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## The Swot of Valency Increasing and Decreasing Augments in South Pare Language: A Morph-Syntactic Analysis

Chipanda Simon

Department of Languages & Literature, Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy, The United Republic of Tanzania.

Correspondence: [drchipandasimon@gmail.com](mailto:drchipandasimon@gmail.com)

### Abstract

The paper sets out the valency changes in the South Pare dialect spoken in Mwamba Vunta and Chome Suji divisions of the same district, following the fact that the language is understudied on the topic under discussion. Two theories were used for data analysis, namely: Item - and - Arrangement theory and Theta ( $\Theta$ -role) theory. The former assumes that morphological forms <morphemes> are linearly arranged and that when attached to the verbs, they change the semantics of the word apart from the original and the latter shows the function and the roles of the noun phrase in a given syntactic structure, as in external & internal theta. In arriving at answers, an unstructured interview was used by bilingual South Pare native speakers aged 46 and 50 respectively. One of the two is a trilingual speaker as he speaks English, Kigweno and Kiswahili languages, the rest is a bilingual speaker of Kigweno and Kiswahili. The Leipzig Glossing Rule was used for data analysis. It was found that applicative morphs in Kipare are: -i- and -ir-, causative morphs: -sh-, -ish-, -esh- and -iz-, passive morphs: -w- and -iw-, stative: -ik- and -an-reciprocal in Kipare. It was also observed that: i- and -ir-, -sh-, -ish-, -esh- and -iz- are valency increasing and -w-, -iw-, -ik- and -an-reciprocal are valency decreasing augments in Pare language. It is recommended that Pare language has other areas which need investigation: inersive, repetitive and idiophonic, as well as affixed ordering of verb extensions. These need to be investigated to see their characteristics pertinent to valency changes.

**Keywords:** Valency; Chasu; Augment; Verb extension

### 1. Introduction

Most indigenous Tanzanian languages have been understudied and not much has been documented in or about them. While this is true, many scholars have investigated Bantu Verb Extensions but not yet in Tanzanian indigenous languages, including the South Pare dialect, a Bantu language spoken in Moshi rural district in Mwamba Vunta & Chome Suji divisions. Nurse and Philippson (1980) classified Pare in group E unit 65, of which Gweno also belongs according to them. Specifically, the South Pare dialect has been studied in its verbal morphology in passing, e.g., reversive -u- applicative, -i-, stative -ik-, passive -w-, and causative -sh (Philippson, 1980, p.14-17). These radical verbal morphs have just been mentioned in his document; thus, the current study fulfills this gap by analyzing argument structure being carried by postradical verbal roots. Since the South Pare dialect spoken in Mwamba Vunta & Chome Suji divisions is not written on valency changes according to the best of my knowledge, the review of literature shows how far other related languages have been studied, as it triggers a gap in the South Pare dialect spoken at Mwamba Vunta & Chome Suji divisions of which is the desire for the current investigation<sup>1</sup>.

The Southern Pare language, henceforth (SK), has not been documented in valency changes pertinent to Grammatical Function Changing Rules according to the best of my knowledge. Such opaqueness in valency changes is problematic to scholars for whether it is the ignorance of scholars or the language has no ability of either decreasing or increasing arguments. Thus, incomplete knowledge or flawed understanding is one of the problems where solving it does not need changing the world but understanding it better (Booth, *et al*/2003).

However, following the fact that Chasu has not been studied on the topic under discussion, my review of literature would bas much on other related literatures: Kula (2002) outlined on verb extension in Bemba language. She identified morphemes of causative, {sh, ish, y}, applicative {il}, separative {ul} and reciprocal {an, any} p. 109-113. Along with other things, Kula's study emphasized verb derivational phonology for the appearance of postradical morphemes of the verbs. The current paper analyzes the valency change in the Pare language, a Bantu language spoken in the Moshi region of Tanzania, by using Item-and-Arrangement Theory and Theta theory.

<sup>1</sup>This paper uses the following abbreviations: APPL= Applicative, CAUS= Causative, STAT= Stative, REC= Reciprocal, PASS= Passive, INF= Infinitive, SP=Suffix Prefix agreement, OM=Object Marker, TM=Tense Marker, FV =Final Vowel, PAST= Past tense, 3s =Third

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Person pronoun, P = Page, SM = SAUBJECT Marker, IA= Item-and-Arrangement Theory,  $\Theta$  =Theta, BV = Basic Verb, EXT = Extension.

Maganga and Schadeberg (1992) outlined verb extension in the Jidakama dialect of Kisukuma. They presented six verb extensions, including productive and non-productive verbal morphs. Productive morphs include the passive morph {w}, the applicative morph {-il} and causative morph {y}, {ch}, {j} and {ish} and nonproductive morphs include the reversive morpheme {ul}, reciprocal morphs {an} and stative morph {ik}. Maganga and Schadeberg (1992) did not use any theory in their presentations on productive and unproductive verb extensions, but the current study will use Item-and-Arrangement Theory and Theta theory in accounting for the valency changes in Pare language. This will provide explanatory adequate compared to Maganga and Schadeberg (1992).

Chipalo (2013) researched verb extensions in the Chigogo language of Tanzania. The study reveals that there are five morphs in Chigogo verbal extension. The morphs include applicative {il}, causative {i}, {i}, stative {ik}, passive {w}, {igu}, and reciprocal {an}. Chipalo argues that some morphs are valence increasing while others are valence decreasing. The increasing morphs add new arguments. Examples of valence increasing morphs are applicative and causative. On the contrary, valence decreasing morphs reduce arguments. Examples of valency decreasing morphs are passive, stative and reciprocal. Within the same line of thinking, the current study would benefit from the knowledge of valency increasing or decreasing in Chigogo, since valency change is likely to be valency decreasing or decreasing. Additionally, the current study uses LMT as a tool of analysis to see how valency changes are mapped into semantic or thematic roles and grammatical functions in the predicate structure.

Kahigi (2008) researched Kikahe language, a Bantu language spoken in Moshi rural district in Kahe area. He outlined by passing six Kikahe verb derivations, being them: applicative: {i}, causative: {ish} and {s}, stative: {ik} and {k}, passive: {w} and {iw}, reciprocal: {an} as well as reversive {u}. Kahigi observed the ordering of applicative and reciprocal e.g., temiana 'cut eo', causative and reciprocal e.g., demishana 'cause to cultivate eo', causative and passive e.g., demishwa 'be made to change'. Kahigi's outline on Kikahe verb derivation did not use a theory in explaining verb derivation in the Mwamba Vunta & Chome Suji divisions of South Pare language, and also did not say anymore on the argument structure of the theta role. However, the current study on the South Pare dialect of Pare language uses  $\Theta$ -theory and Arrangement theory for explaining valency structures in the dialect under discussion.

Lothi (2002) reported eleven verbal extensions in Nyamwezi and Kiswahili, namely; subtractive, e.g., reduplication, static morph *ma, mana*, contactive morph *-ta-*, conversive morph {ul}, causative morph {y}, {ch}, {j}, applicative morph {il}, stative morph *-ik-*, *-ka-*, passive morph *-w-* and reciprocal morph *-an-* augmentative morph {u}, {-l}, {ug} and inceptive extension (e.g. *-pa-* in Kiswahili and *-ha-*, in Kinyamwezi. The study of Lothi did not account for productive and nonproductive extensions of which the current study desires under Item-and-Arrangement Theory and Theta theory.

Verb extensions have also been researched in Runyankole language; a language spoken in south eastern Uganda (Caroline, 2011). Caroline described five verb extensions, namely applicative morphs {ir}, causative morphs {is}, {sy}, reciprocal morphs {an} and {angan}, stative morphs {ik} and passive morphs {w}, and {bw}. Caroline's study would be useful for the current study because the five extensions will be discussed, though using a different theory.

Chipanda (2020) researched the causative and applicative in échizinja language of Tanzania, he identified that Échizinja has purely two causative morphs: *-ch-* and *-y-* as well as two

applicative morphs: {il} and {ir}, the other causative morphs work also like applicative morphs and the vice versa as it is identified in the Table 1 below.

**Table 1:** Causative-applicative allomorphs

Pure: CAUS (ative)	Pure: APPL (ative)	Either: CAUS (ative)/ APPL (ative)
/-ch- /-y- /	/-il- /-el- /-ir- /-er- /	-z- /-iz- /-iz- /-ez- /-is- /-es- /

Source: Chipanda (2020).

The peculiarity we observe is that causatives sometimes act as applicative and applicatives sometimes work as causatives. This shows that Bantu languages have different behaviors, each pertinent to verb elasticity, which attracts in making research. Moreover, Simon concentrated on causative and applicative in échizinja without accounting valences of the predicate. The current study goes beyond by showing valency changes in Causative-Applicative-Reciprocal and Passive henceforth (CARP). Again, Simon used the Mirror principle in his analysis but the current study uses Item-and-Arrangement Theory and Theta theory, which would house different explanations.

Hyman (2002) investigated affix ordering in verb extensions in Bantu languages. According to him, suffix ordering is driven by a Pan-Bantu default template known as causative, applicative, reciprocal and passive (henceforth, CARP). Hyman (2002) concluded that, affix ordering in Bantu languages is guided by this template. Therefore, the current study wishes to see if and only if Mwamba Vunta & Chome Suji divisions of South Pare language's valency change adheres to Hyman's principle of affix ordering in Bantu languages.

Chabata, (2007), investigated on the syntax and semantics of Nambya Verb Extension, a Bantu language spoken in Zimbabwe. He identified the following post radical morphemes of verb extension namely: applicative {il} and {el}, causative {is}, {es}, {ij} and {ej}, passive {w}, {iw}, {ew} and {uw} e.g., *pa* 'give' and *puwa* 'be give', stative {ik} and {ek}, reciprocal {an}. See more in. Chabata used Lexical Mapping Theory and Cognitive Grammar Theory as tools of analysis of Nambya verb extensions. Chabata's study will be very useful to the current study of Mwamba Vunta & Chome Suji divisions of South Pare valency change since the study expects to use Item-and-Arrangement Theory and Theta theory for mapping Kigweno verb extensions' valences.

Muhdhar (2006) researched on five verb extensions in Kemunakiya, another dialect of Kisukuma. He identified the following: Applicative morph {il}, {el}, Causative morph *-{ij}* {ej}, {ish}, {ish}, Reciprocal morph {i}, Passive morph {w}, {-w}, {ng'w}, {nv} and Reduplicative. Muhdhar's analysis is questionable in pertinent to reduplication being it regarded as part and parcel of verb extensions; the current study intends to see if what is present is other Bantu language like this would reflect with what is present in Mwamba Vunta & Chome Suji divisions of South Pare dialect of Pare language. Also, the second issue for the current study goes beyond by looking valency changes in Gweno language.

Cocchi, (2008) investigated deeply on Tshuluba Verb Extensions, a Bantu language spoken in Democratic Republic of Congo hence forth (DRC). She studied 10 verb extension including: applicative, {il}, {el}, {in} and {en}, causative: {ish}, {esh} and {ij}, reciprocal: {angan}, passive: {ibu} and {ebu}, stative: {am}, reversive: {ul}, {ol} and {un}, contactive: {at}, extensive/intensive: {akan}, repetitive: {ulul}, as well as Neutral passive: {ek} and {ik}. Cocchi looked at argument structure in the line of valence decreasing and increasing, that is to say, causative and applicative is a valence increasing in Tshuluba and the rest are valence decreasing argument

structure. This shows how other Bantu languages have been extensively studied compared to Kikahe which is not known in pertinent to its Verb Extension. As it may, the current study in South Pare dialect of Mwamba Vunta & Chome Suji divisions is very important ever since it would add material data and knowledge to linguistics literatures.

McPherson & Paster (2009) investigated on the evidence for the Mirror Principle and Morphological Templates in Luganda Affix Ordering. They concentrated on passive morph {ibw}, applicative morph {ir}, causative morph {is} and {y}, stative morph {ik}, reversive morph {ulul}, reciprocal morph {agan}. The two scholars discussed on the ordering of CARP which means: Causative, Applicative, Reciprocal and Passive. It was concluded that in Luganda language, reciprocal and passive cannot co-occur together in a single verb other than Chichewa language. However, since the current study does deal with affix ordering, McPherson & Paster (2009)'s study is very useful for comparative study with Pare language of Tanzania since they have presented first the list of verb extension found in Luganda language and their ordering in concordance with CARP principle and Mirror principle. Additionally, the current study uses Item-and-Arrangement Theory and Theta theory following the fact that a certain tool of analysis may have different explanations. By the use of the stated theoretical perspectives and the interview method outlined below, this article argues that word elasticity via verb extension may be either through affixation (morphological form) or non-affixation (phonological form). However, let us see few hints on the two expected theories to be used in this paper.

### 1.1 Item-and-Arrangement Theory

Is the theory which stipulates the arrangement of morphemes or affixes in a linear fashion, in this model, the structure of words are specifies in a series of operations. The IA theory was coined by Hockett (1954) and argues that words are built by arrangement of morphemes as in roots or stems and their corresponding exponents which indicate morphosyntactic and semantic information. The theory has been encoded by different authors (Halle & Marantz, 1993) following its tangibility in morphological phenomena. However, this theory quenches the Pare verb arrangement in a linear fashion (see also in Aronoff, 1994).

Despite the fact that IA tool of analysis harvests a lot in Pare verb extensions, it has some weaknesses such that the mapping between morphosyntactic and phonological information is not a one-to-one relationship e.g., a given (derived) word has more morphosyntactic (and semantic) features than morphs or exponents, this attracts to approach the Item and Process Theory hence forth (IP) as propounded by Anderson (1992). The tool of analysis treats word formation as the operation of processes, in other words it is not just the matter of adding morphemes in the word roots or stems instead it can be inculcated in either affixation or non-affixation process. In IP, the word formation rule that may apply to a paired root with a set of morphosyntactic features and modifies its phonological form. It must be noted that IP does not agree in composite affixations e.g., the word boys is a single piece, not a composite of two morphs, thus I strongly ignore such arguments within this paper following the fact most of Pare lexemes are linearly arranged and roots/stems are independent to exponents though process and rules apply. Thus, IP remains considerably in this paper for counting both morphological affixations or/and non-morphological affixations (phonological form) since these are natural features of languages.

### 1.2 The Theta Theory

The theory is a sub theory of the Government and Binding theory (See in Chomsky, 1981). This is the theory which stresses the function of the NP being triggered by the Verb. The theory is concerned with the verb of which it focuses on the way nouns (NP) relates to the verb and how such relationship is central to understanding how semantic or thematic dependencies are represented in grammar. Theta theory is built upon two theoretical apparatus known as theta criteria; these are:

- Each argument is assigned to one and only one theta role
- Each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument

These criteria fit to the current study following the fact that the study exhausts valences (arguments) of the predicate structure in which all refer to a certain theta role as in agent, theme, patient, experiencer, beneficiary (applicative), location and location. Thus, the explanations that are to be depicted IA and IP theories are to be completed by theta explanations this paper of which internal and external theta roles will be discussed accordance to morphosyntactic information available in the predicate structure (Baker, 1988).

## 2. Materials and Methods

Unstructured interview was used by bilingual Gweno native speakers aged 46 and 50 respectively. One of the two is a trilingual speaker as he speaks English, Gweno and Swahili languages, the rest is a bilingual speak whose languages are Gweno and Swahili. The researcher asked them to translate verbs from Swahili into Gweno and their derivations. The source of these words was from the Swahili dictionary of 21<sup>st</sup> century. 148 verbs were selected and used in the discussion with the criteria of being monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic and quadrasyllabic as well as verbs which start with vowel sounds Therefore, the total number of sample size is 150.

### 2.1. Data Analysis

The process of breaking down information or data into smaller units by considering their characteristic elements and structure as well as interpretation, understanding and explaining for getting new insights from data is known as data analysis Gray 2014). The analysis was guided by Leipzig Glossing Rule adapted from (Christian, 1982) which constitutes three levels of string representations. The first level is known as word order or/and parsing level. The second level is known as the literal translation, whereas the third level is free translation level. Consider the following example from Shona language encoded by Hawkinson and Hyman in (Good, 2002).

1. Múdzídízísí 'á-kà-nýór-ér-és-à mùrùmé yé múkádzí  
Teacher 3s-PST-write-APP-CAUS-FV man for woman  
'The teacher made the man write for the woman'  
(Good, 2002: 20)

Thereafter the data is followed by explanation in pertinent to valence increase or decreasing argument in Kigweno language. Such derivations were analyzed following the way Item-and-Arrangement Theory and Theta theory in which these theories figure out the functions of noun phrase.

## 3. Discussion of the Findings

This subsection discusses the data from the field; the data came from unstructured interview as it has been stated in this

paper (Cf. p. 6). The discussion of the data bases on two specific objectives namely: (i) identification of verb extended morphs in Pare language of Tanzania and (ii) analysis of valency (increasing or decreasing) change in Pare language of Tanzania. By definition valency change is nothing but the increase (productive) or decrease (unproductive) of arguments in the predicate structure, like other Bantu languages, Kigweno language has two forms of valences: The next section starts with identifying verb extended morphs in Pare language:

**Table 2:** Pare language Verb extended allomorphs:

States	(allo)morphs	BV	Gloss	EXV	Gloss
Applicative	<i>-i-, -ir-</i>	<i>Fis-a</i>	<i>Hide</i>	<i>Fis-i-a</i>	<i>Hid for</i>
Causative	<i>-sh-, -esh-ish-, iz-</i>	<i>Iv-a</i>	<i>Steal</i>	<i>Iv-ish-a</i>	<i>Make to steal</i>
Passive	<i>-w-, -iw-</i>	<i>Kezi-a</i>	<i>Greet</i>	<i>Kez-iw-a</i>	<i>Be greeted</i>
Stative	<i>-ik-</i>	<i>Shom-a</i>	<i>Read</i>	<i>Shom-ik-a</i>	<i>Readable</i>
Reciprocal	<i>-an-</i>	<i>Kund-a</i>	<i>Love</i>	<i>Kund-an-a</i>	<i>Love each other</i>

Source: Field study, (2021)

### 3.2 Valency Increasing Augment

This is the way of adding the number of either objects or participants in the predicate structure. In Bantu languages, there are two verb extensions which show valence increasing arguments; these are applicative and causative post radical morphs of the verbs. We start with applicative:

#### 3.2.1 Applicative Extension

This is the form of extension in which its action is operationalized on behalf of somebody or something. It is sometimes called benefactive or dative, and “it indicates that the state or the action described is for the benefice of somebody else” (Mataka and Tamanji 2000, p.179). Applicative extension sometimes is known as applied case according to the best of my knowledge,

*Spencer (1991) said: ‘Another type of valency-affecting process which increases the number of arguments of the verb is **applicative** formation or the **applied verb** construction, originally best known from Bantu languages but now reorganized in a variety of languages though out the world, in this construction, an oblique argument (such as a Benefactive) becomes a direct object’ p.253’.*

Spencer meant that applicative extension is additive because it increases new argument to the predicate structure in which the added argument can be Benefactive or Malefactive, ad that in other languages such argument can be instrumental, locatives or adjuncts. Therefore, in Pare language of Tanzania, it was found that applicative morphs are valency increasing argument. Consider the following data in 2:

2. (a) *Shom-a* (b) *Shom-i-a*  
 Read-FV Read -APPL-FV  
 ‘Read’ ‘Read for or with’
3. (a) *Tik-a* (b) *Tik-i-a*  
 take-FV Take -APPL -FV  
 ‘Take’ ‘Take for or with’

The data in (2) and (3) shows that the bolded post radical morph *-i-* is an applicative in Kigweno language of Tanzania. However, looking in these examples in either (2a) or (3a) it is different from either (2b) or (3b) following the fact that in (2b) or (3b) there is the addition of object or participant in which is done either by using it or on behalf of a person. This is reflected pertinent to Item-ad-Arrangement (IA) Theory (Spencer, 1991) which stipulates that the addition of morpheme linearly,

### 3.1 Verb Extended Allomorphs

This was the first objective of this paper which aimed at identifying verb (allo) morphs extended from the verb roots in Pare language. In arriving to answers the researcher prepared 148 Swahili verbs and Pare natives were requested to translate into Pare language (Cf. 2). It was identified that: applicative morphs in Pare language are: *-i-* and *-ir-*, causative morphs: *-sh-*, *-ish-*, *-esh-* and *-iz-*, passive morphs: *-w-* and *-iw-*, stative: *-ik-* and *-an-* reciprocal in the language under discussion. These post radical verb morphs are schematized in the Table 2 below:

adds semantics changes of the argument. This can easily be exemplified in the next example in 4 below:

4. (a) *Neema é- shom-a - Kitabu*  
 Neema- TEM-read-FV Book  
 ‘Neema has read a book’  
 (b) *Neema é- m-shom-i-a Mwalimu Kitabu*  
 Job-TEM-OM-read-APPL-FV- Teacher- Book  
 ‘Neema has read the book on behalf of the teacher’

The data in 4 (a) indicates two arguments namely: Neema (agent) and *Kitabu* (object) ‘a book’. In 4 (b) shows that the addition of applicative *-i-*, has added the new argument *Mwalimu* ‘a teacher’. That is to say, instead of reading a book directly, (a teacher), Neema has read for a teacher, and this is the concept of valency increase in linguistics area. Considering the semantic roles of theta assignment, the agent ‘Neema’ is the doer of the action and the ‘teacher’ is a beneficiary of the action. The same phenomenon can be observed in Changana language in 5:

5. (a) *Xitombhana Xisveka nyama*  
 7-gir 7-PRES-cook-FV 9-meat  
 ‘the girl cooks the meat’  
 (b) *Xitombhana Xisvekela mamani nyama*  
 7-girl 7-PRES-cook-APPL-FV 1-mother 9-meat  
 ‘The girl cooks the meat for the mother’  
 (Langa, 2007:3)

According to Matsinhe (1994), in 5 (a), the verb *-svek-* ‘to cook’ occurs in the present tense with no verbal extension. In 5 (b), the applicative verbal extension *-el-* has been suffixed to the verbal root resulting in a new verb stem *-svekela-* ‘to cook for the benefice of’ (in this case the mother). In other words, the addition of the applicative element has added new argument to the predicate structure, and this is nothing but *mamai* which means ‘Mother’.

#### 3.2.2 Causative Extension

This is another productive extension which is additive in nature, in other words it is the form of verb extension which adds a number of arguments in the predicate structure. Semantically, causative means ‘cause or make to be or to do’. Schadeberg (2003, p.73) added that:

*“The causative extension may be added to transitive as well as to intransitive verbs, in both cases a new argument is added to the syntactic frame of the simple verb” p.73.*

This means that the new argument can be made or caused directly or indirectly depending on the context under activities. In South Pare dialect of Pare language spoken in Mwamba Vunta & Chome Suji divisions, it was found that causatives

allomorphs are also valency increasing argument in the predicate structure. Consider the following data in (6), 7 and (8):

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 6. (a) <i>Vuk-a</i><br>Vp -FV<br>'Wake up' | (b) <i>Vu-sh-a</i><br>Up -CAUS-FV<br>'Cause to wake up'   |
| 7. (a) <i>Dik-a</i><br>Cook-FV<br>'Cook'   | (b) <i>Dik-ish-a</i><br>Cook -CAUS -FV<br>'Cause to cook' |
| 8. (a) <i>Vot-a</i><br>Pass-FV<br>'Pass'   | (b) <i>Vot-iz-a</i><br>Pass -CAUS-FV<br>'Cause to pass'   |

The data in (6b), (7b) and (8b) shows the causative allomorphs of morph *-sh-*. The semantics of these morphs are additive in the sense that, they add one argument in the predicate structure, and that the added participant is made or caused to do something directly or indirectly. For this morphological phenomenon, the causee (NP<sub>1</sub>) appears as an oblique object and not as the direct object of the verb. However, the IP theory is manifested in 6 data following the fact there is no morph which has been suffixed in the verb instead the lexeme has been conjugated through phonological process and rule. This has also been evidenced in the fact that syntactic information in 6 data is more the morpheme available in the verb. In understanding the concept of valency increasing argument, consider the data in 9:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 9. (a) <i>Juma a -vuk-a</i><br>Juma- PS-wake up-FV<br>'Juma has waked up' | (b) <i>Juma -a m-vu-sh-a Mwana</i><br>Juma- SP -OM- wake up-CAUS -FV-child<br>'Juma has made the child to wake up' |
|---|--|

The data in 9(a) indicate that the is a single agent who is 'Juma', however, in 9(b) shows that the addition of causative morph *-sh-* has attracted the addition of the object or argument 'mwana' which means 'child'. Within the same line of thinking, Tonga language behaves likely the same, thus the causative in Tonga increases the argument. This can be evidenced by Mchombo as encoded in (Ngwira, 2016).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 10. (a) <i>Mwana wá-sek-a</i><br>Child SM-pres.perf-laugh-FV<br>"The child ha laughed" | (b) <i>Mwana wa-sek-es-a ama</i><br>Child SM-pres. perf-laugh-CAUS-FV mother<br>"The child has made her mother laugh"<br>(Ngwira, 2016, p. 70) |
|--|--|

The data in 10(a) shows one argument structure or participant *Mwana* 'Child' and is doing the action of laughing. However, the situation is different compared with in 10(b), thus, according to Mchombo (2004) the presence of the causative suffix *-es-* is accompanied by a new NP *ama* 'mother' into the structure assuming the grammatical subject. In other words, the morphological exponent has attracted the presence of internal argument 'am' which means 'mother'. It must be noted that in 10(a) only external argument *Mwana* which means 'child' is evidenced. Thus, such suffixed affix is in the same line of explanation with theta role following the sense that every term of logical form requires theta role (each argument) is associated with one and only one position to which theta roles are assigned, and each theta is determined by lexical properties of a head under which is also associated with one and only one argument (Baker, 1988).

### 3.3 Valency Decreasing

This is the situation is which post radical morphs reduce the number of objects or participants in the predicate

structure. Like in other Bantu languages, Kigweno reduces the number of arguments in its derived predicate and this is evidenced by, passivisation, reciprocal and stative. The next section presents one by another, and we start with stative:

#### 3.3.1 Stative Extension

Semantically, stative shows an ability or state of something to be done by indicating an intransitive state or condition. Thus, it is one among unproductive verb extension in Bantu languages in which sometimes is known as static. The proto-Bantu stative morph is *\*-ik-* also called neuter suffix (Hyman, 2007, Cocch, 2008 and Lothi, 2002). Kigweno like other Bantu languages has *-ik-* stative post radical verb root that is a decreasing valency of the verb. This can be evidenced in the following Kigweno data in 11:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 11. (a) <i>Shom-a</i><br>Read -FV<br>'Read' | (b) <i>Shom-ik-a</i><br>Read -STAT-FV<br>'Readable'   |
| 12. (a) <i>Vir-a</i><br>Paint-FV<br>'Paint' | (b) <i>Vir-ik-a</i><br>Paint -STAT -FV<br>'Paintable' |
| 13. (a) <i>Ish-a</i><br>Cheat-FV<br>'Cheat' | (b) <i>Ish-ik-a</i><br>Cheat -STAT-FV<br>'Cheatable'  |

The data in (11a), (12a) and (13a) indicate that there is no an addition of suffix, while this is true, the data (11b), (12b) and (13b) indicates there is an addition of suffix *-ik-* which indicates an object of being able to be done. Stative as a valence decreasing argument can be evidenced in the following Kigweno structure in 14:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 14. (a) <i>Juma é- ronga -ndima hii</i><br>Juma- SP - do -work -this<br>'Juma is doing this job' | (b) <i>Ndima ii i- rong -ik- a</i><br>Job- this -TEM do-STAT -FV<br>'This job is able to be done' |
|--|---|

The sentence in 14(a) shows subject 'Juma' and an object 'ndima', while this is true in 14(a), the structure in 14(b) is quite different in the sense that the addition of stative suffix *-ik-* has reduced the subject Juma and this makes to remain with one object which is Ndima 'a job'. In other words there is no agent that triggers the state or condition of something to be done. It is from this account stative morph indicates an intransitive state or condition without any special reference to an agent determining that condition (Khumalo, 2014, p.145).

#### 3.3.2 Passive Extension

Semantically, passive morph indicates an action in which the subject is acted upon. This is another valence decreasing argument of the verb. That is to say, a verb is said to be in the passive voice when the subject is not active, its role and that of the object are reversed (Spencer, 1991). In other words, the applied passive alternations imply that an active sentence structure and a passive sentence would not be related syntactically although the corresponding verb forms would be related morphologically. In Kigweno language of Tanzania, *passive* allomorphs are valency decreasing argument in the predicate structure. Consider the following data in 15-17:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 15. (a) <i>Ish-a</i><br>Cheat -FV<br>'Cheat' | (b) <i>Ish-w-a</i><br>Cheat -PASS-FV<br>'Be cheated' |
| 16. (a) <i>Jenj-a</i><br>Help-FV<br>'Help'   | (b) <i>Jenj-w-a</i><br>Help -PASS -FV<br>'Be helped' |
| 17. (a) <i>Gom-a</i>                         | (b) <i>Gom-(i)w-a</i>                                |

Reject-FV  
'Reject'

Reject-PASS-FV  
'Be rejected (for)'

The data in 15(b), 16(b) and 17(b) indicate post radical -w- passive morph in the predicate structure. By definition this is a valency decreasing argument in the predicate structure with which when the passive morph is attached to the verb root it makes the promotion of object to subject position syntactically but not semantically, Therefore, it must be noted that in transformation grammar, the important aspect of the passive rule is the promotion of object by raising it to the position of subject, and that the demotion of subject is regarded as a spin-off of object promotion (Spencer, 1991). All these descriptions can be evidenced in 17 below:

18. (a) *Juma a- zo-a Ikoti*

Juma- SP-buy-FV Cot  
'Juma has bought a Cot'

(b) *Ikoti la zo-rw-a (ni Juma)*

Cot -SP- -TEM do-PASS -FV  
'The cot is bought' (by Juma)

The structure in 18(a) indicates that there are both subject 'Juma' and object 'Cot', thus *Juma* is an agent of the action 'buy' and *Cot* is an object in which the acted is acted upon it or is an object of being bought. 18(b) shows the reduction of the subject who is 'Juma' who is an agent of the action and the object 'Cot' is subjected or promoted to the subject position, thus has become an oblique or optional case. For that fact, the n, "[the passive] usually modifies the meaning of the verb as well as the verb valency. With regards to verb valency, "the grammatical subject which is the agent of the action becomes the syntactic object" (Mataka and Tamanji 2000, p. 180). According to Chomsky as encoded in (Spencer, 1991), the construction of passive is concordance with the theory of Theta as well as Case theory which attract the promotion of the object to subject position, thus is the core of alternation.

The promotion of the oblique object makes the absence of external argument of the predicate structure. Thus, in a very important way, Di Sciullo and Williams as quoted in Spencer, 1991) had this to say:

*'Since the verb's original external argument is controlled, and since -EN affix has no external argument, the passive form as a whole lack an external argument. As a result, there is no longer any specific rule of external argument ensure' p.301.*

With this thinking, the data in 18(b) is evident following the fact that the object after being promoted made the external theta to become deleted or optional. This reflects the idea of linguistics economy in one way or another in which optional elements must have no phonetic form hence forth (PF) because the complete idea is known and that the interest or theme is not for the doer of the action but the applicability of the situation.

The phenomenon of passivisation as a valency decreasing argument in Bantu languages, that attracts the object promotion (theta role promotion) can be attested in Lutsotso, a dialect of Luluhya Bantu language spoken in Kenya (Osore *et al*, 2015). Consider the following data in 19:

19. (a) *Omu-siani ya-khup-a omukhana*

SM-boy-SM -beat-FV girl  
'The boy beat the girl'

(b) *Omu-khana ya-khupw-a (nende omusiani)*

SM-girl SM-beaten-FV (by the boy)  
'The girl was beaten (by the boy).''

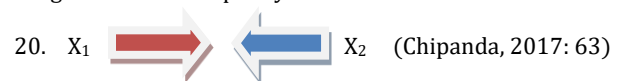
(Osore *et al* (2015:551)

According to Osore *et al* (2015), in 19(a) the subject *omusiani* 'boy' in active sentence appears in the initial position while the object *omusiani* 'boy' appears in final position. The situation is different in 19(b) where *omukhana* (girl) is the

subject. In the object position, *-omusiani* 'boy' is optional in the sense that its presence or absence does not alter the grammaticality of the sentence. In this case, it is no longer necessary to mention who beat the girl but the action *khupa* (beat) is important to be mentioned.

### 3.3.3 Reciprocal Extension

Reciprocal is a morph which indicates the action that takes place between two parts that is applied to any verb which is compatible with such semantic interpretation (Cocch, 2008). Reciprocal sometimes is known as associative; its function is to express concerted action, interaction and inter-dependence or disassociation (Lothi, 2002). Chipanda (2017) added in pertinent to reciprocal that: 'two participants act as agents together or one another in the action', He schematized the following scheme for simplicity:



In 20, it is observed that  $X_1$  is equal to the first agent and  $X_2$  represents the second agent. That is to say the two agents are doing the same thing, which means acting to each other or one another. However, in South Pare, a dialect of Pare language spoken in Mwamba Vunta & Chome Suji divisions of Same district, *-an-* is observed as a reciprocal extension to the verb structure which is also a valency decreasing argument as it is evidenced in 21-23:

- |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 21. (a) <i>Lang-a</i> | (b) <i>Lang-an-a</i> |
| Mention -FV           | Mention -REC-FV      |
| 'Mention'             | 'Mention each other' |
| 22. (a) <i>Tit-a</i>  | (b) <i>Tit-an-a</i>  |
| Take-FV               | Take -REC -FV        |
| 'Take'                | 'Take each other'    |
| 23. (a) <i>Gund-a</i> | (b) <i>Gund-an-a</i> |
| Love-FV               | Love-REC-FV          |
| 'Love'                | 'Lone one another'   |

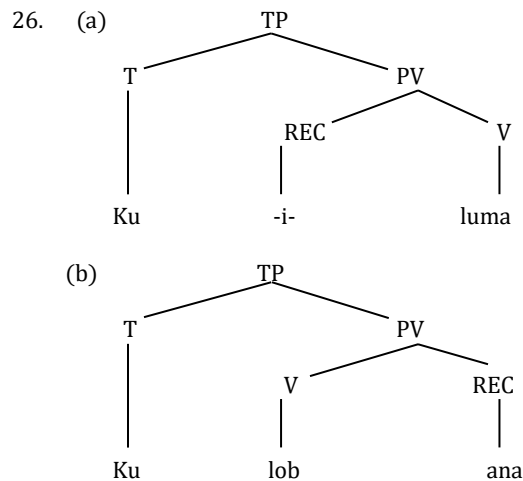
Some Bantu languages use *-an-* as reciprocal morph and others use *-angan-* as reciprocal morph e.g., those which use *-an-* are like: Kiswahili of Tanzania (Khamis 1985); Tonga of Malawi (Manda *et al*, 2016); Kimashami of Tanzania (Lema 2011); Ndebele of Zimbabwe (Khumalo 2014), Nambya of Zimbabwe (Chabata 2007) to mention just but a few. Those which use *-angan-* are like Runyambo of Tanzania (Rugemalira 1993); Tshuluba of Congo (Cocch 2008) to mention just but a few.

This is different from Kisukuma language of Tanzania in which reciprocal is manifested before the verb root and its shape is neither *-an-* nor *-angan-*. Chipanda, (2017) pondered that reciprocal in Kisukuma language is insinuated through prefix *-i-* and *-iy-* as it is indicated in 24 and 25:

- |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 24. (a) <i>Ku-lum-a</i> | (b) <i>Ku-i-lum-a</i>  |
| INF- Bite -FV           | INF-REC-BITE-FV        |
| 'bite'                  | 'Bite one another'     |
| 25. (a) <i>Ku-inh-a</i> | (b) <i>Ku-iy-inh-a</i> |
| INF-give-FV             | INF-REC-give -FV       |
| 'To give'               | 'To give one another'  |

(Chipanda, 2017)

The data in 24 and 25 shows reciprocal pre-radical *-i-* and *-iy-* morphs which indicate that, the reciprocal affix has been attached in the word initial opposite to other Bantu languages. The derivation would be left ward recursion as in 26(a) below which is different with forward recursion as in 26(b) data from Chabata (2007):



26(a) shows that the reciprocal *-i-* in Kisukuma language is attached in the word initial after infinitival tense projection. This is different from 26(b) where the reciprocal *-an-* appears in the word final in Nambya language of Zimbabwe.

In principle, reciprocal *-an-*, *angan-*, or *-i(y)-* extension semantically makes an object (acted upon or passivized) to become active or acting upon the original subject theta. References of this angle can be drawn from our language under discussion being it South Pare language in 27:

27. (a) *Juma a-m -big-a Asha*  
 Juma-SP-TENS-beat -FV-Asha  
 'Juma has beaten Asha'
- (b) *Juma ne Asha vé big-an-a*  
 Juma- CONJ Asha -SP/TENS-beat -REC-FV  
 'Juma and Asha have beaten one another'

The data in 27(a) structure indicate that there are two arguments being them: external (Juma) argument and internal (Asha) argument. That is to say, Juma is a subject or the doer whose action is upon object (Asha). This is different from 27(b) where there is only on agent syntactically doing the same action. Thus, the internal argument *Asha* has been promoted to the subject position doing the action together with the subject *Juma*. Within the same line of thinking, reciprocal has also adequate explanations in different Bantu languages, let Tshiluba, a Bantu language spoken in Democratic Republic of Congo henceforth (DRC) be part of the evidence in 28:

28. (a) *Baledi ba -nang-a Muana*  
 Parents- 2 Love - FV boy  
 'The parents love the boy'
- (b) *Baledi ba -nang-angan-a*  
 Parents -2 love -REC -FV  
 'The parents love each other'

The data in 28(a) there are two participants but in 28(b) there is one agent of the action.

#### 4. Conclusions and Recommendation

Generally, the paper's discussion handled two specific objectives in which the first has found verb extended (allo) morphs being them: applicative: *-i-* and *-ir-*, causative: *-sh-*, *-ish-*, *-esh-* and *-iz-*, passive: *-w-* and *-iw-*, stative: *-ik-* as well as reciprocal *-an-* morph. The second objective has analyzed valency (increasing or decreasing) change in Pare language, it has been observed that: applicative and causative allomorphs are valency increasing arguments and the reciprocal, passive and stative or static are valency decreasing arguments in the predicate structure. Both valency increasing and decreasing arguments have been well explained or handled by Item-and-Arrangement Theory, Item and Process as well as Theta theory.

That is to say the explanations of noun phrase function or roles and the way they change their roles as in passive, stative or causative with no doubt have been well explained in these theoretical approaches. The IA and IP needs to be sharpened to have explanatory adequacy for exploring another approach being it morphological processes. Other work can be done in Pare verb extension like: inersive, repetitive and idiophonic; they need to be investigated to see their characteristics pertinent to valency changes. The other area of research is on Morph Ordering occurrences in South Pare dialect spoken in Mwamba Vunta and Chome Suji divisions of same district also needs more investigation.

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#### Conflicts of Interest

The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this article.

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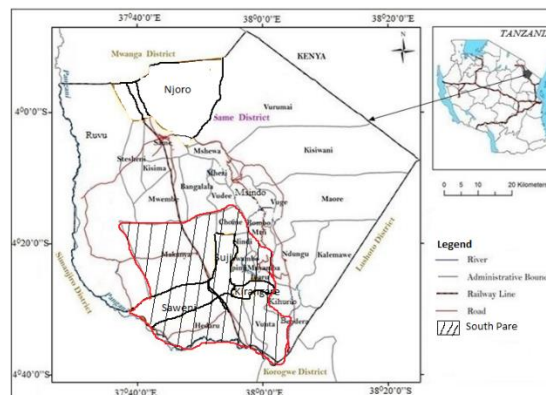
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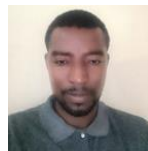
Then, he did advanced level studies from 2005 - 2007 at Bupandagila high school. He pursued a bachelor's degree programme (Linguistics major and minor History in 2007 and in 2010 from the University of Dar es Salaam (MUCE). Thereafter, on 26-1-2011, he was employed at Lwanhima secondary school in Mwanza City of Tanzania. He joined a master's degree programme in Linguistics at ST. Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT) 211and completed in 2013. Thereafter, he did a PhD in linguistics at the Open University of Tanzania in 2015 and 2018. After his PhD completion, he transferred to Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy (MNMA), where he is currently a lecturer from the Department of Linguistics and Literatures. He has been lecturing various courses, including Semantics in linguistics, English Morphology, English Phonology, English Variations and Business Communication Skills. For his career development, he has published ten (10) publications in various areas, mostly in the Bantu languages' Morphology.

## Appendix

The Map of Same showing South Pare area of study



## Author's Biography



**CHIPANDA SIMON** was born in 1984 at Buligi Village in Senga ward in the current Geita region. He studied primary education from 1994 - 2000 and attended secondary education at Bugando secondary school from 2001-2004.