows that the two components involved in sentence derivations are the lexicon and a computational process. The lexicon and all the computational processes before spell-out form an input system which is competence or native speaker's internalized system of rules. For Chomsky (1995:168) "performance system appears to fall into two general types, articulatory-perceptual and conceptual-

intentional.” This is the output system where language creates a connection between the physical sounds and mental cognition.

The minimalist program searches for simplicity by trying to reduce the language specific rules. It differs from its predecessor, the Government and Binding⁴ theory in a number of ways. This distinction is tabulated below.

<u>Government and Binding Theory</u>	<u>Minimalist Theory</u> <i>Program</i>
Syntax is central	Lexicon is central
Based on interaction of rules and modules	reduced to general principles
Levels of representation are the DS, SS, PF and LF	PF and LF are the only levels of representation
Surface structure	Interface level
X-bar theory	Head-spec, head-head relationships
Move α	Merge and movement
Movement relates DS to SS.	Movement is for checking purpose
Case theory	Checking theory

1.7.4 The Place of Morphology in the Theory

Work on morphology has advanced so much since the inception of generative grammar in the late 1950s. In earlier forms of generative grammar, morphology was integrated in the syntactic component.

⁴ Government and Binding theory is a core grammar as postulated by Chomsky with a sub-system of rules and interacting sub theories or modules. Each sub theory consists of a principle and a set of parametric variation hence this theory has come to be referred to as “the principles and parameter theory”.

For Ouhalla (1991: 48) morphology and syntax are recognized to appear at different domains of constituent representation:

X^0 level of morphology word formation.

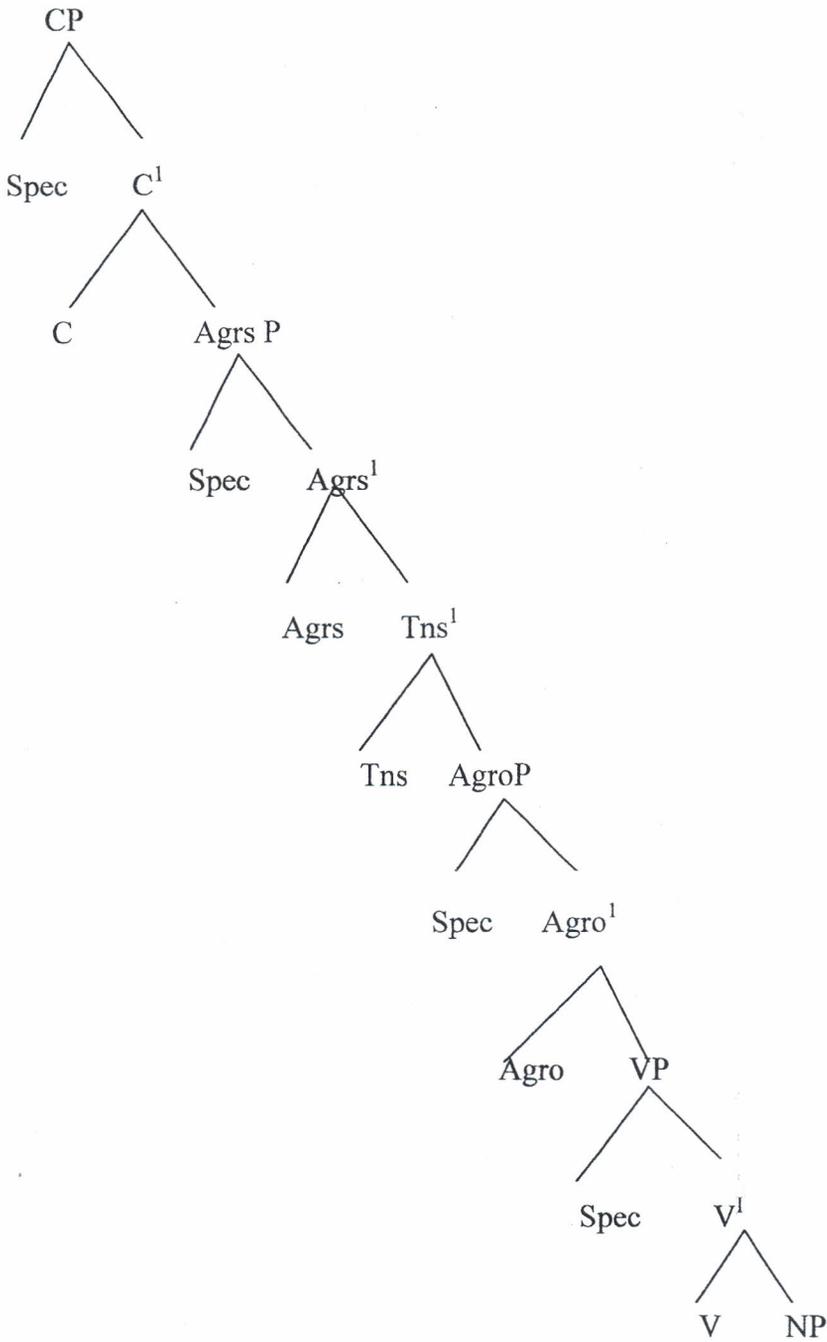
X^i and X^{ii} level of phrase and sentence formation.

Morphology in the minimalist program plays a crucial role. Chomsky (1993:32) notes that all operations in the computational system are driven by morphological necessity. Movement in the structure building process depends on the morphology of a language. Languages have either strong or weak agreement (AGR). Strong AGR is visible at PF so verb movement occurs to eliminate bundles of features before spell-out into PF. On the other hand, verb movement is not forced in weak AGR languages. Borsley (1999:231) asserts that movement processes apply overtly if crucial features are strong, but covertly in LF if they are weak. If strong features are not checked and deleted before Spell-out the derivation crashes.

In this morphosyntactic theory, inflectional and derivational properties are given to the verbs and nouns in the lexicon. This theory presents a logical conclusion in the lexicalizing tendency of Chomsky's works. The whole process of deriving syntactic structures is represented as beginning in the lexicon. The inflected lexical items are base generated in the VP under the respective heads.

Verb movement is now taken care by the checking process. Elements which were in the inflection (INFL) namely the TNS and AGR in the GB theory are incorporated into the verb in the lexicon and they are V-features for Haegeman (1994:16). These functional heads (TNS and AGR) do not dominate inflectional morphology but they form bundles of abstract features, thus AGRS and AGRO are bundles of features such as gender, number and person. Chomsky's (1993:7), (1995:173) outlines the basic sentence structure that captures verb inflection and case marking as follows.

1)



In recent years works of Marantz (1984) and Baker (1998) have led to the conclusion that some word formation processes are allowed to take place in the syntax, (Ouhalla 1999:48-49). The reason for such an opinion is that in many languages, morphology

extends beyond AGR and TNS and some complex constructions which have more than one internal arguments like the benefactive and the causative have been discovered. This is a development from the earlier assumption that a verb has only an external argument (subject) and an internal argument (object). Complex constructions prove that a verb can take two internal arguments in addition to the external argument.

The minimalist program unlike other versions of generative grammar ensures that all the functional affixes are taken care of by the checking theory as they are viewed as heads. The double objects constructions are thus checked under the specifier of their respective heads.

1.7.5 DEMONSTRATION OF SENTENCE DERIVATION IN THE MP

The minimalist program has general principles for language explanation but variation in language manifests itself in the mental dictionary as the lexicon has all grammatical and morphosyntactic features of words. Consider the following example:

3 Kavisi ka- ka- un- a ngu
Little boy Cl 12 TNS fetch M firewood

“The little boy will fetch firewood”.

The following are specific grammatical and morphosyntactic features for Kikamba nouns and verbs.

- Nouns occur in singular or plural.
- Nouns take nominative and accusative abstract case marking clearly distinguished by the sentence order.
- Verbs have agreement for person, number, class, tense, aspectual and also mood marking.
- Kikamba sentence structure is assumed to be SVO.

Sentence 3 is base generated as a VP projection and the subject NP is a determiner phrase occupying Spec position of the verb. The three constituents in sentence will have the following entries in the lexicon.

Verb -un- (transitive) 'fetch'

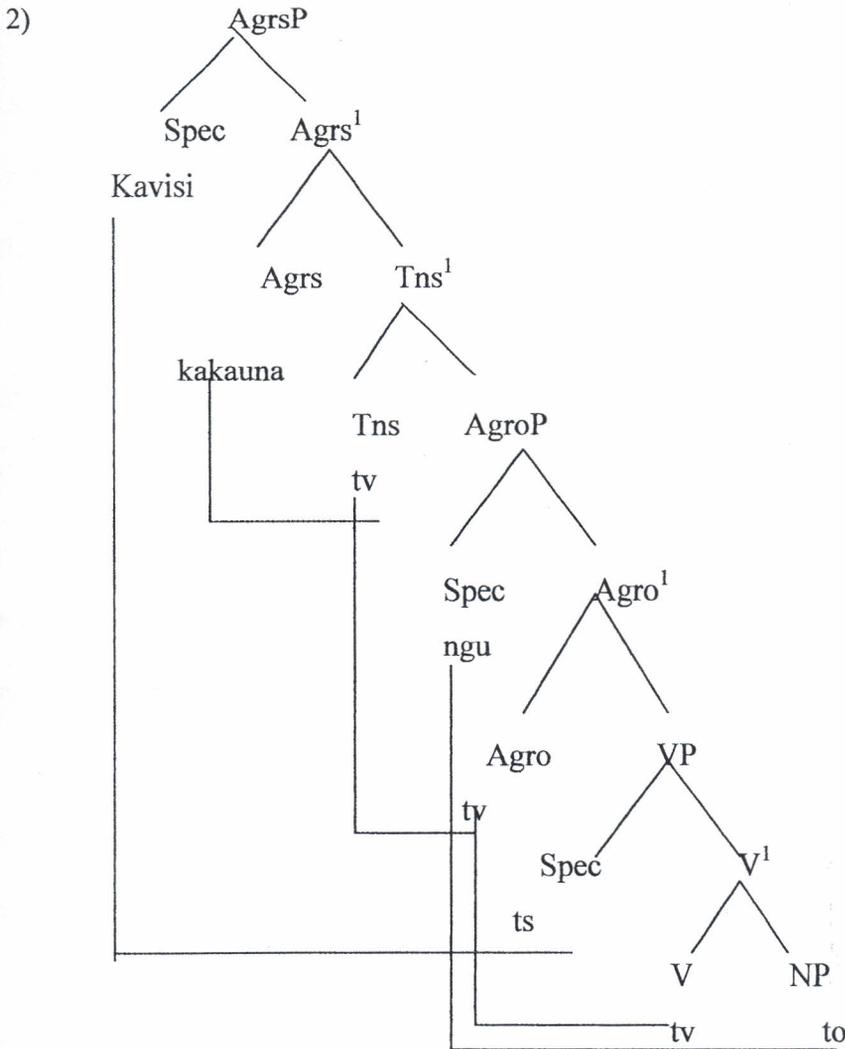
Noun 1 ka-visi 'boy'

Noun 2 ngu "firewood"

The numeration picks the above words which are in their root form and the grammatical features of agreement, morphological tense and mood and the SVO sentence order, merges and transports them to the VP, then merges again and builds heads and partial trees using morphological and lexical evidence.

The words with all the morphosyntactic features are moved to their respective heads and specifiers for checking processes. Grammatical features of tense, agreement and mood force the verb "akauna" to move. The NP object 'ngu' moves from VP to the specifier of agreement object phrase (Spec/AgroP) for accusative case checking. The subject "kavisi"

moves from the specifier of VP (Spec/VP) to the specifier of agreement subject head (Spec/AgrsP) for nominative case checking. This is the final structure after spell-out:



The structure shows movement notice that there are traces; (traces verb (tv) trace subject (ts) and trace object (to) in places where constituents have been moved. Features that are morphologically licenced are represented in the structure in accordance to the FI principle which has the aim of appropriate interpretation at PF and LF. The structure has a mood projection which is not present in Chomsky's structure for the basic sentences as

Cinque (1999:132) observes that each projection has a specifier semantic interpretation so there exists a contrast in order of functional projections in different languages.

1.8 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

The study investigates the morphosyntactic features of Kikamba verbal derivation. There are many verbal extensions in the language but the study will concentrate on the applicative, the causative, the passive, the reciprocal and the passive. The reason for this scope is that the named verbal derivations create some effects in the sentence. Other verbal extensions like the reversive, diffusive and intensive change the verb meaning only.

Change in valency of the verb can be morphological, lexical or analytical. In this study valence change that is motivated by morphology is investigated.

In analyzing the verb, inflectional categories like tense, aspect, mood, person and number cannot be left out completely because they are constituents of the verbal unity. The standard Machakos dialect will be used in data analysis.

1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

This area describes the review of relevant literature and it is divided into three sections namely:-

- Literature on Kikamba and other Bantu languages
- Literature on the theory
- Literature on verb valency

1.9.1 Literature on Kikamba and other Bantu languages

Preliminary works in Kikamba were initial grammars prepared for use by non –native speakers of the language. These studies were mainly done by missionaries and white people for purposes of literacy work and documenting the outstanding aspects of the languages. Lindblom's (1926) *Notes on Kikamba Grammar* and Farnsworth (1957) *Kamba Grammar* and Whiteley and Muli's (1962) *Practical Introduction to Kamba* are such works. They are however of immense importance in this study since they provide data.

There are other works in Kikamba that are not morphological like Maundu's (1980) MA dissertation on sound change in Kikamba. Kitavi's (1992) MA dissertation that establishes the phonological, morphological and lexical variations that occur between the two main regional varieties of Kikamba.

Mutisya's (1986) BA dissertation is morphological as it is based on comparison of agreement in Kikamba and Kiswahili. This study shows areas of resemblances and variation in this grammatical feature of agreement. However, she does not mention the inter-play between morphology and syntax in the work despite the fact that agreement is both a morphological as well as a syntactic aspect.

Polome (1967) *Swahili Grammar Handbook* states that several suffixes can combine by agglutinative processes to add various connotations to the basic meaning of the verb. The morpheme slot is described in this work and she shows that ten positions could be

occupied by verbal morphemes in Kiswahili. This work lists the possible verbal extensions in Kiswahili and their meanings. Furthermore, there is no link between morphology and syntax in this work.

Gathenji (1981) uses the functional approach in the analysis of Kikuyu verbal extensions. Her work is relevant in this study as it gives all the possible verbal derivations in Kikuyu, a sister language to Kikamba. The present study is based on the minimalist approach and does not discuss all the possible verbal extensions in Kikamba but only the derivations with valency changing power.

Marete (1981:35) observes that the verb in Kimeru is characterized by pre and post radical affixed constituents. He uses a functional morpheme slot to depict how the verb form in Kimeru manifests a complex morphology. He shows the position of the derivational morpheme in the verb but he does not analyze the topic further.

Gesare (1992) gives a morphological typology of Ekegusii in a structural framework. She acknowledges the existence of verbal extensions in the Ekegusii verb. Her aim is depicting the agglutinative nature of the language and also ascertaining the degree of synthesis.

In his study of Kitharaka morpho-phonology, Wa Mberia (1993) gives a linear order of occurrence of the full range of the verb structure and for him, thirteen slots exist in the language. He identifies verbal extensions as one kind of suffix that can fill the morpheme

slot. This study is however morphology based so the syntax of verb derivations is not handled.

The works singled out on Kikamba and other related languages provide important insights to this study. However among the identified works in Kikamba, it is only Kaviti's (2004) PhD thesis that adopts a morphosyntax approach in analyzing Kikamba. Her work concentrates more on the inflections categories of the verb like tense, agreement and negation with an aim of showing how these universal categories are specifically realized in Kikamba. She also shows that verb derivations exist in Kikamba.

1.9.2 Literature on the Theory

This provides an outline in the development of generative grammar since its inception with an aim of showing how ideas have evolved up to the new minimalist program which is adopted for purposes of analysis in this study. There have been many developments in the field of generative grammar since Chomsky's (1957) publication of *Syntactic Structures*. This work placed syntax at the focus of languages study and it was viewed as the first serious attempt on the part of the linguists to construct a comprehensive theory of language. Newmeyer (1986:19) asserts that by emphasizing on syntax, Chomsky laid the ground work for an explanation of the most distinctive aspect of human languages which is its creativity. People have ability to create or invent and understand novel utterances. Chomsky's first publication marks the start of a revolution where he differs from the structuralist on goals, methods and object of study in language. Chomsky's adopts the descriptive and scientific methods of the structuralist but to him the object of language

study is the native speaker's competence, the goal of language study includes specifications of rules underlying sentence construction which is syntax and finally the method of language study involves evaluative procedures .

Radford (1988:1) states that Chomsky's identifies three interrelated theories in the study of language. The first is the theory of language structure, the theory of language acquisition and the theory of languages use. Chomsky has dwelt more on the development of a theory of language structure in his earlier works but in the recent development, he has integrated the theory of language structure with the theory of language acquisition. This work is instrumental because it mentions the scope of linguistics in the Chomskyian tradition.

On the model outlined in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Chomsky discusses three components of grammar. The syntactic component is generative as it describes the internal structure of infinite sentences while the phonological and semantic components are interpretive since they describe the sound and meaning of sentences respectively.

For Grider and Elgin (1973:17), the task of a linguist is to construct an explicit statement that will specify which sound sequence are associated with which meanings.

Carstairs (1992:11) notes that in the Aspect's model, there is a "tidying process" because there is an outline of a generative theory of the lexicon , with proposals on how lexical entries are structured and organized. Each lexical item is supplied with syntactic, semantic and phonological information.

Ruwet (1973:276) gives the hypothesis formulated by Chomsky in the Aspect's model. He states that only the syntactic information contained in the underlying phrase markers is relevant for the semantic interpretation of sentences while only the syntactic information in the final derived phase marker is relevant for phonetic interpretation. This means that meaning is a characteristic of deep structure and sound a characteristic of surface structure.

The issue of morphology in language was a problem in analyzing some transformations. Horrocks (1987:58) highlights some constructions like gerundive nominals and derived nouns that result from morphological processes as plausible sentence transforms. Chomsky (1972:17) proposes two ways of dealing with such morphological phenomena. One way is adopting a lexicalist position where base rules are accommodated to deal with morphology and the other way is a transformationalist position of deriving nominalised construction by transformational apparatus. The minimalist program is a development of Chomsky's lexicalist view in *Remarks on Nominalization*. The model outlined in (1965) fails in explanatory adequacy for it cannot account for some morphological occurrences.

Chomsky (1975:77) outlines the three major concerns of a descriptive linguist. The first concern involves constructing grammar for particular languages while the second involves giving a general theory of linguistic theory. The last concern is justification and validating results of enquiry to show that the constructed grammars are correct. All the three processes will lead to the construction of a linguistic theory. This has been the

concern in Chomsky's work even in the newest development which is the minimalist program.

The Aspects model was revised to The Extended and Standard Theory which was a more elaborate and precise apparatus for semantic interpretation. Meaning was a characteristic of both the DS and SS unlike in the Aspects model. The X-bar theory was also introduced to cater for intermediate categories.

Government and Binding theory was developed after Chomsky's famous Lecture on Government and Binding. Cowper (1992:17) defines GB as a theory of linguistic competence which fits into the principles and parameters approach to universal grammar. The theory consists of modules that explain the nature of human languages by highlighting on similarities that are universal in all languages and language specific features.

Chomsky's other publications include *Knowledge of Language* (1986a) where he discusses the philosophical foundations of his ideas on language and *Barriers* (1986b) where he discusses some issues arising from the GB approach.

The evolution of Chomskysian tradition has been on the path of ascribing more importance to the lexicon. In earlier generative models, words are described as "outward signs of inward syntax". The recent development in generative syntax is the minimalist program where syntax operations are reduced to absolute minimum point with features

of earlier theories been discarded and the lexicon viewed as the driving force in the entire structure-building processes. The idea of generativism in language is kept in this theory. Bach (1974:27) notes that the word generative is borrowed from mathematics and it means a grammar that defines precisely and explicitly the sentences of the language. The minimalist program is therefore Chomsky's latest endeavour to present a general but precise and explicit grammar.

Radford's (1997) *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English*, gives insights into the place of principles and parameters in the minimalist program. This work also gives an introduction to the checking theory which is the basic process of analysis adopted in this study.

Schroeder's (2005) *Seminar Notes on the Minimalist Program* gives a simplified version of the theory. The analysis of the computational process from the lexicon is discussed and this is exemplified using Toposa.

Clinque's (1999) work on *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross Linguistic Perspective* gives an appendix on the order of overt functional head of individual languages. This work is instrumental in the current study since it brings the realization that there is no universal order of functional heads even in related languages. This will enable the researcher to look at Kikamba functional heads with a critical view thus avoiding conclusions as a result of generalizations.

Kaviti's (2004). *A Minimalist Perspective of the Principle and Parameters in Kikamba Morpho-syntax* gives a precise and comprehensive version of the minimalist program. This study in Kikamba is crucial in understanding the theory better.

Ura (2000) works on the checking theory gives impotent ideas on this theory that involves checking of multiple features. He also shows a working example using a Bantu language. His analysis the inverse voice in Bantu and it resembles the passive constructions though there is no morphological marking in the verb to make it passive.

Works by Cook and Newson (1996) and Haegeman (1994) give a sketch of the minimalist program and this acts as an introduction to the main concepts of this theory and the points of departures from its predecessors.

Borsley's (1999) *Syntactic Theory: A Unified Approach* concluding remarks concentrate on the recent development in the generative tradition which is the minimalist program. He shows the differences between minimalists and other forms of generative grammar.

1.9.3 Literature on Verb Valence

The term 'valence' comes from chemistry where it is used to indicate the property of atoms to bind or replace certain number of hydrogen items (Tesnière 1959) cited in Bussman (1996:50). Valency is the ability of a word to determine its syntactic environment by placing surrounding constituents in reference to their grammatical characteristics.

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In defining valence, Crystal (1990:407) states that a valence grammar presents a model of a sentence containing a fundamental element like the verb and a number of dependent elements like arguments, expressions, complements or valence whose number and type is determined by the valence attributed to the verb.

Payne (1994) *A Form and Concept: A Guide to Descriptive Morpho-Syntax* gives a detailed description of valence adjusting operations and for him, valence can be thought of as a semantic notion, a syntactic notion or both. He analyses morphological valency changing operations in various languages.

Singleton (200:21) asserts that the relevance of valency grammar is its recognition of the shape of a sentence structures as a consequence of lexical choice. There are monovalent verbs with valence of one, divalent verbs with valence of two and trivalent verbs with valency of three. Valency in grammar therefore exhibits the centrality of the verb in a sentence and focuses on its relationship with other elements in the sentence. Singleton's view is important in this study but a critical look at it reveals that all constituents in a sentence have valency relationship with the verb. However, verb valency involves only the nominal participants in a clause.

1.10 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data presented in this study was generated by the researcher who by virtue of being a native speaker of the language has competence. Apart from the researcher's intuitions to provide grammatical forms of analysis, the expressions selected were cross-checked by five informants who speak Kikamba as their native language. This step was important in ensuring authenticity and acceptability of data especially in the co-occurrence section.

The work is a theoretical study so most of the research was library based. Written materials on this language and the topic under investigation acted as supplements to the data.

Data in this study was analyzed by putting sentences in an argument structure table then explaining the order of constituents. The derived sentences were then put in a structure for checking purposes. On the co-occurrence section, test was done to prove grammatical combinations followed by the analysis of the combinations in a tree structure.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: THE KIKAMBA VERB STRUCTURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines all the constituents forming the Kikamba verb. The discussion at this point is therefore an important foundation for data analysis in the following chapters since it focuses on all the morphological processes that characterize the Kikamba verb.

Kikamba verbs are constructed out of the root or radical which forms the nuclear part of words. Several affixes can be added before or after this part of the word which cannot be analyzed any further. In the Kikamba poly-morpheme verbs, each morpheme (whether free or bound) corresponds to a lexical meaning or grammatical function. Inflection and derivation, the two pillars in the internal structure of words are processes that interact with each other in formation of a Kikamba verb. The discussion will begin with an analysis of inflectional properties of the verb which include subject marking, aspect, tense, mood and then derivational processes. The complex verbal system will also be explored followed by a brief summary.

2.2 SUBJECT MARKER

This inflectional category is represented by person, number and the class system. All these are referred to as subject markers because their purpose in the verb is to mark agreement with the subject.

2.2.1 Person and Number

The two categories are fused and they represent the human nominal subject in the verb. The person category distinguishes speaker(s) addressee(s) and third party individual(s) while the number category distinguishes one person from more than one. The table below shows morphemes for person and number:

TABLE 1: KIKAMBA PERSON AND NUMBER MORPHEMES

	NUMBER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
PERSON			
First person		N + Vowel	T (w) +Vowel
Second person		(W) + Vowel	M (w) +Vowel
Third person		(W) + Vowel	M + Vowel

Person and number categories are marked by a consonant that becomes independent after the addition of a vowel that marks tense or aspect. However, this consonant can be dropped as shown in second and third person singular, so the person, number and aspect categories are fused in the vowel 'a-' which becomes a portmanteau morph. ⁵ The person and number prefixes depend on the structure of the root thus the categories have allomorphs. The following example illustrates person and number affixes in the verb.

4(a) Na – lis – a

P.SG/ASP climb M

“I have climbed”

4(b) wa- lis- a

2P.SG/ASP climb M

Twa- lis -a

P.PL/ASP climb M

“We have climbed”

Mwa- lis -a

2P.PL/ASP climb-M.

⁵ A portmanteau morph realizes two or more successive morphemes. The vowel a- in third person marks person, number and aspect.

“You have climbed”

“You have climbed”

4(c) a-lis-a

ma -lis -a

3P.SG/ASP climb m

3P.PL/ASP climb M

“He/she has climbed”

“They have climbed”

2.2.2 The Class System

Kikamba like all Bantu languages has a class system where affixes are used in the verb to mark agreement or concord with the subject. The number category that expresses contrast involving countable qualities by distinguishing one item from more than one is reflected in the class system. Welmers (1973) studied the concord system in Bantu languages and came up with an arrangement of class affixes that cut across most Bantu language. The following table portrays this system of agreement in Kikamba.

TABLE 2: KIKAMBA CONCORD SYSTEM

CLASS	NOMINAL PREFIX	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	VERB PREFIX	TYPE OF NOUN
1	Mu	Mundu	personal	a-	People, kinship terms.
2	A	Andu	people	ma-	Plants, objects of wood.
3	Mu	Muti	tree	wa-	Objects, mass nouns.
4	Mi	Miti	trees	ya-	Objects.
5	I	Ivia	stone	ya-	Animals and objects.
6	Ma	Mavia	stones	ma-	Diminutive class.
7	Ki	Kivila	chair	cha-	Gerundives and deverbatives.
8	I	Ivila	chairs	sya-	Locatives.
9	N	Mbui	goat	ya-	
10	N	Mbui	goats	sya-	
11	Ka	Kana	child	ka-	
12	Tu (w)	Twana	children	twa-	
13	U	Uimi	farming	wa-	
14	Ma	Maumi	farming(pl)	ma-	
15	Va	Vandu	place	va-	
16	Ku	kundu	places	kwa-	

The verb prefix in the fifth column marks agreement with the subject noun see the example below.

5. (a) Muti wa-valuk a nziani

tree CL3/ASP fall- M way

“ The tree has fallen on the way”

5 (b) Miti ya-valuk-a nziani

trees CL4/ASP fall M way

“Trees have fallen on the way.”

2.3 TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD

These categories are marked in the verb in Kikamba though they relate to the whole sentence grammatically. The three often referred as TAM have some points of similarities and contrasts.

2.3.1 Tense and Aspect

Tense is a grammatical category that is concerned with time relations. Lyons (1968: 304) describes tense as “relating the time of action, event or state of affairs referred to in sentences to the time of the utterances”. Time is viewed from the perspective of the speaker so it is a deictic category that is characterized by person, space and location. There is a linear system in tense that shows how this grammatical category expresses the relationship of the action, referred to in a sentence and the utterance. An event may be

prior to the moment of speaking, subsequent to it or simultaneous with it. The illustration below shows how tense describe the linear succession of events.

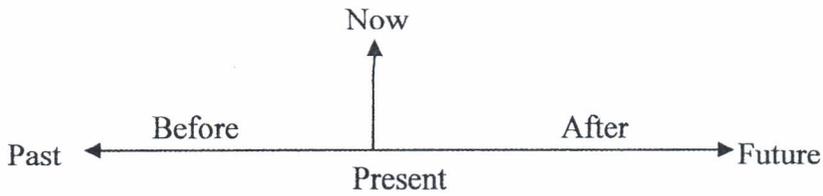


FIGURE 2: DESCRIPTION OF THE TENSE SYSTEM

Aspect on the other hand shows different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. It does not indicate its location in time but it deals with the situation of an event and thus is a non-deictic category unlike tense. A situation may be viewed as having a beginning and an end hence an action is visualized as imperfect or perfect respectively.

The concept of tense and aspect in Kikamba is very complex and confusing because these categories are intergrated. Many scholars of the language have come up with varying classification of the tense and aspect categories. Farnsworth (1957), Whiteley and Muli (1962) have identified eight tenses in Kikamba without making any reference to the aspect category although their description clearly shows an integration of the two. This analysis aims at distinguishing the two categories through the identification of affixes. The verb 'soma' meaning 'read' is used in the analysis and the subject is marked by 3rd person singular. The table below shows a summarized version of the interplay between tense and aspect.

TENSE/ASPECT	VERB	AFFIX	TYPE OF AFFIX	GLOSS	
a	Present progressive	<u>N</u> ukusoma	ku-TNS/ASP	Prefix	He is reading
b	Present indefinite	Asom <u>a</u>	a-ASP	Suffix	He usually reads
c	Immediate past	<u>A</u> soma	a-ASP	Prefix	He has read
d	Today's past	<u>A</u> som <u>i</u> e	a ASP-ieTNS	Discontinuous	He read
e	Recent past	Nu <u>n</u> asom <u>i</u> e	naASP-ie TNS	Discontinuous	He read yesterday
f	Remote past	Ni <u>w</u> asom <u>i</u> e	aASP..ie TNS	Discontinuous	He read along time
g	Indefinite future	A <u>k</u> asoma	ka TNS	Prefix	He will read any time
h	Remote future	<u>Ni</u> akasoma	ni-ka- TNS	Discontinuous	He will read

TABLE 3: KIKAMBSATENSE AND ASPECT MORPHEMES IN KIKAMBA

The tense/aspect morpheme is underlined in the verb column. The 'affix' column specifies the outstanding category marked in the verb (whether tense or aspect). From the table (b) and (c) show that aspect can occur alone in a verb while (g) and (h) show that tense can also occur alone. (a) Shows that both categories can be marked by one affix while (d) and (f) show that both categories can be marked by different affixes in the same verb. Notice that the initial "a-" is also the 3rd person singular marker.

In simple verb stems, an incomplete process can be distinguished from an ongoing one. The prefix "a-" expresses an action that has been completed while "e-" expresses an ongoing process. See the following example.

6(a)A -som-a

3P.SG/ASP read M

"He has read"

6(b) E -som-a

3PSG/ASP read M

"He is reading"

6(c) ma -som-a

3PPL/ASP read M

“They have read”

6(d) me -som-a

3PPL/ASP read M

“They are reading”

In Kikamba, there is a symmetrical tense system that does not only involve a distinction based on past, now and future. The tense system is based on an approximate measure of the interval between past and non-past. Those intervals are brought to show the temporal distinctions that are approximated by speakers in the language. Aspect which is divisible into perfective, progressive and habitual is always reflected in the tense system. The following illustration shows the integration of the two categories in a symmetrical relationship.

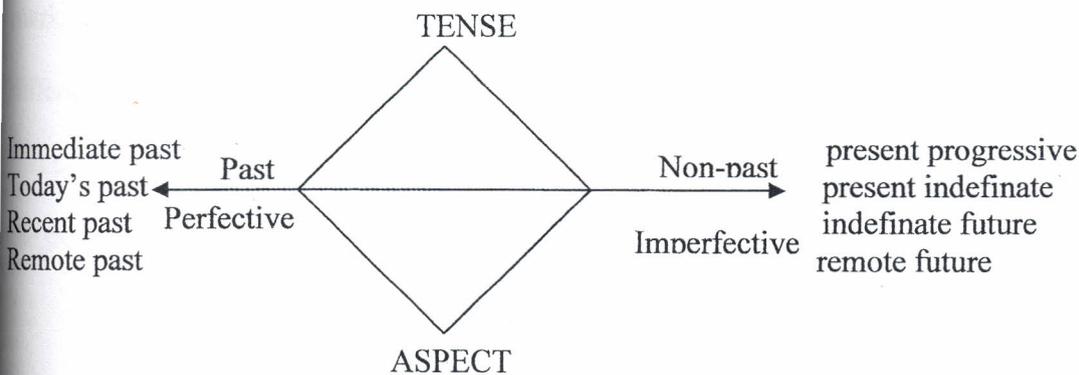


FIGURE 3: KIKAMBA TENSE/ASPECT INTEGRATION.

It is important to note that earlier literature on Kikamba centers more on tense while neglecting aspect which is an outstanding or strong category in the language. The three distinctions of present, past and future tenses were based on Indo-European languages

and they cannot fit well into the explanation of Kikamba tense system because it has a two-way division of past and non-past.

3.2 Mood

Mood shows grammatical distinctions which express the speaker's attitude to what he/she is saying. Mood is a deictic category as it reflects the speaker's view of an event. The speaker may view an action as real or unreal, actual or non-actual, certain or uncertain, possible or impossible and so on.

The Kikamba verb is marked for indicative, imperative, subjunctive and conditional mood. The indicative mood that represents factual, objective, neutral or real situations is the basic mood in declaratives, statements or assertions and is marked by the final vowel 'a'. The subjunctive mood that expresses doubt, possibility, desire or permission is marked by a final suffix "-e". The conditional mood is marked by a prefix "ka-" that is differentiated from the future tense prefix by a high tone pattern. The imperative mood that conveys commands is marked by dropping the subject prefix. This is demonstrated in the example below.

7(a) a- neng- a

3P.SG/ASP give M (indicative)

"He has given"

7(b) a – neng- e

3P.SG give M(subjunctive)

"Let him give"

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7(c) a-ka - neng-a

3P.SG M (conditional) give M

“If he gives”

7(d) neng -a

give M

“Give”

Note that the final vowel for the basic mood is also present in the conditional and imperative moods. Perfect aspect is only marked in the basic indicative mood, so the first prefix in other moods represents person and number categories.

2.3.3 Interaction of Tense, Aspect and Mood

Both tense and aspect deal with time but whereas tense puts an action as sequence of points along a time line (external structure of time), aspect is characterized as the pattern of distribution of an action through time thus internal structure of time.

Tense and mood are deictic categories. Tense encodes the time of an event with reference to the moment of speaking and this is the deictic center while mood relates a situation to the reality from the speakers point of view and in this case the speaker is the deictic center.

Both aspect and mood deal with how the action is viewed. Whereas aspect deals with how the situation is viewed in itself, mood is concerned with how the speaker views the

situation. The relationship between the three categories in Kikamba is graphically represented as shown.

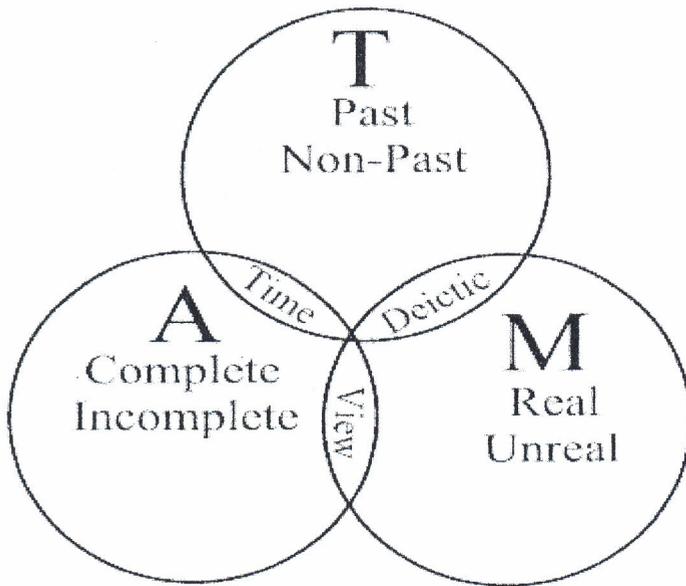


FIGURE 4: TAM INTER-RELATONSHIPS

An action that was performed in the past is completed hence there is a relationship between past tense and perfect aspect. An action that is going on or incomplete is non-past hence a relationship between non-past tenses and imperfect aspect. A past action is complete and actual or real hence a relationship between past, perfective and real on one side and non-past, incomplete and unreal on the other side.

TAM categories are difficult to distinguish as Payne (1994: 189) observes. Some languages pay more attention to tense, others to aspect and others to mood. In Kikamba, aspect is the most prominent or outstanding category among the three and the tense category is manifested in it.

2.4 DERIVATION IN KIKAMBA VERBS

One of the characteristic features in the Kikamba verbs is a series of extensions which may be added to the verb root to give derived forms of the verb. Derivational affixes in Kikamba show a productive change in the form of the verb because they extend and modify the meaning of the verb. There are derivational processes that increase verb valency while others decrease. The derivational affixes have independent stateable meaning in Kikamba. This assertion is emphasized by Baker (1988) cited in Spencer (1991:275) who views changing operations in the verb as “instances of incorporation of a lexical category by a lexical head”.

This study is based on verb derivation so this section just gives an overview of these morphological processes and shows the position of derivational affixes in the verb. See the following example.

8(a)in-a

sing M

‘Sing’

8(b) in -i -a

sing BEN M

‘Sing for’

8(c) in -w -a

sing PASS M

‘Be sung’

The above example indicates that there is some semantic irregularity in the verb brought about by the derivational affixes. Notice that other morphological processes discussed in this chapter involve a change in grammatical meaning hence semantic regularity is maintained.

2.5 THE FULL RANGE OF KIKAMBA VERBAL STRUCTURE

As demonstrated in the discussion of morphological processes, the Kikamba verb structure has a wide range of pre-and post-root affixes. In the language ten morpheme slots are identified. Some are obligatory while others are optional. There are also co-occurrence restrictions of these morphemes. The following table summarizes the Kikamba verbal structure using a morpheme slot.

TABLE 4: KIKAMBA VERB MORPHEME SLOT

6

FOC	NEG	Subject Maker	Tense/ Aspect	Obj.Mk	INFI	Root	EXT	Post Final	Mood	Gloss
-	-	-	-	-	-	tum	-	-	a	Send
-	-	-	-	-	ku	tum	-	-	a	To send
-	-	-	a	-	-	tum	-	-	a	He has send
-	-	-	a	mu	-	tum	-	-	a	He has send him
ni	-	w	a	mu	-	tum	-	-	a	He has not send him
-	nd	a	na	mu	-	tum	-	-	a	He has not send him
-	-	-	a	-	-	tum	i	-	a	He has send for
-	-	-	a	mu	-	tum	i	-	a	He has send for him
-	-	-	-	-	ku	tum	i	-	a	To send for
-	-	-	a	-	-	tum	-	i	e	He send
-	-	a	ka	mu	-	tum	i	-	a	He will send for him
-	-	a	ka'	-	-	tum	-	-	a	If he sends

⁶ Focus negative, object marker, infinitive and the post - final represent inflectional categories . They have not been discussed in details because they will not be emphasized in the data analysis of this study.

The arrow in the tense/aspect morpheme shows that the affix also marks the subject in the verb.

The first slot is focus and it is marked by ni-⁷ which indicates emphasis on what is asserted or expressed by the verb. It is an optional slot and it does not occur together with negative forms. Kaviti (2004: 223) calls it a stabilizer since, “it enables a group of words to stand by themselves.”

The second slot is occupied by the negative morpheme⁸ and it is optional. The negative morpheme has variants depending on person and number marking.

The subject prefix occupies the third slot. It is either altogether the person/number category or the class marker. The nominal subject may or may not be present but the subject marker or pronominal prefix must occur in the verb phrase unless in an infinitive or imperative form. The subject prefix cross-references the verb to the overt subject noun phrase, thus acting as a dependent pronoun. When the nominal subject is absent the subject marker is an independent subject pronoun because Kikamba allows the suppression of a nominal subject without affecting the meaning expressed in a sentence.

The tense/ aspect slot follows the subject marker. When a consonant for subject marking of person and number is absent, the morpheme for aspect takes double role of aspect and person/number marking. The prefix for conditional mood also occurs in this slot.

⁷ Many scholars have interpreted the initial ‘ni-’ differently. Because its function is not very clear, it will not be used in analysis of the data in this study.

⁸ In plural the negative morpheme occurs after the subject marker.

The object prefix follows the aspect/tense slot and it represents the object noun. This morpheme only occurs when the nominal object is omitted from the sentence thus making it an optional slot. The object prefix varies to agree with the class of the nominal object it represents accordingly.

The infinitive form which consists of a prefix ku - forms the sixth slot and it can only occur with two bound morphemes namely the extension one and the final vowel for indicative mood.

The root as the nuclear of the verb cluster constitutes the core of this word class and it carries the major component of meaning. It is therefore an obligatory.

The extension slot comes immediately after the verb root and it consists of derivational affixes. The reflexive is the only prefixal extension and it occupies the object marker slot. These extensions can occur with morphemes of any slot.

The post final slot consists of a discontinuous morpheme -i since, past tense is marked simultaneously by a prefix in tense/aspect slot and this suffix morpheme.

The final slot is filled by the mood category and it is an obligatory slot in all verb forms. In past tense, the final vowel -a for indicative mood changes to - e.

The following diagram shows the lexicalization pattern of the Kikamba verb.

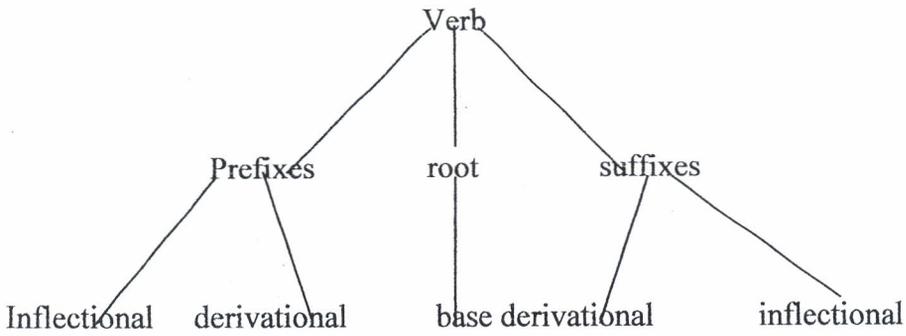


FIGURE 8: LEXICALISATION PATTERN OF THE KIKAMBA VERB

Inflectional properties of the verb that are prefixes are focus, negative, subject, tense/aspect, object and infinitive marking while the derivational morpheme of the reflexive occurs as a prefix. Inflectional properties that are suffixes in the verb include post- final, tense ending and mood marking while other derivational affixes of benefactive, causative, reciprocal and passive are suffixes.

2.6 SUMMARY

This chapter attempted a morphological description of the verbal constituents. All the morphological processes discussed in this chapter are syntactically driven hence morphosyntactic categories. The morphological and syntactic components of grammar do not function in isolation but they form a single interface of description in Kikamba verbs.

Kikamba verbal forms are therefore complex entities which can be equated to a whole sentence with a subject, object and verb structure. See the example below:

9) Ni -wa - mu - tum -a

FOC 3PSG/ASP Obj.Mk root -M

“He has send him.”

A verb in Kikamba might be the equivalent of a single sentence in a non-agglutinative language like English as shown by the translation of example (9) above.

0 CHAPTER THREE: VALENCY CHANGING PROCESSES

1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the Kikamba verb and all the morphological constituents that cluster around it. This chapter concentrates on Kikamba verb derivation as the main morphological processes which form the focus for the study. Derivation in Kikamba verbs does not affect the particular word class only but the entire sentence. A detailed analysis of the phenomena of verbal derivations and movement for feature checking under Chomsky's minimalist program is discussed. Before actual analysis, it is important to give an overview of verb valence.

1.1.2 AN OVERVIEW OF VERB VALENCE

The notion of valence in linguistics is seen to take over and extend the traditional and more restricted ideas of transitivity and voice⁹. Traditional grammarians distinguish intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. Chomsky in his early approaches to generative grammar carries on the same idea using sub-categorization rules which show the syntactic environment in which a verb can be put. See the example below:

⁹In describing transitivity, the subject is not included because it deals with verb complementation only. Voice also focuses on verb predication in a sentence. The subject is considered in valency because it is an NP that marks agreement in the verb.

TABLE 3: SUB-CATEGORIZATION OF VERBS

TYPES OF VERB	COMPLEMENTATION PATTERN
Intrastive	V[.....] verb has no complement
Transtive	V [.....VP) verb has one complement
Distrastive	V [.....NP,NP] verb has two complements

Valence is a term used for the distinct nominal constituents occurring with a verb. Verbs presuppose the presence of participants which play different syntactic and semantic functions in a sentence

“Arguments are participants minimally involved in the activity expressed by a predicates” Haegeman (1994:44).¹⁰ An argument in this sense will be equivalent to any NP position within a sentence. The subject is the external argument since it is not within the VP while the objects form the internal arguments since they are part of verb prediction.

For Lynos (1977:456) “Valency covers more than simply the number of expressions which a verb may or must be combined with in a well formed sentence”. This is because it also accounts for differences in the membership of the sets of expressions that may be combined with different verbs. Verbs can therefore be put in a valency set as shown in the formulation below done using English verbs.

¹⁰ Haegeman uses the idea of argument structure in introducing the theta theory, a module in GB. Her approach however focuses on thematic roles assignment without a mention of the syntactic functions.

TABLE 6: VALENCY SET

VERB	VALENCY POWER
Sleep	Zero valent ¹¹ (no argument)
Run	Univalent (one argument)
Kick	Divalent or Bivalent (two arguments)
Give	Trivalent (three arguments)

The above table demonstrates the range of nouns as syntactic constituents that can be permitted by a verb as a lexical unit in the sentence structure. A constituent that is required for grammaticality of a sentence is an obligatory valent while one that might be permitted by the verb but not necessary for grammaticality is an optional valent.

Kikamba verbs have morpho-syntactic processes that adjust the relationship between syntactic and semantic functions in a sentence. Syntactically valence is the number of argument present in a clause while semantically, it is the number of participants embodied by the verb, (Payne 1994:147). The valency adjusting operation is triggered by derivational morphemes that prompt the re-arrangement of constituents in the sentence. Kikamba verbs adjust the valence by either increasing or decreasing the number of arguments.

The analysis of valence change in this work requires a bit of semantic orientation in addition to the morphosyntactic approach.

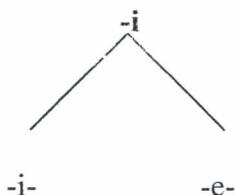
¹¹ "Verbs in their imperative form take zero valence because neither the subject nor the object is mentioned.

3.2 VALENCY INCREASING PROCESSES

This is a process that involves the upgrading of a peripheral participant to a core and obligatory role. In Kikamba, there are derivational suffixes that empower the verb to take an extra argument. They are the benefactive and the causative.

3.2.1 THE BENEFACTIVE

Verbs in Kikamba add the derivational affix that change the syntactic form of the permitted basic valency of a verb. Some verbs which had one argument before add another. The benefactive morpheme in the language has allomorphs which are phonologically conditioned as represented in the figure below.



occurs if the first vowel in the verb root has any of the features [+HIGH], [+LOW], [+TENSE] these vowels are [i], [e], [o], [a], [u]

occurs if the first vowel in the verb root has any of the features [-HIGH], [+LOW], [-TENSE]. these are mid vowels [e] and [o]

ku -im -i -a
 INFI dig BEN M
 'to dig for'

ku -som -e -a
 INFI read BEN M
 "To read for"

FIGURE 6: BENEFACTIVE ALLOMORPHS

The following is an example of a basic and two derived sentences, where one is in the future.

10 (a) Leah ni -wa -thamb -a Univalent

Leah FOC 3PSG/ASP bath M

“Leah has bathed”

10 (b) Leah a- thamb-i- a kana Divalent

Leah 3P.SG/ASP bath BEN M baby

“Leah has bathed the baby”

10 (c) Leah a-ka-thamb -i -a kana Divalent

Leah 3PSG TNS bath BEN M baby

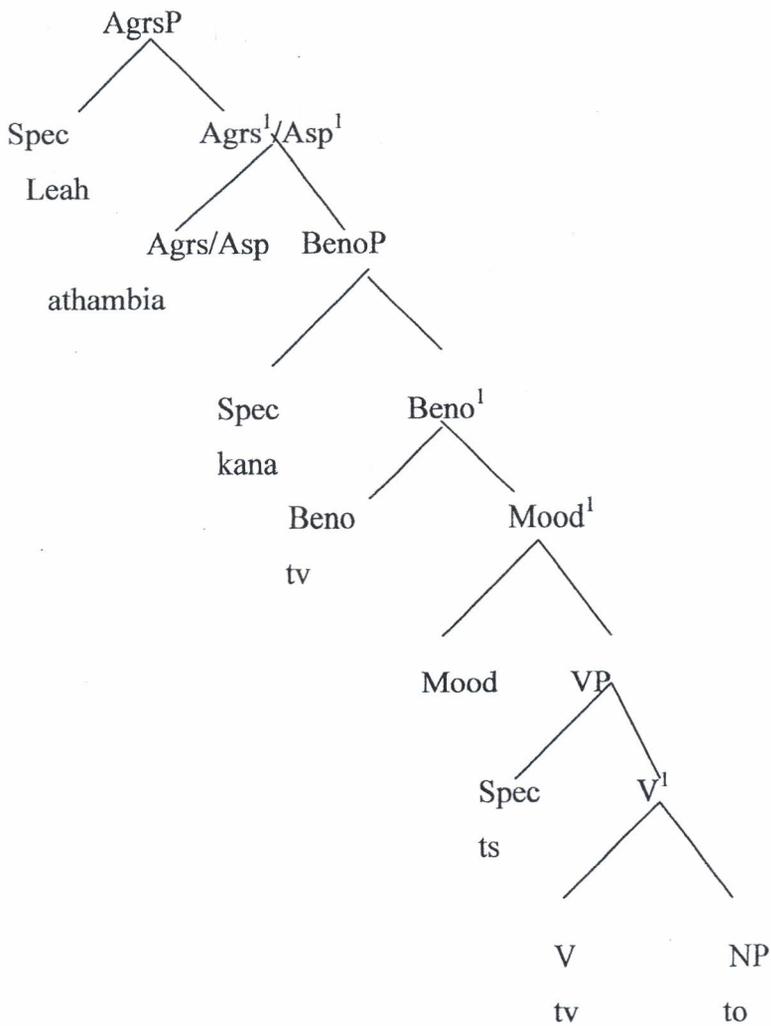
“Leah will bath the baby”.

Example 10 (a) is a univalent sentence with the external argument Leah”. The addition of the benefactive morpheme leads to divalent sentences in 10 (b) and (c). The extra argument licensed is an applied object because the action is done or applied on its behalf. There is thus a doer acting on behalf of a recipient or beneficiary. In Kikamba , the benefactive suffix has a prepositional meaning such as by , to , for ,at , against or from in English . The added argument is an obligatory constituent that has been promoted to object status. The argument structure of the basic and the derived sentence is thus presented in the following table.

TABLE 7: BENEFACTIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE (i)

EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	VERB	INTERNAL ARGUMENT	VALENCY
Np ₁ leah Subject Agent	Niwathamba	-	Univalent
Np ₁ leah Subject Agent	Athambia	Np ₂ kana Applied object Beneficiary	Divalent

Isomorphism at the syntactic and semantic levels is only maintained by the external argument which keeps the subject and agent roles. There is a re-arrangement of argument since the derived sentence takes an applied object with the beneficiary role. The structure for the derived sentences in 10 (b) is as follows.



In the structure building above, the external argument “Leah” moves from the Spec/VP to Spec of AgrsP where its agreement features of nominative case, number and person are checked. The verb “athambia” moves out of the verb base to Mood/Mood¹ to check its mood features then to Beno/Beno¹ to check its benefactive features and to Agrs/Asp/Agrs¹/Asp¹ to check agreement features with the subject and aspectual features respectively. In the minimalist program the benefactive will be interpreted as a feature bearing affix which receives a head for purposes of feature

checking for the newly create argument. The applied object “kana” will therefore move to Spec/BenoP for accusative feature checking.

Notice that agreement features with the subject and aspectual features have the same checking domain; Agrs/Asp. This is because they are represented by a fused morpheme “a-”.

Apart from changing univalent to divalent structure a verb that has two participants can also allow a third one when the benefactive morpheme is used as shown below.

11 (a) Kisini a- ut- a kiwu Divalent
 Kisini 3P.SG/AGP fetch M water
 “Kisini has fetched water”

11 (b) Kisini a- ut- i- a Nzisa kiwu Trivalent
 Kisini 3P.SG/ASP fetch BEN M Nzisa water
 “Kisini has fetched water for Nzisa”

11 (c) Kisini a -ka - ut -i -a Nzisa kiwu Trivalent
 Kisini 3P.SG TNS fetch BEN M Nzisa water
 “Kisini will fetch water for Nzisa”.

Example 11 (a) has the external argument ‘Kisini’ and internal argument ‘kiwu’ thus a divalent sentence. In example is 11(b) and (c) an extra argument ‘Nzisa’ is created and it expresses the beneficiary of the ‘doers’ action. This extra argument makes the verb

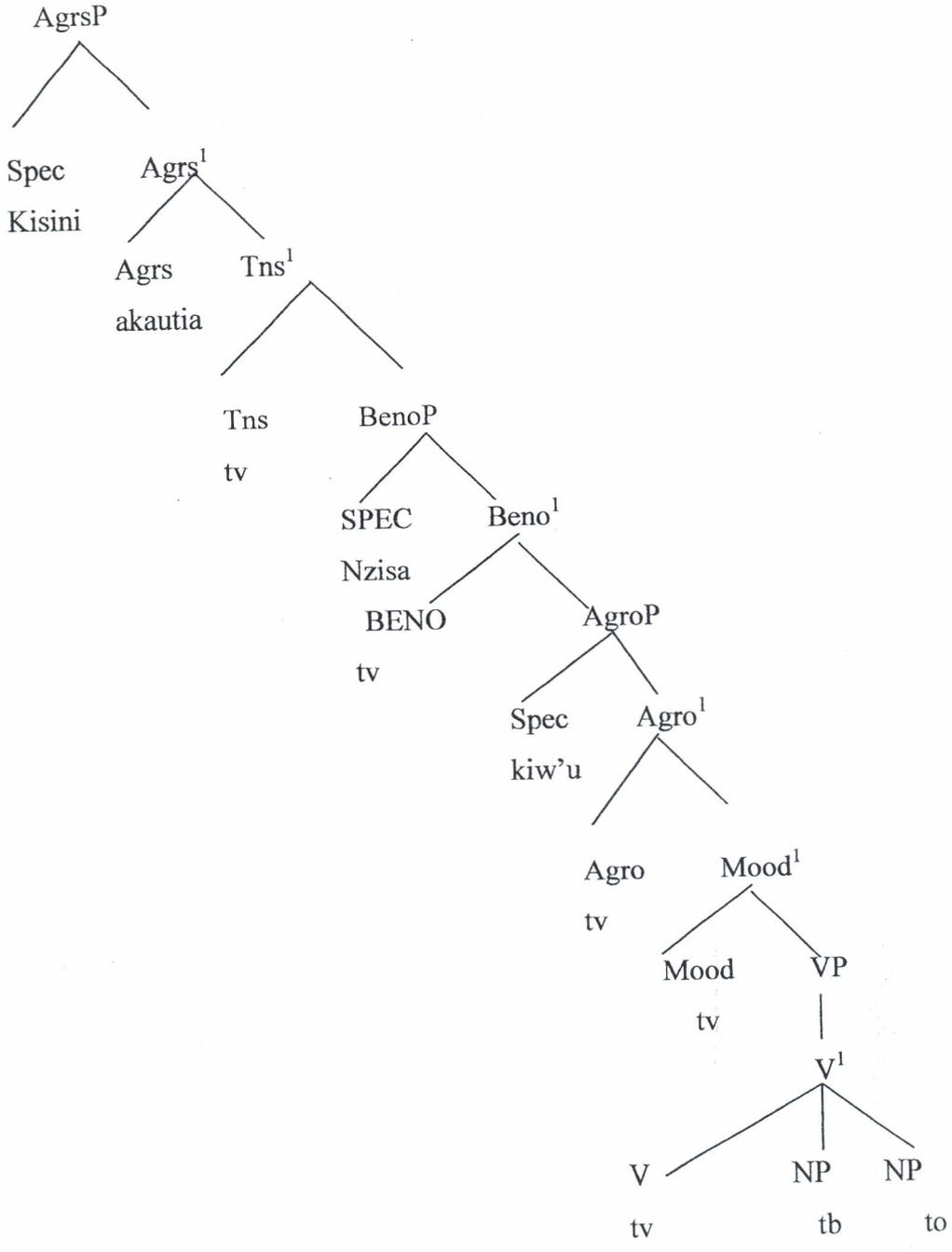
trivalent. The syntactic and semantic rearrangement of constituents in the basic and derived sentences is summarized as shown below;

TABLE 8: BENEFACTIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURES (ii)

EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	VERB	INTERNAL ARGUMENT		VALENCE
NP ₁ Kisini Subject Agent	Auta	NP ₂ kiwu Direct object Patient		Divalent
NP ₁ Kisini Subject Agent	Autia	NP ₃ Nzisa Applied object Beneficiary	NP ₂ kiwu direct object patient	Trivalent

There is a one to one correspondence between the syntactic functions and semantic roles expressed by the subject / Agent and direct object/ patient in the basic and the derived sentence. There is however an added argument that is obligatory in the derived sentence and this does not match with any constituent in the basic sentence. The following structure accounts for the construction of 11(c).

4)



As the verb takes two NPs as complements the direct object 'kiwu' moves to Spec/AgroP to check its accusative case features and the benefactive object 'Nzisa' receives its features from Spec/BenoP. The subject 'Kisini' moves to Spec/AgrsP to check its nominative case features. The verb 'akautia' moves to Mood/Mood¹ to check its mood features, Agro/Agro¹ to check agreement features with their object, Beno/Beno¹ to check benefactive features and then to Tns/Tns¹ to check tense features before finally landing at Agrs/Agrs¹ to check agreement features.

3.2.2 THE CAUSATIVE

Payne (1994: 152) defines a causative as "... a linguistic expression that contains in semantic / logic structure a predicate of cause, one argument of which is a predicate expressing an effect". In causatives, the meaning expressed by a verb shows that someone or something brings about a situation expressed by the verb. In Kikamba, morphological causatives will take a further argument which is obligatory. The causative morpheme in Kikamba has the allomorphs *ithy-* and *ethy-*¹² which are phonologically conditioned.

Sentences with one argument add another when the causative morpheme is included in the verb. Consider the example below:

¹² Refer to figure 6 . The form "-ithy" is phonologically condition^{ed} as the benefactive form "-i" while "-ethy" is phonologically condition as the benefactive '-e'

12(a) Aeni Ni- ma- sung- a Univalent

Visitors FOC CL2/ASP dance M

“The visitors have danced”

12 (b) Aeni ma- sug- ithy -a syana Divalent

Visitors CL2/ASP dance CAUS M children

“The visitors have cause/made the children dance”

12 (c) Aeni ma- ka- sug- ithy - a syana , Divalent

Visitors CL12TNS dance CAUS M children

“The visitors will cause /make the children dance”

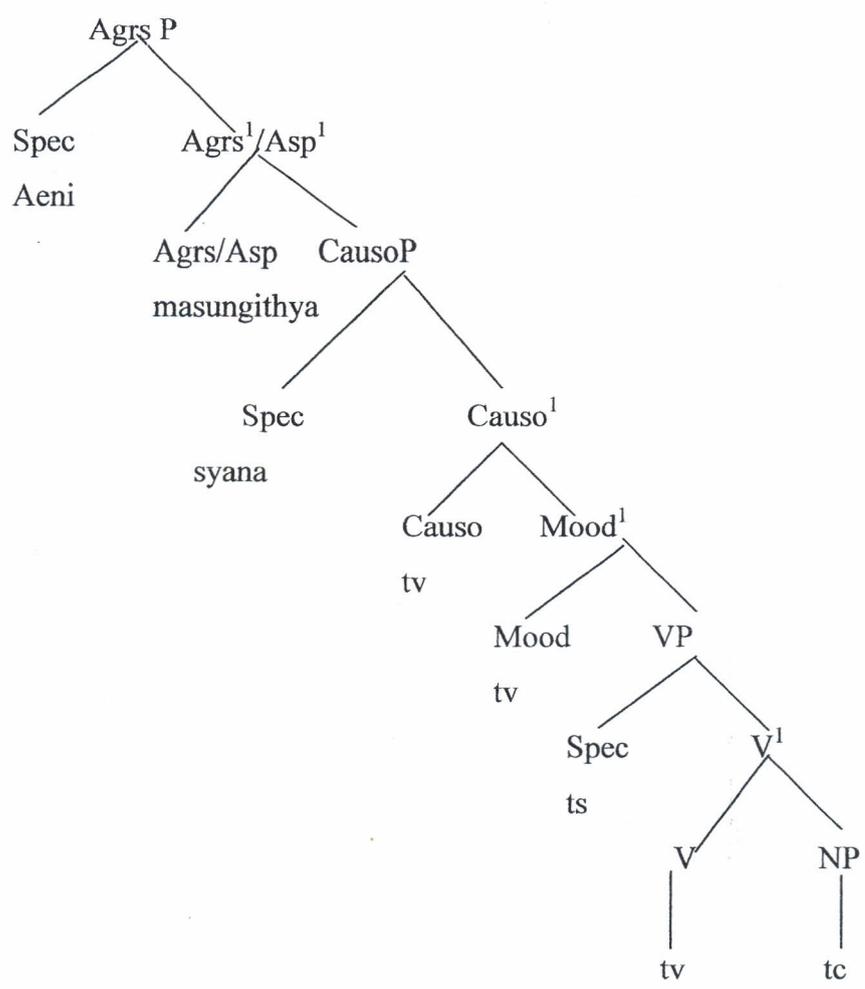
entence 12(a) is univalent with an external argument “aeni” only. Sentence 10(b) and (c) come divalent because the causative morpheme has allowed the verb valence to take an ant internal argument “syana”. The argument pattern in example 12 is represented in the following table.

TABLE 9: CAUSATIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE (i)

EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	VERB	INTERNAL ARGUMENT	VALENCY
Np1Aeni Subject Agent	Niwasunga	-	Univalent
Np1 Aeni Subject Agent	Makasungithya	Np2 syana Direct object Experiencer	Divalent

At syntactic and semantic level, isomorphism is maintained at the external argument because the subject/agent role is kept in the derived sentence. The derived sentence adds an extra argument that experiences the causation of a given situation. The structure for 12(b) is represented as shown below;

5)



The causative as a functional phrase receives a head for feature checking. The added argument 'syana' moves to Spec/CausoP for causative feature checking and the subject 'aeni' moves to Spec/AgrsP to check its nominative case features. The verb moves from its base position to Mood./Mood¹, Causo/Causo¹ and lands at

Agrs/Asp/Agrs¹/Asp¹ having checked all the relevant features . There is no Agro since there is no object as the theory does not allow any unfilled vacuous positions.

Basic sentences with two arguments take a third argument by suffixing the causative morpheme. This extra argument refers to the causer. The following example exemplifies this.

13 (a) Mutua a- kong- a mavia Divalent
 Mutua 3PSG/ASP Knock M stones
 “Mutua has knocked stones”

13(b) Mutua a- kong- ethy -a ngali mavia Trivalent
 Mutua 3PSG/ASP knock CAUS M car stones
 “Mutua has caused or made the car knock the stone”

13 (c) Mutua a- ka- kong- ethy- a ngali mavia Trivalent
 Mutua 3PSG TNS knock CAUS M car stones
 “Mutua will cause/make the car knock the stone”

Sentence 13 (a) is divalent with the external argument “Mutua” and the internal argument “mavia”. The derived sentences 13 (b) and (c) are trivalent with an extra internal argument ‘ngali’. The causative constructions with three core argument have the causee who initiates the events and the causer who is affected by causation . The argument structure of the basic and derived sentences in example 13 is indicated in the table below;

TABLE 10 : CAUSATIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE (ii)

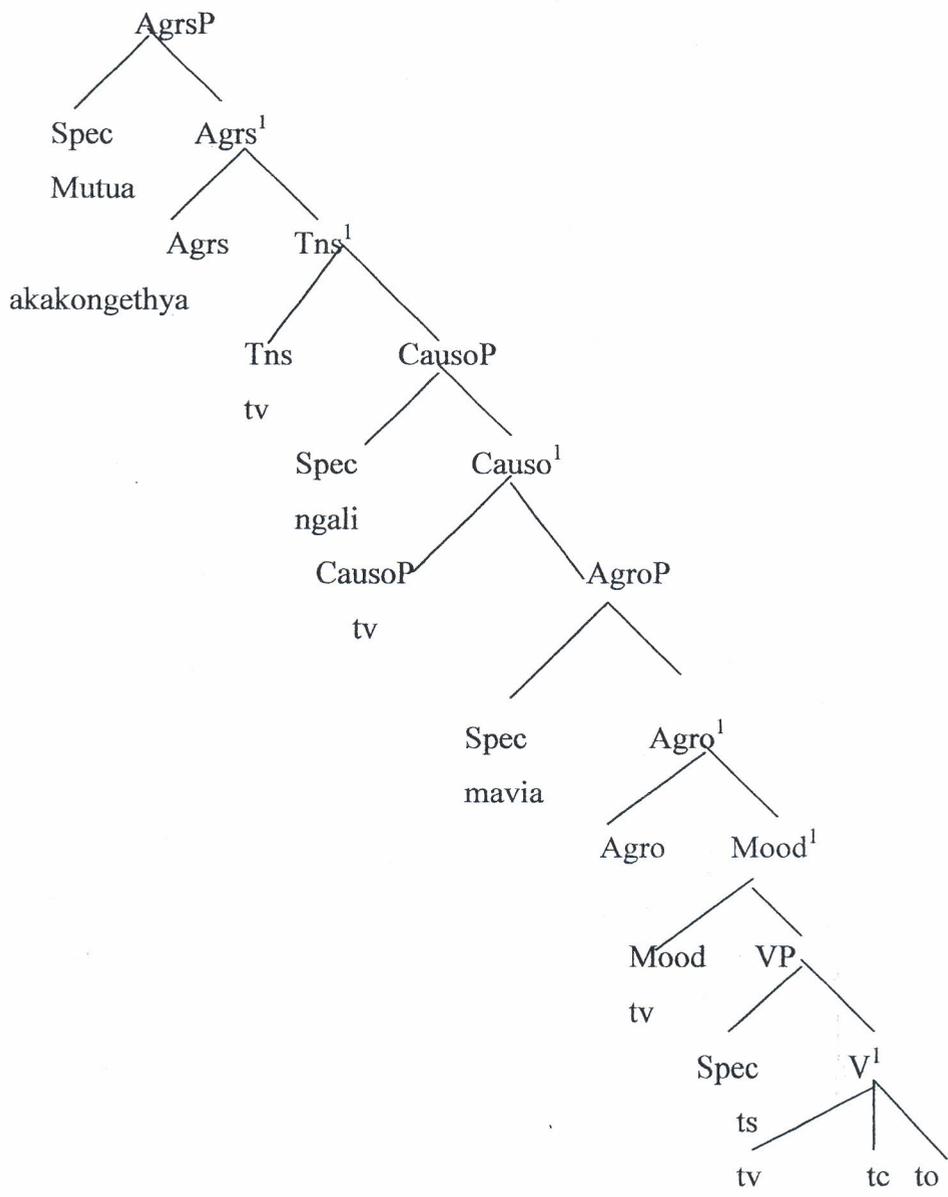
EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	VERB	INTERNAL ARGUMENTS	VALENCY
NP ₁ Mutua Subject Agent	Akonga	NP ₂ Mavia Direct object Patient	Divalent
NP ₁ Mutua Subject Agent	Akongethya	NP ₃ ngali NP ₂ mavia Causer object Direct object Agent Patient	Trivalent

There is a re-arrangement of grammatical constituents in the derived sentence. The added argument ‘ngali’ is another agent that is the object of causation. This agent is inactively involved in performing the action expressed by the verb thus a secondary agent. The external argument is actively involved in initiating the events so it is the primary agent.

The subject/agent and object / patient keep their functions in the derived sentence and thus isomorphism is maintained. The difference between the basic and the derived sentence is in the extra argument licenced in the derived sentence. This description is in line with Comrie’s (1985:325) assertion that

“the basic verb forms a sentence that describes some situation. The derived verb has a different subject and the sentence with the derived verb indicates that the referent of this new subject brings about...the situation described before the sentence containing the basic verb”.

13(c) is represented in the following structure.



The direct object 'mavia' moves to Spec/AgroP to check its accusatives case features while the causative object 'ngali' gets its accusative case features from Spec/CausoP. The subject 'Mutua' moves on Spec/AgrsP to check its nominative case features. The verb then moves to Mood/Mood¹ to check mood features, to Agro/Agro¹ to check agreement

features, Causo/Causo¹ to check causative features and then Tns/Tns¹ to check its tense feature. The verb then lands at Agrs/Agrs¹ where it checks its agreement features with the subject. All functional constituents that have overt realization are checked in accordance to structure-building process and the principles of FI.

Notice that the added argument, although a secondary agent has accusative case features. Bhat(1991: 47) argues that in a causative construction in the Kannada language, the actor argument loses its control over the relevant action thus its earlier nominative case is taken over by the newly introduced argument which is the causer. In Kikamba however, the subject /primary agent has higher control over the action than the secondary agent. For Payne (1994) there is a relationship between structural integration which comes in the distinction between direct and indirect causation and conceptual integration which refers to how close the cause and effect are in communication context. The causee in Kikamba does not control or manipulate the caused event solely, but shares this with the causer. However the causer indirectly initiates the action and leaves the causee to participate actively. Because the cause or primary agent is still in control there is no immediacy of causation so the degree of proximity between the cause and effect is high in Kikamba causative constructions.

3.3 VALENCY DECREASING PROCESSES

These are operations that reduce core participants to an oblique status or eliminate them completely. A derivational affix is used to decrease or omit some arguments of a verb.

The passive, reciprocal and reflexive are processes that decentralize key elements in a clause in Kikamba.

3.3.1 THE PASSIVE

In a passive construction, a core argument is downgraded to a peripheral status. Syntactically there is the ability of the subject of the basic/active sentence to receive an action. Passive structures are those in which the subject of the active sentence is relegated to a secondary position or deleted.

Most languages differentiate between personal and impersonal passive.¹³ In personal passives the agent is implied or expressed in an oblique role leading to an agentive phrase. In impersonal passives, there is no agentive phrase since the role of the agent is insignificant because the speaker has no performer of the action in mind.

Verbs with two arguments in Kikamba can be reduced to one by the addition of the passive suffix “-w” as shown in the following example;

14 (a) Mbua a- vu- a ngua Divalent

Mbua 3PSG/ASP wash M ngua

“Mbua has washed clothes”

14(b) Ngua sy- a- vu- w- a (ni Mbua) Univalent.

Clothes CL9 ASP wash PASS M

“Clothes have been washed (by Mbua)”.

¹³ Impersonal passives in Kikamba are not morphological but lexical i.e, inherent in verb such as ‘kukwa’ meaning die and ‘kwiw’a’ meaning hear. Such verbs have passive potentiality only the subject /agent is obligatory deleted.

14(c) Ngua si- ka- vu- w- a (ni Mbua)

Univalent

Clothes CL9 TNS wash PASS M

“Clothes will be washed by Mutua”

The derived sentences in 14 (b) and (c) are personal passives with an agentive phrase. The subject of the active /basic sentence is suppressed to an adjunct. This is defocusing a core argument to an optional and oblique phrase. The basic object is promoted to subject status with all the properties of a subject like subject verb agreement. Notice that in the derived sentence, the verb has a class marker which marks agreement with the promoted object. The argument structure of the basic and the derived sentence is shown in the table below.

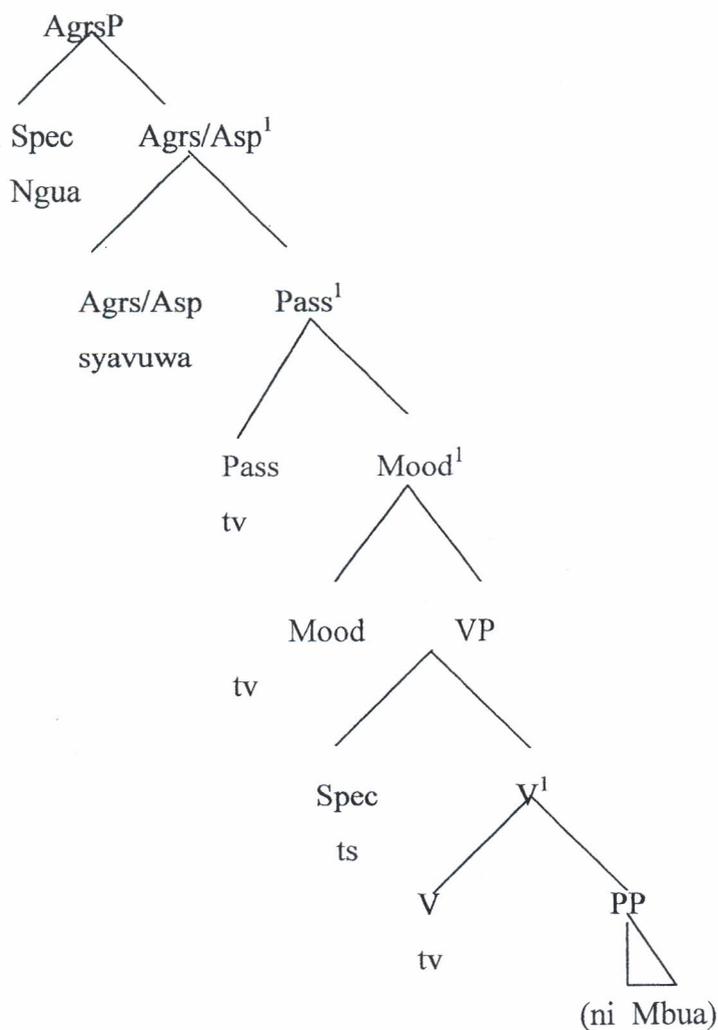
TABLE 11: PASSIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE (i)

EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	VERB	INTERNAL ARGUMENT	VAENCY
NP ₁ Mbua Subject Agent	Avua	NP ₂ ngua Object Patient	Divalent
NP ₂ ngua Subject Theme	Syavuwa	NP ₁ (ni Mbua) PP object Oblique	Univalent

There is a total re-arrangement of arguments. Isomorphism at syntactic and the semantic levels is not kept since the subject/ agent of the basic sentence becomes the object of a prepositional phrase, an obvious oblique role. The object/patient of the basic sentence moves to the subject position and becomes the thematic subject in the derived

sentences 14(b) and (c). The fronted subject/theme is still affected by the action but it has been over emphasized hence the patient role is thematized.

Sentence 14(b) is a complex derivation where the verb contains the Agr, Asp, Mood and Pass functional categories and its syntactic structure is represented below:



The promoted subject 'ngua' moves from Spec/VP to Spec/AgrsP to check its nominative case features. The verb 'syavuwa' moves from its base position to Mood/Mood¹, Pass/Pass¹ and Agrs/Asp /Agrs¹/Asp¹ where it lands after completion of

checking all the features that must be checked in accordance to the principles of FI. Notice that the Pass category has no Spec since there is no overt NP that can land there. The de-emphasized prepositional phrase “ni Mbua” has an oblique case and has not been morphologically licensed neither does it have lexical properties that motivates its movement.

Some verbs that take an external argument and two internal arguments can become divalent as a consequence of suffixing the passive morpheme as indicated in example 15 below;

15(a) Itumbi a- neng- a¹⁴ munyanyae muthinzio Trivalent
 Itumbi 3PSG/ASP give M friend present
 “Itumbi has given her friend a present”

15(b) Munyanyae a- neg- w- a mithinzio (ni Itumbi) Divalent
 FriendCL1 /ASP give PASS M present (by Itumbi)
 “A friend has been given a present by Itumbi”.

15 (c) Munyanyae a- ka- neg- w- a muthinzio (ni Itumbi) Divalent
 Friend CL1TNS give PASS M present (by Itumbi)
 “A friend will be given a present by Itumbi”

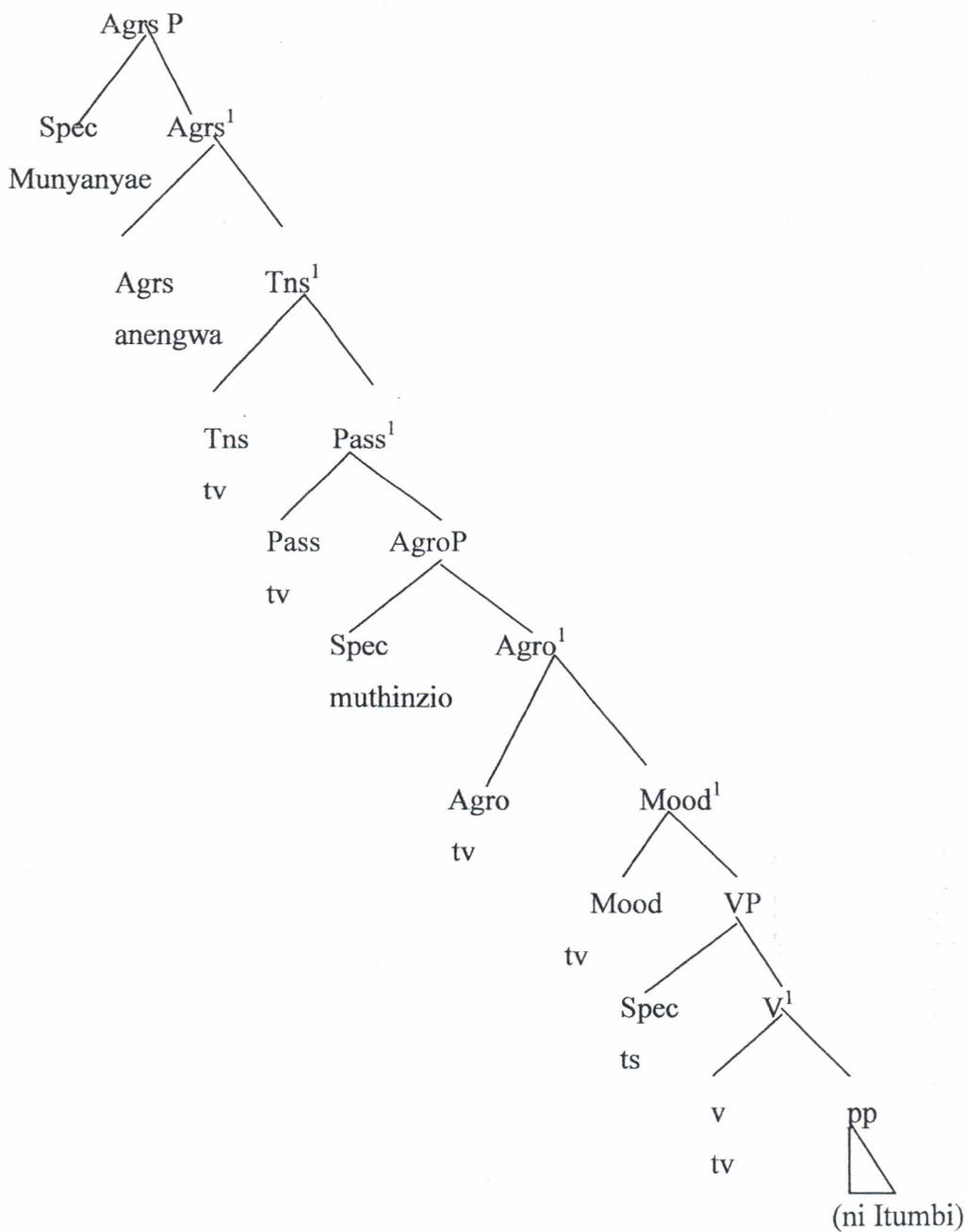
The argument structure occurring in the basic example 15 (a) and the derived sentences 15 (b) and (c) follows

¹⁴ The verb ‘nenga’ is a lexical benefactive so it takes three arguments namely: the subject, applied object and direct object.

TABLE 12 :PASSIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE (ii)

EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	VERB	INTERNAL ARGUMENT		VALENCY
NP ₁ Itumbi Subject Agent	Anenga	NP ₂ munyanyae Applied object Beneficiary	NP ₃ muthinzio direct object patient	Trivalent
NP ₂ munyanyae Subject Theme	Anengwa	NP ₃ muthinzio Direct object Patient	NP ₂ ni Itumbi PP object oblique	Divalent

The table presents an interesting phenomena where syntactic and semantic functions in the basic sentence are switched in the derived sentences. In the example, the subject /agent of the basic sentence is demoted to an oblique element rather than a verb argument in the derived sentence. The applied object / beneficiary of the basic sentence become the subject /theme in the derived sentence. Isomorphism is maintained between the direct object/patient of the basic sentence because it takes the same syntactic and semantic functions in the examples. The representation of 15 (c) is shown in the structure below.



The direct object 'muthinzio' moves to Spec/AgroP for accusative case marking. The subject "munyanyae" moves from Spec/V to Spec/Agrsp to check its nominative

case features The verb moves from its base position to Mood/Mood¹ Agro/Agro¹ , Pass/Pass¹ and Tns/Tns¹ and it land at Agrs/Agrs¹ after checking all the relevant features.

This structure is in the line with Ouhalla's. (1991:98) idea that in languages where the passive construction is morphological (like Kikamba), PASS has verbal features as opposed to languages where PASS is analytical/periphrastic because PASS has nominal features . He further formulates this parameter as:

PASS is verbal [+V]

PASS is nominal [+N]

The analysis of passive construction in Kikamba so far shows that the passive construction describes the action from the perspective of the patient thus de-emphasising the role of an agent in a described situation.

Apart from the passives where the verb describes an action, Kikamba has constructions that cannot be described as either active or passive because they seem to mix features of both. These constructions are formed by the addition of the morpheme -ik- which has an allomorph -ek-. ¹⁵These morphemes denote being in a certain state so words like stative or neuter best describe this variety of a passive construction that resembles middle voice . The example below exemplifies this:

¹⁵ Refer to figure 6-. ik is phonologically condition as the benefactive -i while -ek is phonologically condition as the benefactive -e .

16(a) James a- ving- a muomo Divalent.

James 3SPG/ASP close M door

“James has closed the door”.

16(b) Muomo ni- wa- ving- ik- a Univalent

Door FOC CL3/ASP close STAT M

“The door has been able to close”.

16 (c) Muomo u- ka- ving- ik- a Univalent

Door CL3 TNS close STAT M

“The door will be able to close”

In example 16(b) and (c), there is no agent whatsoever triggering the process. This example presents a case of a state or condition expressed by the univalent verb. The argument structure of example 16 is shown below

TABLE 13 : STATIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

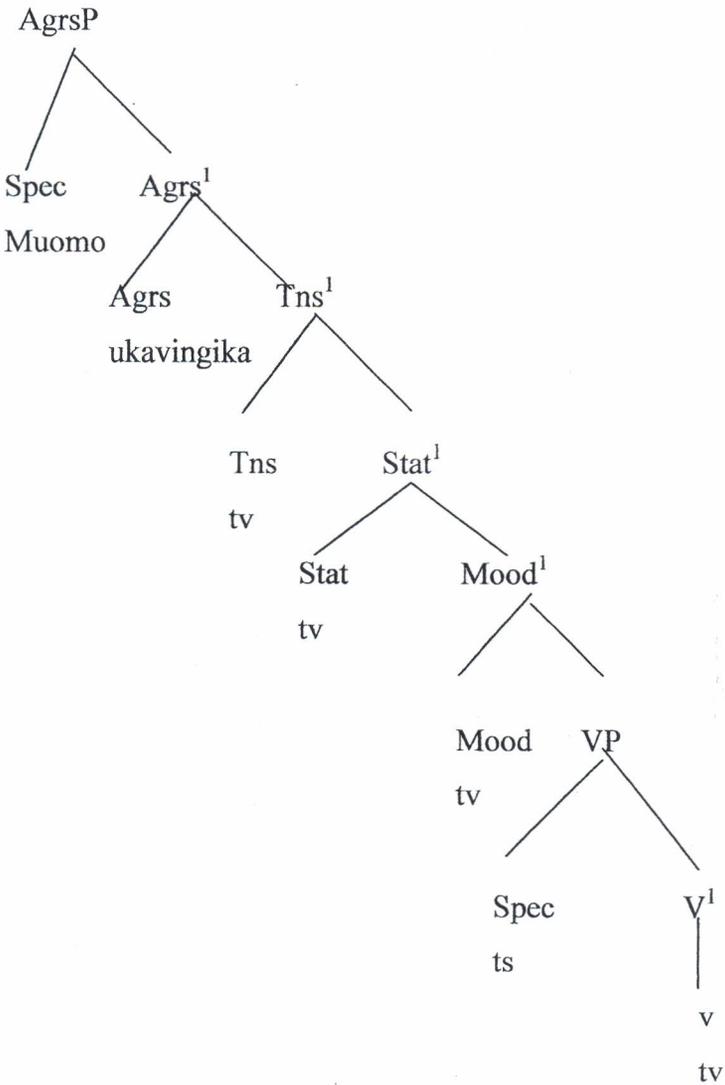
EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	VERB	INTERNAL ARGUMENT	VALENCY
NP ₁ James Subject Agent	Avinga	NP ₂ muomo Direct object patient	Divalent
NP ₂ muomo Subject Patient	Akavinga		Univalent

The re-arrangement of relations in the basic and the derived sentence shows a switch of functions where the direct object /patient of the basic sentences becomes subject/patient of the derived sentence . The subject/ agent in the basic sentence is deleted in the derived sentence since there is an expression of a state of potential

situation without making reference to the agent. Payne (1994:175) described such a sentence as “expressing a semantically transitive structure in terms of a process that the patient faces rather than an action initiated by the agent” .

This means that although the direct object is a subject in a derived sentence, it is still the primary constituent affected by the process thus a patient. This variety of construction that can be grouped as passive like is exemplified by 16 (c) in the structure below.

9)



17 (c) Moses na Peter ma- ka-kun- an- a Univalent

Moses and Peter 3P.PL TNS beat RECP M

“Moses and Peter will beat each other”

Example 17(a) is divalent with an external argument ‘Moses’ and an internal one ‘Peter’.

In example 17 (b) and (c), the external argument and internal argument are con-joined.

There is a bilateral relationship between ‘Moses and Peter’. The derived verb shows inter-dependence of action as participants interact in the action expressed by the verb.

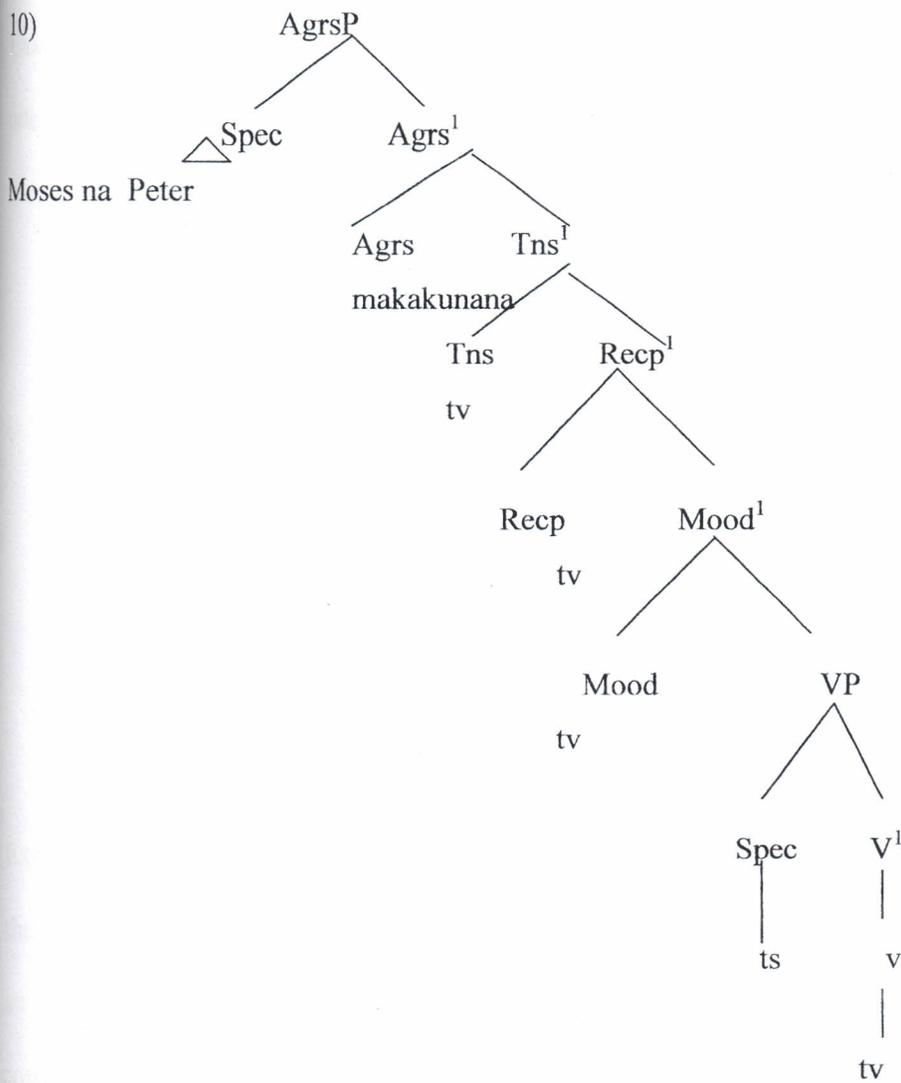
The argument structure is defined by the table below.

TABLE 14: RECIPROCAL ARGUMENT STRUCTURE (i)

EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	VERB	INTERNAL ARGUMENT	VALENCY
NP ¹ Moses Agent Subject	Akuna	NP ² peter Object Patient	Divalent
NP ¹ & NP ² Moses na Peter Subject & object Agent & patient	Makakunana	-	Univalent

From the above description the object in the basic sentence merges with the subject to create a compound external argument with a plural manifestation. The compound argument has two participants who are equally agent and patient because they are co-referential. Isomorphism is thus not maintained in this re-arrangement because constituents which had two different syntactic and semantic functions became one set of participants affecting each other in the same as example 16 (c). This is shown on the structure below;

10)



The structure shows movement of sentence constituents for checking purposes in a future tense construction. The subject moves from Spec/VP to Spec/Agrsp for nominative feature checking. The verb moves to Mood/Mood¹ to check its mood features than to RecP/Recp¹ to check reciprocity features then to Tns/Tns¹ for tense checking before setting at Agrs/Agrs¹ after checking the agreement features. The verb leaves traces at all those places where it has moved through.

Example 17 shows a case of a divalent sentence becoming univalent. A sentence with one argument has the capacity of losing it thereby having zero valent when the morpheme is added. See the following example;

18(a) End- a mundu ula ungi Univalent
 Love M person that other
 "Love the other person"

18) b) End- an- a- i¹⁷ Zero valent
 Love RECP M PL
 "Love each other"

Example 18 (a) is a univalent sentence with an internal argument "mundu ula ungi". In the derived sentence, the complement is dropped making the verb a zero valent. This is an imperative structure where the subject is implied though not overt so it cannot be counted as an argument. The argument structure of example 18 is shown below.

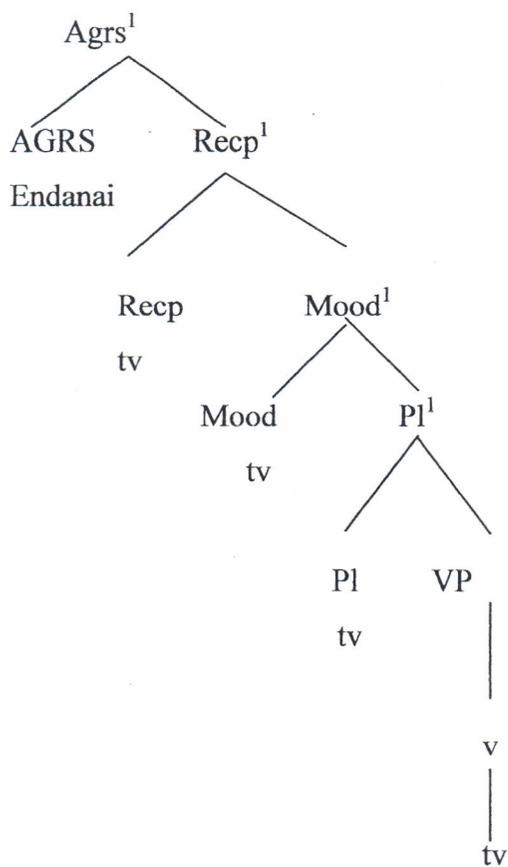
TABLE 15 : RECIPROCAL ARGUMENT STRUCTURE (ii)

EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	VERB	INTERNAL ARGUMENT	VALENCY
-	Enda	NP mundu ula ungi Direct object	Univalent
-	Endanai	Patient -	Zero valent

¹⁷ The final vowel -a which marked the indicative mood in verbs is also present in imperative structures.

The final vowel in verbs -a which marks the indicative mood is also present in imperative structures. The direct object/patient of the basic sentence is not mentioned but it is implied by the fact that there is a plurality marker 'i' in the verb. This reveals that the action involves multiple participants. The subject /Agent and the object/patient become one in the derived sentence and this leads to the following structure.

11)



All the categories presented in the structure above cater for the verb which is the only overtly realized constituent in example 18 (b). The verb has a plural marked at the end so this is checked at Pl/Pl¹. Movement continues at Mood/Mood¹ where mood features

are checked. Reciprocity features are checked at Recp/Recp¹ ‘then the verb checks agreement at Agrs/Agrs¹’ and it lands there.

3.3.3 THE REFLEXIVE

In reflexives, two arguments in an action have identical reference or relate to the same entity. This is an anaphoric relationship where the first participant is the same as the second. In Kikamba the reflexive prefix is “i-” which has an allomorph e- that is morphologically conditioned. Consider the example below.

19(a) Rose a- suk -a sywii Divalent

Rose 3PSG/ASP plait M hair

“Rose has plaited her hair”

19(b) Rose ni- we -e- suk- a Univalent

Rose FOC 3PSG/ASP REFL plait M

“Rose has plaited herself”

19(c) Rose a- ke- e- suk- a Univalent

Rose 3PSG/ASP TNS REFL plait M

“Rose will plait herself”

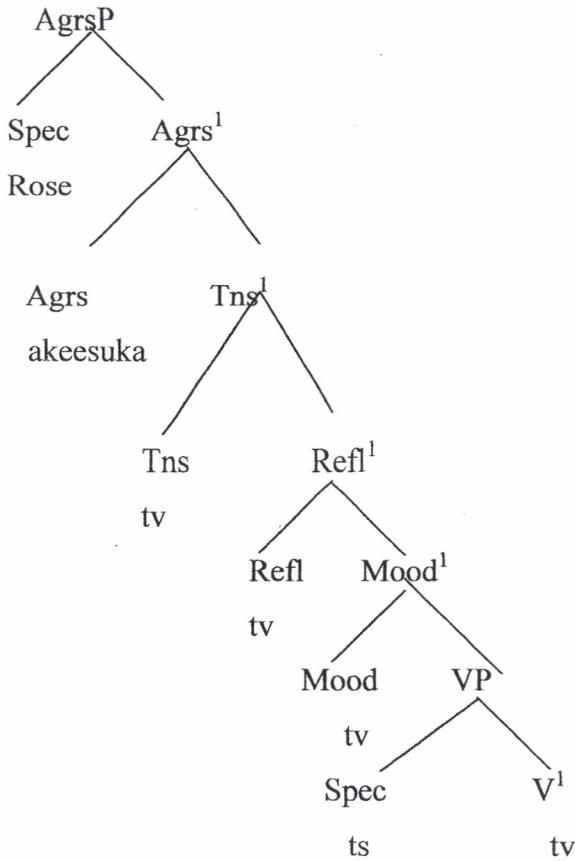
Sentence 19 (a) is divalent with the external argument ‘Rose’ and the internal argument ‘^{Nzwii}sywii’. The prefixation of the reflexive brings the idea that the hair that the subject is plaiting is hers. The reflexive morpheme reflects an object/ patient in the derived sentence. The argument structure for example 19 is shown below.

TABLE 16: REFLEXIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	VERB	INTERNAL ARGUMENT	VALENCY
NP ₁ Rose Subject Agent	Asuka	NP ₂ sywii Object Patient	Divalent
NP ₁ & NP ₂ Subject & object Agent & patient	Akeesuka		Univalent

In the derived sentence, it is clear that the subject and the object have been merged into one entity that agrees in number and person fulfilling two syntactic roles of agent and patient. The reflexive morpheme has power to delete the object of the basic sentence because it refers back to the external argument thus its an antecedent. Isomorphism at syntactic and semantic levels switches in the derived sentence because the actor and the acted upon are one. Example 19 (c) yields the following structure.

12)



The subject “Rose” moves to Spec/Argsp for nominative case checking. The verb “akeesuka” moves to Mood/ Mood¹ ,Refl/Refl¹ and Tns/Tns¹ to check relevant features before landing at Agrs/ Agrs¹ for agreement feature checking.

Kikamba can also permit a divalent verb with an external and internal argument to make the internal argument optional as shown below.

20 Rose a-k e- e- suk- a (we mwene)

Rose 3PSG TNS REFL plait M (herself)

“Rose will plait herself”.

Repetition of “we mwene” creates redundancy since the same idea is reflected by the reflexive morpheme in the verb. The sentence is grammatical without its overt realization since it refers back to “Rose” the subject.

In earlier versions of generative grammar, reflexives were analyzed as repetition of the subject in object position. Stockwell (1977:184) points out that this was a disaster because there is no language that actually repeats a subject in object position. A construction like “Nzisa has plaited Nzisa” would be ungrammatical. The minimalist program offers a more explicit representation of morphological reflexives.

3.4 SUMMARY

This chapter was geared towards achieving four of the first research objectives in this study. In Kikamba verb valence changes the information given by a sentence is re-packaged. The derivational morphemes modify the syntactic and semantic structure of the sentence. There is syntactic and semantic irregularities between the basic and the derived sentence.

Valency increasing processes of benefactive and causative in Kikamba have their effect on the internal argument while valency decreasing processes of the passive effect the external argument. Valency decreasing processes of reciprocal and reflexive have the effect on both the external and internal arguments.

All verbal derivations in Kikamba have a fixed position as they are generated immediately after the mood projections even in the case of the reflexive which is a prefix. The SV(O) structure is effected by the re-arrangement of arguments after verb derivation takes place.

All derivational morphemes are considered as independent morpho-syntactic categories with head status in the minimalist program. Valency increasing processes take specifiers with landing sites for their respective objects. Valency decreasing processes on the other hand have heads in the structure that enables the verb to check its features. There is therefore a need for verb movement for feature checking to ensure the full interpretation of features at interface based on morphological evidence and lexical properties of sentence constituents.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALENCY CHANGING PROCESSES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter three dealt with verb derivation processes and their effects on the sentence. Apart from verbs derived using a single valency changing morpheme as discussed in the previous chapter, various verbal derivations with valency changing power can co-occur or combine. Verbs in Kikamba have the capacity to generate two or more derivational affixes. This chapter discusses the effect of co-occurrence of several derivational affixes and their syntactic and semantic implication on the basic SV(O) sentence structure in Kikamba. The discussion in the chapter will use two verbs, i.e. “Kuna” meaning ‘beat’ which is divalent and ‘semba’ meaning ‘run’ which is univalent for consistency in analysis. A ‘derivational paradigm’ for the two verbs can be represented as shown in the table below.

TABLE 17: DERIVATIONAL PARADIGM OF THE VERB KUNA AND SEMBA

TYPE	VERB	DERIVATION	GLOSS	DERIVATION	GLOSS
Basic	Kuna	¹⁸	‘beat’	Semba	‘run’
Benefactive	Kunia		‘beat for’	Sembea	‘run for’
Causative	Kunithya		‘cause to beat’	Sembethya	‘run for’
Passive	Kunwa		‘to be beaten’	Sembwa	‘be run’
Reflexive	Ikune		‘beat oneself’	⁻¹⁹	<i>/ sembethye</i>
Reciprocal	Kunana		‘beat each other’	-	<i>sembanyā</i>

¹⁸ Kuna is a polysemic verb in Kikamba and it can mean beat, hit or kick.

¹⁹ The reciprocal and reflexive cannot occur in a univalent verb because of the anaphoric relationship. Two participants are needed.

The chapter will be discussed under the sub-topics co-occurrence of valency increasing, co-occurrence of valence decreasing, co-occurrence of both valence increasing and decreasing processes and a summary. Before actual analysis of combinations of valence changing morphemes, a co-occurrence test will be done to check if there is a possibility of a grammatical co-occurrence and also a certain correct order.

4.2 CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALENCY INCREASING PROCESSES

The morphological processes of the verb that add extra arguments in Kikamba are benefactive and the causative. The co-occurrence test is shown below.

BENEFACTIVE + CAUSATIVE = BENEFACTIVE & CAUSATIVE

(I) Kunia kunithya * kuniithya

CAUSATIVE + BENEFACTIVE = CAUSATIVE & BENEFACTIVE

(ii) Kunithya kunia kunithisya

The causative suffix precedes the benefactive one. The benefactive morpheme is- i but when it combines with the causative, it becomes -isy.²⁰

If the two processes combine, it is expected that each will add an argument. The capacity of verbs in the languages to combine various valence changing morphemes raises an interesting problem in the logic of languages, see the example below

²⁰ In co-occurrence, the benefactive morpheme acquires the features of the causative morpheme and this is progressive assimilation.

21(a) Mueni a- kun -a ng'ombe

Mueni 3PGS/ASP beat ng'ombe

“Mueni has beaten the cow”.

21(b) Mueni a- kun- ithya -a kana ng'ombe

Mueni 3PSG/ASP beat CAUS M child cow

“Mueni has caused /made the child beat the cow”.

21(c) Mueni a- kun- i- a kana ng'ombe

Mueni 3PSG/ASP beat BEN M child cow

“Mueni has beaten the cow for the child”.

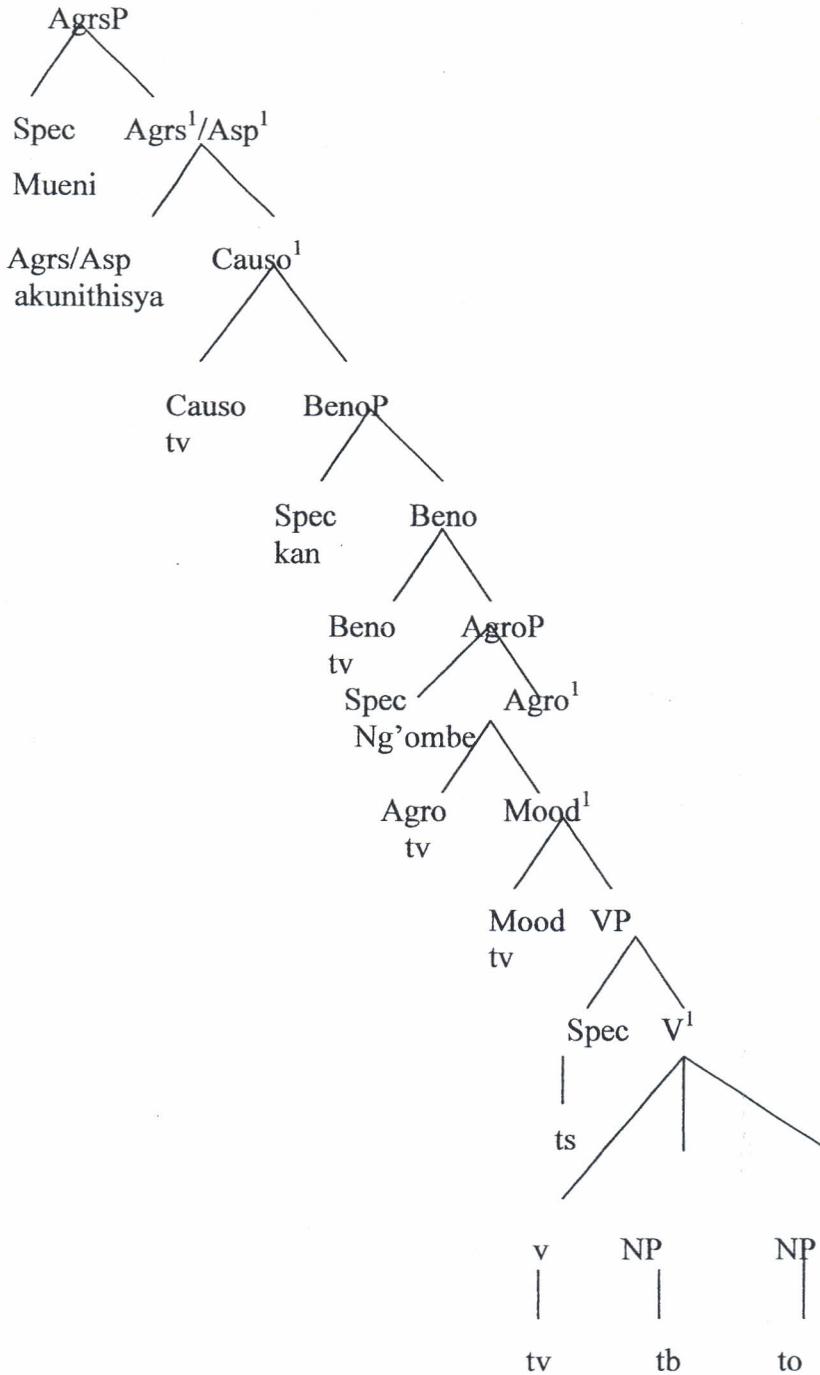
21(d) Mueni a- kun- ithy- isy- a kana ng'ombe

Mueni 3PSA beat CAUS BEN M

“Mueni has caused/made the cow be beaten for the child”.

Example 21(d) is a result of the combination of the two valency increasing processes. From this example both the benefactive and the causative have the same referent “kana”. This argument is therefore licensed by both the benefactive and the causative affixes. It thus plays multiple roles of an applied object/ beneficiary and a causer of the action. This possibility of incorporating two arguments in one elicits the following structures.

13)



The subject "Mueni" moves from the Spec/VP to Spec/AgrsP for nominative case feature checking. The direct object "ng'ombe" moves to the Spec/Agrop for accusative feature

checking. The verb moves to Mood/Mood¹ for checking of mood features then to Agro/Agro¹ for argument feature checking with the object. It continues further to Beno/Beno¹ and Causo/Causo¹ for benefactive and causative feature checking respectively and it finally moves Agr/Asp/Agrs¹/Asp¹ for agreement feature checking with the subject and aspectual features.

A theoretical problem arises in the movement of the argument “kana” because its licenced by two functional constituents. This means that it will have two places as landing sites, the Spec of BenoP and SPEC of CausoP. One head will not have a Spec and in this case it is the CausoP.

Example 22 is one possibility of interpreting a combination of benefactive and causative as valency increasing processes. Since the two affixes create the same argument, the sentence is complete without another second overt NP since “kana” cannot be repeated twice. The displaced argument is however implied.

If the two processes do not have the same referent, another logical question arises; “can the Kikamba verb license two extra internal argument in addition to the direct object in the basic sentence?”.

Consider the following example.

22(a) Kavisi ka- kun- a muvila

Boy CLI1/ASP kick M ball

“The boy has kicked the ball”.

22(b) Kavisi ka- kun-ithy- a aume muvila

Boy CLI1/ASP kick CAUS M men ball

“The boy has caused/made the men kick the ball”.

22(c) Kavisi ka- kun- i- a Mutisya muvila

Boy CLI1/ASP kick BEN M Mutisya ball

“The boy has kicked the ball for Mutisya .

22(d) *Kavisi ka- kun- ithya- isy- a aume Mutisya muvila

Boy CLI1/ASP kick CAUS BEN M men Mutisya muvila

“The boy has caused/made the men kick the ball for Mutisya”.

The co-occurrences of the two will lead to four arguments. One external “kavisi” and three internal the causative “aume” the benefactive “Mutisya” and the basic/direct object “muvila”. This is obviously an ungrammatical sentence. For the sentence to be grammatical one of the licensed arguments has to be omitted. The problem that arises now is “what happens in terms of objects. With every derivational morpheme with valency increasing power, an argument is added. Kikamba verbs can only take three arguments so in 22(d) one has to go. Logically, which argument between the causative and the benefactive is chosen and why?

The idea of the proximity of the action represented by the verb can be used to make a choice between the causative and the benefactive. In the previous analysis where the two valency changing processes were tackled separately the benefactive argument is an applied object with the beneficiary role while the causative argument is a direct object with a secondary agent role. The benefactive argument as an internal argument has the action being applied on behalf of it. The causative argument on the other hand has features of an external argument by virtue of being indirectly involved in the initiation of the action. In Kikamba, the benefactive argument is therefore preferred since its analysis shows it is part of the verb. The causative argument is not very close to the verb for it has some agent characteristic and this means that it is implied and more external. This interpretation will lead to a grammatical sentence shown below.

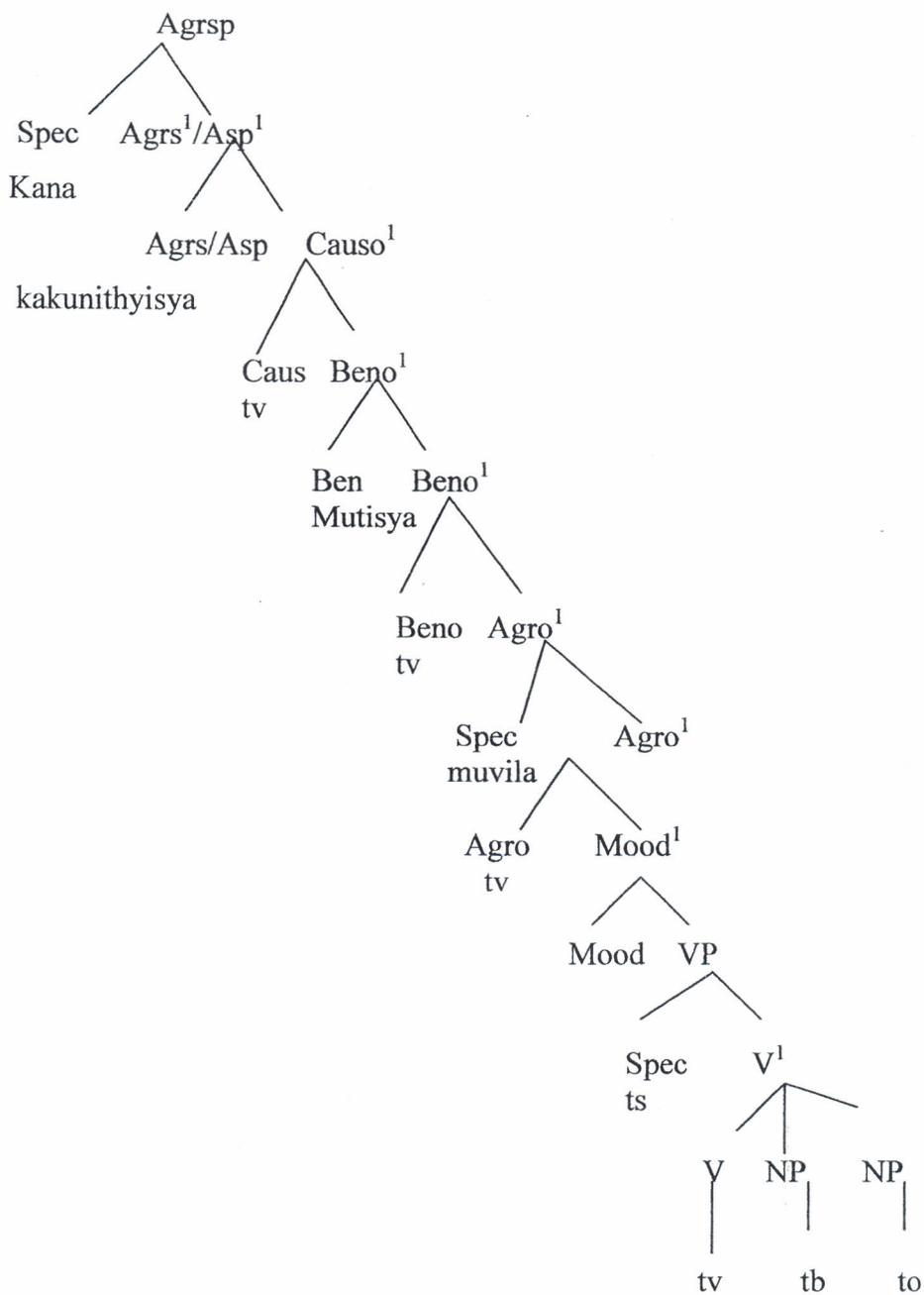
23 Kavisi ka- kun- ithy- isy- a Mutisya muvila

Boy CL11/ASP kicksCAUS BEN M Mutisya muvila

“The boy has caused / made the ball be kicked for Mutisya” .

Example 22 (d) can be represented in a structure using the minimalist program because all the arguments are accounted for as they are checked under their respective heads, however it is ungrammatical. Example 23 which is the allowed version in Kikamba is shown below.

14)



The subject “kana” moves to Spec /Agrsp for nominative case feature checking while the direct object “muvila” moves to SPEC/ AgroP for accusative feature checking. The benefactive object “Mutisya” moves to Spec/BenoP for accusative feature checking. The verb moves from its base position to Mood/Mood¹, Agro/agro¹, Beno/Beno¹ and

Causo/Causo¹ to check all the relevant features before landing at AgrS/Asp/Agrs1/Asp¹ where it checks its subject agreement features and aspect features. Notice that causative does not receive a SPEC since no overt argument is licensed by it.

Example 22 and 23 show the working of divalent verb “kuna”. A univalent verb can also take two valency increasing affixes. Consider the following example.

24(a) Muoki ni- wa- semb- a

Muoki FOC 3PSG/ASP run M

“Muoki has ran”

24(b) Muoki a- semb- ethy- a -inya

Muoki 3SP/ASP ran CAUS M mother

“Muoki has caused/made the mother run”.

24(c) Muoki a- semb- e -a Maingi

Muoki 3PSG/ASP run BEN M Maingi

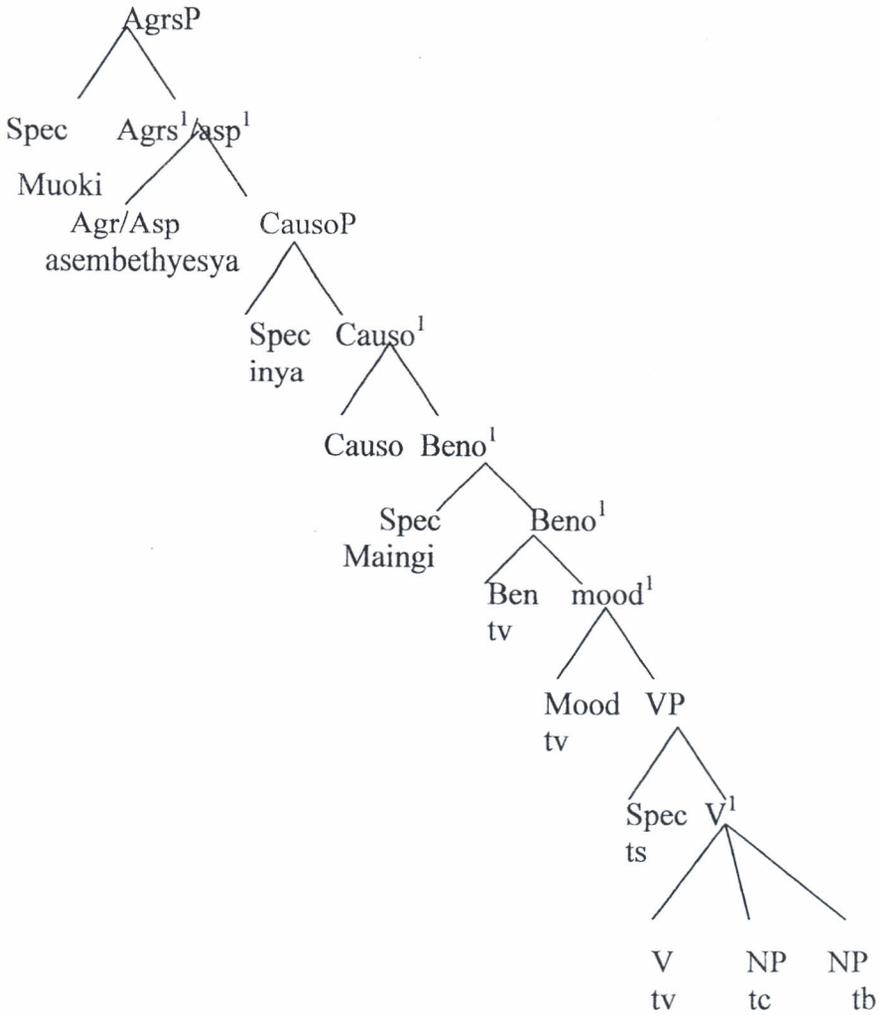
“Muoki has run for Maingi”.

24(d) Muoki a- semb-ethya-esy-a inya Maingi

Muoki has caused/made the mother ran fro Maingi”.

The univalent sentence is grammatical when the causative and the benefactive affixes co-occur. The first internal argument is a benefactive object while the second internal argument is a causative object. The rule that only three arguments can occur in the Kikamba verb is adhered to leading to the structure below.

15)



The subject “Muoki” moves to Spec/Agrs^P for nominative feature checking. The applied object “Maingi” moves to Spec/BenoP for accusative case checking while “inya” moves to Spec/CausoP for accusative case checking also. The verbs moves as follows. Mood/Mood¹, Beno/Beno¹, Causo/Causo¹ checking features all through and then it goes to Agrs/Asp/Agrs¹/Asp¹ for checking agreement with the subject and also its aspect features. All the arguments in Kikamba verbs can be eliminated and the meaning

of a sentence be adequately given by the complex verbal structure alone. This is done by introducing an object prefix, compare the following sentence;

25(a) Muoki a semb- eth- esy- a inya Maingi

Muoki 3PSG/ASP run CAUS BEN M mother Maingi

“Muoki has caused/made the mother run for Maingi”

25(b) A- mu- semb- ethy- esy- a²¹

3PSG/ASP Obj.Mk run CAUS BEN M

“He has caused/made him to run for him”

The external argument “Muoki” in 25 (a) is represented in 25 (b) by the subject marker prefix a-. The object prefix “-mu” in the example refers to the benefactive object “Maingi” while the causative argument “inya” is not accounted for. This development leads to a confirmation that when the two valency increasing processes of benefactive and causative combine, the language will overtly represent the benefactive.

4.3 CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALENCY DECREASING PROCESSES.

Processes that take an argument away in Kikamba are the passive, the reciprocal and the ^{release} passive. These processes can combine to bring various changes in the argument structure thus affecting the basic sentence structure.

²¹ The object prefix marks an object that is not overtly realized. This can be the basic, the benefactive or the causative. However in divalent verbs that combine benefactive and causative morphemes, it represents the benefactive.

4.3.2 The Passive and the Reciprocal

The passive reduces verb valence by downgrading the subject which is a core argument while the reciprocal reduces it by merging two participants into one. The following is a co-occurrence test of the two processes

PASSIVE + *RECIPROCAL* = *PASSIVE & RECIPROCAL*

(i) kunwa kunana *kunwana

RECIPROCAL + *PASSIVE* = *RECIPROCAL & PASSIVE*

(ii) kunana kunwa kunanaⁿ *kunamwa*

The reciprocal morpheme precedes the passive one. The effects of the combination of the two are discussed in the example below.

26(a) Mumbua a- ka- kun- a Mutheu

Mumbua 3PSG TNS beat M Mutheu

“Mumbua will beat Mutheu”.

26(b) Mumbua na Mutheu ma- ka- kun- an- a

Mumbua and Mutheu 3P.PL TNS beat RECP M

“Mumbua and Mutheu will beat each other”.

26(c) Mutheu a- ka- kun- w- a (ni Mumbua)

Mutheu 3PSG TNS beat PASS M (by Mumbua)

“Mutheu will be beaten (by Mumbua)“

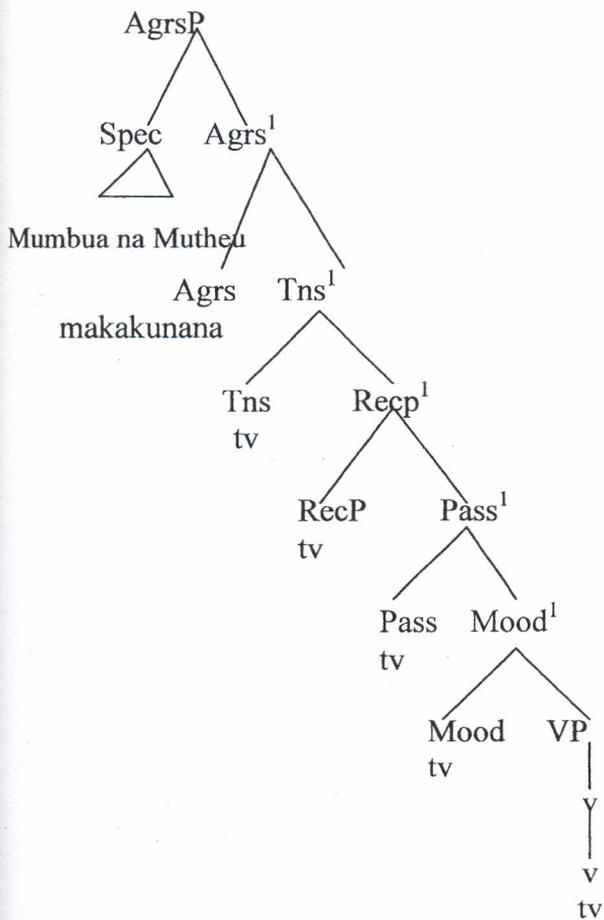
26(d) Mumbua na Mutheu ma- ka- kun- an- w- a

Mumbua and Mutheu 3P.PL TNS beat RECP PASS M

“Mumbua and Mutheu will be forced to beat each other (by some body).”

Example 26 (d) shows passivization of a reciprocal. Since this combines the subject “Mutheu and the object Mumbua”, its passivization will not take an agentive phrase. This means that the status of the constituents remains and there is the syntactic implication of a passive. The following structure results.

16)



The plural subject “Mumbua and Mutheu” moves to Spec/AgrsP for nominative feature checking. The verb moves to Mood/ Mood¹ for checking of mood features then to Pass/Pass¹ to check passivisation features, Recp/Recp¹ to check reciprocity features then to Tns/Tns¹ for tense feature checking then to Agrs/Agrs¹ for agreement feature checking with the subject .

Passivisation of a reciprocal can also yield another interpretation in the language. See the following example.

27 (a) Mumbua na Mutheu ma- ka- kun-an- a

Mumbua na Mutheu 3P.PL TNS beat RECP M

“Mumbua and Mutheu will beat each other”.

27(b) Mutheu a- ka- kun- w- a (ni Mumbua)

Mutheu 3PSG TNS beat PASS M (by Mumbua)

“Mutheu will be beaten (by Mumbua)”

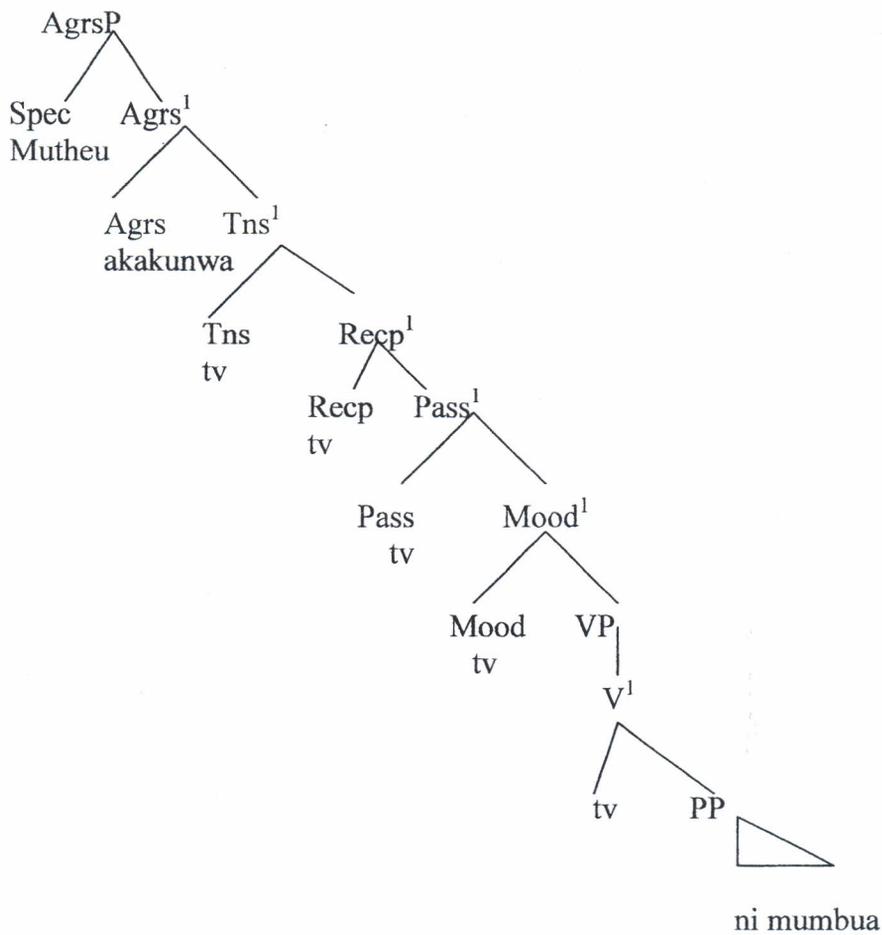
27 (c) Mutheu a- ka- kun- an- w- a (ni Mumbua)

Mutheu 3SPG TNS beat RECP PASS M (by Mumbua)

“Mutheu will be forced (by Mumbua) to beat each other (other with somebody) “

Mutheu is in mutual relationship with somebody else who is not mentioned in example 27(c) while Mumbua is the oblique element. This other interpretation of a combination of the reciprocal and the passive creates different constituent order and a syntactic implication of a shown in the following structure.

17)



“Mutheu” moves to Spec/Agrsp. The verbs moves from its base position to Mood/Mood¹, PasS/Pass¹, Recp/recp¹, Tns/Tns¹ and then to Agrs/Agrs¹. It checks all features and leaves

traces at all its checking domains. The oblique prepositional phrase “ni Mumbua” cannot move since it is not licensed.

4.3.2 The Passive and the Reflexive

The reflexive shows a structure where the subject/agent of the action is the same as the object /patient of the action. Two syntactic and semantic functions are merged into one. In the passive construction, the subject receives an oblique role and more focus is given to the object. The reflexive morpheme is a prefix so it precedes the passive morpheme which is a suffix and this will yield the following combination

<i>REFLEXIVE</i> +	<i>PASSIVE</i>	<i>REFLEXIVE & PASSIVE</i>
ikune	kunwa	*ikunwe

This is ungrammatical and an impossible combination in Kikamba . The logic behind this is because reflexive cannot be passivised since the subject and the object are one and the same thing.

4.3.3 The Reciprocal and the Reflexive

These two argument decreasing processes are related since they both have a characteristic of co-reference. In reciprocal, there is an associative participation by the subject and the object while in the reflexive two function subject and object, are performed by the same entity. The combination of the two will result into the following structure.

REFLEXIVE + *RECIPROCAL* = *REFLEXIVE & RECIPROCAL*

ikune kunana *ikunane

This is another unacceptable co-occurrence because the reciprocal involves different participants in mutual relationship. Therefore the same entity as represented by the reflexive cannot create a mutual “do for me, I do for you situation”.

4.4 CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALENCY INCREASING AND DECREASING

Derivational affixes with the power to add an argument and other with the power to take an argument away combine also.

4.4.1 The Benefactive and Valency Decreasing Processes

The benefactive morpheme *-i* has the meaning of “doing on behalf of”. It can combine with various verb decreasing devices.

4.4.1.1 The Benefactive and the Passive

First is a co-occurrence test that determines whether the combination is possible and if the order of affixes is appropriate.

BENEFACTIVE + *PASSIVE* = *BENEFACTIVE & PASSIVE*

i) kunai kunwa kuniwa

PASSIVE + *BENEFACTIVE* = *PASSIVE & BENEFACTIVE*

ii) kunwa kunai *kunwia

The benefactive morpheme precedes the passive and the two have the meaning of “be done something on behalf of”. See the example below.

28(a) Mbula a- kun- a tusau

Mbula 3PSG/ASP beat M calves

“Mbula has beaten the calves”

28(b) Mbula a- kun- i- a eitu tusau

Mbula 3PSG/ASP beat BEN M girls calves

“Mbula has beaten the calves for the girls”

28(c) Tusau twa- kun- w- a (ni Mbula)

Calves CLI2/ASP beat PASS M (by Mbula)

“The calves have been beaten (by Mbula)”.

28(d) Eitu ma- kun- i- w- a tusau (ni Mbula)

Girls CL2/ASP beat BEN PASS M calves (by Mbula)

“Girls have been beaten for the calves (by Mbula)”.

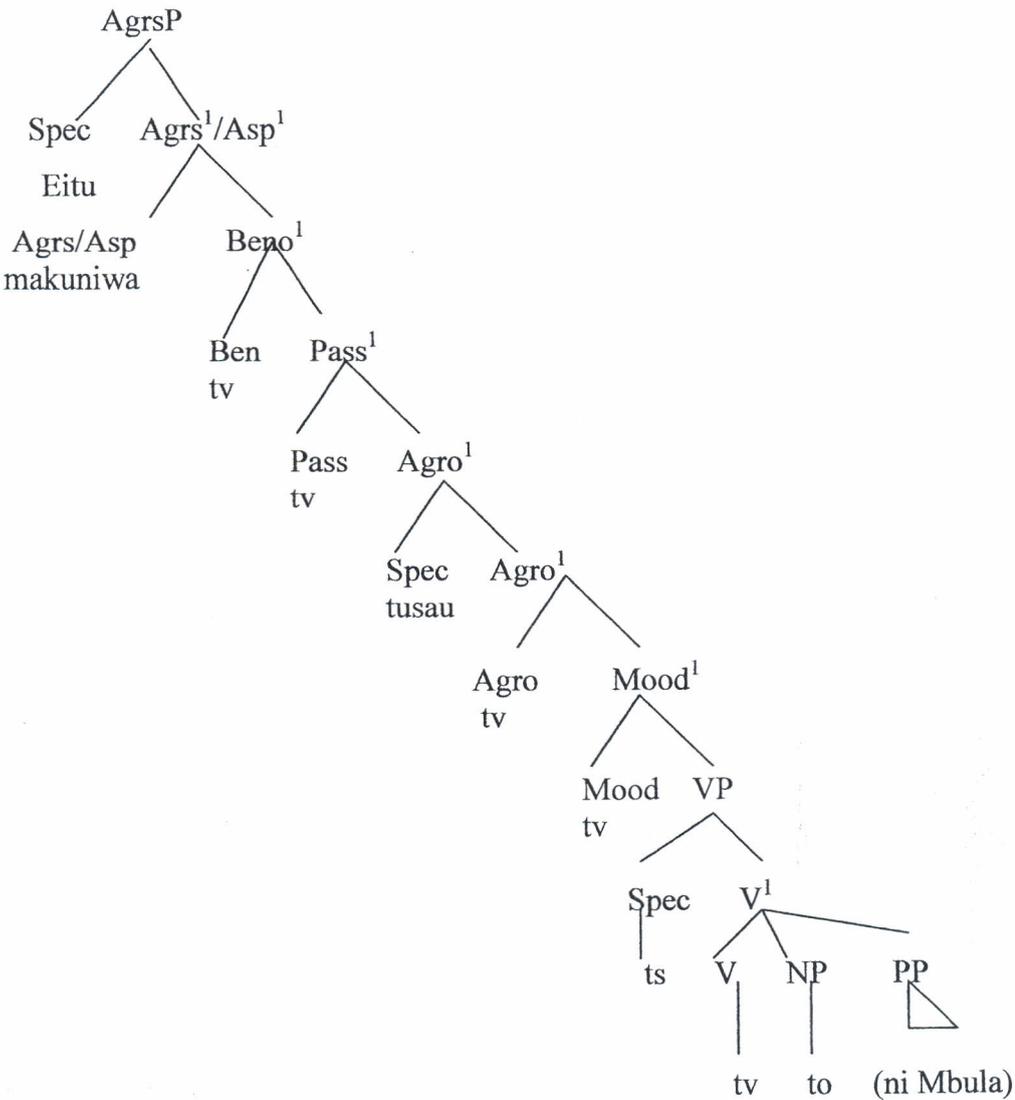
The applied object ‘eitu’ becomes the subject of the passive. This is an unusual phenomena because it is expected that the basic object/patient is usually passivized. Bringing the basic object into the subject position in a benefactive sentence result into an ungrammatical construction below.

29* Tusau twa- kun- i- w -a eitu (ni Mbula)

Calves CLI2/ASP beat BEN PASS M girls (by Mbula)

The correct arrangement of a passivized benefactive construction where a divalent verb in 28(a) is made trivalent in 28(b) and then passivised in 28(d) is shown in the structure below.

18)



The passivised applied object “eitu” will move to Spec/AgrsP for nominative case checking while the basic object “tusau” will move to Spec/AgroP for accusative case

checking. The verb movement are as follows: Mood/Mood¹ to check mood features, Agro/Agro¹, to check agreement case features with the verb, Pass/Pass¹ and Beno/Beno¹ to check passivization and benefactive features respectively before landing at Agrs/Asp/Agrs¹/Asp¹ where it checks agreement features with the subject and aspectual features. Oblique phrase “ni Mbula” does not move.

When the sentence is univalent the benefactive object is passivized still as shown.

30(a) Mutuku ni- wa- semb- a

Mutuku FOC 3PSG/ASP run M

“Mutuku has run”.

30(b) Mutuku a- semb -e -a usue

Mutuku 3SPS/ASP run BEN M grandmother

“Mutuku has run for the grandmother”.

30 (c) Usue a- semb- e- w- a (ni Mutuku)

Grand mother 3SPG/ASP run BEN PASS M (by Mutuku)

“The grandmother has been run for (by Mutuku)”

“Usue” is added by the presence of the benefactive morpheme e-and it moves to the subject position if the divalent sentence is passivised.

4.4.1.2 Benefactive and Reciprocal

The following is a co-occurrence test for these two

*BENEFACTIVE + RECIPROCAL = BENEFACTIVE & RECIPROCAL*²²

i) Kunia kunana kuniana

RECIPROCAL + BENEFACTIVE = RECIPROCAL & BENEFACTIVE

ii) Kunana kunia kunania

The above test presents an interesting combination where both morphemes can interchange positions without resulting to ungrammaticality. In a combination of benefactive and reciprocal any can precede the other. Both orders result to a combination that means "doing on behalf of each other". Consider the example below.

31(a) Mutile a- kun- a mbui

Mutile 3PSG/ASP beat M goat

"Mutile has beaten the goats"

31(b) Mutile na Munyiva ni- ma- kun- an- a

Mutile and Munyiva FOC 3P.PL/ASP beat RECP M

"Mutile and Munyiva have beaten each other":

31(c) Mutile a- kun- i- a Munyiva mbui

Mutile 3PSG/ASP beat BEN M Munyiva goat

"Mutile has beaten the goats for Munyiva"

²² Combination (i) and (ii) above will have similar analysis except that in structure-building, the choice of order determines which head precedes the other.

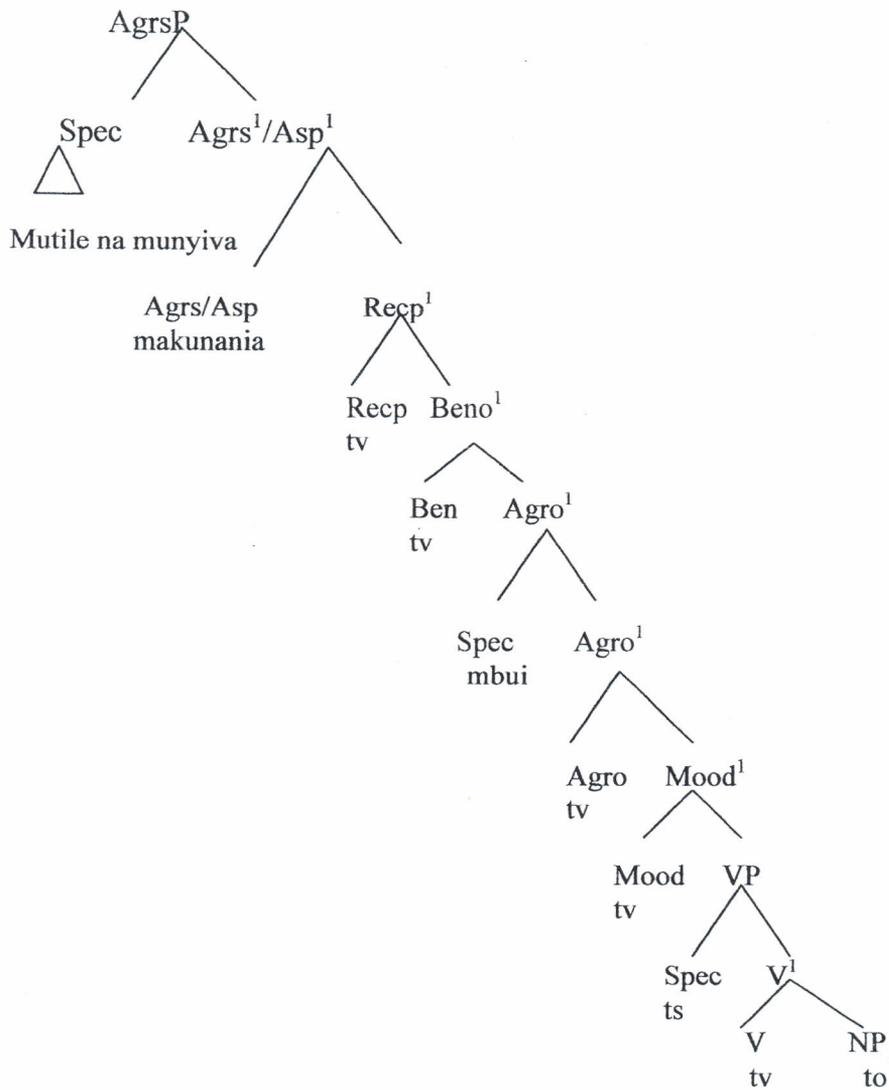
31(d) Mutile na Munyiva ma- kun- an- i- a mbui

Mutile and Munyiva 3P.PL/ASP beat RECP BEN M goat.

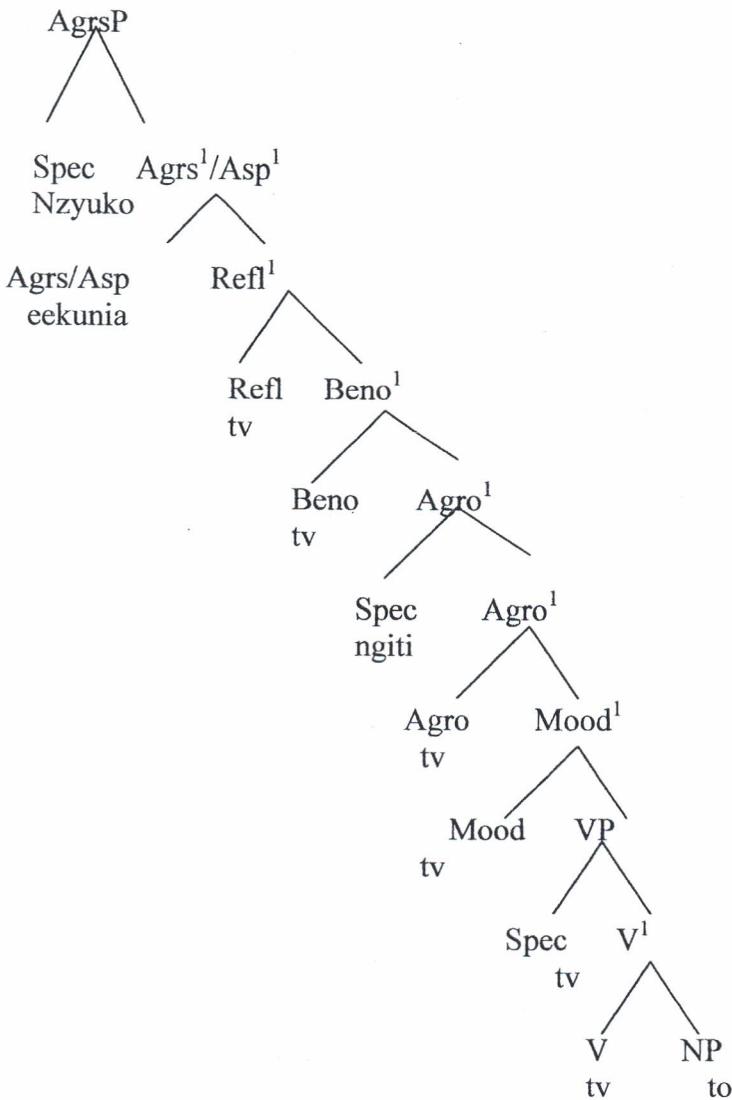
“Mutile and Munyiva have beaten the goat for each other”.

The applied object “Munyiva” is in a reciprocity relationship with the subject “Mutile”.

The action is thus done by the subject in association with the applied object and they do it together for their benefit. The beneficiary therefore becomes part of the plural agent. The following structure accounts for 31(d).



The compound subject “Mutile na Munyiva” moves to Spec/AgrsP for nominative feature checking while the direct object “mbui” moves to Spec/AgroP for accusative case checking. The verb moves from its base position to Mood/Mood¹, Beno/Beno¹, Recp/Recp¹ and then to Agrs/Asp/Agrs¹/Asp¹ where it lands to check agreement features with the subject and aspect features. Notice that there is no Spec/BenoP since it has been conjoined with the subject.



The subject 'Nzyuko' moves to Spec/AgrsP for nominative case checking while the object 'ngiti' moves to Spec/AgroP for accusative case checking. The verb 'eekunia' moves to Mood/mood¹, Agro/Agro¹ Beno/Beno¹ and Refl/Refl¹, to check all the morphologically and lexically licensed features and then it lands at Agrs/Asp/Agrs¹/Asp¹ where it checks agreement with the subject and aspectual features. The verb leaves traces all through its movement.

4.4.2 The Causative and Valency Decreasing Processes

The argument increasing processes of a causative brings out the meaning of causing/making somebody do something. It can combine with various valency decreasing processes and this affects the basic sentence structure.

4.4.2.1 The Causative and Passive

Consider the co-occurrence test below

(i) CAUSATIVE + PASSIVE = CAUSATIVE & PASSIVE

Kunithya + kunwa = kunithy^owa_↓

(ii) PASSIVE + CAUSATIVE = PASSIVE & CAUSATIVE

Kunwa kunithya = *kunwithya

The causative morpheme precedes the passive one and their combination leads to a meaning of “be caused/made to do something”. The example below demonstrates this.

33(a) Joseph a- ka- kun- a malondu

Joseph 3PSG TNS beat M sheep

“Joseph will beat the sheep”.

33(b) Joseph a- ka -kun- ithya –a Mukui malondu

Joseph 3PSG TNS beat CAUS M Mukui sheep

“Joseph will cause /make the wife beat the sheep”.

33(c) Malondu ma- ka-kun- w- a (ni Joseph)

Sheep CL6 TNS beat PASS M (by Joseph)

“The sheep will be beaten by Joseph”.

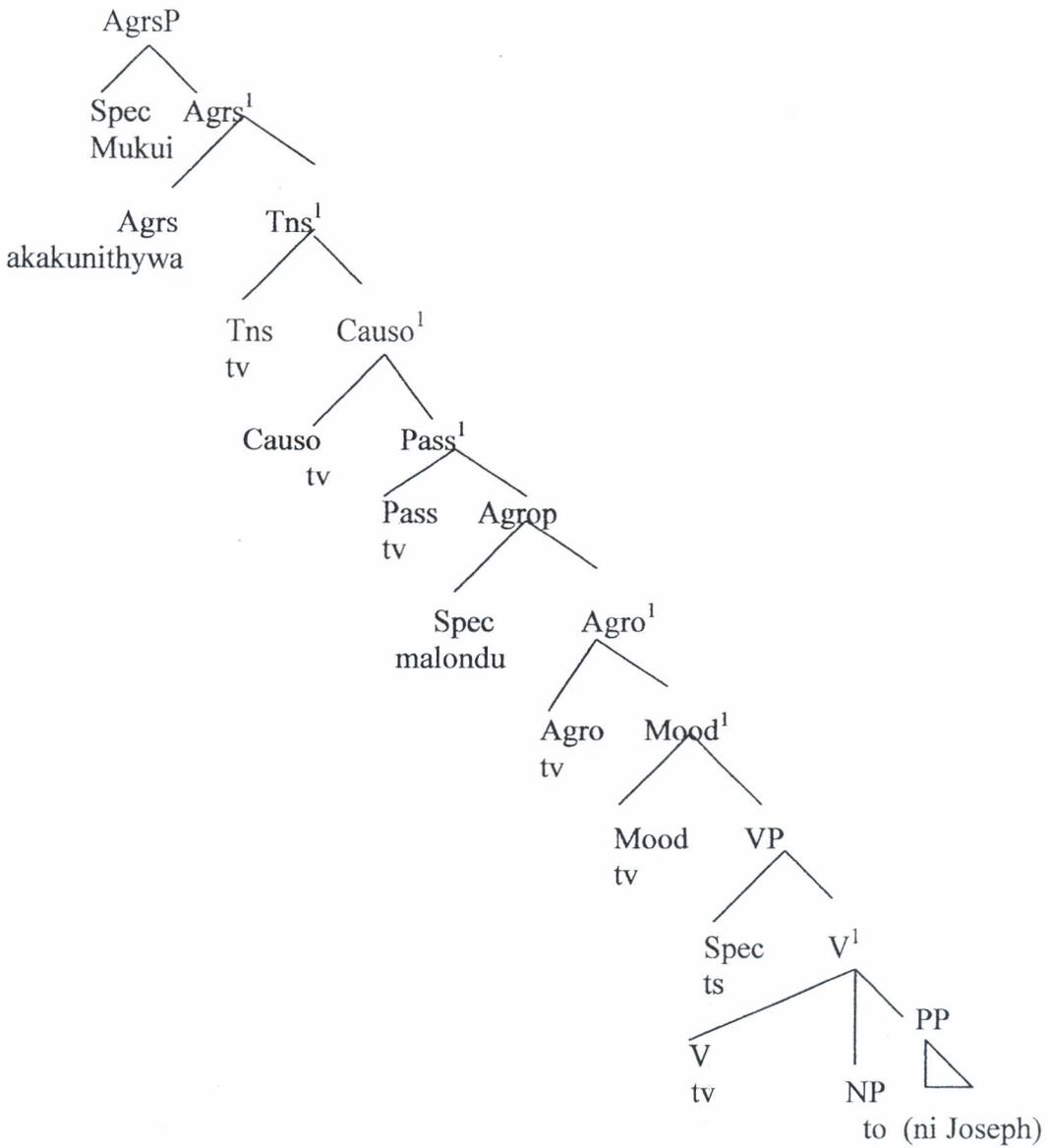
33(d) Mukui a- ka -kun- ithy- w- a malondu (ni Joseph)

Mukui 3SPG TNS beat CAUS PASS M sheep (by Joseph)

“Mukui will be caused to beat the sheep (by Joseph)

The causative object or causer “Mukui” becomes the subject of the passive. This is contrary to the usual passivization arrangement where basic object occupies the subject position. Example 33(d) will elicit the following structure.

21)



The subject 'Mukui' moves from Spec/VP to Spec / AgrsP for nominative case checking while the basic or direct object "malondu" moves to Spec/Agrop for accusative features checking the verb moves from its base position to Mood/Mood¹ to check the mood features, then to Agro/Agro¹, to check agreement case features with the object, then to Pass/Pass¹ and Causo/Causo¹ to check passivization of a causative, then to Tns/Tns¹ to check tense features. The verb then checks agreement with the subject at

Agrs/Agrs¹ and as this is the last domain it lands their. The prepositional phrase (ni Joseph) remains at its base position as its not licensed by anything that enables its movement.

In a divalent sentence , passivization of a causative is possible and since there is no direct object, the causative argument is passivized taking the subject position while the subject of the basic sentence takes an oblique role. See the example below.

34(a) Mbaka ni- ya- semb- a

Cat FOC CL9/ASP run M

“The cat has ran”

34(b) Mbaka ya-sembe-ethy-a mbia

Cat CL9/ASP run CAUS M rat

“The cat has caused/made the rat to run ‘.

34(c) Mbia ya- semb- ethy- w- a (ni mbaka)

Rat CL9/ASP run CAUS PASS M (by cat)

“The rat has been caused to run (by the cat)”.

Example 34(c) is a passivised causative where the causative object “mbia” takes the subject position .

4.4.2.2. The Causative and Reciprocal

Consider the order of a combination of the two below.

(i) CAUSATIVE + RECIPROCAL = CAUSATIVE & RECIPROCAL

Kunithya kunana kunithyana^{??} Kunithanya

(ii) RECIPROCAL + CAUSATIVE = RECIPROCAL & BENEFACTIVE

Kunana kunithya kunanithya

There are two grammatical order of co-occurrence in a combination of the causative and the reciprocal. Either of the two morphemes can precede the other. A combination of these leads to a verb with the meaning of “causing each other to do things mutually together”. The following example illustrates this

35(a) Mwikali a- kun- a mavia

Mwikali 3PSG/ASP beat M stone

“Mwikali has hit stones”.

35(b) Mwikali na Ndeti ni- ma- kun- an -a

Mwikali and Ndeti FOC 3P.PL/ASP beat RECP M

“Mwikali and Ndeti have hit each other”.

35(c) Mwikali a- kun- ithya- a Ndeti mavia

Mwikali 3PSG hit CAUS M Ndeti stones

“Mwikali has caused /made Ndeti hit stones”

35(d) Mwikali na Ndeti ma-kun-an-ithy-a mavia

Mwikali and Ndeti 3P.PL.ASP hit RECP CAUS stones

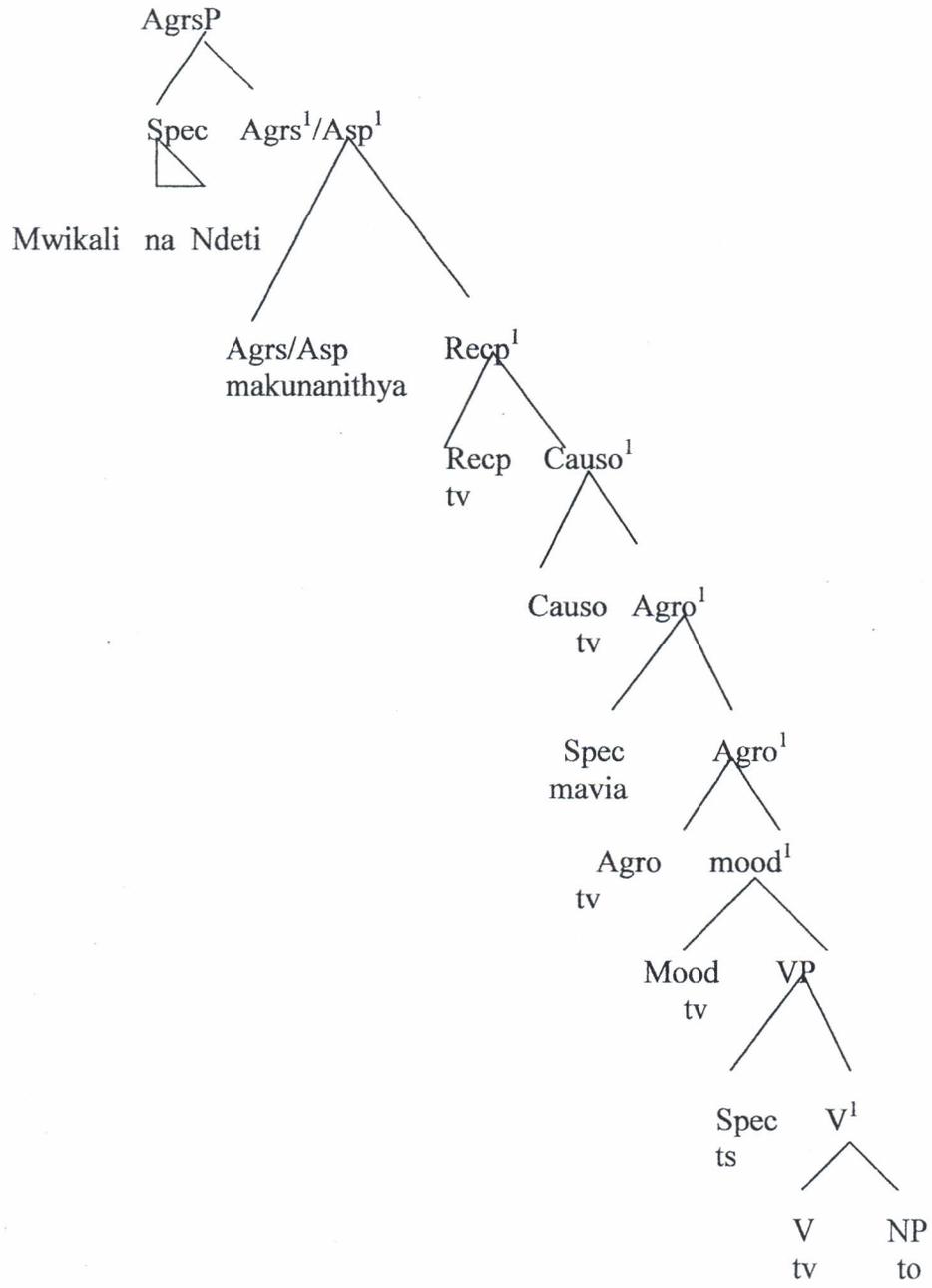
“Mwikali and Ndeti have caused/made stones hit each other.

The causer ‘Ndeti’ is in an associative relationship of acting with the subject or cause “Mwikali”. The mutual relationship between Ndeti and Mwikali involves causation. The causer is thus represented by the compound subject. Example 35 (d) is shown in the structure below.

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22)



The subject “Mwikali na Ndeti” moves to Spec/AgrsP for nominative case checking. The direct object “mavia” moves to Spec/Agrop for accusative case checking. The verbs check all its features starting at Mood/Mood¹, Agro/Agro¹, Causo/Causo¹ and finally Agrs/Asp/Agrs¹/Asp¹, where it lands. There is no Spec for CausopP since it has been merged with the subject.

4.4.2.3 The Causative and the Reflexive

The order of the combination on is as follows

REFLECTIVE + *CAUSATIVE* = *REFLEXIVE & CAUSATIVE*

Ikune kunithya ikunithye

The meaning of the two combinations is “cause/made” yourself something”. The exemplification of the combination is shown below.

36(a) Andu ma- kun- a ukuta

People CL2/ASP hit M wall

“People have hit the wall”.

36(b) Andu ni- me- e- kun- a

People FOC CL2/ASP REFL hit M

‘People have hit themselves’.

36(c) Andu ma- kun- ithy- a nyamu ukuta

People CL2/ASP hit CAUS M animal wall

“People have caused/made the animal hit the wall”.

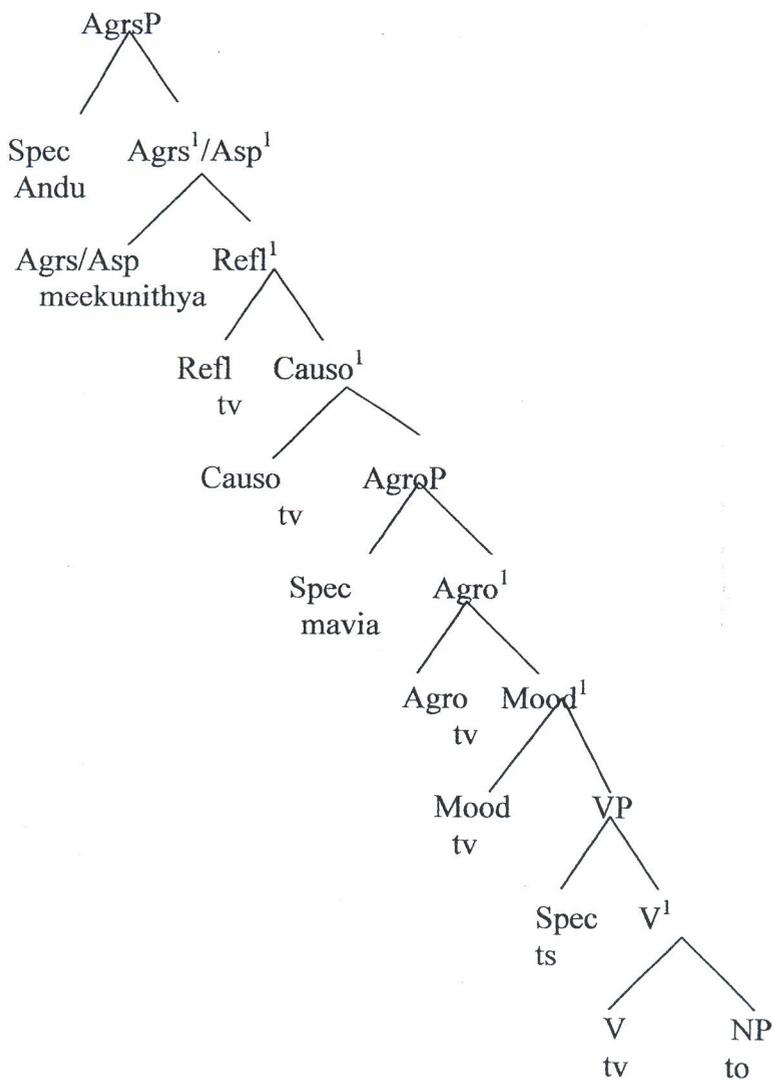
36(d) Andu me- e - kun- ithya- a ukuta

People CL2/ASP REFL hit CAUS M wall.

“People have caused/made themselves to hit the wall”.

The subject/agent is causing something to themselves hence same as the causer. The co-occurrence in 35(d) will lead to the following structure.

23)



The subject “andu” moves to Spec/AgrsP and the object “mavia” moves to Spec/AgroP for checking nominative and accusative case features respectively. The verb “meekunithya” moves to Mood/mood¹, Agro/Agro¹ Causo/Causo¹, Refl /Refl¹ and then it lands at Agrs/Asp /Agrs¹ Asp¹ checking agreement with the subject and aspect features. Spec of Causo is not created because the cause and causer are the same.

4.5 SUMMARY OF COMPLEX CO-OCCURRENCE

Kikamba verbs have the capacity to generate more than two derivational affixes with valency changing power. The table below summarizes all the co-occurrences discussed with an aim of testing the last two research hypothesis by establishing co-occurrence paradigm of two derivational affixes;

TABLE 18: CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALENCY CHANGING PROCESSES²³

	BEN -i	CAUS -ithy	PASS -w	RECP -an	REFL i-
BEN		(a)Kunithyisya	*Kunwia	(c)i Kunania	(d) Ikune
CAUS	*Kuniithya		*Kunwithya	(f)ii kunanithya	(g) Ikunithye
PASS	(b)kuniwa	(e) Kunithywa		(g) Kunanwa	*Ikunwe
RECP	(c) ii Kuniana	(f)i kunithyana	*Kunwana		*Ikunane
REFL	*	*	*	*	

The table consists of a horizontal and vertical axis. The horizontal axis is the first affix in order of precedence while the vertical axis forms the second choice in the co-occurrence. From the above table, we can form a derivational paradigm consisting of two derivational affixes with valency changing power located below.

- (a) Causative and benefactive
- (b) Benefactive and Passive
- (c)i Benefactive and reciprocal
- (c)ii Reciprocal and benefactive
- (d) Benefactive and reflexive
- (e) Causative and passive
- (f)i Causative and reciprocal
- (f) ii Reciprocal and causative
- (g) Causative and reflexive
- (h) Reciprocal and passive

²³ The table has the following symbols;

* ungrammatical order of co-occurrence or impossible co-occurrence.

Same derivational affix, so no co-occurrence.

The derivational paradigm of co-occurrence leads to the following observations.

- The valency increasing processes of benefactive and causative co-occur
- The valency decreasing processes of reciprocal and passive co-occur.
- The valency increasing processes of benefactive and causative combine with any of the three valency decreasing processes.
- The reflexive does not combine with other valency decreasing processes

The conclusion drawn from the above observations reveals that the most complex Kikamba derived verb can take two argument increasing and two argument decreasing affixes. These are the benefactive, the causative, the reciprocal and the passive.

To create this complex Kikamba derived verb, the idea of order of co-occurrences needs to be revisited. Table 18 shows that the passive appears last in all co-occurrence while the causative precedes the benefactive. The reciprocal has two positions either before or after the valency increasing affixes. But this freedom of the reciprocal is limited by the passive, so an order where it precedes the benefactive and the causative is preferred. The reflexive as a prefix comes first. This will result into the following order in derivational affixes with valency changing power

1		2		3		4		5
(REFL)	Root	RECP		CAUS		BEN		PASS Mood
(i)	kun-	an-		ithy-		i-		w - a

The analysis of this complex verb derivation form is shown below.

37(a) Wausi a- ka- kun -a Pius

Wausi 3PSG/TNS beat M Pius

“Wausi will beat Pius”

37(b) Wausi na Pius m a- ka- kun- an- a

Wausi and Pius 3P.PL TNS beat RECP M

“Wausi and Pius will beat each other”.

37(c) Wausi a- ka- kun- ithya- a Mwende Pius

Wausi 3PSG TNS beat CAUS M Mwende Pius

“Wausi will caused/make Mwende to eat Pius “

37(d) Wausi a-ka- kun- i- a Mwende Pius

Wausi 3PSG TNS beat Ben M

“Wausi will beat Pius for Mwende”

37(e) Pius a- ka- kun- w- a (ni Wausi)

Pius 3SPG TNS beat PASS M (by Wausi)

“Pius will be beaten (by Wausi)

37(f) Mwende a-ka-kun-an-ithy-isy-w-a Pius (ni Wausi)

Mwende a- ka- kun- an- ithy – isy – w- a Pius (ni
wausi)

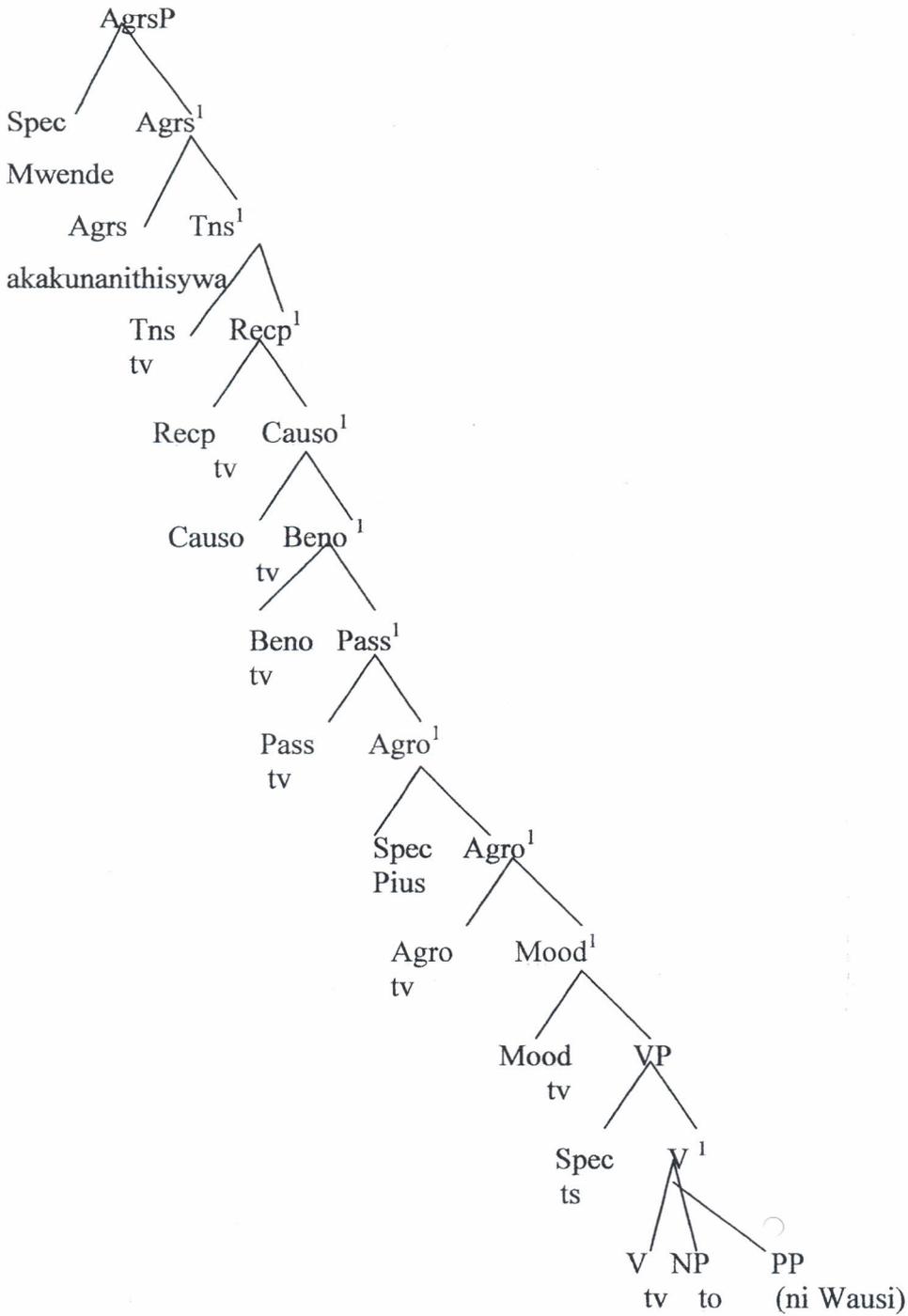
Mwende 3PSG TNS beat RECP CAUS BEN PASS M

“Mwende will be caused/made beat for together with Pius (by Wausi)

In the above example, “Mwende” is the benefactive argument that involves a mutual relationship with the direct object/patient “Pius”. The second participant is motivated by the affix which implies another participant although it is not mentioned. The subject ‘Wausi’ becomes a prepositional phrase after passivization. “Mwende” therefore is the benefactive and a subject that is also in a reciprocal relationship with “Pius’. The causative object is not mentioned but it is implied. The verb a-ka-ku-an-ithy-iw-a has two valency increasing processes and two valency decreasing processes, thus the sentence structure re-arrangement of constituents to cater for this.

See example 37 (f) in structure

24)



The passivised applied object 'Mwende' moves to Spec/AgrsP for nominative case checking while the direct object Pius moves to Spec /AgroP for accusative case checking.

The checking for the verb Beno/Beno^1 , Causo/Causo^1 , Recp/Recp^1 , Tns/Tns^1 and finally Agrs/Agrs^1 . Note that the benefactive and the causative heads have no Spec position because the benefactive has gone to the subject position while the causative object is implied.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a summative discussion of the research findings that will lead to conclusions and recommendations for further research on issues arising from the analysis and which are not within the scope of this study. The conclusion is intended to determine whether the findings provide key answers to the research problem and whether they tally with specific objectives and hypothetical statements.

5.2 CONCLUSION

There were two main concerns of the research problem, the first one involved the effect of verb derivations with valency changing power on the underlying SV(O) sentence structure in Kikamba. Data analysis provided evidence that all the derived verbs in Kikamba create an argument structure that changes the SVO order. This change is represented below:

Basic sentence	SV(O)
Benefactive sentence	SVOO
Causative sentence	SVOO
Passive sentence	OV (S is oblique)
Reciprocal sentence	S& OV
Reflexive sentence	S& OV

In benefactive and causative constructions an extra arguments leads to the expansion of the basic sentence pattern. In passive constructions the subject becomes an adjunct and the object occupies subject position leading to permutation of the SV(O) order. In reciprocal and reflexive the syntactic functions of subject and object are merged leading to combinations of two arguments in a coreferential relationship.

With regards to the second concern involving the mismatch between the logical and natural order of arguments, the study pointed out that this mismatch goes beyond the scope of morphosyntax and semantic analysis. Arguments that are licenced or deleted logically are only implied and not overtly realized. Implications involve context for their interpretation and this is the level of pragmatics. Pragmatics thus becomes necessary in accounting for the assumed logical order of arguments that are not syntactically permitted. An adequate analysis of verb derivations in Kikamba therefore presents a complex interface of morphological, syntactic, semantic and also pragmatics levels of linguistics.

Throughout the research, the endeavour has been to remain within the scope explicitly given by the research objectives. From the study, the following conclusions are established as some research hypotheses are confirmed while others are not.

- There is indeed a change in the argument structure of the basic sentences in the derived sentences that is triggered by the derivational affixes in the verb. Marantz (1984) cited in Spencer (1991:264) discusses valency changing processes as affix-mediated and he notes that “an affixation process can’t change the

arguments of the verb root itself, but it can add arguments of its own or alter the way the verb's arguments are expressed".

- The isomorphism relationship between the basic and the derived sentence is not always kept at the syntactic and semantic levels. The findings demonstrate that in valency increasing processes of benefactive and causative, the external argument is not affected by verb derivation but there is the addition of another internal argument. Valency decreasing processes of reciprocal and reflexive present a shift in syntactic and semantic functions as two syntactic roles of subject and object and two semantic roles of agent and patient are merged into one external argument. The valency decreasing process of passive effects the subject and agent constituent which is demoted to a peripheral role and the object and patient occupies the external argument position.
- The minimalist program offers a more suitable framework for this study since the checking theory ensures that constructions with verbal derivations form grammatical constituents of the sentences. All derivational affixes are headed by functional categories and movement of the sentence constituents occurs for checking purposes. The principles FI come in handy to ensure that the interpretation of features is morphologically and lexically driven. More important still is the revelation that derivational morphemes target a specified position in the structure-building when they occur, even when the logic necessitates different interpretations.
- There is one theoretical problem that arises as a result of the mismatch between logical and natural order of argument brought about by combination of several

argument-bearing affixes in the verbs. The minimalist program as a morphosyntactic theory cannot deal with implications given by such co-occurrence of valency changing morphemes in the verb. Its scope is limited to how morphology regulates syntactic analysis and semantic interpretation only.

- A careful examination of verbal derivations reveals that there is an order of their application and use in the verb. There are co-occurrence constraints because derivational affixes with valency changing power do not combine randomly but are rule governed. Specifically, the valency increasing processes of benefactive and causative co-occur and they can combine with all the valency decreasing processes of Kikamba verb. The valency decreasing processes of the reciprocal and the passive can combine while the valency decreasing process of reflexive cannot combine with other valency decreasing processes.
- The study ended with examining the possible order of combination of valency changing affixes and there is undisputable evidence that the most complex derivation in Kikamba consists of two valency increasing and two valency decreasing processes and they follow a specified order which is;

REFL, RECP, CAUS, BEN, PASS

Note that the reflexive only occurs when the reciprocal and the passive are absent.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Several issues arising from the study demand further research.

- There is a definite need for further research with regard to morpho-phonology of verbal derivations in Kikamba. The analysis of verbal derivations reveals the

phenomena of vowel harmony and other phonological processes that were mentioned in passing since it was not within the scope of this study to deal with phonological issues.

- This study has dealt with the verb derivations and the nominal participants it permits. Knowing how many participants a verb allows is not enough, it is important to know what kind of participants are appropriate. There is a need to develop this work further by showing dependency rules which describe what kind of a noun a verb can take. It can be: concrete, abstract, animate inanimate, common or mass nouns. This will be an extension of Chomsky's idea on selectional restriction rules in valency grammar. Borstein (1977:8) observes that the word category chosen first determines all other selections. Nouns in this case will be chosen on the basis of context free rules and verbs on the basis of context-sensitive rules.
- There is also a need to explore in depth the range of productivity of verb valency changing process which will lead to a classification of verbs in terms of their valency power with an aim of providing a valency dictionary for Kikamba verbs.
- This study was based on the Kikamba language. A comparative study of valency status in Kikamba and other related languages could be done to establish if there are points of similarities and differences.
- In analyzing the morphological processes of the verb there are instances where one morpheme represents several categories. This raises interesting questions on "at what stage is Kikamba considered being fusional?" A study on the extend of

morphological fusioning in this agglutinative language would add value to the body of research in Kikamba.

- The initial affix “ni-” referred to as focus in this study can also be studied further to unravel its function. It would also be noteworthy to analyze it using the checking theory of the minimalist program. In Kikamba AGRsP comes first in the structure. The prefix comes before AGRs/AGR^s so the intriguing question is “how would a verb with this initial prefix effect structure building in Kikamba and the movement of the subject?”

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