Description of the Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Kınilyamba Verb Extensions

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Abstract

This paper describes the morpho-semantic nuances of Kınilyamba verb extensions. The description of verb extensions continues to be a significant topic of interest in Bantu linguistics. The review of prior scholarly investigations of verb extensions reveals that some previous studies involved multiple languages, thus lacking a systematic description of the essential grammatical phenomenon specific to a particular language. The paper employed lexicalization theory (LT) to illustrate the advancement or elevation of words from a lexical to a more lexical formant or a higher lexical status. Lexicalization theory was utilized to elucidate how semantic shifts occur or how words acquire new meanings through the progression or elevation of these words from a lexical to a more lexical formant. The creation of new lexemes following the attachment of productive and unproductive verb extensions was clearly explicated by the theory, emphasizing the progression of words from a lexical to a more lexical formant or a higher lexical status. The study was carried out in Kısiriri, one of the four divisions of Iramba District, an area predominantly inhabited by Nilyamba speakers. Data were gathered in Kısiriri village, which is located in Kısiriri ward, through elicitation, observation, and interview. The findings indicate that Kınilyamba verbs morphologically allow the attachment of extension suffixes, ranging from one to two, three, or four. The greater the number of extension suffixes, the greater the extension of meaning.

Keywords: *Kınilyamba, lexicalization, morpho-semantics, verb extensions*

Introduction

This paper offers the description of Kınilyamba verb extensions by paying specific attention to the morpho-semantic nuances. In this paper, with morpho-semantic nuances, it basically focuses on identifying suffixes for each possible verb extension in the language and examining the extent to which meaning of the verb changes with respect to the suffixes attached to Kınilyamba, a language coded F31 (Guthrie,

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1948; Maho, 1999) which is spoken in Iramba District, Singida Region. The Name of the tribe is 'Nilyamba' and the people are called 'Anilyamba'. Kınilyamba, the language of Nilyamba is less described. This paper, being descriptive, is significant as it contributes to the study by Mdima (2000) about Tense and Aspect in Kınilyamba forming part of the grammar of the language under the realm of morphology.

According to Mdima (2000), the language comprises four dialects: Kınilyamba, Kıniambi, Kınaushola, and Kınambuga. Kınaushola is spoken in Ndago Ward, Kınambuga in Shelui Ward, and Kıniambi in Nduguti Ward. Kıniambi is spoken in Iramba East. This study focuses on the Kınilyamba dialect spoken in Kısiriri and Kınampanda Wards, with the overall language affiliation being Kınilyamba. Therefore, all mentioned dialects, including Kınilyamba, Kıniambi, Kınaushola, and Kınambuga, are associated with Kınilyamba.

During the researcher's fieldwork (data collection), some Iramba individuals asserted that Kınilyamba has five dialects: Kınilyamba, Kıniambi, Kınaushola, Kınambuga, and Kınisanzu. Linguistically, Kınilyamba, Kıniambi, Kınambuga, and Kınaushola are closely related, while Kınisanzu is linguistically distinct from the other dialects. Despite doubts among speakers about whether Kınisanzu is a true dialect of Kınilyamba, both Anilyamba (Nilyamba speakers) and Anisanzu (Nisanzu speakers) share similar names, naming systems, norms, and traditions. Common names such as Kıula, Mʊkumbo, Mʊsengi, Kıtʊndʊ, ʊkende, ʊswıli, ʊlʊmbi, Wanswekʊla, Wampʊmbʊlya, Wanzıta, Wankembeta, among others, are found in both Iramba and Isanzu societies.

In Kısiriri village, Kınilyamba is used for communication in various social activities, including weddings, public meetings, church sermons, and funeral activities. It also serves as a language of communication at home. As mentioned earlier, Kınilyamba has four closely related dialects: Kınilyamba, Kınambuga, Kınaushola, and Kıniambi. Some speakers claim that Kınisanzu is a dialect of Kınilyamba, despite its significant differences from the other four dialects.

Kınilyamba and Kıniambi are both spoken in Kinyangiri Ward in Iramba East, with some areas of the ward bordering Kınilyamba speakers and others bordering Kıniambi speakers. The language is referred to by various names such as Nyiramba, Nyilamba, Ilamba, Iramba, Nilamba, Kınilamba, and Kınilyamba. Different references use distinct names for the language, including Nilamba (Guthrie 1948; Maho 1999; Atlas ya Lugha za Tanzania "The Atlas of Tanzanian languages" 2009), Nilyamba (Anderson, 1954) and Kınilyamba (Lyago ni Pia, 2009). The researcher chose Kınilyamba as the name for the language due to its usage in the New Testament of the Bible 'Lyago ni Pia' (2009).

The description of verb extensions remains to be topic of interest in Bantu linguistics since a number of studies (see Katupha, 1991; Rugemalira 1993; Hyman,

2007; Robinson, 2016; Pacchiarotti, 2017; Gabriel, Emilien, & Leonard, 2018) are reported here to have conducted it. A review of these previous scholarly works in verb extensions indicates that some of these studies involved many languages and hence lack a systematic description of the important phenomenon of grammar of a specific language. For studies that systematically focused on individual languages, there results are nevertheless the same and hence making the study of verb extensions language dependent. One of the notable aspects that is language specific involves verb extensions sequence as languages have different orders which in turn different orders of verb extensions produce different meanings of words different from the meaning of the root. This argument is supported by Ngonyani (2016) who points out that the ordering of verb extensions in various Bantu languages is not entirely uniform. These facts call for further investigations on the extensions ordering in different Bantu languages and semantics or semantic shift they trigger in different Bantu languages.

Furthermore, although the study regarding verb extensions is researched and described by different Bantuists, our review of literature indicates that some areas regarding productivity of verb extensions i.e. productive, unproductive, and semantic shift of verb extensions has got little attention in Bantu linguistics. While linguists seem to have an intuitive understanding of productivity of verb extensions in Bantu languages, the degree or extent of productivity of these verb extensions has proved difficult to unfold. There is little investigation done, for example, to investigate morphological productivity of verb extensions in Bantu languages. There is also little investigation done to unfold semantic productivity or semantic shift caused by these verb extensions in Bantu languages. Therefore, the degree of productivity of verb extensions in Kınilyamba is not known. This prompted a researcher to conduct a research in order to investigate productivity of verb extensions in Kınilyamba. Since there is no detailed and systematic study of productivity of verb extensions in Kınilyamba, it is not clear how productive these verb extensions in Kınilyamba are, both morphologically and semantically, whether they are more or less productive.

Theoretical Underpinning

This study is guided by Lexicalization Theory (LT) describing a process in which grammatical item, with less or obscured referential meaning (i.e. a closed-class element), develops lexical meaning (i.e. it becomes an open-class element), accompanied by increase in or gaining of phonetic substance, gaining of lexical independence and gaining of lexical (referential) meaning (Fischer, et al 2000; Gildea, 2000). Lexicalization is reverse process of grammaticalization (Lehmann, 2015). Lexicalization consists of increase of range of a morpheme advancing from grammatical to lexical or from lexical to more lexical status, e.g from grammatical to lexical formant or from lexical to more lexical formant (Lehmann, 2015).

This theory is pertinent to the current study as it revolves around lexicalization, involving the expansion of a morpheme's scope, progressing from a basic lexical status to a more complex one, transitioning from lexical to a more lexical formant. The theory outlines the progression of verbs from verbal infinitives to various extensions, such as applicative, causative, stative, reciprocal, passive, agentive, hastive, intensive, mutualative, reversive, extensive, positional, contactive, and impositive, among others. The shift of verbs from infinitive to the mentioned extensions contributes to the augmentation of morphemes, moving from a lexical to a more lexical formant. This will be clearly exemplified and shown in the section of results.

Methodology

The study was conducted in Kɪsiriri, one of the four divisions of Iramba District, in Kɪsiriri Ward, then in Kɪsiriri Village, the area where Nilyamba Chiefs dwelled. As stated above, data were collected in Kɪsiriri Village found in Kɪsiriri Ward through elicitation, observation and interviews. With observation, the researcher observed the way Kɪnilyamba is spoken in its natural setting within Kɪsiriri Village. Positioned in a grinding machine in Kɪsiriri Village, the researcher discreetly recorded villagers conversing in Kɪnilyamba using a tape recorder. The researcher maintained a non-participatory role during these conversations, simply observing without direct involvement. Subsequently, the researcher extracted verbs and their extensions from the recorded conversations, categorizing them based on different verb extensions. The researcher collected verbs from Kɪnilyamba speakers' conversations. These conversations were recorded using audio recorder and the note book was used to note down target verbs. Using elicitation and observation, 450 verbs were collected. Since the researcher is a native speaker, he utilized his introspective knowledge to observe speakers' use of verbs and note down the verbs. The interviews were conducted to some two ideal speakers to ascertain contractions regarding possible verb extension co-occurrences in Kɪnilyamba.

To supplement data from the aforementioned techniques, the researcher gathered data from available written texts found in the University of Dar es Salaam Library and the Kiomboi Lutheran Bible School library in Iramba District. At the University of Dar es Salaam Library, I acquired Guthrie's book (1948) on The Classification of the Bantu languages, where Kɪnilyamba was categorized in group F31. At the Kiomboi Lutheran Bible School Library, I was directed to consult with a pastor who provided me with a Nilyamba book authored by Anderson (1954) titled "Nilyamba Exercises" a Grammar of Kɪnilyamba. This study utilized documentary evidence to complement primary data, a method chosen for its efficacy in data collection. The researcher extracted 10 verbs from the Kɪnilyamba New Testament called 'Lyago ni Pia' and an additional 10 verbs from Kɪnilyamba Christian Hymns known as 'Mɪmbo ma Kɪkilisito.' Another set of 10 verbs was collected from a grammar book titled 'Nilyamba Exercises' and various other sources. Additionally, 10 verbs were sourced from a Kɪnilyamba-translated video depicting the life of

Jesus Christ from birth to ascension. From the gathered data, the researcher scrutinized verbs that displayed specific verb extensions. These identified verbs were then categorized based on their distinct verb extensions.

Results

In this section, we present the findings centered around the primary objective of this study. The main focus was to identify morphemes, referred to here as extension suffixes, and explore their semantics, specifically, the meaning they impart when attached to the verb base. Accordingly, the presentation of findings in the subsequent subsections concentrates on both the semantic nuances of verbs extended by a single extension suffix and the potential occurrences of co-occurring verb extensions in Kɩnilyamba.

Morpho-Semantics of Verbs with one Verb Extension Suffix

This subsection presents semantic nuances when verbs are attached with one extension suffix i.e. applicative *ɩl-/-el-*, reciprocal *-kɩ-*, causative *-i-/-si-*, stative *ɩk-/-ek-/-k-*, reversive *ʊl-/ol-*, passive *ʊ-/-gʊ-*, agentive *-an-*, positional *-am-*, and applicative *-ɩl-/-el-* as intensive.

Applicative Extension

In this section, we present the semantics of the applicative extension in Kɩnilyamba. Table 1 summarizes data for Kɩnilyamba applicative suffixes with conditions for each one to occur as well as their meaning attachment.

Table 1: Applicative Extensions *-ɩl-/-el-*

Verb	Meaning	Applicative	Meaning
kʊa	Beat	*kʊ-ɩl-a*	beat for/use something to beat
tambʊla	Say	*tambʊl-ɩl-a*	say for/use something to say (e.g. microphone)
pela	Stop	*pel-el-a*	stop for/use something to stop
sola	Take	*sol-el-a*	take for/use something to take
loa	Love	*lo-el-a*	love for/love because of something
lompa	Pray	*lomp-el-a*	pray for/use something to pray/pray because of something
seka	laugh	*sek-el-a*	laugh for/use something to laugh/laugh because of something
tʊma	Send	*tʊm-ɩl-a*	send for/use something to send/send because of something
lɩma	dig	*lɩm-ɩl-a*	dig for/use something to dig/dig because of something

As indicated in Table 1, Kɩnilyamba features two applicative suffixes, *ɩl-* and *-el-*. Notably, due to vowel harmony, the suffix *-el-* is employed with mid vowels [e] and [o], while the applicative *ɩl-* is applied in other instances with vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /u/, /ʊ/,

and /a/. These suffixes serve to derive the meaning of the verb base to which they are attached, encompassing semantic aspects such as performing an action for somebody (recipient), directing something toward somebody, and using something to accomplish an action (instrumental function). In addition to the mentioned semantic nuances of applicative suffixes, they introduce a shift in meaning that goes beyond the general sense associated with the applicative in Bantu languages, as outlined in Table 2.

Table 2: Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Applicative Extensions *ɪl-/el-*

Verb Base	Gloss	Applicative	Gloss
kind-a	shrive	*kind-ɪl-a*	eat a big lump, a big ball of food. Fill by pressing, compressing, ram in, force into
kul-a	pull, draw, drag	*kul-ɪl-a*	starting taking cows out of cowshed for pasture
kʊl-a	Grow	*kʊl-ɪl-a*	surprise, amaze
kin-a	pierce, stab, cause pain, singe	*kin-ɪl-a*	prod, stir up, provoke, incite
ka-a	arrive on time, be in time	*ka-ɪl-a*	alter, change
la-a	look at, view	*la-ɪl-a*	care for, look after, take care of something that it may not be lost or stolen
sig-a	think (of), ponder (of), consider, direct, envisage, excogitate, imagine	*sig-ɪl-a*	decide, intend, resolve, premeditate
kus-a	Hide	*kʊs-ɪl-a*	spray with fumes, vapour or incense. spray a place with fumes or vapour baths
pemb-a	blow anything	*pemb-el-a*	sow seeds
kɪl-a	Pass	*kɪl-ɪl-a*	to travel a lot
la-a	look (at), view	*la-ɪl-a*	wake up
kɪl-a	Pass	*kɪl-ɪl-a*	to travel a lot
lek-a	quit/stop doing something, recant, desist	*lek-el-a*	disregard, ignore, snub something until it gets spoilt
pel-a	cease, desist, stop, repent	*pel-el-i-a*	to be given some food, you eat but not satisfied/satiated
sons-a	Burn	*sons-el-a*	charge a mobile phone
gend-a	walk, move	*gend-el-a*	visit

	around, travel around		
tel-a	leave the place	*tel-el-a*	to be slippery, to be smooth
sol-a	Take	*sol-el-a*	pick up which are scattered in the ground
gog-a	strangle, hang, kill by hanging	*gog-el-a*	to feed a child/baby or patient by force because it does not like to eat

As Table 2 shows, applicative suffixes extend the meanings of the verbs and acquire completely different meanings that deviate from the basic ones. For example, the meaning of the word *kind-a* is 'thrive', after attaching the applicative *-ɪl-* to become *kind-ɪl-a* its meaning deviates to 'eat a big lump'. Therefore, *kind-ɪl-a* 'eat a big lump' is a derived meaning of the basic meaning *kind-a* 'thrive'.

Looking at the examples in Table 2 regarding derivational behavior of applicative suffixes in Kɪnilyamba, the Lexicalization Theory (LT) becomes very appropriate because the meaning as well becomes lexicalized. Since it is about lexicality, it can increase these lexicalities or lexemes from lexical status to more lexical status. In other words, it is advancive or increasive of lexemes from less lexicalities to more lexicality formant. Lexicalization can be applied to verb bases that allow applicative derivation or applicative lexicalization. Lexicalization Theory is used here with words such as *kanz-a* 'wash clothes' to *kanz-ɪl-a* 'destroy a lot, destroy seriously' which is an instance of advancement or increase of morpheme from lexical to acquire more lexical formant. *kanz-a* 'wash clothes' is lexical formant but *kanz-ɪl-a* 'destroy a lot, destroy seriously' is acquiring of more lexical formant. *kanz-ɪl-a* 'destroy a lot, destroy seriously' is more lexical compared to *kanz-a* 'wash clothes' through affixation of applicative lexical extension *-ɪl-*. This calls for application of lexicalization theory to show how applicative lexical extension *-ɪl-* caused lexicalization of a lexical formant *kanz-ɪl-a* 'destroy a lot, destroy seriously' out of lexical infinitive *kanz-a* 'wash clothes'. The applicative verb extension *-ɪl-* here has completely changed or altered the meaning or the semantics of the basic verb or previous verb from *kanz-a* which means 'wash clothes' to a completely new meaning *kanz-ɪl-a* which means 'destroy a lot, destroy seriously'. It means *kanz-ɪl-a* 'destroy a lot, destroy seriously' which is derived from *kanz-a* 'wash clothes' is a new lexeme which can be put as a separate entry in a dictionary. It means the applicative *-ɪl-* here created both lexical derivation and semantic derivation. The applicative *-ɪl-* has triggered a semantic shift from basic meaning to derived meaning.

Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Reciprocal Extension
In this section, we present the semantics of the reciprocal extension in Kɪnilyamba. Table 3 summarizes data for Kɪnilyamba reciprocal suffixes with conditions for each one to occur as well as their meaning attachment.

Table 3: Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Reciprocal -*kɪ*-

Verb Base	Gloss	Reciprocal	Gloss
longol-a	Go	*kʊ-kɪ-longol-a*	to complain that you are sick
lo-a	Love	*kʊ-kɪ-lo-a*	to be happy
lo-a	Love	*kʊ-kɪ-lo-el-i-a*	be overjoyed, be excessively joyful, to rejoice oneself
kus-a	Hide	*kʊ-kɪ-kusɪl-a*	treat somebody with fumes or vapour baths
pepel-a	to be quick in doing something,	*kʊ-kɪ-pepel-i-a*	to give birth
ku-tung-a	close, fasten, tie, bind (up)	*kʊ-kɪ-tungw-il-a*	to give birth
lug-a	Cook	*kʊ-kɪ-lugɪl-i-a*	to cook childlishly
lomp-a	beg for, ask for, petition, request, pray for	*kʊ-kɪ-lomp-el-i-a*	beg
lul-a	Taste	*kʊ-kɪ-lulɪl-i-a*	faint
tel-a	leave, depart, go away	*kʊ-kɪ-tyel-a*	to walk using buttocks
gog-a	strangle, hang, kill by hanging	*kʊ-kɪ-gog-el-i-a*	a woman to commit suicide with a baby in the stomach
ʊm-a	dry, wither, harden	*kʊ-kɪ-ʊmɪl-i-a*	persevere
sal-a	inherit, be mad	*kʊ-kɪ-salɪl-a*	to enherit mammon, farms, cow, etc
si-a	grind some corn	*kʊ-kɪ-si-a*	to play
ʊmb-a	loiter, wander	*kʊ-kɪ-ʊmbɪl-a*	to walk anywhere aimlessly
gend-a	walk, move around, travel around	*kʊ-kɪ-gend-el-a*	loiter, wander
suunt-a	move an object to some area	*kʊ-kɪ-sunt-i-a*	swing, rock, oscillate
nunk-a	to give a bad smell,	*kʊ-kɪ-nunkɪl-i-a*	to treat oneself with fumes or vapour baths
gon-a	Sleep	*kʊ-kɪ-gon-a*	to have sexual intercourse, to have sexual affairs
golol-a	stretch something	*kʊ-kɪ-golol-i-a*	to have sexual intercourse, to have sexual affairs
kʊ-a	Beat	*kʊ-kɪ-kʊ-a*	beat each other
tambʊl-a	speak	*kʊ-kɪ-tambʊl-a*	speak about each other
lo-a	Love	*kʊ-kɪ-lo-a*	love each other
lomp-a	Beg	*kʊ-kɪ-lomp-a*	beg each other

Kınilyamba lost reciprocal verb extension *-an-*. Therefore, contrary to the common reciprocal suffix *-an-* across many Bantu languages, Kınilyamba reciprocal derivation is made by the prefix *-kı-* accompanied by the infinitive *ku-* attached before it. As Table 3 indicates, reciprocal *-kı-* extends meaning of the verb to which is attached and denote what Rugemalira (1993) points out that someone should do for others what someone likes others to do for him/her, as presented by examples in the last fourth row. However, other examples in the table illustrate how the reciprocal suffixes change meaning completely beyond the reciprocal sense. Another language that has lost reciprocal *-an-* and uses prefixes as reciprocal extensions is Kırımi (Kinyaturu) spoken in Singida Region (see Iraghano Neifya, 2008; Ikuryo na Membo, n.d). Kırımi (Kinyaturu) has two prefixal reciprocal extensions *-kı- and -gi-* depending on dialectical variations. Wanyaturu (Nyaturu speakers) called Wahi who are found in Singida North use reciprocal *-gi-* while Wanyaturu called Wairwana who are found in Singida South use reciprocal *-kı-*. However, in a few words or in a few instances, Wanyaturu called Wairwana use reciprocal *-gi-* just as how Wanyaturu called Wahi do. But, nevertheless, I insist that this happens in a few words, otherwise reciprocal for Wairwana is *-kı-*. Similarly, Kisukuma has lost reciprocal suffix *-an-*, it has replaced it with prefix *-i-* as reciprocal extension (Faustine, 2020).

Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Causative Extension

In this section, we present the semantics of the causative extension in Kınilyamba. Table 4 summarizes data for Kınilyamba causative suffixes with conditions for each one to occur as well as their meaning attachment.

Table 4: Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Causative Extensions *-i-/-si-*

Verb Base	Gloss	Causative	Gloss
golol-a	straighten, stretch, align	*golol-i-a*	fornicate, commit adultery
pal-a	scrape	*pal-i-a*	struggle to save yourself
top-a	an action of rubbish entering eyes and causing pains	*top-i-a*	to plant seeds very closely
king-a	lie, deceive, cheat, delude, beguile, dupe, falsify, spoof	*kong-i-a*	put little by little, for example salt in vegetables
amb-a	hold, catch	*amb-i-a*	show, show off, put on airs, boast.
samb-a	to kick	*samb-i-a*	a woman to reject having sexual intercourse with a husband
pul-a	snatch, rob	*pul-i-a*	
sing-a	wash, scrub, rub, scour, clean by rubbing at the back	*sing-i-a*	force, oblige, compel, constrain, exact, impel, necessitate

apat-a	carry the baby at the back	*apat-i-a*	feel, touch gently, stroke
suup-a	breathe, gasp, pant for breath	*suup-i-a*	rest, get relief
sʋʋmb-a	jump (not for sake of escaping an obstacle) eg jump from top of tree downwards	*sʋʋmb-i-a*	save something eg money little by little
puut-a	jump to escape/to cross over an obstacle or danger	*puut-i-a*	boil milk
pepel-a	to be easy and fast to do things	*pepel-i-a*	simplify
kɪl-a	Pass	*kɪl-i-si-a*	make someone/some people successful, achieve something, pass examination
kul-a	pull, draw, drag	*kul-i-a*	provoke
kʋl-a	Grow	*kʋl-i-a*	glorify, be revered, be exalted
tung-a	fasten, tie, bind (up)	*tung-i-a*	slander, insi-nuate, calumniate
gal-a	be drunk	*gal-i-a*	provoke somebody, tease somebody, get somebody riled up
sʋʋk-a	eat some type of food every day to the point of not wanting it any more.	*sʋʋk-i-a*	say goodbye because of staying for a long time and you are tired of being there
seketel-a	sink in the land, soil	*seketel-i-a*	rest
zɪɪp-a	be repaired, be renovated, be recovered	*zɪɪp-i-a*	bewitch
tung-a	fasten, tie, bind (up). imprison, intern.	*tung-i-a*	slander, insinuate, calumniate
ug-a	Say	*ug-i-a*	great, give regard to somebody
suk-a	take by force, snatch, rob	*suk-i-a*	shake cow's milk in the calabash/gourd that it may give ghee
puut-a	jump to escape/to cross over an obstacle or danger	*put-i-a*	boil milk
kap-a	swindle by giving short measure or less than what is expected	*kap-i-a*	get hungry
pi-a	be burn, be mature, be ripen	*pi-si-a*	ripen, be ripe, mature, be cooked. start giving birth, start getting children.
a-a	pick, pluck, gather	*a-si-a*	burn, roast, toast maize, meat,

	vegitables or relish from a tree or vegitable plants		etc.
ʊl-a	finish, end, come to end, terminate, cease, expire, perish	*ʊl-i-a*	miss, not finding something
tʊʊl-a	take the luggage down the head	*tʊʊl-i-a*	keep quiet

As illustrated in Table 4, Kɪnilyamba exhibits two causative suffixes, namely *-si-* and the short causative *-i-*. The short causative *-i-* has been observed to diminish across Bantu languages, leading to consonant mutation and gliding in the process (refer to Rugemalira 2005; Robinson 2016). Notably, in Kɪnilyamba, the short causative *-i-* does not induce consonant mutation or gliding, deviating from phonological processes commonly found in some Bantu languages. In terms of semantic nuances, the causative suffixes in Kɪnilyamba convey the sense of 'causing somebody/something to do something' and can also bring about a complete change in the meaning of the verb from its basic form. Consequently, the causative *-i-/-si-* is considered derivational, as it plays a key role in deriving a new and distinct meaning.

Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Stative Extension
In this section, we present the semantics of the stative extension in Kɪnilyamba. Table 5 summarizes data for Kɪnilyamba stative suffixes with conditions for each one to occur as well as their meaning attachment.

Table 5: Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Stative Extensions *ɪk-/-k-*

Verb Base	Meaning	Stative	Meaning
lulumbɪl-i-a	to fill or to make something full, example, a sack or a tin that the content overflows. to fill something excessively	*lulumbɪk-a*	to be a sign that it is about to rain.
sʊnsʊmɪl-a	to fill or to make something full, example, a sack or a tin that the content overflows. to fill something. excessively	*sʊnsʊmɪk-a*	to hide something in under the soil, under the bed, in grasses, etc for some intentions
pusʊ-l-a	dig out something in	*pusʊ-k-a*	dash, bolt

the inside of the ground		

As Table 5 depicts, Kınilyamba has three stative suffixes, *-ik-, -ek-* and *-k-* which harmonize depending on the vowel of the verb base. Causatives *ık-/-ek-/-k-* can also trigger semantic shift in words to which it is attached. As indicated in table 5, the basic verb *lulumbɪl-i-a* 'to fill or to make something full' has shifted its meaning to *lulumbɪk-a* 'to be a sign that it is about to rain' after the attachment of the stative suffix *ɪk-*. Therefore, the stative suffix or verb extension *ɪk-* is derivational both morphologically and semantically.

Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Reversive Extension

In this section, we present the semantics of the reversive extension in Kınilyamba. Table 6 summarizes data for Kınilyamba reversive suffixes with conditions for each one to occur as well as their meaning attachment.

Table 6: Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Reversive Extensions *ʊl-/-ol-*

Verb Base	Meaning	Reversive	Meaning
lɪng-a	understand, know, comprehend	*lɪng-ʊl-a*	inspect, survey, examine a farm in order to see/know its security/safety as to whether thieves have stolen or animals have destroyed.
pis-a	hide (from), conceal, choke, bury, disguise	*pis-ʊl-a*	dig up, excavate, disinter
sʊg-a	hate, detest abhor	*sʊg-ʊl-a*	make clever/shrewd
kuya-a	pick, pluck, gather vegetables	*kuya-ʊl-a*	yawn
ʊl-a	get finished	*ʊl-ʊl-a*	chew, nibble, gnaw fresh potatoes or fresh cassavas
lend-a	to go	*lend-ʊl-a*	cut up, split logs into pieces for firewood
sol-a	Take	*sos-ol-a*	castrate, geld
gond-a	fold/bend a nail	*gond-ol-a*	draw out, take out, snatch away, pull out nails after straightening, aligning it
som-a	pierce at	*som-ol-a*	to be given something by somebody then s/he starts reproaching, sneering, jeering at you

As Table 6 above depicts, Kınilyamba reversive extension is morphologically made by suffixes **-ʊl-/-ol-.** These suffixes derive a new meaning when they are attached to the basic verb or when attached to the verb with the primary meaning. For

instance, the verb *lɪŋg-ʋl-a* 'inspect or survey', its meaning has been derived by *ʋl-* after being attached to the verb *lɪŋg-a* 'understand'.

Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Passive Extension

In this section, we present the semantics of the passive extension in Kɪnilyamba. Table 7 summarizes data for Kɪnilyamba passive suffix with conditions for each one to occur as well as their meaning attachment.

Table 7: Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Passive Extensions *ʋ-/-gʋ-*

Verb Base	Meaning	Passive	Meaning
pɪt-a	to shine like stars. to blink.	*pɪt-ʋ-a*	get sharp pain, cramp
lamʋl-a	decide, judge, resolve	*lamʋl-ʋ-a*	be judged, be sentenced, get judgement, be adjudicated, be adjudged, be decided
kol-a	Of the fire to be burning well, blaze, burn tightly, fame. Salt or sugar to be sufficient and tasteful in food.	*kol-ʋ-a*	to feel hungry
nankɪl-a	climb	*nankɪl-ʋ-a*	be made pregnant
un-a	break, damage	*un-ʋ-a*	be heavily ladened. be heavily burdened.
pilim-a	go around, surround, revolve	*pilim-ʋ-a*	be robbed, be conned
taas-a	to give somebody anything	*taas-ʋ-a*	a small piece of meat to be cut and be given to you or to somebody else
ii-a	*steal*	*ii-gʋ-a*	be stolen
lɪ-a	eat	*lɪ-gʋ-a*	be eaten
si-a	grind	*si-gʋ-a*	be ground
ti-a	cut	*ti-gʋ-a*	be cut
lu-a	mix, mingle	*lu-gʋ-a*	be mixed, be mingled
mʋ-a	shave	*mʋ-gʋ-a*	be shaved
apati-a	feel, touch gently, stroke	*apati-gʋ-a*	be felt, be touched gently, be stroked

As Table 7 depicts, Kɪnilyamba passive extension is morphologically made by suffixes *ʋ-* or *-gʋ-*. Regarding semantics, the passive suffixes derive new sense from the basic meaning of the verb to which they are attached. For instance, the word

pʊt-a 'to shine like stars, to blink' has changed its meaning to become *pʊtʋ-a* 'to get sharp pain, cramp' after extending the verb root with the passive verb extension *-ʋ-* .Therefore, the formative *pʊtʋ-a* 'to get sharp pain, cramp' is a derivative morphologically and semantically.

Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Verb Extension Co-occurrence
The findings indicate that two or three or four verb extension suffixes can co-occur in a single verb. In this view, some verbs, their meanings are derived by two verb extensions. These verbs completely acquire new meanings after attachment of two verb extensions. Kınilyamba verbs allow co-occurrence between applicative *-ɩl-/-el-* and causative *-i-*, as presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Verb Extension Co-occurrence of Applicative
        and Causative Suffixes *-ɩl-/-el-* and *-i-*

Verb	Meaning	Appl+Causative	Meaning
eg-a	take a bite, bite off a piece, break off a piece	*eg-el-i-a*	put something somewhere temporarily so that you can remove or take it later
kin-a	pierce, stab, cause pain, singe	*kin-ɩl-i-a*	slam the door, bang the door, close the door.
sim-ɩk-a	make/prepare alcohol	*sim-ɩl-i-a*	lower, discharge, let off something down strongly/with heavy downfall
kenent-a	hack, cut something roughly into pieces	*kenent-el-i-a*	laugh a lot
pemb-a	blow anything	*pemb-el-i-a*	lie, deceive, cheat, delude, beguile, dupe, falsify, spoof
limans-ɩl-a	lose popularity	*limans-ɩl-i-a*	clean up roughly using a leg or a hand so that it cannot be seen.
shok-a	return, reverse	*shok-el-i-a*	Answer, respond, reply, react to. Or Abuse a person because s/he has abused you. Or Insult back a person because s/he has insulted you.
okos-a	to lengthen the rope	*okos-el-i-a*	To pick up things left, things remained or left overs. Or To pick up things which are not even there, but you are struggling to pick up nothing.
dag-a	return/bring back	*dag-ɩl-i-a*	hunt an animal

	livestock such as cows, goats, sheep, and donkays that they should not go/run far way		
legi-a	remove, take way	*leg-el-i-a*	take by force, snatch, rob
lʊmb-a	give thanks	*lʊmbɪl-i-a*	rejoice, cheer, acclaim, feel extremely happy, be joyful and happy, be cheerful, be overjoyed over something, bask
onon-a	damage, ruin, ravage, impair, destroy, spoil	*onon-el-i-a*	annul, adeem, disappoint, overrule, abrogate, nullify, revoke
tyʊp-a	boil, bubble up, be heated up	*tyʊpɪl-i-a*	comfort, console
sʊʊmb-a	jump (not for sake of escaping an obstacle) eg jump from top of tree downwards	*sʊʊmbɪl-i-a*	collect little by little
tont-a	get tired	*tont-el-i-a*	soften, smooth
lʊk-a	Vomit	*lʊkɪl-i-a*	become (full of), jampack, be overfilled
ʊm-a	dry, wither, harden	*ʊmɪl-i-a*	to endure something difficult without surrendering or giving up, to persevere
lo-a	love	*lo-el-i-a*	Make lovable, make attractive. Thrill, excite, and stir up the passions. Gladden, exhilarate, revive the spirits, cheer up, stimulate
suup-a	breathe, gasp, pant for breath	*suupɪl-i-a*	to rest a bit in a particular place then to start moving again or starting going away
lul-a	Taste	*kʊ-kɪ-lulɪl-i-a*	faint, lose
siit-a	refuse, decline, disagree, disavow, reject, deny, denounce	*siitɪl-i-a*	hold firmly, cling
ɪɪk-a	Put	*ɪɪkɪl-i-a*	invest
sʊʊmb-	jump (not for sake	*sʊmb-ɪɪl-i-a*	save little by litttle

a	of escaping an obstacle) eg jump from top of tree downwards		
iitɪk-a	be scattered, pour out, be spilled	*iitɪkɪl-i-a*	overflow, flood, jam-pack

As Table 8 depicts, morphologically, Kɪnilyamba verbs allow co-occurrence between applicative suffix and the short causative. Regarding semantics, the meaning of the verb with applicative and causative denote more extension of meaning than when it has only one extension.

Also, Kɪnilyamba verbs allow the co-occurrence of applicative and passive suffix, *ɪl-/-el-* and *ʊ-* respectively within a single verb, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Verb Extension Co-occurrence of Applicative and Passive Suffixes *ɪl-/-el-* and *-ʊ-*

Verb	Meaning	Applicative+ Passive	Meaning
taag-a	throw, throw away	*taagɪl-ʊ-a*	to be filled with liquid such as water
ku-y-el-a	passing the night	*ku-y-el-el-ʊ-a*	to steal in darkness and when you want to go out you find it is sun rise
kenk-a	carry, convey, bear	*kenk-el-ʊ-a*	to have something of you been stolen
sʊʊk-a	eat some type of food everyday to the point of not wanting it any more. miss, fail to have, lack the interest or appetite of something.	*sʊʊkɪl-ʊ-a*	hate, detest, abhor, be hated
siimb-a	dig, excavate bore	*siimbɪl-ʊ-a*	be buried
gog-a	strangle, hang	*gog-el-ʊ-a*	to be opened the mouth in order to swallow tablets or porridge because you are sick

kol-a	Of the fire to be burning well, blaze, burn tightly, fame. Salt or sugar to be sufficient and tasteful in food.	*kol-el-ʋ-a*	be sympathized, be pitied, be compassioned

As Table 9 indicates, meanings can be derived by the co-occurrence of applicative and passive suffixes. The sequential occurrence of these two verb extensions trigger or cause a semantic change of the previous verb or cause a semantic shift of the verb which previously had a basic meaning and hence acquire a new meaning. For instance, the verb *taag-a* 'throw away' which has a basic meaning, acquires a derived meaning after attachment of the sequence of applicative and passive verb extensions and becomes a derivative *taag-ɪl-ʋ-a* 'to be filled with liquid such as water or to be filled with other things such as sand'. Applicatives *ɪl-* and *-el-* cannot follow passive verb extension *-gʋ-* because of phonological constraints. *ɪl-* and *-el-* end with consonant sounds. *-gʋ-* starts with consonant sound. Sequences *ɪl-gʋ-* and *-el-gʋ-* are disallowed in Kinilyamba due to phonological constraints, that means two consonants cannot co-occur.

Finally, Kɪnilyamba verbs allow the co-occurrence of reversive *ʋl-/-ol-* and causative *-ɪ-* as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Morpho-Semantic Nuances of Verb Extension Co-occurrence of Reversive
        and Causative Suffixes *ʋl-/-ol-* and *i-*

Verb	Meaning	Reversive+ Causative	Meaning
puk-a	to search for something in the house by disarranging or disrupting other things	*puk-ʋl-i-a*	an action of rats spoiling/destroying things
sang-a	contribute, collect	*sang-ʋl-i-a*	to collect taxes/revenues
sɪmb-a	dig in something into the ground,	*sɪmb-ʋl-i-a*	cause to dig something out of the ground
j-ʋl-a	excavate	*j-ʋl-i-a*	cause to put off, cause to unwear
pɪl-ʋl-a	put off, unwear	*pɪl-ʋl-i-a*	
tand-ʋl-a	turn something into a different direction	*tand-ʋl-i-a*	cause to turn something into a different direction
sons-a	tear, split	*sons-ol-i-a*	cause to tear, cause to split
sop-ol-a	burn	*sop-ol-i-a*	cause to remove firewood from cooking stones
sond-ol-a	scoop from	*sond-ol-i-a*	cause to scoop from

make an equipment slanting			cause to make an equipment slanting

As Table 10 indicates, a sequence of reversive and causative verb extensions triggers semantic alteration in words. The conversion of new meaning from basic meaning in words is acquired after sequencial affixation of reversive and causative verb extensions *ʋl-i-*. These two verb extensions, therefore, alter the basic meaning of verbs to derived meaning. For instance, the word *puk-a* 'to search for something in the house by disarranging or disrupting other things' becomes *puk-ʋl-i-a* 'an action of rats spoiling/destroying things' which is a derived meaning after suffixation of *-ʋl-i-* sequence of verb extensions.

Moreover, Kınilyamba verbs allow a sequence of three extension suffixes with limited productivity. The findings show that the reversive *-ol-*, applicative *-ıl-/-el-*, and passive *-ʋ-/-gʋ-* can co-occur in a single verb. Similarly, the sequence of agentive *-an-*, reversive *-ʋ-*, and stative *-k-* and/or applicative *-ıl-/-el-*, causative *-i-/-si-*, and passive *-ʋ-/-gʋ-* is possible in Kınilyamba. We also noted the possibility of four verb extension suffixes to co-occur in Kınilyamba. For instance, verb *pilim-a* 'go around, surround, revolve' becomes *pilim-ık-ıl-i-gʋ-a* 'be hemed in, be entwined,' acquiring four suffixes, namely stative *-ık-*, applicative *-ıl-*, causative *-i-*, and passive *-gʋ-* and acquiring new meaning from basic meaning *pilim-a* 'go around, surround' to derived meaning *pilim-ık-ıl-i-gʋ-a* 'be hemed in, be entwined.'

Generally, the theory of lexicalization fits into the description of verb extension co-occurrence, as the extension suffixes increase lexemes from the original lexical status. Also, the meaning becomes lexicalized in that it becomes quite different from the original meaning of the word. For instance, the verb *'kenent-a'* (meaning 'hack, cut something roughly into pieces') transforms into *'kenent-el-i-a'* (meaning 'laugh a lot'), which is an instance of advancement or an increase of morphemes from a lexical to an acquired more lexical formant. *'kenent-a'* is a lexical formant, but *'kenent-el-i-a'* is the acquisition of more lexical formant. *'kenent-el-i-a'* is more lexical compared to *'kenent-a'* through the affixation of the applicative verb extension '-ıl-' and causative verb extension '-i-'. This calls for the application of the lexicalization theory to demonstrate how a sequence of applicative and causative lexical extensions *'-el-i-'* caused lexicalization of a lexical formant, turning '*kenent-el-i-a'* (meaning 'laugh a lot') into a distinct lexeme, warranting a separate entry in a dictionary. The applicative verb extensions *'-el-i-'* have completely changed or altered the meaning or the semantics of the basic verb or the previous verb, *'kenent-a,'* which means 'hack, cut something roughly into pieces,' to a completely new meaning, *'kenent-el-i-a,'* which means 'laugh a lot.' This means that *'kenent-el-i-a,'* derived from *'kenent-a,'* is a new lexeme that can be listed as a separate entry in a dictionary. The sequence of these two verb extensions, applicative and causative *'-el-i-'* has created both lexical derivation and semantic derivation, triggering a semantic shift from basic meaning to derived meaning.

Furthermore, the evolution of the morpheme *"mank-a"* meaning 'run' to *"mank-ɪl-a"* denoting 'run at' or 'run for' exemplifies the increase of morphemes from a lexical to a more lexical formant. Similarly, the transition of the morpheme *"ɪm-a"* meaning 'stay' to *"ɪm-ɪk-a"* indicating 'stop/stand up' signifies an elevation of the morpheme from a lexical to a more lexical formant. Another illustration is the transformation of the morpheme *"mank-a"* ('run') to *"mank-ang-a"* ('run fast'), serving as an example of the augmentation of morphemes from lexical to more lexical formant. Additionally, the progression of the morpheme *"kʊ-a"* ('beat') to *"kʊ-an-a"* ('have a tendency of beating people') is a manifestation of the increase of morphemes from lexical to more lexical formant. Further advancement is seen in the transition from *"mank-a"* ('run') to *"mank-i-ki-a"* ('run intensively, run using all your efforts'), representing an increase in morphemes from lexical to more lexical formant. To elaborate further, the evolution of the morpheme *"mank-a"* ('run') to *"mank-an-i-a"* ('run together with him/her') is another instance of the increase of morphemes from lexical to more lexical formant.

Advancing of morpheme from lexical to more lexical formant can cause semantic shift of words as in *sons-a* 'burn' to *sons-el-a* 'charge a mobile phone' to *sons-ol-a* 'remove burning firewood from cooking stones'. Advancing of morphemes can cause semantic shift of words as in *tung-a* 'fasten, tie, bind (up)' to *tung-ɪl-a* 'wait'. Advancing of morphemes can cause semantic shift of words as in *sʊ-a* 'scratch' to *sʊ-ɪl-a* 'believe'. Advancing of morphemes can cause semantic shift of words as in *ti-ang-a* 'to cut into several pieces quickly' to *ku-kɪ-ti-ang-ɪl-a* 'to be confused (in one's speech), stutter without having speech impairment problem'. Advancing of morphemes can cause semantic shift of words as in *lek-a* 'quit/stop doing something' to *lek-el-a* 'disregard, ignore'. Advancing of morphemes can cause semantic shift of words as in *gog-a* 'strangle, hang, kill by hanging' to *gog-el-a* 'to feed a child/baby or patient by force because it does not like to eat'. Advancing of morphemes can cause semantic shift of words as in *longol-a* 'go' to *kʊ-kɪ-longol-a* 'to complain that you are sick'. Advancing of morphemes can cause semantic shift of words as in *lo-a* 'love' to *kʊ-kɪ-lo-el-i-a* 'be overjoyed, be excessively joyful'. Advancing of morphemes can cause semantic shift of words as in *lul-a* 'taste' to *kʊ-kɪ-lul-ɪl-i-a* 'to faint'. Advancing of morphemes can also cause semantic shift of words as in *sʊnsʊm-ɪl-a* 'to fill or make something full' to *sʊnsʊm-ɪk-a* 'to hide something in under the soil'.

Conclusion

This paper has presented the morpho-semantic nuances of Kɪnilyamba verb extensions. In general, we observed that both productive and unproductive verb extensions in Kɪnilyamba can trigger semantic shifts or enhance semantic productivity. Kɪnilyamba exhibits richness in the semantic productivity of verb extensions. Whether productive or unproductive, when attached to the verb root, verb extensions induce a semantic shift or generate a new meaning distinct from the root or basic meaning. They not only alter the basic meaning but also give rise

to a new word or lexeme, worthy of inclusion as a separate entry in a dictionary. Also, the paper highlighted that the sequence of attached verb extensions can include different types or involve reduplications of the same verb extension. Such combinations contribute to the creation of distinct meanings for words. The discussion demonstrated that semantic shifts can result from the attachment of a single verb extension, a sequence of two, three, or even four verb extensions.

The semantic shift of these verbs not only resulted from the attachment of verb extensions but also led to the acquisition of new lexical status or meanings. Lexicalization Theory (LT) played a crucial role in addressing the acquisition of new lexical meanings, as it deals specifically with the lexicality of words through lexical affixes, facilitating the advancement of words from a lexical status to a more lexical status or more lexical formant.

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