

**A STUDY OF TRANSITIVITY IN XHOSA**

**BY**

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This dissertation is dedicated to the Madiba family.

#### ABSTRACT

This study is an explicit description of transitivity in Xhosa. The introductory chapter (Chapter One) outlines relevant theories relating to the issue of transitivity. The controversies surrounding transitivity and grammatical relations in general are noted. Special emphasis is put on Hopper and Thompson 1980's study. Different opinions from linguists across languages of the world as well as African linguists are assessed and evaluated. The debate revolves around their adequate/inadequate handling of the problem of transitivity. Emphasis is here put on main declarative sentences although it is acknowledged that language cannot be described nor understood without its communicative intent. Chomsky's idea of autonomous syntax is here found suspect and this study yields more towards pragmatics. Most of the discussions is pursued along the following lines: non-controversial issues, controversial issues and tentative solutions, unresolved problems and verb extension suffixes as devices for either increasing or decreasing transitivity and therefore posing a theoretical problem. A solution is extracted from J.L. Taylor (1991)'s study which secures a polysemous relationship among constructions. This chapter also handles general theoretical controversies in grammar and therefore suggests that controversies exist at theoretical and pre-theoretical levels.

The second chapter is a sequel to Chapter One and provides further discussions of the transitivity components and updates them by introducing the notion of control and ability and the speaker's perspectivization of grammatical material. It is concluded here that these are crucial transitivity notions and that the morpho-syntactic reflexes of transitivity are discourse conditioned.

The third chapter is a discussion of the different verbal categories in Xhosa. There is an indepth discussion of

controversial issues such as locative nouns, body parts and instrumentals. Morphological marking is assumed to be significant in this regard and is related to the pragmatic use of language. It is concluded here that a binary classification of verbs into a clear cut transitive intransitive dichotomy is unacceptable.

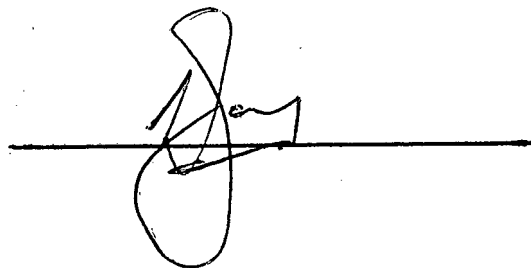
Chapter Four handles the question of verb extension and divides them into two groups. The transitivity ones and intransitivity ones and the implication thereof for transitivity. The theoretical problems posed by verb extension by either augmenting or diminishing transitivity is evaluated and it is suggested that if grammatical relations are seen as a continuum, and within polysemy (meaning relatedness), this presents few or no problems. Verb extension is also seen as a productive process but which is linked to pragmatic use of language.

Chapter Five links the issue of transitivity with specialized meaning. It is an expansion of the last four chapters and eliminates cases left unclear in these preceding chapters. The chapter starts by giving philosophical definitions of meaning and relates semantic conceptualization with pragmatic factors. It is concluded here that syntactic structures should be seen as instantiations of pragmatic options.

Chapter Six is the last chapter and conclusion. It sums up the issues raised in the last five chapters and the standpoints taken in this dissertation. It is concluded that transitivity is a property of clauses than verbs, and that it is discourse determined.

Lastly it is proposed that Hopper and Thompson's theory needs updating. In this instance the concepts of control and ability as well as meaning relatedness amongst constructions are introduced.

I declare that A STUDY OF TRANSITIVITY IN XHOSA is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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**CHAPTER ONE****INTRODUCTION****1.1 INTRODUCTION**

This study is an attempt towards an explicit description of transitivity in Xhosa. Transitivity is an area which is recently receiving serious attention in linguistic circles. A number of studies, viz. Whitely 1968, Hopper and Thompson 1980, Hock, Verhaar 1990, Hendrickse 1989, Taylor 1991 etc have each made a good exploration of the subject and none of their ideas can be ignored since they form the basis of our discussion. What characterizes this discussion are two conclusions drawn from these works. One is that, transitivity is one of language universals, secondly, it is shrouded by controversies. In this sense this study will attempt to provide answers to hidden areas of Xhosa syntax, the gap existing between syntax and semantics and between competence and performance. What complicates the matter more is the ground that theory is gaining in linguistics and the shared properties that languages are found to have. The changing and timeously adapted as well as competing grammatical theories since Chomsky 1957's publication of *Syntactic Structures* further contributes to the controversy and have resulted in Chomsky's revision of his theory. However, benefits gained from Chomskian grammar cannot be underestimated for one important reason; his theory is sentence based rather than word based and therefore is a model that comes closer to an adequate grammatical description.

However, I would like here to suggest that the advent of autonomous syntax as initially proposed by Chomsky has been found to be inadequate in a number of studies viz: Givon 1979, 1983 and 1984. Here it is argued that a syntactic study of isolated sentences, extracted without natural context as well as from purposeful construction of speakers is useless, that:

isolated sentences and their syntax are often at great variance with the syntax of sentences or clauses in natural unsolicited speech, so much so that serious doubts may be cast over the legitimacy and ultimate reality except as curious artifacts of a particular method of elicitation (Givon, 1979a: xiii).

Carried to its conclusion this suggests that language cannot be studied, described and understood without its communicative intent, and, studying artificially contrived sentences presents problems and some linguists are beginning to reassess the pros and cons of autonomous syntax. Givón (op cit:81) reiterates the idea that, the Orthodox transformational generative approach to independent syntax is unresolvable on two grounds:

- (1) It arose out of artificially restricted presented data.
- (2) It did nothing to further an understanding of why the grammar of human language is the way it is (1979a:81).

These ideas and problems related to syntax are as well noticed in Chomsky (1965). Here it is found that phrase structure rules and subcategorization features are sometimes inadequate especially in defining 'transitivity', that:

the features [transitive], [Abstract-Subject], [animate-object] must be introduced by rewriting rules that are restricted with respect to context, as distinct from the context-free rules that subcategorize nouns (Chomsky, 1965:90).

This suggests that meaning in a language is recoverable from context. However, I would like here to add the following points: Firstly, it is not in the scope of this study to discuss linguistic controvercies nor to account for the failures of one linguistic theory to explain the nature of the human language. Secondly, a syntactic analysis has to be sensitive to contextual

as well semantic issues. Givon's analysis is therefore seriously considered. Thirdly, an adequate grammar should be able to predict. In this sense a study of isolated sentences becomes relevant only if and only if it is able to predict the occurrence of such sentences in wider contexts.

In this introductory chapter, therefore, I will first attempt to propose a theory which handles the issue more of transitivity more convincingly. Secondly, a definition of 'transitivity' is given. In this sense special reference is made to Hopper and Thompson's 1980 study. Thirdly, different opinions across the languages of the world as well as from African linguists such as Fortune 1955, Whitely 1968 & 1969, Vitale 1981, Satyo 1985 etc are assessed. The standpoint adopted in this dissertation as well as its justification is noted. With particular reference to Xhosa the following factors will be handled:

- (a) non-controversial issues,
- (b) controversial issues and tentative solutions,
- (c) unresolved problems,
- (d) verb extension as suffixes that are used as devices for either increasing or decreasing transitivity and thus pose a theoretical problem.

## 1.2 ON THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS

Crystal, 1982 has always noted that in linguistics there is no shortage of controversial statements, thus

the problem of the researcher and supervisor is to decide which of the many controversies is worth spending time on (Crystal, 1982:16).

Here it is also argued that there is nothing worse than a pseudo-controversy, that is, one which takes us no further forward in our theoretical understanding of a subject because it turns out to be unresolvable in our present state of knowledge

or methodologically impracticable or trivial in its empirical consequences or wholly speculative, or vacuous. However, I share the opinion here that, all, or almost most theories of language description are inevitably narrow somewhere, not because of an inadequacy in describing the language concerned but because language is generally complex and intriguing.

It is specifically for these reasons that Satyo, 1985 stresses the need for avoiding a mono-theoretical approach to language description. He suggests:

Another advantage of avoiding a mono-theoretical framework is that data will not be excluded by the limitations of the model. In a multi faceted framework one is free to explain facts of language without any fear of violating the parameters of a particular model (Satyo, 1985:18).

Such an approach is found valuable for the present study. In this discussion, for instance, some explanations of 'transformational grammar' such as 'derived structures' are found to be unavoidable in as much as it is difficult to exclude some aspects of 'discourse grammar' such as 'topicalization', 'foregrounding', 'backgrounding' etc, especially in 'active-passive' relationship. Concepts used in 'Relational grammar' also prove useful especially when dealing with 'direct' and 'indirect' objects. Other terms used in case grammar such as 'agent', 'dative', 'instrument' etc are also found to be unavoidable. Controversy therefore exists both at the theoretical and pre-theoretical levels. This makes it imperative therefore to use insights gained from a variety of models without necessarily adhering strictly to anyone of them, the following theoretical guidelines having a specific purpose.

### 1.2.1 Theoretical models

Some insights have over the years gained recognition in the study of syntax. One is the 'transformational relation', that is:

the view that the syntactic structure of most sentence types as a variant or function of the structure of some more basic ('kernel') type (Givon, 1979b:45).

This is a view which has mostly been applied to active and passive related sentences. This idea is explicitly expanded in Keenan (1976:30) that:

- (a) a syntactic structure X is semantically more basic than a syntactic structure Y if, and only if, the meaning of Y depends on that of X. That is, to understand the meaning of Y it is necessary to understand the meaning of X.
- (b) A sentence in a L is a basic sentence (in L) if, and only if, no (other) complete sentence in L is more basic than it. (Keenan, 1976:307)

These arguments, especially the second insight, involves the privileged status of one sentence type, the main declarative, affirmative active clause as the basic neutral pattern in reference to which all other syntactic types may be ascribed. This is a view which is held throughout this study. We further add here that whatever grammatical feature is present in this sentence type, it could be carried to other sentence types. The following arguments are used to justify this notion.

#### 1.2.1.1 The completeness argument

This states that:

Given a rather theory-neutral goal for a syntactic description, the one of attempting to account for the inventory of meaningful elements in a language and their distributions, one may observe that the greatest distributional freedom and variety of meaningful elements occurs in the main declarative, affirmative active clause type. This is true of the distribution of both lexical items and syntactic constructions (Givon, 1979b:46).

This argument explicitly justifies why our grammatical analysis is merely extracted from such data.

#### 1.2.1.2 The dependency argument

This asserts:

given the assertion that given the syntactic variants B,C,D and the neutral pattern A, one can show that the structure of B,C,D is a function of the structure A but not vice versa (op cit).

This is a mathematical model which we will not dwell on. However, its value is important for relations between active, existential presentative constructions and other constructions involving Word Order Change. Such a model might therefore also assist us in resolving some of the problems related to 'double object' constructions involving 'dative shift'.

#### 1.2.1.3 The economy argument

Here it is argued that:

in the absence on any empirical grounds for choosing between two alternative formalisms (models) which describe the data in an equally exhaustive position, the mathematically less complex model is to be preferred (op cit:47).

This is a view held throughout this study.

#### 1.2.1.4 The marked structure argument

This is a combination of 1.2.1.2 and 1.2.1.3 and states that: In judging two variant syntactic patterns A and B as to their relative 'basicness' one discovers that all the components of A are also found in B but in addition another element C is a component of B but not of A, and one considers C as the element which marks B as distinct from A, then one is justified in considering A the basic neutral unmarked type and B the marked type (op cit: 47).

This is a useful explanation and if applied to the converse, is useful in explaining such constructions involving 'passive' and 'dative' rules. Such a view also shares some of Taylor 1991's propositions especially on 'prototype categories' and 'polysemy'.

The above arguments in no doubt reinforce the value of theory in language description. All these arguments interact with each other. In this dissertation there is no attempt to prescribe which model will surface and in which particular pattern. Secondly, as suggested in 2 above, the discussion in this dissertation will not be confined to a single theoretical framework.

### 1.3 TRANSITIVITY: PRELIMINARY DEFINITIONS

Two views dominate our arguments here. One is Whitely 1968's definition and the other is the view held by Hopper and Thompson 1980. The latter forms the basis of most of the discussion in this dissertation. Whitely defines transitivity as follows:

The term characterizes the various relationships which obtain between a verb and a noun or nouns to which the label 'object' is often accorded (1968:10).

It is argued here that this relationship is usually but not always marked by means of an object concord whose presence may also not mean such a clause is transitive or not, as Whitely (op cit) maintains:

the presence or absence of the prefix (object) is conditional not merely by 'emphasis' but by the capacity of the verb to associate with one and also by the particular sentence pattern in which the verb is participating.

The problem of defining transitivity is apparent from these two definitions. A contradiction becomes obvious when it is suggested that although a presence of an object is a necessary condition for transitive structures, it is also not a necessary feature of such structures. Whitely, (op cit) further goes on to argue:

It is a property of items participating in an object-relation that they may also participate in a subject relationship.

In terms of Whitely's analysis one way of exposing transitivity is to transpose the items in the subject relationship with those in the object relationship while retaining the same lexical items, an operation he terms 'entailment'. Such sentences he terms an 'affiliation set'. A discussion of entailment is however not relevant for the present dissertation. Nonetheless, the question of a syntactic (subject-object) relationship is crucial. Its value lies in the acknowledgement that subjecthood as well as objecthood are significant transitivity notions. This will be elucidated in Chapter Three below.

The question of object concord is another issue that needs further clarification. If 'objecthood' is a feature of transitivity, 'object concord incorporation' will be another pre-condition for marking structures as transitive. In this

sense one must still investigate whether there are restrictions on 'object' and 'object concord incorporation'. In terms of Whitely's analysis, emphasis is put on 'objecthood' and 'subjecthood' as necessary features of transitivity. However, it appears in Whitely's study that there does not seem to be any convincing argument as to what these terms mean. It is also not in anyway predicted how these 'transitivity' notions will surface in a language.

It is precisely for these reasons that we carefully look into Hopper and Thompson, 1980's study, 'the transitivity hypothesis'. A view which is qualified in works such as: Hock (unpublished), Verhaar 1990, Hendrickse 1989, Taylor 1991, Pandharipande 1981, Kachru 1981, Bhatia 1982, etc. In these studies, it is suggested that transitivity involves a number of components of which the presence of an object must interact with a number of factors, as it is not the only determinant of transitivity. This is treated in section 1.6 below.

#### 1.4 FORTUNE AND SATYO'S OBSERVATIONS

Fortune 1955 and Satyo 1985 have noted the problem of transitivity in Swahili and Xhosa respectively. These works deal in particular with verbal extension(s). It is here observed that verbal extension(s), that is, verb suffixes, are modified according to their transitivity patterns, that modification of simplex radicals affects transitive relations. Such an argument is found to be inadequate in this study. Firstly, it implies that transitivity is a property of the verb rather than the clause, while I hold the view that it is a property of the entire clause with the verb as the nucleus. Secondly, it is not the verb only that predicts whether a structure will be transitive or not but an interaction of various factors one of which may be discourse pragmatic. Thirdly, although transitivity necessarily involves two participants, various factors will determine whether a clause will be transitive or not. Satyo 1985's observation, that verbs are modified according to the transitivity patterns

is therefore reversed in this dissertation.

### 1.5 TRANSITIVITY AND VALENCY

In the present dissertation I am of the opinion that a definition of transitivity can never be adequate without assessing the relationship between the 'syntax' of verbs and 'valency'. This is not to say 'valency' can be used as an alternative to 'transitivity', but that it is interesting to note that the same valency roles are sometimes used to mark transitive relationships. Crystal (1991) defines valency as:

a term used in linguistics to refer to the number and type of bonds which syntactic elements may form with each other (1991:369).

It is here further argued that:

a given element may have different valencies in different contexts (op cit).

This view is closer to Lyons (1977:486)'s argument, that valency is quite clearly relatable to the predicate calculus classification of predicators in terms of the number of arguments that they take in well-formed formulae.

'Arguments' here refers to expressions, that is, complements of the verb referred to as 'valents' whose number and type is determined by the valency attributed to the verb. Verbs deal not only with the number of valents with which they are combined in the sentence nucleus, but a classification of sets of valents which may be combined with different verbs. Valency is important here because it is sometimes used synonymously with transitivity with the semantic content of transitive/intransitive sets (verbs) related to its valency. Valency roles are therefore important for the issue of transitivity since they may be coded by the same morpho-syntactic markings. The same sets used to mark valency

roles also being the same used to mark transitivity structures.

## 1.6 WORKING HYPOTHESIS: THE TRANSITIVITY HYPOTHESIS

### 1.6.1 The hypothesis

An interesting proposition for the issue of transitivity is made by Hopper and Thompson (1980). According to this study, transitivity involves a number of components one of which is the presence of an object of the verb. All these components are concerned with the effectiveness with which an action takes place. These components include, the punctuality and telicity of the verb, the conscious activity of the agent and referentiality and degree of effectedness of the object. In this study transitivity is defined along the following guidelines:

- (a) It is a global property of the entire clause.
- (b) An activity is carried over from an agent to a patient.
- (c) Transitivity necessarily involves two participants.
- (d) Transitivity is concerned with an action which is typically effective in some way.
- (e) Transitivity is a crucial relationship in languages, having a number of universally predictable consequences in grammar.
- (f) The defining properties of transitivity are discourse determined.

One should note that in this study what is emphasised is that these transitivity features co-vary invariably and systematically and it is not clear whether each feature will surface either in structure or meaning. The crucial factor in Hopper and Thompson's study however, is that it suggest that transitivity is a continuum and thus cannot be attributed to a single factor.

### 1.6.2 Transitivity components

This section involves the predictable consequences noted in 1.6.1

above. According to Hopper and Thompson 1980, the following parameters each suggest a scale according to which clauses can be ranked. Each one involves a different facet of the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another. This is the list proposed in Hopper and Thompson (1980:252).

(1)		<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>
A	Participants	2 or more participants A and O	1 participant
B	Kinesis	action	non-action
C	Aspect	telic	atelic
D	Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E	Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F	Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G	Mode	realis	irrealis
H	Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I	Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J	Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

The above components of transitivity have the following implications which will determine how these transitivity components interact in grammar.

#### 1.6.2.1 Implications of the transitivity features

- A No transfer can take place unless two participants are involved.
- B Actions are transferable and states are not.
- C A telic action, is effectively (viewed from its endpoint) transferred than an atelic action (with no obvious

endpoint).

- D Actions with no obvious transitional phase between inception and completion have a more marked effect than inherently ongoing actions.
- E An effect on a patient is more apparent when the agent is purposefully executing an action.
- F Refers to the affirmative/negative parameter.
- G A realis action is more effective than an irrealis one.
- H Participants which are high in agency effect and transfer an action than those low in agency.
- I An action is effectively transferred if the patient is distinct from the agent and its background.
- J Manifestations of individuation.

Most of these are related to the 'topicality implication hierarchy' (TIH) proposed in (Givon, 1976:147) and may be indicated as follows.

<u>Individuated</u>	<u>Non-individuated</u>
proper	common
human, animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
singular	plural
count	mass
referential, definite	non-referential

Taken together, these component parts allow clauses to be characterized as more or less transitive:

The more features a clause has in the high column in

A-J, the more transitive it is, the closer it is to cardinal transitivity (Hopper and Thompson, 1980:253).

According to Hopper and Thompson's study, two sentences are given, viz: 3)a Jerry likes beer  
                   b Jerry knocked Sam down (Hopper and Thompson, 1980:253).

Of these, 3b would be higher in transitivity than 3a because it displays the following properties:

kinesis	: action
aspect	: telic
punctuality	: punctual
affectedness of O	: total
individuation of O	: high, referential, animate and proper.

However, regarding transitivity as a continuum has one potentially less comfortable consequence, as a sentence with two participants may rate lower than one with a single participant. Nonetheless I always emphasise that absence of O will definitely reduce the degree of transitivity of a clause. Consider the following sets of sentences:

1(a) Ndiyatya  
       I-pres-eat  
       I eat (I am eating).

(b) Igqiyazana            lizibuka                    izidlele  
       The-maiden        she-pres-herself-admire    cheeks  
       The maiden admires (is admiring) her cheeks.

The 2 participant clause in (b) is for instance lower in transitivity than the single participant clause according to most of the features A-J than the single participant clause. However, the absence of O in 1a is definitely going to reduce the degree of transitivity of the clause. This in fact should be regarded

as a signal of reduced transitivity of the clause which lacks O rather than intransitive. By this I mean that, although the presence of a true patient is a crucial component of transitivity, that of a second participant is not. In this instance the 2 participant clause should be seen as an instance of 'augmented intransitivity' that is 'Intransitive High' (Vide Verhaar, 1990:94). In this instance clauses which are low in transitivity are coded as intransitive even if they have two participants.

That is, morphosyntactic markings tend to be sensitive to transitivity as a whole, rather than to the actual presence or absence of a second participant (Hopper and Thompson, 1980:254).

These component parts co-vary extensively and systematically, and according to Hopper and Thompson (op cit):

Whenever an obligatory pairing of two transitivity features occurs in the morphosyntax or semantics of the clause, the paired features are always on the same side of the high-low transitivity scale (op cit).

This seems to be the case in the (b) sentence above.

### 1.6.3 The transitivity hypothesis revisited: Hopper and Thompson's definition

Hopper and Thompson 1980 define transitivity in the following terms:

If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in transitivity according to any of the features 1A-J, then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will show (a) to be higher in transitivity (Hopper and Thompson, 1980:255).

The converse of this hypothesis is from this implied. The hypothesis, however, refers to obligatory morphosyntactic markings or semantic interpretation. The co-variation takes place whenever two values of the transitivity components are necessarily present. It, however, is not predicted when these values will surface, in structure or meaning, but only that if they do surface they will agree in being either high or low in value. According to the hypothesis, the transitivity features are manifested either morphosyntactically or semantically. Note, however, that the hypothesis does not predict that a feature is marked or not, but that if it is marked, then this mark will reflect the high or the low side of the relevant transitivity component. It also predicts that the opposite type of correlation will not be found where a high transitivity feature systematically co-varies with a low transitivity feature in the same clause. In the next section, I will give some of the morphosyntactic reflexes of transitivity.

#### 1.6..4 Morphosyntactic reflexes of transitivity

Here are a few morphosyntactic reflexes of transitivity presented by the Hopper and Thompson's hypothesis which Taylor (1991:206) regards as prototypical instantiations of transitivity.

- A 1.1 Individuation and object marking:  
Objects are marked only when they are individuated, animate and definite. See the topicality implicational hierarchy (TIH) in 2.12.3 below.
- 1.2 The marked Os co-vary with other features indicating a higher degree of transitivity in this clause than those which are less individuated. In the clauses with the latter Os, reasons exist for assigning the verb to the morphosyntactic class of intransitive.
- 1.3 Verb morphology may indicate that a verb with indefinite Os is intransitive.

- 1.4 Object concord (OC) is not a transitive designation when the form of the verb chosen when the O is indefinite or non-referential and identical to that chosen when there is no O at all.
  - 1.5 Definite Os have privilege of occurrence which differ from those of indefinites.
  - 1.6 Non-referential indefinite Os show striking correlations with the verb marking morphology, case markings and word order characteristics of intransitive clauses in a number of languages.
- B 2.1 Clauses with IO (indirect objects) are high in transitivity as these tend to be definite and animate.
- C 2.2 A high degree of transitivity may signal a total effect of the action of the verb on O, and hence completion of the action, or that O is physically changed, moved or altered. This change is perceptible and observable to the onlooker or is imaginary and hypothetical.
- 3 Morphosyntactic processes involving transitivity move fluidly among simultaneous meanings or implications.
  - 4 Differences in degree of directed physical activity in the event to which the verb refers. This involves kinesis, conscious as well as direct physical contact.
  - 5 Features of actions and states have morphosyntactic manifestations.
  - 6 Degree of planned involvement of the agent. In the case of verbs of perception, the O is less affected and there is a limited degree of planned involvement on the part of the subject.

- 7.1 An intransitive type of construction is favoured if reference to action is directed towards a common goal than completed.
- 7.2 The transitivity of the clause is reduced when there is an anomalous A-O relationships, i.e. O is higher than A in the implicational hierarchy.
- 8 The negative-affirmative parameter and mode is not much relevant here.
- 9 Reflexives display features associated with lower transitivity.

As stated in 1.5 above, evidence that transitivity is what correlations involve can be seen in the fact that the morpho-syntactic signals used to mark transitivity are also used to mark valency.

#### 1.6.5 Summary

The following conclusions are drawn from Hopper and Thompson's hypothesis and form the basis of the discussion in the following chapters.

- (a) The reliability of the hypothesis is based on the fact that it has drawn conclusions from data collected from a wide range of languages.
- (b) Transitivity is one of language universals.
- (c) Transitivity is viewed on a cline involving a number of co-variations.
- (d) Because transitivity is seen on a cline, there is limited constraint on what is transitive or not, as is the case with a binary classification.

- (e) Discourse and pragmatic factors, as will be evident in Chapters Four and Five, raise interesting and challenging questions on the issue of transitivity.
- (f) ~~Transitivity is a property of the entire clause rather than the verb.~~

### 1.7 SCOPE OF THE THESIS

Judging from the conclusions drawn from the transitivity hypothesis, a binary classification of transitive or intransitive verbs can never be adequate. Note however, that, since not every single Xhosa verb or verb argument can be treated within the scope of this dissertation, isolated cases from our categorization are treated. Note too, that as suggested in 1.2.1, emphasis is put on active, simple, declarative sentences in our discussion of transitivity. Reasons for this are that one, the discourse function of simple sentences is the neutral prototype case. All the other syntactic structures and discourse functions which code them are seen in terms of their variation or distance from this neutral case. Secondly, declarative sentences are the major conduit of new, foreground and the backbone of new information in discourse. Thirdly, although there is emphasis on sentences in isolation, this is viewed as a necessary step in identifying the inventory of coding devices which make morphosyntactic structures and how those devices are used in coding and relaying information in wider contexts. Fourthly, I hold the view that verbs are words, and thus carry lexical meaning, however they do not provide information unless they are plugged into propositions. It is for these reasons therefore that, transitivity is seen as a feature of clauses rather than of verbs although it has to be accepted that the latter marks at least a possibility of entering in such relationships. The form of our discussion in this thesis is therefore guided along the following lines:

- (1) Non-controversial issues (prototypical transitives).

- (2) Controversial issues and tentative solutions.
- (3) Unsolved problems.
- (4) Verb extension as devices for increasing or decreasing transitivity.
- (5) Theoretical problems related to classification of verbs are treated and I suggest that there is no water-tight classification of Xhosa verbs.

The above guidelines are organized as follows.

#### 1.7.1 Non-controversial issues

This refers to prototypical transitive structures where there is a congruent or transparent transitive relationship amongst arguments. The following examples indicate this.

2.a Indoda            ibetha            umfazi  
 The-man    he-pres-hit    woman  
 The man hits (is hitting) the woman

b Indoda            itya            inyama  
 The-man    he-pres-eat    meat  
 The man eats (is eating) meat

Problems of this classification are exposed. Both verbs in the two sentences are coded with most of the transitivity components suggested in 1.6. It is, however, in Chapter Two that I subject the two objects to a test of objecthood to examine the validity of assigning the same status to the two structures.

#### 1.7.2 Controversial solutions

This mostly deals with body part syntax, inalienable possession and the so-called idiomatic objects. Here the status normally accorded to 'place' and 'time' adverbials when they are not marked by adverbial prefixes is examined. Consider the following sentences:

- 2.a Indoda            izingumla            umnwe  
 The-man        he-pres-himself-cut finger  
 The man cuts himself a finger (i e his finger)
- 2.b Indoda            inqumla            umnwe            wayo  
 The-man        he-pres-cut        finger            his  
 The man cuts (is cutting) his finger
- 2.c Indoda            iziqumla            emnweni  
 The-man        he-pres-himself-cut    at/by finger  
 The man cuts himself at/by his finger
- 3.a Indoda            isebenza            emini  
 The-man        he-pres-work        at-day  
 The man works (is working) during the day
- 3.b Indoda            isebenza            imini yonke  
 The-man        he-pres-work        day all (whole)  
 The man (is working) the whole day

Note here that in the (b) and (c) sentences object nouns are marked either by a possessive construction or an adverbial prefix as compared to the (a) sentences. This problem is handled in Chapter Two. Such objects are therefore subjected to a test of objecthood and implications for this are noted.

### 1.7.3 Unresolved less typical transitive issues

Here we refer to motion verbs and certain perception and experience verbs. Semantic and morpho-syntactic environments in which these operate are analysed. The conflicting relationships and conceptualizations associated with such verbs are also a subject of our discussion. Consider the following examples:

- 4(a) Indoda            ibaleka            ikrexe  
 The-man        he-pres-run        adulterer  
 The man is running from        an (his) adulterer

(b) Ikrexhe                    libalekisa            indoda  
 The-udulterer    he-pres-run-cause    man  
 The adulterer    causes the man to run away

5(a) Umfundi                ufunda                incwadi  
 The-student    he-pres-read        a book  
 The student reads (is reading) a book

(b) Umfundi                ufunda                encwadini  
 The-student    he-pres-read        from-book  
 The student is reading from a book

6(a) Umntwana              ulila                    iinyembezi  
 The-child        he-pres-cry            tears  
 The child is crying tearfully

(b) Iinyembezi              zililisa                umntwana  
 Tears            they-pres-cry-cause    child  
 The tears cause the child to cry

It is not clear whether the above (a) structures should be regarded as intransitive or not. It is interesting to note that such clauses are coded with all the features used to code transitives yet they seem to refer to experiences rather than actions.

#### 1.7.4 Extension suffixes as devices for increasing or decreasing transitivity

What is interesting here is that one notes that language possesses an inventory of coding devices which shape syntactic structures. The devices are sometimes used to undermine the transitive intransitive dichotomy. Consider the following sentences:

7(a) Indoda                    itya                    inyama  
 The-man                    he-pres-eat                    meat  
 The man eats (is eating) meat

(b) Inyama                    ityiwa (yindoda)  
 Meat                    it-pres-eat-pass (by-man)  
 The meat is eaten (being eaten) (by the man)

Note here that the passive morpheme /-iw-/, if introduced, immediately reduces the transitivity (ability to take an object) in the verb 'tya' by disallowing a direct object.

#### 1.7.5 A theoretical discussion of the above issues

In this dissertation therefore I discuss the above problems on the basis of a relevant theory of transitivity and examine whether there are any possible gaps in this subdivision. Note, however, that the above classification is not exhaustive and serves merely as guidelines.

#### 1.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is organized along the following lines: Chapter Two is a sequel to Chapter One. Here I revisit the transitivity components that are crucial, and treat them in detail. These are word order, case marking and grammatical agreement, agency, subjecthood and topicality (thematic relations). Actions and states are also a subject of this section.

Chapter Three deals with verb categories. The transitive/intransitive dichotomy is evaluated. Problems of this classification and solutions thereof are also subject of this section.

Chapter Four deals with transitivity and verbal extensions. Transitivity-intransitivity extensions are discussed as devices for either increasing or decreasing transitivity. The

interaction of these verbal extensions when verbs are followed by different types of nouns in Xhosa is also examined.

Chapter Five deals with specialized meaning in Xhosa. The issue of literal vs figurative meaning and metaphoric transitivity are here handled. The implications of this for the transitivity hypothesis are discussed.

Chapter Six is the conclusion. Here I examine areas which are left unresolved or achieved. The problems or gaps and solutions to the gaps are evaluated and synthesized.

## CHAPTER TWO

## THE TRANSITIVITY COMPONENTS: FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the different components of 'transitivity' were discussed. In the present chapter, I revisit some of the issues raised in Chapter One. It is felt here that the more crucial components of transitivity should be discussed in detail. The present chapter therefore is an attempt towards an analysis and redefinition of some of the transitivity components and some issues raised in Chapter One. This involves concepts such as case and case markings as well as word order and concord. These are viewed here in the same light as 'transitivity' that is, as a continuum. I am also of the opinion here that actions, states, agency as well as tense and aspect also need to be looked at with a refreshed mind. This chapter also proposes a refreshed discussion of functional notions, thematic relations and pragmatic roles. In this sense the relationship between morphological marking and syntactic, semantic and pragmatic notions are analysed in detail since they are crucial for the issue of transitivity. Keenan's definition of 'basic sentences' is also introduced in support of Hopper and Thompson's view of transitivity. This is complemented by arguments from Taylor (1991) especially his notion of prototype transitivity vs less typical one. Most of our discussion here directs one to viewing grammatical relations in general as a continuum.

## 2.2 ORDER, CASE AND CONCORD

2.2.1 Order:

The neutral Xhosa word order is S.V.O. i e subject-verb-object. The implication of this is that if S and O are simply transposed

in the active, two sentences will result in converse meanings. Consider the following examples:

1(a) USomtsewu unyula uNgqika  
 Somtsewu he-pst-appoint Ngqika  
 Somtsewu appointed Ngqika and

(b) UNgqika unyula uSomtsewu  
 Ngqika he-pst-appoint Somtsewu  
 Ngqika appointed Somtsewu

Note, however, that this does not hold with the passive. Here meaning is assumed to be the same despite grammatical relations being reanalysed. Consider the following example:.

(c) UNgqika unyulwa nguSomtsewu  
 Ngqika he-pres-appoint-pass by-Somtsewu  
 Ngqika is appointed by Somtsewu

More important here is that in (c) Somtsewu is no longer in the accusative nor Ngqika in the nominative as is the case with (b). Word order change has co-occurred with changes in case relations.

### 2.2.2 Case

Crystal (1985:42), a dictionary defines case as:

A GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY used in the analysis of word classes to identify the SYNTATIC relationships between words in a SENTENCE.

This is usually manifested in the morphological form of the word. Each form is analysed in terms of a specific range of meanings i e semantic roles. Louw (1971) reasonably argues that case could be applied to Xhosa especially with the noun classes. He suggests:

The distinction between animate and inanimate is very important in the class gender system of Bantu languages (1978:2).

He further goes on to say:

Concord is used in the Bantu languages to express certain relationships between the noun and other words in a sentence (op cit).

The above arguments indicate that case does occur in Xhosa.

Subjects of sentences therefore are viewed as agents since animates normally occupy the subject slot. As will be evident below certain markings on the noun such as /-nge-/ in words such as 'ngemela' or /-el-/ on the verb as in 'sebenzela' are associated with certain case roles such as instrumental in the former or beneficiary in the case of the latter.

In the present analysis I hold the view that animacy is crucial for Agency. In this sense humans and animates are the prototype agents although in less typical situations even inanimates could be assigned this role. It is interesting to note too that case markings have morphological consequences as is the case with subjectivized instrumental. Consider the following examples:

2(a) USipho usika isonka ngemela            [+ ins]  
       Sipho he-pres-cut bread with-knife  
       Sipho cuts bread with a knife

(b) Imela isika isonka                        [- ins]  
       The-knife it-pres-cut bread  
       The knife cuts bread

### 2.2.3 Concord

Note here that in the passive the new subject is marked by an appropriate subjectival concord when it is reanalysed as subject. This will be evident in 4.3.3 in Chapter Four below.

All these three devices used to code syntactic relationships thus do occur in Xhosa and their importance for the issue of transitivity forms the basis of our discussion.

### 2.3 DIRECT AND INDIRECT MARKING

In this case, I adopt what (Satyo, 1985:88) has inherited from Mallison and Blake, that the marking of the transitivity relationships, subject and object may either be direct or indirect. By DIRECT MARKING we mean marking for the function of a noun (phrase) on the noun (phrase) itself. This marking may be in the form of affixes (prefixes, infixes or suffixes) or adpositions (prepositions or postpositions). By INDIRECT MARKING we mean forms appearing not on the noun phrase whose relationship they signal but in some other position in the clause. These forms are usually clitic or affixes and in most instances they appear on the verb.

'Marked' in this instance is used to refer to a feature that is noted as 'plus/minus' (+). Consider the following Xhosa example extracted from Satyo (1985:88) and renumbered.

sc oc

3(a) (UThemba) uyamthanda (uNomsa)

Themba he-pres-love Nomsa

Themba loves Nomsa

In the above example the subject and object concords indicate the subject-object predicate relation in addition to Word Order markings which are characteristically S.V.O. (subject-verb-object). These are used to mark subjects and objects of

sentences. This is thus regarded as direct marking in contradiction to indirect marking as evident in the examples below:

4(a) Ndimthanda izidlele uNomsa  
 I-her-pres-love-cheeks Nomsa  
 I love Nomsa's cheeks

(b) Ndithanda izidlele zika-Nomsa  
 I-pres-love-cheeks of-Nomsa  
 I love cheeks of Nomsa (Nomsa's cheeks)

Note that in sentence 4(a), 'Nomsa' (the possessor) noun is not morphologically marked for possession as is the case with (b). This is indirect marking on the part of 4(a). It is interesting to note that once this happens it has a semantic consequence of making the possessee noun distinct and this is crucial for transitivity.

I must add here that concords are used in Xhosa to mark the grammatical relation, agent and patient, since they are assigned distinct positions for subject and object within the verb. It should be emphasized too, that concords are only matched after word order constraints have been met for subject and object. This enables grammatical relations to be identified quite easily. Consider the following examples:

sc

5(a) Inja idle uYirha  
 The-dog it-perf-bit Yirha  
 The dog bit Yirha

sc

(b) UYirha udliwe yinja  
 Yirha he-perf-bit by-dog  
 Yirha has been bitten by the dog

Note that in the passives (b) sentence, it compared to 5(a) the subject concord changes when the agent is no longer the subject of the sentence and changed position. One should further note that once the subject and object of a sentence are marked by means of concords, the subject and objects NP's become optional constituents. These markings are however governed by 'Topic prominence'.

#### 2.4 MARKED AND UNMARKED NPs IN SENTENCES

It has already been pointed out in paragraph 2.3 that grammatical relations may not be formally marked on nouns that serve as subjects and objects of sentences in Xhosa. By this is said:

An NP is said to be unmarked if it is not inflected in any way, in other words when neither prefixes nor suffixes are added to it (Satyo, 1985:92).

Consider the following examples reproduced from Satyo and renumbered:

- 6(a) Umntwana usika isonka ngemela  
 The-child he/she-pres-cut bread with-knife  
 The child cuts bread with a knife
- (b) Umfazi uzisa umntwana esikolweni  
 The-woman she-pres-bring child to-school  
 The woman brings a child to school
- (c) Umntwana ubethwa yindoda  
 The-child he-pres-beat-pass by-man  
 The child is being beaten by the man

In the sentences above, the NPs: imela 'knife', isikolo 'school' and indoda 'man' are respectively marked by the following morphemes: /nga-/ (instrumental morpheme) in 'ngemela', /e-...-ni/ (locative morpheme) in 'esikolweni' and /yi-/

(copulative prefix) in yindoda. This suggests that nouns in Xhosa can receive extra morphological markings that can be assigned to certain valency roles such as (a) 'instrumental', (b) 'locative' and (c) 'copulative-agentive'. This marking consequently affects transitivity in syntactic structures. This is stated in paragraph 2.3 above.

It is also interesting, to note that some discrepancies do occur in this subdivision, especially when NPs do not receive case marking and yet are assigned case roles which are related to their marked counterparts. Consider the following sentences:

7(a) Ixhwele lithambisa uQhinebe amachiza  
 The-witchdoctor he-pres-smear Qhinebe herbs  
 The witchdoctor smears Qhinebe herbs (i.e. with herbs)

(b) Ixhwele lithambisa uQhinebe ngamachiza  
 The-witchdoctor he-pres-smear Qhinebe with-herbs  
 The witchdoctor smears Qhinebe with herbs

One easily recognizes the semantic relationship that sentence (a) has to sentence (b) with reference to the unmarked NP 'amachiza', 'herbs' in (a) and 'ngamachiza' 'with herbs' which is morphologically marked in (b). This difference is related to 'functional' and 'pragmatic' factors such as topicality and foregrounding. What is interesting here is that the presence or absence of these markings tends to either increase or decrease the transitivity of a clause. This will be evident in Chapters Three and Four.

## 2.5 AGREEMENT MORPHEMES

These refer to what are generally termed subject and object concords. Subject and object concords are class prefixes of NPs that are subjects and objects of sentences, and appear as verb prefixes. Note that, subject concords are obligatorily used while object concords are optional and are used subject to

certain conditions such as is the case with definite focused objects, or for 'topic prominence'. This has serious consequences for transitivity as it affects transitive patterns such as 'dative shift' and 'passive', direct and indirect objects and other clauses involving word order change.

Further note that subjects of sentences are usually definite and thus natural topics hence they are always marked on the verb. One should further note that, once objects are definitized, they are fronted positionally and are morphologically marked on the verb. Sometimes these objects assume characteristics of subjects resulting in backgrounding of the original subject as is the case with 'passives'. The following examples will elucidate this:

- 8(a) USipho usela amanzi  
 Sipho he-pres-drink water  
 Sipho drinks water
- (b) Amanzi aselwa nguSipho  
 Water it-pres-drunk-pass by-Sipho  
 Water is being drunk by Sipho

Further look at the following examples:

- (c) USipho uyawasela amanzi  
 Sipho he-pres-it-drink water  
 Sipho drinks water
- (d) Uyawasela uSipho amanzi  
 He-pres-it-drink Sipho water  
 He drinks it, Sipho water
- (e) Amanzi uyawasela uSipho  
 Water he-pres-it-drink Sipho  
 Water, Sipho drinks it

(f) Uyawasela amanzi uSipho  
 He-pres-it-drink water Sipho  
 He drinks it, water, Sipho

(g) Uyawasela  
 He-pres-it-drink  
 He drinks it

The consequences of agreement morphemes as definitizers is evident from the above examples. When objects are definitized, the rigid word order is not adhered to resulting in subjects being backgrounded and objects topicalized. Topicality thus shapes the structure of sentences in Xhosa sometimes having serious consequences for transitivity as evident in the structure in sentence (b) whose transitive status is reduced by demarking the backgrounded subject.

## 2.6 WORD ORDER AND TOPIC PROMINENCE

As is stated in 2.5 above, the rigid word order is not always adhered to in Xhosa. This is mostly linked to 'topic prominence'. A strong relationship thus exists between the grammatical relations: subject-predicate and topic-comment. This is argued in (Li, 1976) that:

The notion of subject has long been considered as a basic grammatical relation in the sentential structure of a language. However, the evidence we have gathered from certain languages suggests that in these language the basic constructions manifest a topic-comment relation rather than a subject- predicate relation (1976:459).

The above argument is valuable for transitivity. Its value lies in the fact that animates are primary candidates for subjects of either transitive structures or topics of discussion. High transitive ~~clauses~~ thus have human-animate agents as subjects.

Li (op cit) further argues that languages differ in their strategies in the construction of sentences according to the notion of subject. Li thus divides languages into 4 basic types viz:

- (1) 'subject prominent', in which the grammatical relation subject-predicate plays a major role.
- (2) 'topic prominent', in which the grammatical relation 'topic prominent' plays a major role.
- (3) 'subject prominent and topic prominent', where there are two equally distinct sentence constructions, the subject predicate and topic-comment constructions.
- (4) 'neither subject-prominent nor topic prominent', here, the subject and the topic have merged and are no longer distinguished in all sentences.

Xhosa fits in either the third or fourth group. This is because the subject is not only determined by word order but by a subject concord. Objects are also fronted to a pre-verbal topic position and raised to subject position with the same syntactic and morphological coding as subjects through passivization if they are definite. This has been demonstrated in Sections 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 above.

## 2.7 A FEW REMARKS ON SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS

Scholars such as Givon (1979), Lyons (1986), Traugott (1989), Fillmore (1971) etc have always noted the close relation between forms and their expressions. This stresses the importance of semantics in grammatical description. Crucial in this instance is the property 'locus' of control. 'Control' is here seen as significant for transitivity especially in causative constructions. Pragmatic factors as noted in Traugott's (1989) tend to affect meaning and are also important. It is here argued:

meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief, state, attitude towards the proposition (1989:35).

Traugott here suggests that meanings presuppose a world not of objects and states of affairs but of linguistic relations that cannot exist without language, i.e. licenced by the functions of language. An interesting point in this case is the status to accord to instrumentals, for instance, when they are raised to subject position. This problem is noted by Louw, that:

The agentive has already been discussed and is associated with the primary feature assistive and the general semantic characteristic animate. It is rather difficult to keep the concepts of agent and instrument apart in language (1978:9).

Consider the following examples extracted from Louw and renumbered.

- 9(a) Umntu usika isonka ngemela  
The person cuts bread with a knife; and
- (b) Imela isika isonka  
The knife cuts bread

In sentences 9(a) and (b) the agent and the instrument are collapsed into one. In sentence 9(b) Imela 'knife' becomes an inanimate assistive agent. This raises questions on a recurrent problem in grammatical relations and between syntax and semantics, as Lyons suggests:

The boundary between syntax and semantics has long been and remains, the subject of dispute (1986:374).

It is here further argued:

The theoretical conclusions to be drawn from this fact is that there is an intrinsic connection between the meaning of words and their distribution and it is for this reason that it is difficult to draw the boundary between syntax and semantics (op cit:375).

The distribution of a word (unit) therefore entails the set of contexts in which it occurs throughout the well-formed sentences of a language. This, however, does not account for an overlap since two different word forms may have the same distributional properties. This further presents problems in morphological marking since formal marking is supposed to correlate with distributional privileges. Lyons (1986), however, argues:

the formally marked member of the opposition tends to be more restricted in its distribution (i.e. in the range of contexts in which it occurs) than the formally unmarked member.

Note here that marking is assumed to subsume two related issues which coincide, formal marking and distributional marking. In Lyons' terms there are formally marked lexemes that are not distributionally marked and many distributionally marked lexemes that are not formally marked. It is suggested in this case:

Distributional marking correlates with, and in many cases can be plausibly explained as being determined by semantic marking and once again, this principle is independent of formal marking (Lyons, 1986:305).

Lyons therefore suggests that distributional restriction is independent of formal marking since it may as well be applied to formally unrelated lexemes. What normally happens is that the formally marked member is excluded from neutralizing contexts. The relationship between formal marking and distribution is responsible for the extension of the terms 'marked' and 'unmarked' on purely distributional grounds to pairs of formally

unrelated lexemes. I would thus like to draw attention to the following argument on syntax by Lyons. Here syntax is defined as:

a set of rules which accounts for the distribution of word forms throughout the sentences of the language in terms of the permissible combinations of classes of word forms (op cit:375).

Note that this definition says nothing on the nature of the rules or whether these have any consequences for the meaning of lexemes. However, it is noted here that a syntactically acceptable sentence satisfies the following conditions according to Lyons:

- (1) each word is a member of some form class,
- (2) the word forms occur in positions that are defined to be acceptable for the form classes of which they are members.

Form classes are, however, not to be confused with parts of speech. Parts of speech are classes of lexemes. The problem of parts of speech is well noted in Lyons (op cit) especially with the inadequacies of traditional definitions. These have been found to be unsatisfactory because:

they depend upon the mixture of morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria, which do not necessarily coincide in particular instances (op cit:423).

Form class is a term which is preferred here and is defined in terms of syntactic equivalence, that is:

two forms,  $f_i$  and  $f_j$  are members of the same form class  $f_x$  if and only if they are intersubstitutable (i.e. have the same distribution) throughout the sentences of the language (op cit:424).

This applies to expression classes as well and is thus also relevant for the relationship between morphology and syntax. Morphology is here found not to be an adequate criterion in defining part of speech. Syntactic definitions rest primarily and ultimately upon the possibility of grouping simple and complex expressions into expression classes in terms of distribution of the forms of each expression. This is not absolute but helpful. The argument on syntax and semantics is further progressed by Lyons:

It must be emphasized that this correlation between syntax and semantics is not perfect (op cit:438).

Lyons goes on to say:

What is from a semantic point of view undeterminate may be determined syntactically to be a member of one part of speech or expression class rather than another (op cit).

Important facts extracted from Lyons are that:

- (1) Each word form is a member of some form class,
- (2) Word forms occur in positions that are defined to be acceptable for the form classes, e g:

N	V
[abstr]	[trans]

This is applicable to a sentence, adopting the verb (predicate) nucleus criteria, and accompanied by other constituents one of which is the subject. In these terms the predicate is an operator with one or more arguments. An intransitive verb is therefore formalized as a one-place operation which takes an NP as its sole argument; a transitive verb a two place operator which relates one NP to another and what is related may or may not be an NP. The verb (predicate, predication) is the pivot of

the sentence nucleus. This pivot status correlates with several more particular syntactic phenomena that are handled in terms of concord and government. The verb must either agree with the subject or object. It also governs its object (in terms of case or the selection of a particular preposition). This relationship is illustrated in a set of three kinds of sentence nuclei all of which are distinguished purely on syntactic or morphological grounds. In terms of transitivity this categorization takes the following form:

- (1) NP + V                - intransitive
- (2) NP +V + NP        - transitive

I must, however, add that the distinction between transitive and intransitive is not as straightforward as it appears.

## 2.8 LOCATION, POSSESSION AND NOMINALS

The relationship between location and possession has been noted in a number of studies viz Christie (1970), Allen (1964), Lyons (1986) and Fox (1982). These are normally used as extra nuclear adjuncts in the nuclei of kernel sentences. 'Association' seems to be a term that links these three arguments as Lyons suggests on the possessives:

It is worth writing that the term 'possessive' as is traditionally employed by linguists, is somewhat misleading: It suggests that the basic function of the so-called possessive constructions that are found in many languages is the expression of possession or ownership (1986:473).

This argument is carried further as:

a phrase like 'X's Y' means no more than 'the Y that is associated with X' and the kind of association holding between Y and X is frequently one of spatial proximity or attachment (op cit:474).

Possessive constructions are hence regarded as subclass of locatives. Consider the morphologically marked and unmarked NPs in the following sentences:

10a) UZondwa uthanda izidlele kuNomhi  
 Zondwa he-pres-love cheeks in-Nomhi  
 Zondwa loves the cheeks in Nomhi

(b) UZondwa uthanda izidlele zikaNomhi  
 Zondwa he-pres-love cheeks of-Nomhi  
 Zondwa loves Nomhi's cheeks

(c) UZondwa umthanda izidlele uNomhi  
 Zondwa he-her-pres-love cheeks Nomhi  
 Zondwa loves specifically the cheeks in Nomhi

It is interesting to note that the marked and unmarked word forms are interchangeable in the three sets of sentences. By this I mean, a locative, possessive and an unmarked nominal may function in the same or similar environments with related semantic meanings. This has crucial implications for transitivity. We have to ask ourselves what status to accord to the above NPs in their marked or unmarked forms. Christie argues in support of Lyons on Swahili:

The set of locative elements -ku/-pa/-mu and -ni are to be interpreted as 'located with' rather than specifically 'inside', 'near' etc (1970:167).

The use of locatives as ordinary NPs is also noted in Lyons (1986:476) and supported by the following sentences extracted from Christie, translated and renumbered:

11a) London is cold.

(b) It is cold in London.

These sentences are equivalent of the following Xhosa sentences.

12a) IBhayi liyabanda

Port Elizabeth it-pres-cold

Port Elizabeth is cold

(b) Kuyabanda eBhayi

It-pres-cold in-Port Elizabeth

It is cold In Port Elizabeth

(c) Kubanda iBhayi

It-pres-cold Port Elizabeth

It is cold in Port Elizabeth

Note that the noun in the (a) sentences is locative but it is coded with all the properties of subjects i.e. it is governed by the same constraints such as word order and subject concord incorporation as ordinary subjects as is the case with sentence 12(d) below:

(d) Indoda iyatya

The-man he-pres-eat

The man eats (is eating)

Expressions are therefore ambivalent and indeterminate syntactically as well as semantically. This raises serious questions for the issue of transitivity and suggests that it is not entirely determined by a mere presence of an NP as NPs occur fluid amongst constructions.

## 2.9 BODY PART AND POSSESSION

Body part syntax is another area which raises interesting grammatical questions for the notion of possession. Fox (1981)

suggests:

the syntactic behaviour of body part nouns is a reflection of the real-world fact that body parts are physically contiguous with their 'possessors' (Fox, 1982:323).

This is elucidated in the following examples:

13a) Ke-robilé ngoana letsoko  
 I-broke child arm  
 I broke the child's arm.

In Xhosa this is translated as:

(b) Ndaphule umntwana ingalo.

Note here that the possessor NP is not morphologically marked and occupies the position of a DIRECT OBJECT/DATIVE while the possessed NP is demoted to an INDIRECT OBJECT or oblique phrase with the same morphological and syntactic factors such as occupying the direct object position. Consider these examples:

13c) Ndaphule umntwana ingalo  
 I-perf-break child arm  
 I broke the child's arm

See Chapters Three and Four for details on this. Further note the use of body parts in body part idiom, passive, reflexives and locative constructions.

The following examples elucidate this:

14a) UJim ufe isingq  
 Jim he-perf-die waist  
 Jim has his waist paralysed

- (b) UJim uzihlamba izandla  
 Jim he-refl-pres-wash hands  
 Jim washes his hands
- (c) UJim uchetywa iindevu  
 Jim he-pres-shave-pass beard  
 Jim has his beard shaven
- (d) Ndaphule ingalo emntwaneni  
 I-perf-break arm on-child  
 I broke an arm in the child

As stated above the implications of this for transitivity will be argued in Chapters Three and Four.

## 2.10 ACTION, STATES AND AGENCY

In terms of Hopper and Thompson (1980), actions, states and agency are significant components of transitivity and determine whether a clause is transitive or not. The following discussion will take the following course, in 2.10.1 I discuss agency and in 2.10.2 actions, states as well as processes.

### 2.10.1 Agency

Lyons defines an agent as:

any entity that is capable of operating upon other entities, effecting some change in their properties or their location; an animate being is one that is able to move itself without the intervention of any external agency (1986:483).

For the above reason therefore, an agent manifests itself as an entity which rates high on the transitivity scale and this is crucial for both actions and states. It also involves:

the conceptual framework within which we organize and describe our perceptions of the physical world (op cit).

One of the significant properties of agents is their relation to causativity and high transitivity. Lyons makes an example with the verbs 'die' and 'kill' and relates the latter to the former by derivational means and the notion of CAUSE. In Xhosa the equivalents of these are /-fa/ and /-bulala/. Lyons goes on to argue:

by taking CAUSE to be more general in sense than any of the verbs that denote agentive initiation and by drawing distinction between the propositions expressed by these several sentences in terms of additional notions: direct vs indirect causation, coercive vs non-coercive causation etc (1986:489).

Lyons further goes on to suggest that the vast majority of trivalent and bivalent verbs in all languages are most commonly used with an agentive subject and that their meaning is generally though not always, causative. The bivalent verb '/-bulala/' 'kill' is for instance causative in relation to '/-fa/' 'die'. The trivalent verb 'give' is seen as causative in relation to 'have'. There is thus a relationship between causativity and increased transitivity (augmented valency).

I would like to argue here that although agency determines causativity and increased transitivity, this is governed by the locus of 'control'. The verb '/-fa/', it is interesting to note, is not only governed by agency but by control as well. By this I mean, it is only when arguments are assigned control of a human agent that they assume causative meanings. '/-fa/' for instance, is governed by an absence of an overt controller NP and therefore belongs to the domain of intransitivity. It is further interesting to note that it is restricted in its occurrence with the causative affix /-is-/ which it takes only with a reflexive

morpheme in which case it has meaning of 'fake-cause'. The ungrammaticality of 15(a) as compared to 15(b) in the following examples elucidate this:

15a) \*Indoda ifisa isigebenga  
 The-man he-pres-die-cause the robber  
 The man causes the robber to die

(b) Indoda iyazifisa  
 The-man he-pres+refl-die-cause  
 The man is faking his death

I would further like to suggest that the vertical and horizontal properties governing agency are of the hierarchy.

Agent > human/non-human, animate/inanimate

▼

Intent

▼

Control

▼

Mediation

This necessitates a refreshed look of the following parameters of causation: (i) manipulation; (ii) control, and (iii) culpability. (i) and (ii) apply normally to animate human agents while (iii) in exceptional cases, may apply to inanimates and non-humans. However, it should be emphasized that some inanimates, when assigned control of actions may have the same properties as agents and even trigger reflexivization. Consider the following examples:

(a) Ikhomputha ibala imali  
 The-computer it-pres-count cash  
 The computer counts/is capable of counting cash

- (b) Izibane ziyazicima  
 The-lights they-pres-refl-turn-off  
 The lights turn themselves off

The above argument is, however, not insensitive to arguments that may suggest that these are human inventions and have an underlying human control. Emphasis is, however, more on the focused control which seems to be conceptualized in this case. This is because control and culpability have their social dimensions and are recoverable from context. The crux of the argument here is that intent and volition must interact with control in transitive designations. A further question to note is the status to accord to clauses whose subjects are lower on the agency scale than the object in active sentences? Consider the following sentences:

- 16a) Umfanekiso wothusa uBhayi  
 The-picture it-pres-shock-cause Bhayi  
 The picture shocked Bhayi

Note here that the structure is *subj-inanimate - v - obj-animate*. Further note that the inanimate subject even triggers the causative affix. This raises further questions on direct and indirect or mediated causation.

#### 2.10.2 Actions and states

These terms are discussed adequately by Lyons. A 'static situation' here defined as:

one that is <sup>is/ta</sup> conceived of as existing, rather than happening, and as being homogenous, continuous and unchanging throughout its duration (Lyons, 1986:483).

A dynamic situation on the other hand is defined as:

something that happens (or occurs, or takes place): it may be momentary or enduring, it is not necessarily either homogenous or continuous, but may have any of several temporal contours, and, most of all, it may not be under the control of an agent (one must add here human/animate) (op cit).

Lyons further argues on dynamic situations:

- (1) If the latter is extended in time, it is a process.
- (2) If it is momentary it is an event.
- (3) If it is under the control of an agent it is an action.
- (4) If the process is under the control of an agent it is an activity.
- (5) If an event is under the control of an agent, it is an act.

From the above it is evident that agency, intent and control are significant for actions, although there may be undeterminate boundaries between actions and states. This continuum manifests itself as follows:

state > process > event > action.

If transitivity is viewed on a cline, i.e. as a continuum, the above arguments become interesting especially for borderline cases.

## 2.11 TENSE VS ASPECT

The problem with states and actions mostly manifests itself in the perfect. Shmid (1980), relates the perfect with either to 'tense' or 'aspect'. Aspect is taken here to be crucial for transitivity. The main problem with the perfect being that it is:

'complete but continuing' (Shmid, 1980:33).

Perfected actions thus are seen as problematic. Despite this one could still draw a distinction between situations such as:

<u>-azi</u> 'know'	<u>-betha</u> 'hit'
no change	continuous change of state
state	(process) action
atelic	telic
non-instantaneous	instantaneous (punctual)
no end point	end point

I wish to point out at this stage that these lexical units are taken out of context whilst they normally co-occur with other grammatical phenomena. Verbs that are treated as states may vary from language to language or from context. A verb such as 'see' /-bona/ may in Xhosa for example take an object. The difference between states and processes is thus not transparent. However, one would at least attribute the difference to the fact that states are not volitional while actions and processes are volitional. However, if an atelic verb like /-fa / 'die' is progressive, there seems to be a shift of emphasis in lexical meaning. Consider:

17a) Uyafa > no completion

He-pres-die  
He is dying,  
and

(b) Ufile > completion

He-perf-die  
He is dead

Emphasis therefore seems to be whether an action is telic or atelic. Verbs such as '/-thanda/' 'love, like', '/-zonda/' 'begrudge' may have no completion with regard to objects as compared to verbs such as '/-tya/' 'eat'. Consider the following pairs of sentences.

18a) USipho uthanda iintombi  
 Sipho he-pres-like girls  
 Sipho likes girls

(b) Indoda itya inyama  
 The-man he-pres-eat meat  
 The man eats/is eating meat

From sentence 18(a) one could conclude that /-thanda/ 'like' is an emotion (perception) verb which does not presuppose a 'real' presence of the object. In the case of sentence 18(b) the object is physically present. The degree of affectation is therefore different in the two clauses. Further note that a verb such as '/-tya/' may lead to the disappearance of the object (*inyama*) 'meat'. In this case there is total affectation of the object. Also note that morphological markings co-occur with syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors. In this case the event schema related by the speaker is important.

## 2.12 TRANSITIVITY AND TOPIC PROMINENCE

The notions of, 'topic', 'comment' and 'focus' are here seen as crucial for the issue of transitivity. Here the topic will be discussed in relation to other grammatical phenomena such as subjecthood and objecthood. Crystal defines topic and comment as:

The topic of a sentence is the person or thing about which something is said, whereas the further statement made about this person/thing is the comment (1985:311).

The relevance of this for this discussion lies in the close relationship between, 'subjecthood' and 'topic', 'subjecthood' and 'agency', as well as 'agency' and 'topic'. The topic is the participant that is most likely to be coded as subject, and the discourse function of topic is linked to the semantic function

'agent' which is significant for transitivity.

### 2.12.1 Grammatical coding of topic

According to Givon:

'The syntactic coding of discourse function, which is the bulk of the correlates of syntax is imperfect but geared for a certain efficiency of processing, whereby the loss accruing in the cause of efficient processing is to a large extent offset by the omnipresence of discourse context referring to:

- (a) Generally shared knowledge coded in the culturally shared lexicon and known semantic likelihoods;
- (b) Specifically shared knowledge of the particular discourse;
- (c) Specifically shared knowledge of a particular speaker and hearer (1983:16).

Context thus plays a crucial role in allowing syntax to be an efficient processing device. Different languages use different syntactic devices (coding points) comprising of word order morphology, intonations or a possible combination of these as in Xhosa. Givon further suggests:

'some languages may either overcode or undercode the entire domain' (my emphasis) (op cit).

The following scales in the coding of topic accessibility in topic identification are given by Givon (op cit).

- (a) The scale of phonological size:  
Agreement (bound morphemes) fall in this category.



The factors mentioned in 2.12.1 manifest themselves as set in 2.12.2-2.12.6 below.

### 2.12.2 Topic shift

This manifests itself in the following manner:

- (a) Shifting any object argument (through passivization) may change agreement in favour of the topicalized constituent.
- (b) When an instrumental is topic shifted, it controls obligatory object agreement.

### 2.12.3 The topic implicational hierachy (T.I.H.)

The hierachy of the likelihood of verb agreement is governed by the universal hierachy of topicality and may be given as follows:

- (a) Human > non-human
- (b) Definite > indefinite
- (c) More involved participant > less involved participant
- (d) 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person.

### 2.12.4 The accessibility hierachy (A.H.)

I would also like to add here another important proposal by Keenan (1976: 305) which tends to affect transitivity of a clause. These are:

#### (a) Accessibility hierachy (AH)

This is related to the 'topic implication' and presupposes 'promotion to subject hierachy' (PSH) with similar functions of: Subj > DO > IO > obl > Obj of comp.

(b) Functional succession principle (FSP)

This presupposes that one NP can be raised out of a grammatical relation and assume a grammatical relation previously borne by the other.

(c) Advancement continuity principle (ACP)

This presupposes that a language may advance via operations like passivization NPs low on the AH to subject.

All the above principles are conditions satisfied by Xhosa low transitive structures.

2.12.5 Resumé

Here we summarize the arguments above and suggest that their syntactic manifestations are crucial for transitivity. The discourse function 'topic' is linked to the semantic function of case roles. The vast majority of transitive verbs is such that when they are used, the grammatical subject is the expression which refers to the agent in a dynamic situation, transitivity and causativity being associated with motion from source to goal. If the verb is intransitive, either the patient or actor becomes subject of, depending on whether the verb is a stative or an action verb. If the verb is causative, the causer is subject/agent while an accusative has the role of experiencer.

2.12.6 Topicalizing rules

One is here referred to a list of topicalizing rules which are relevant for our discussion. These are extracted from Givon (1979: 4-9). These are:

- (1) Topicalization - Y-movement, mostly applies to objects:

19a) Amajoni atywyatyushe abafundi > no movement  
 The-soldiers they-perf-whip the-students  
 The soldiers whipped the students

(b) Abafundi, abatywyatyushile, amajoni > y-movement  
 The-students, they-them-perf whip the-soldiers  
 The students, they whipped them, the soldiers

(2) Left dislocation.

This is similar to 19(b) above and only applies to moved subjects.

(3) Passive.

It is suggested here that when the above two rules operate, they may result in passivization as for example:

(a) Abafundi batywyatyushwe ngamajoni  
 The-students they-perf-whip-pass by-soldiers  
 The students were whipped by the soldiers

I find it necessary here to progress further the discussion on the notion of subjecthood. Reasons for this is that a presence or absence of a subject either increases or decreases transitivity. Subjects are thus viewed as a cline, and basic subjects (vide Keenan, 1976) are seen as subjects of prototype transitive structures. Basic subjects are therefore subjects of basic sentences.

(4) Dative movement and/or about movement > neutral

20a) Ndibikela inkosi udaba/ngodaba  
 I-pres-tell the-chief news/about-news  
 I tell (am telling) the chief news/about news.

(b) Ndiyibikela udaba inkosi > dative movement  
 I-him-tell news chief  
 I am telling news to the chief

(c) Ndiyibikela ngodaba inkosi > about-movement  
 I-him-tell about-news chief  
 I am telling about news to the chief

(5) Adverb-fronting > neutral

21a) Inxila lihlala enkanti  
 The-drunkard he-pres-stay at-pub  
 The drunkard stays at the pub

(b) Enkanti kuhlala inxila > adverb-fronting  
 At-pub it-pres-stay drunkard  
 At the pub stays the drunkard

Note that adverb fronting has morphological consequences and triggers a dummy S.C. '/ku-/' on the verb. In this instance, its presence must definitely affect the transitive nature of the clause.

(6) Particle movement (O.C. incorporation).

Examples of this are given as 8c-f in 2.5 above.

## 2.13 A NOTE ON SUBJECTHOOD

### 2.13.1 The subject properties list

Keenan (1976's) proposal of the subject properties list is here found to be relevant for both topic prominence and transitivity. Noted properties of basic subjects are the following: 'autonomy', 'case marking', 'semantic role' and 'immediate dominance'. These issues are discussed independently.

(a) Autonomy properties viz.  
 Independent existence  
 Indispensibility  
 Autonomous reference.

Here it is presupposed that, in the structure

	X	Y	Z
22a)	Umbhali	ubhala	incwadi
	The-writer	he-pres-write	book
	The writer is writing a book.		

Y and Z are not independent of X while X is independent of both. Y can for instance be eliminated and the sentence left complete. Consider:

- (a) Umbhali uyabhala  
 The-writer he-pres-write  
 The writer writes.

Note too that X is also one that is immediately dominated by the speaker.

- (b) Case markings

Basic subjects (b-subjects) are case marked and may change this marking through causativization. This relates to structures such as:

- 23a) Umfundi ubhala ithisisi                      no causativity  
 The-student he-pres-write thesis  
 The students is writing a thesis

- (b) Uprofesa ubhalisa umfundi ithisisi                      causativity  
 The-professor he-pres-write-cause a/the-student a/the-thesis  
 The professor causes the student to write a thesis

Note that in 23(b) umfundi 'the student' is not case marked for subject of the upper clause but is case marked for the micro situation or lower clause.

## (c) Semantic role

The semantic roles (agent, experiencer etc) are predicted for b-subjects. In this sense the subject is an agent in high transitivity clauses and an experiencer in low transitivity clauses. This will be evident in Chapters Three and Four.

## (d) Immediate dominance

This property predicts that in neutral S.V.O. structures, b-subjects are immediately dominated by the root mode S suggested in (Chomsky, 1965) as illustrated below in an active clause.



24	b-subject		
	umfundi	(ubhala	umbongo)
	student	write	poem

2.13.2 Basic sentences

This notion is related to basic subjects as well. Its importance lies in active-passive clausal relationships. Active clauses are assumed to be more basic than passive clauses. Consider the following sentences:

- 25a) Amadoda angcwaba uNgxabane  
 The-men they-pres-bury Ngxabane  
 The men bury Ngxabane

- (b) UNgxabane ungcwatywa ngamadoda  
 Ngxabane he-pres-bury-pass by-men  
 Ngxabane is buried by men
- (c) Kungcwatywa uNgxabane ngamadoda  
 It-pres-bury-pass Ngxabane by-men  
 It is buried Ngxabane by men

In terms of Keenans's (1976) definition of basic sentences, the (a) sentence in 25 is more basic than (b) and (c). B-sentences are defined by Keenan as:

- (a) A syntactic structure X is semantically more basic than a syntactic structure Y if and only if, the meaning of Y depends on that of X. That is, to understand the meaning of Y it is necessary to understand the meaning of X;

and

- (b) A sentence in L is a basic sentence (in L) if, and only if, no (other) complete sentence in L is more basic than it (1976:307).

Understanding sentences (b) and (c) above therefore presupposes prior knowledge of the situation in (a).

#### 2.14 SUMMARY

From the above discussion the following are observed.

- (a) There is a relationship between morphology and case marking in Xhosa.
- (b) There is a relationship between the thematic relations, topic and transitivity.

- (c) Change in grammatical relations interact with word order and this tends to affect transitivity of clauses.
- (d) Humans are prime or prototype agents but agency is a continuum and cannot be assigned only to them. Control and ability are in this sense also crucial.
- (e) Subjecthood is viewed on a scale and is linked to the general transitive pattern, in which case it is viewed as a continuum.
- (f) Transitivity of a clause is determined by an interaction of various factors.

**CHAPTER THREE****XHOSA VERBAL CATEGORIES****3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with the categories of predictable verb relationships that are found in Xhosa. In this sense, the theoretical problems, as well as tentative solutions in this regard are examined and related to the general issue of transitivity. It is assumed here that the classification of verbs into a clear cut transitive/intransitive dichotomy is unacceptable for a number of reasons. I share the opinion that verbs cannot be divided into two complementary sets: those that are candidates for insertion into those respective constructions and those that are not. I suggest therefore, that possibility of occurrence of transitive structures is a matter of gradience, some items being readily available for categorization into a distinct set, others being totally excluded, with in between a number of controversial or less typical issues. Consequently, constructions need to be regarded as:

prototype categories, with some instantiations counting as better examples of the construction than others (Taylor, 1991:197).

Such a view is shared by Shibatani (1985), that:

constructions exist along a continuum; certain ones are prototypical, others are similar to the prototype to a limited degree and still others share no similarities with the prototype (Shibatani, 1985:822).

It is here further argued:

such an approach not only is essential in understanding the relationships among various constructions within a single language, but also is capable of providing a useful framework for cross linguistic research (op cit).

It is suggested in this dissertation that syntactic constructions provide some of the most compelling evidence for the structuring of linguistic categories and non-linguistic reality. Meaning is therefore broad and embraces pragmatic and discourse related matters with various relations existing between different constructions of a language.

As suggested in Taylor (1991), a standpoint consistently followed in this dissertation, is that semantic content is structured and symbolized not at the level of some abstract, unobservable underlying representations but at the level of an utterance. This, however, in no way denies the possibility of regular correspondences, both formal and semantic between different constructions.

The discussion in this chapter follows the following pattern. I first discuss what is termed 'inherent transitive' structures. This refers to the prototype construction, which is consistent with the 'cardinal' transitivity proposed in Hopper and Thompson 1980's hypothesis. Datives naturally fall into this category. Secondly, I look at a set of intransitives. This refers to inherent minus-object constructions. Thirdly, I look at controversial issues. This involves the less prototypical constructions and peripheral memberships, where a construction may be used to express meanings which differ to a greater or lesser degree from the prototype, i.e. the central specification of both transitives and intransitive. This involves deviations from the formal specification of each prototype categorization. Emphasis here is put on such constructions as deletable objects, locative nouns as objects, impersonals, verbs of nature, subjectivized instrumentals, deletable subjects, conjoined

subjects, reflexives and body parts.

I further suggest here that that characterization of a construction specifies not only the prototype but also the manner and extent of permitted deviation from the prototype in a productive way, in other words, deviation may come in a number of forms. However, one has to establish why these occur in the same syntactic class as the prototype rather in a more compatible class. In this sense I suggest the following determinant factors involving transitivity:

- (1) Transitivity is a matter of degree because change is a matter of degree depending on more than one property.
- (2) Metaphor and metaphoric extension are crucial and involve our attitudes towards an event or how it is viewed or construed.
- (3) An understanding of context or pragmatic factors or functional and thematic notions also determines our conceptualization of transitive structures.

### 3.2 THE TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION

Emphasis is here put on Vitale 1981's classification of 'inherent transitives'. In this dissertation this is used to refer to the 'prototypical transitive' structure, i.e. verbs with a direct object both in terms of syntactic and semantic compatibility. This can be illustrated by the following diagram:

NP1	Vtr	NP2
subject (subj)		Direct Object (DO)

In its prototypical sense both NPs have specific reference, with the verb realis, affirmative and indicative, and in a reporting sense, in the present or past.

Transitive structures therefore fall into this category without any derivations. According to Vitale (1981:23) a sentence may be considered minimally transitive if it contains a two-place predicate where the two NPs have the grammatical relation 'subject of' and 'object of' the verb. Two place verbs will not contain what are traditionally labelled as derivational affixes unless some syntactic process has taken place.

The following examples in sentences are instances of two place predicates:

- 1a Inkwenkwe ikhaba ibhola  
 The-boy he-pres-kick ball  
 The boy kicks (is kicking) the ball
- 2a Imbaleki isela ubisi  
 The-athlete he-pres-drink milk  
 An athlete drinks milk
- 3a Umfana uncamisa igqiyazana  
 The-lad he-pres-kiss maiden  
 The lad is kissing a maiden
- 4a Indoda iphuza umfazi  
 The-man he-pres-kiss woman  
 The man kisses (is kissing) a woman

In the above sentences, the NPs 'Inkwenkwe', 'imbaleki', 'umfana' and 'indoda' have the surface function of 'subject' while 'ibhola', 'ubisi', 'igqiyazana' and 'umfazi' have the surface function 'object' of the verb. The transitivity of the above relationships is demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of the following examples:

- 1b\* Inkwenkwe ikhaba  
 The-boy he-pres-kick  
 The boy kicks (is kicking)

2b\* Imbaleki isela  
 The-athlete he-pres-drink  
 The athlete drinks (is drinking)

3b\* Umfana uncamisa  
 The-lad he-pres-kiss  
 The lad kisses (is kissing)

4b\* Indoda iphuza  
 The-man he-pres-kiss  
 The man kisses (is kissing)

The above sentences are obviously ungrammatical without specified objects. However, certain points may be raised for Xhosa. It will be observed that the direct object may be deleted as long it is marked on the verb by its appropriate concord. Furthermore, a tense marker '/-ya-/' cancels the occurrence of an object. The following sentences are found in certain context-bound- discourses. Consider the following sentences where the object is optional:

1(b) 2 Inkwenkwe iyayikhaba [ibhola]  
 The-boy he-pres-it-kick [the-ball]  
 The boy kicks (is kicking) it [the ball]

From the above sentences, the following observations could be drawn:

- (1) The presence of an object is important for the notion of transitivity.
- (2) The crucial point is not only the presence of an object but the presence of a definite object.
- (3) The presence of the tense/aspectual marker /-ya-/ cancels the occurrence of an indefinite object but not a definite one. In context where /-ya-/ occurs a definite object is

optional. Examples 1(b)2 and 1(c) indicate this.

1(c) Inkwenkwe iyakhaba

The boy he-pres-kick

The boy kicks (is able to kick)

(4) The role of agreement morphemes as definitizers should clearly be observed.

(5) The nature of subjects and objects NPs should also be observed, i.e. the subject is normally a human agent.

I would like here to argue further, as suggested in Vitale (1981) that the number of NPs that can co-occur with a given verb, and the optionality of the arguments is:

formalized by a set of contextual (sub-categorization) features and options of certain terms within these sets (1981:28).

Lexical properties of the verbs themselves is dependent upon formal marking of context. The above mentioned verbs are inherently two-place predicates but can also possibly be one place predicates depending on context. Consider these versions of the sentences:

1c Inkwenkwe iyakhaba

The-boy he-pres-kicks

The boy kicks (is able to kick)

2c Imbaleki iyasela

The-athlete he-pres-drink

The athlete drinks

3c Indoda iyaphuza

The-man he-pres-kiss

The man kisses (is able to kiss)

4c Umfana uyancamisa  
 The-lad he-pres-kiss  
 The kid kisses (is able to kiss)

From the above sentences the following could be raised:

- (1) The sentences seem to be referring to habitual actions and static situations.
- (2) The meaning of the verb in sentence 2b above is extended when it appears without its object and in its perfective form. In this case the meaning is extended from 'drink' to 'drunk' and from a 'do' to a 'be' assertion. Consider:

2(d) Imbaleki isele [ubisi]  
 The-athlete he-drink-perf the-milk  
 The athlete has drunk milk

as against:

2(e) Imbaleki isele [ - ]  
 The athlete he-be-drink  
 The athlete is drunk

- (3) The objects in the above sentences 1-4 do not fall on the same side of transitivity scale and range from human animates 'igqiyazana', 'umfazi', to a concrete one in 'ibhola' and then to a [- count] noun 'ubisi'. Objects of sentences therefore are gradable as some are deletable. These distinguishing features are explainable within the transitivity hypothesis and tend to mark a clause as either high or low in transitive value.
- (4) The tense/aspect dichotomy also has serious consequences for transitivity. The perfect form in 2(e) has meaning extended by marking some clauses as stative in significance and therefore low in transitive value.

- (5) In sentences 1a-d the prototype transitive designation is followed for the events involve a physical, discernable and observable change in the patient object. This change is either change of location, velocity or is accessible to observation i.e. it is subject to evidentiality.
- (6) Sentence 1c-4c indicate that transitivity is a matter of degree and can be affected by attachment of certain morphemes such as '/-ya-/'. Note, however, that when this happens, it has predictable consequences in that when morphemes block an occurrence of an object, semantic transitivity is affected as the subject is no longer separated from the event and becomes an experiencer of a state rather than a doer of an action.
- (7) What the above arguments indicate is that transitivity is a continuum and depends on either morphosyntactic marking or semantic interpretation and is sensitive to these.
- (8) The presence of an object or its absence is not the only determinant of transitivity but rather denotes the ability of the verb to enter into those sets of relationships.

### 3.3 DELETABLE OBJECTS

This is a term which I use to refer to what is usually called 'cognate' objects or 'optional' objects.

The term is also applied to the description of some kinds of SYNTACTIC RELATIONS: a 'COGNATE OBJECT' is one which has the same historical derivation as the VERB which governs it (or, more loosely, is SEMANTICALLY dependent upon the action of the verb), (Crystal, 1985:53).

The term therefore can also be used to such sentences involving cognate subject-verb-object sequence. Consider the following sentences:

- 5a UmaNzolo upheka ukutya  
MaNzolo she-pres-cook food  
MaNzolo (cooks) is cooking food
- 5b UmaNzolo uyapheka  
MaNzolo she-pres-cook  
MaNzolo is cooking/cooks
- 5c UmaNzolo upheka indengane  
MaNzolo she-pres-cook porridge  
Manzolo cooks (is cooking) porridge
- 6a Umtuze ubhala incwadi  
Mtuze he-pres-write book  
Mtuze is writing a book
- 6b Umtuze uyabhala  
Mtuze he-pres-write  
Mtuze is writing/is a writer
- 7a Indoda itya ukutya  
The-man he-pres-eat food  
The man eats (is eating) food
- 7b Indoda iyatya  
The-man he-pres-eat  
The man eats (is eating)
- 8a UBhayi uhleka intsini  
Bhayi he-pres-laugh (derision)  
Bhayi laughs/is laughing (derisively)
- 8b UBhayi uyahleka  
Bhayi he-pres-laugh  
Bhayi (laughs) is laughing

9a Unonduluka ulila iinyembezi  
 The-wench she-pres-cry tears  
 The wench is crying tearfully

9b Unonduluka uyalila  
 The-wench she-pres-cry  
 The wench is crying

The verbs in the above constructions are problematic in both their syntactic and semantic senses. They are deletable and optional and are therefore easily used intransitively. However, it is not wholly accurate to say they belong to a class which optionally takes an object as much as it is confusing to view their level of semantic grammatical relations within the domain of a 'derived syntactic structure'. Some would argue for instance that deletion could be attributed to the tense marker /-ya-/. It is as well tempting to regard such structures as transitive since they do take objects. Nevertheless, I must add that the range of occurrence of such objects is restricted. These objects are deleted relative to their semantic properties. This in turn is highly predictable and serves as a reason for their deletion.

Vitale (1981) therefore rightfully argues on rules governing deletion of such objects:

Such a rule can be stated only in the most general terms since it is probably the same rule which deletes NPs which constitute old information within the context of the discourse where the speaker takes the reference to be clear to all participants (1981:33).

Semantic characteristics of the argument NPs are therefore crucial for the issue transitivity.

In terms of the transitivity hypothesis one has reasonable grounds to view these clauses as intransitive since they lack

most of the features A-J, especially J (on total affectedness of the object). One may also add that because these objects are overcoded they receive their coding as zero and therefore have a capacity to diminish transitivity.

It is further interesting to note that some verbs taking deletable objects do co-occur with human or animate objects resulting in what I term 'less' typical constructions.

Consider the following verbs:

- 10a Umfazi upheka inkomo  
The-woman she-pres-cook beef (specific food)  
The woman is cooking beef
- 11a Umtuze ubhala uDingezweni  
Mtuze he-pres-write Dingezweni (a specific book)  
Mtuze is writing Dingezweni
- 12a Indoda itya inyama  
The-man he-pres-eat meat (specific food)  
The man is eating meat
- 13a UBhayi uhleka uProfesa  
Bhayi he-pres-laugh professor  
Bhayi is laughing at the professor

An observation which can be made here is that the abovementioned verbs take such objects only when the speaker wants to be referential (i.e. specific) i.e. 'inkomo', 'uDingezweni', 'inyama', 'uProfesa' etc become specific entities. Transitivity of clauses in this case is always augmented. These instances should therefore be regarded as instances of metaphoric extension especially sentences 11a and 13a. In this instance 11a is about contents of the book (i.e. UDingezweni) or means by which the writing is brought about while 13a is more about an experience of the subject brought about by the object i.e. (uProfesa). See

the following related sets:

- 11b UMtuzé ubhala ngoDingezweni  
 Mtuzé he-pres-write Dingezweni  
 Mtuzé is writing about Dingezweni
- 13b UProfesa uhlekisa uBhayi  
 Professor he-pres-laugh-cause Bhayi  
 Professor causes Bhayi to laugh
- 13c UBhayi uhleka ngenxa kaProfesa  
 Bhayi he-pres-laugh because of-the-professor  
 Bhayi is laughing because of the professor

I must in this case further add that when the unmarked NPs in 11a and 13a are marked as in 11b and 13c, the transitive nature of the clause is consequently reduced.

#### 3.4 INTRANSITIVE SENTENCES

Vitale (1981) has this to say on the transitive/intransitive dichotomy in verbs (sentences):

Verbs outside the Va class are more difficult to categorize in terms of transitivity since virtually any verb in the language may have two arguments (1981:33).

In Vitale's terms, Va verbs refer to 'transitive verbs' and Vb verbs to 'intransitive verbs' although the type of NPs which may occur with a given verb is naturally restricted.

The above argument is enough evidence that the area of transitivity is difficult to allocate boundaries to. Vitale, however, restricts his classification of Vb verbs to a class of verbs which are said to be impassivizable. These are divided into two types, of which one is morphologically, unmarked and the

other marked. The latter will be discussed later in Chapter Four under verb extensions. Vitale goes on to say:

The Vb class is much smaller than the Va class and is typically associated with agentless constructions (op cit:33).

Consider the following examples:

- 14 Isigulana sifile  
The-patient he-perf-die  
The patient is dead
- 15 Ixhego libhubhe izolo  
The-old-man he-perf-die yesterday  
The old man died yesterday
- 16 Umongikazi uma imini [yonke]  
The-nurse she-pres-stand day [whole]  
The nurse stands the whole day
- 17 Indoda ibaleka imimi [yonke]  
The-man he-pres-run day [whole]  
The man runs the whole day
- 18 Unondatshaza umithi intlanga  
The-wench she-pres-pregnant non-Xhosa  
The wench is pregnant from/has been made pregnant by  
a non-Xhosa

Morphologically unmarked in this instance means that there are no derivational affixes (verb extensions) attached to the verb.

In all the above examples the subject NPs do not function as underlying agents but experiencers of particular actions. Foley, W. and van Valin jr's assertion is the more relevant in this instance. It is here argued:

Actor and undergoer are the two arguments in a transitive predication, either one of which may be the single argument of an intransitive verb (1984:27).

An actor is here defined as:

the argument of a predicate which expresses the participant which performs, effects, instigates or controls the situation denoted by the predicate.

while an undergoer is:

the argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way.

It is interesting to note that the actor may not be a subject and undergoer may not be a direct object, that is, actor and undergoer are generalized semantic relations between a predicate and its arguments but not case roles or thematic roles such as theme, patient or agent.

In sentences 14, 15 and 18, the subject NPs are more undergoers or experiencers of the situation rather than volitional and wilfull intending participants while in sentences 16 and 17 some overlaps are noted in that the subjects of the predicates are volitional wilfull intending participants, but are as well experiencers of the situations. A suggestion here is that these verbs are stative in significance and states are undergone. One should, however, note that in the present terms therefore that 'actor' and 'undergoer' are macro-roles which subsume particular groupings, and sometimes there are overlaps.

In this instance one would like to ask what the implications of this are for 'transitivity'? I suggest that all has got to do with 'perspectivization', this results in either increased or diminished transitivity. I hold here that the NP and VP slots

can be filled by any combination of items which meet relevant semantic specifications.

In this sense transitive structures are sometimes used to encode a wide range of states of affairs which differ from the paradigm specification of the prototype. This is an instance of metaphoric transitivity. It is in such instances that Taylor (1991) rightfully argues:

It would seem, then, that the possibility of using a verb of motion in a transitive sense is an idiomatic property of individual lexical verbs (1991:212).

Taken to its conclusion, this argument suggests that syntactic constructions do have a metaphoric extension. In this instance, states of affairs receive an alternative conceptualization, that is, the locative nouns in 15-17 are viewed/conceptualized as distinct entities and the event temporally bounded. In this case such construction imposes one component of the transitivity schema, namely: punctuality and independent existence.

In this dissertation, I strongly suggest that Vitale (1981:35) assertion on 'passivity' as a criteria for intransitivity is suspect, that is, no morphological passive forms exist for such verbs.

I, however, agree with his second assertion that they cannot take the same set of subcategorization features as Va verbs. The subject NPs seem to be derived from an underlying form where the object NPs are subjects while the subjects were objects in the derived structure. Consider the following sentences:

- 14b Kufiwe sisigulana  
 It-perf-die-pass by-patient  
 A patient died

- 15b Izolo kubhujiwe lixhego  
Yesterday it-perf-die-pass by-an-old man  
An old man died yesterday
- 16b Kumiwa imini yonke ngumongikazi  
It-pres-stand-pass day whole by-nurse  
It is stood the whole day by the nurse
- 17b Kubalekwe imini yonke yindoda  
It-perf-run-pass the day whole by-man  
It has been run the whole day by the man
- 18b Kumithwi intlanga ngunondatshaza  
It-pres-pregnant-pass non-Xhosa by a-wench  
It has begot pregnant a non-Xhosa by a wench

From the above sentences the following observations are made.

- (1) Passivization is not a valid criterion for transitivity in Xhosa.
- (2) States are passivized in Xhosa.
- (3) The impersonal concord '/ku-/' has a role to play in such instances.
- (4) Reasons for generating such sentences is related to topic prominence and focus.
- (5) The range of occurrence of such sentences is restricted.
- (6) Sentence 18b could be passivized further into a structure such as:

- 18b Intlanga imithwi ngunondatshaza  
Non-Xhosa he-pres-pregnant-pass by-wench

Further note that the structures 14-18 can have these instances generated. In these verbs the passive becomes optional.

- 14c Kufa isigulana  
It-pres-die patient  
A patient dies
- 15c Kubhubhe ixhego izolo  
It-perf-die old-man yesterday  
An old man died yesterday
- 16c Kume umongikazi imini yonke  
It-perf-stand nurse day whole  
A nurse stood the whole day
- 17c Kubaleke indoda imini yonke  
It-perf-run man day whole  
A man ran the whole day
- 18c Kumithi unondatshaza intlanga  
It-perf-pregnant wench non-Xhosa  
A wench begot pregnant a non-Xhosa

The above sentences i.e. 14-18 are enough proof that transitivity forms a continuum and encompasses various factors. However, note that when locative nouns are either demarked for noun or marked adverbial transitivity must be reduced.

An interesting point may, however, be raised in the case of the verb in sentence 17d where the verb 'baleka' co-occurs with a definite individuated object and thus having less typical consequences. Consider the following example:

- 17d Indoda ibaleka umfazi  
The-man he-pres-run wife  
The man is running away from the/his wife

A conclusion which is drawn from such a sentence is that the action is not transferred from subject to object. In other words, the subject seems to be affected in some way by an unspecified action of the object and is thus an undergoer. This subject object ambiguity therefore presents problems. Such a verb thus becomes difficult to classify as transitive by a mere presence of definite object although we accept that the presence of a true object increases transitivity of a clause.

One should also note that 'actor' and 'undergoer' have both syntactic and semantic significances. While all actors have in common that they are potential initiators and controllers of the action of the predicate, their exact interpretation in any clause is a function of the nature of the predicate and to a lesser extent, the inherent lexical content of the NP argument serving as actor. Similar considerations apply to undergoers. If an actor is animate, the action is interpreted as volitional and under his control. An actor therefore could as well be an agent. The inherent lexical content of the actor plays an important role in its interpretation but its importance is constrained by the semantics of the predicate itself. The problem with the sentences above is not with the nature of the NP but with the verb of 'motion' 'baleka' (run). The interpretation of 'indoda' as an undergoer is thus a consequence of this. An undergoer thus can change location or state depending on the meaning of the predicate. 'Agent' is a case role and case roles are not semantic relations, but independent predicaters. An important finding by Foley and van Valin (op cit) is that actors may be agents, effectors or locatives depending on the verb. Instrumentals are good examples of instances where in the absence of an agent argument, an instrumental is viewed as effecting an action, as in examples such as the following:

- 19    Ilitye laphule ifestile  
       The-stone it-perf-broke the window  
       The stone broke the window

An important aspect here is that the stone (ilitye) lacks volition. Because arguments bearing different semantic relations may occur as undergoers within a clause (a given verb), no strict hierarchy of accessibility to undergoer analogous to that given above for actor/undergoer is possible. It is therefore possible for an actor to be accessible to an undergoer relation. In our sample sentences 17d above, for instance, the relationship established is more on the difference between 'cause' and 'do'. The interpretation is not that the subject does something to the object, in other words, "indoda" doing something to umfazi rather than umfazi causes indoda to run away, in other words, to be in a certain state. What is activated therefore is a situation where 'indoda' is viewed as an object of result.

### 3.5 MARGINAL MEMBERSHIP VERBS

This is a classification that is accorded to some of the verbs normally referred to as 'cognate', as well as certain verbs of motion. This class of verbs, however, is not viewed in the same light as Vitale (1981:33) although his notion of causativity and transitivity as determinants are acceptable. This class normally refers to certain verbs of 'cognition' which in certain circumstances (contexts) take true objects with a resultant less typical transference of an action and meaning extension. Verbs such as: /-lala/ 'sleep', /-hleka/ 'laugh', /-chama/ 'urinate', /-gabha/ 'vomit', /-hlamba/ 'wash', /-baleka/ 'run', etc fall into this category. Consider the following pairs of sentences:

20a Indoda ilele [ubuthongo]

The-man he-perf-sleep [sleep]

The man is fast asleep

20b Indoda ilele umfazi

The-man he-perf-sleep woman

The man slept with the woman (i e had sexual intercourse)

- 21a Intombazana ihleka [intsini]  
The-girl she-pres-laugh [derision]  
The girl laughs derisively
- 21b Intombazana ihleka ikrexe  
The-girl she-pres-laugh adulterer  
The girl laughs at the adulterer
- 22a Inxila liyagabha  
The-drunkard he-pres-vomit  
The drunkard vomits
- 22b Inxila ligabha utywala  
The-drunkard he-pres-vomit liquor  
The drunkard vomits liquor
- 23a Intombazana iyahlamba  
The-girl she-pres-menstruate  
The girl is menstruating
- 23b Intombaza ihlamba umntwana  
The-girl she-pres-wash child  
The girl is washing the child

From the above sentences it is observed that although the verbs are regarded as intransitive they can also be assigned a transitive designation.

Note that in sentence 20a as opposed to sentence 20b meaning is extended from a BE assertion to a DO assertion in 20b and from 'sleep' to having 'sexual intercourse'. However, the range of occurrence of such arguments of the verb is restricted to human animate objects. What is important is that structures such as 20b denote a definite transference of an action as opposed to 20a. This meaning extension therefore tends to affect the transitive nature of the clause by augmenting its transitivity.

The sentences in 21 also present problems. When /-hleka/ is followed by an individuated object as in 21b as opposed to 21a, causation and transference of an action are introduced. However, it moves backwards towards the subject of the sentence than forward as would be expected. I will for convenience therefore reproduce this sentence and add another:

21b Intombazana ihleka ikrexe  
 The-girl she-pres-laugh adulterer  
 The girl is laughing at the adulterer

21c Intombazana ibaleka ikrexe  
 The-girl she-pres-run adulterer  
 The girl is running away from the adulterer

In the above sentences the object seems more like a causer of the action than an affected participant and triggers the action or situation experienced by the subject of the sentence. It is therefore that I posit the notion of 'backward roll', that is; for this reason whenever in an intransitive clause as the ones pointed above, a presence of a 'true' object is found or implied, the transference of an action, a situation or a state experienced, such action, state or situation would tend to roll backwards towards the subject rather than the object as would be expected, a structure represented by the sign        than        .

Consider the following examples:

24 Indoda itya inyama  
 The-man he-pres-eat meat  
 The man eats meat

Here the action is forwardly transferred, i.e. the man effects on the meat, but note

25 Umfazi ubaleka indoda

The-woman she-pres-run man

The woman is running away from the man (i.e. the man  
causes the woman to run away)

These 'less typical transitives' are also associated with such verbs as /-gabha/ 'vomit' in sentence 22b. Note here that a notion of volition must be introduced. If in sentence 22b for instance, *inxila* 'voluntarily' vomits liquor, then there is enough reason for viewing such clauses as transitive. The converse is true if it is not. However, it could also be argued that 'utywala' is part of the drunkard and therefore is not distinct from him. In this instance the clause is viewed intransitive. This problem of classification also occurs with /-hlamba/ where the meaning changes from 'discharge' menstruation, which is involuntary, i.e. not within the control of the subject/actor while when meaning changes to wash it is voluntary and such a verb may serve in intransitive clauses. Meaning extension is therefore sensitive to transitivity as a whole. I would further like to add here that voluntary and involuntary actions are also sensitive to transitivity.

This is not to suggest that the above mentioned verbs are not idiomatically used, but, that when a meaning of a verb is extended, that change in meaning is systematically coded in the nature of the verb participants as well. This is in fact mentioned in Moravcsik (1978) that:

'the object of a causative verb may in certain cases be understood either as a subject of the caused event or as the object of it' (1978:257).

The above arguments therefore suggest that experience verbs and motion verbs are marginal members and belong to a class of less typical intransitives.

## 3.6 INSTRUMENTALS

This is used to refer to what has been traditionally termed the 'instrumental phrase' (IP). In Xhosa, it is usually marked by means of the adverbial prefix /nga-/, /nge-/ and /ngo-/ etc. The following are sample sentences containing the instrumental phrase:

- 26 UZola usike isonka ngemela  
Zola he-perf-cut bread with-knife  
Zola cut the bread with a knife
- 27 UZola udubule indlovu ngompu  
Zola he-perf-shot elephant with-gun  
Zola shot the elephant with a gun
- 28 UZola ubulele ixhama ngompu  
Zola he-perf-kill buck with-gun  
Zola killed the buck with a gun

3.6.1 Instrumentals as derived subjects (subjectivization of instruments)

It is interesting to note that in some cases instrumentals are promoted to the subject slot. In this case they function as derived subjects. However, it is observed here that there is a constraint on this instrument raising, that is, if an agent is present in the underlying structure, instrumentals are prohibited from appearing as derived subjects. The following examples indicate this.

- 26b\* Imela isike isonka ngoZola  
The-knife it-perf-cut bread by-Zola  
The knife cut the bread by Zola

27b\* Umpu udubula ixhama ngoZola  
 The-gun it-perf-shot buck with-Zola  
 The gun shot the buck with Zola

28b\* Umpu ubulele ixhama ngoZola  
 The gun it-perf-kill buck with-Zola  
 The gun killed the buck with Zola

Note that the term 'preposition' is sometimes used to refer to instrumental prefixes. A reason for this is that its function is similar to that of prepositions in languages such as English. They are also separable from the nouns to which they are attached. Consider the following example by certain morphemes:

nga-le mela  
 with this knife

Here the demonstrative le separates /nga-/ from 'imela' in 'ngemela'.

The following sentences serve as the base of the argument here:

29 Isitshetshe sisika isonka  
 The-knife it-pres-cut bread  
 The knife cuts a bread (lit this knife can cut a bread)

30 Lo mdlanga waluse amakhwenkwe amaninzi  
 This spear it-perf-circumcize boys many  
 This spear had circumcized many boys (lit:  
 This spear has been instrumental in circumcizing many boys) and is opposed to 31 for instance which is ungrammatical:

31\* Ngomdlanga waluse amakhwenkwe  
 With-spear it-perf-circumcize boys

Sentences 29 and 30 above, are enough proof that instrumental NPs without the prefixes /nga-/, /nge-/, and /ngo-/ do function as derived subjects of sentences in the absence of a separate agentive phrase. An agentless structure is therefore a necessary condition for preposing the instrumental in the same way as the preposing of the underlying object in derived intransitives. An instrument NP can thus be coded in the same way as an agent NP. Vitale suggests a transformational rule in this regard:

..... 'Instrumental Preposing' (IP) moves only the instrument NP to subject position just in case the p-marker contains no agent. The preposition *kwa* (with) is eventually deleted by the same general rule which deletes the agentive *na* after its object is moved to another position in the phrase marker (1981:40).

Instrumentals, in this case therefore function as inanimate agents. Instrumentals are therefore semantically interpretable as 'inanimate agents'. One has a good reason to assign such structures as transitive, since instruments have been assigned the same responsibility as human agents although they lack an important characteristic of prototype agents i.e. volition. Perspectivization in this instance therefore is sensitive to transitivity.

### 3.6.2 Optional instruments

It happens in some cases that the 'instrumental phrase' is optional and is not be mentioned in discourse as sentences 32a-34a below indicate. Note, however, that only the instrument is deletable and not the Direct Object in such structures. These instrumentals are deletable because they are semantically incorporated in the verb.

32a USipho usike isonka [ngemela]  
 Sipho he-perf-cut bread [with-knife]  
 Sipho cut the bread with a knife

33a USipho ukhabe ibhola [ngonyawo]  
 Sipho he-perf-kick ball [with-foot]  
 Sipho kicked the ball with his foot

34a USipho udubule ixhama [ngompu]  
 Sipho he-perf-shoot buck [with-gun]  
 Sipho shot the buck with a gun

### 3.6.3 Causative /-is-/ and the instrumental

It is interesting to note that the instrumental does not operate in the presence of a causative affix /-is-/, or when the Direct Object is deleted. Consider the following sentence:

32b\* USipho usikisa ngemela  
 Sipho he-pres-cut-cause with knife

as opposed to

32c USipho usikisa isonka  
 Sipho he-pres-cut-cause bread

### 3.6.4 Non-agent instrumentals

It is also worth noting that not every instrumental is raised to the subject position. Consider the following examples:

35a Isidudla sitya isidudu ngecephe  
 The-obese he-pres-eat porridge with-spoon  
 The obese eats porridge with a spoon

- 35b\* Icephe litya isidudu  
 The-spoon it-pres-eat porridge  
 The spoon eats porridge

The anomaly of the 35b sentence suggests that the subject position is not accessible to any instrumental. In this sense the properties of /-tya/ demand a human agent and this blocks the occurrence of /-tya/ with inanimates. It must be said, however, that certain objections or counter examples may be raised against such arguments. Consider sentence 35c and 35d below:

- 35c UThemba utya ngecephe  
 Themba he-pres-eat with-spoon  
 Themba eats with a spoon

- 35d Icephe litya uThemba  
 The spoon it-pres-eat Themba  
 The spoon is specifically for Themba to eat with

However, I suggest here that such clauses have a more possessive reading rather than a causative one hence *icephe* can become part of a possessive phrase. Consider 35e below:

- 35e) Icephe lokutya uThemba  
 A spoon for Themba to eat with

Further note that in such clauses the direction rolls backwards as the following graphs indicate. Compare sentences 29 and 30(d):

- 29 Isitshetshe sisika isonka  
 The knife cuts bread

with

- 35e) Icephe litya uThemba  
 The spoon is for Themba to eat with

3.6.5 Summary

From the above the following observations could be made:

- (a) There are constraints governing instrumental accessibility to the subject-agentive position.
- (b) In case of accessibility to subject slot instrumentals become inanimate agents.
- (c) Not every instrumental can be raised to an agentive slot.
- (d) The nature of the verb, i.e. verb type is crucial for raising instrumentals to the agentive position.
- (e) 'Causative', than 'do' verbs determine raising of instrumentals to the agentive position.
- (f) Stative verbs can co-occur with instrumentals.
- (g) In high transitive clauses it is easy to raise an instrumental argument into an agentive phrase.
- (h) The notion of topic prominence and focus seem to govern instrumental's accessibility to an agentive position.
- (i) Instrumentals are specific types of NPs and are sometimes not marked for instrumentality. Consider the following sentences:

36a Ndithambisa amafutha  
 I-pres-smear oil  
 I am putting on oil

36b Ndizithambisa amafutha  
 I-pres-refl-smear oil  
 I am putting oil on myself

36c Ndizithambisa ngamafutha  
 I-pres-refl-smear with-oil  
 I am putting oil on myself which are synonymous

The production of such sentences are to be argued further under body parts in section 13 below.

(j) Subjectivization of instrumentals highlights one property of instrumentals: the ability to perform an action.

### 3.7 DATIVES

This term refers to a class of verbs (sentences) which contain both a direct (DO) and indirect (IO) objects. The form of this construction is usually of the form indicated by the graph below.

$$NP^1 + VP + NP^2 + NP^3$$

The direct object (DO) may either be NP<sup>2</sup> or NP<sup>3</sup>. According to Vitale:

The linear order of the two is typically free relative to one another as was seen to be the case with instrumental and agentive phrases (1981:44).

An important feature of such constructions is, however, that the verb is typically marked as containing such dative NP, but the question is how? The following sentences are examples of dative constructions.

37 Indoda ithume umfana ihashe  
 The-man he-perf-send lad horse  
 The man sent the lad for the horse

- 38 Umfazi uphe usana ubisi  
 The-woman she-perf-give infant milk  
 The woman gave the infant milk (or  
 The woman gave milk to the infant)

It is also argued in the above study that a dative is one that is normally marked by means of an object concord. Such a view is suspect for there is considerable evidence to suggest that both indirect and direct object can be represented in the verb by means of an object concord. However, the morphological structure of Xhosa specifies one object slot (object concord slot), that is, only one verb can be represented in the verb by means of an object concord, therefore Vitale's assertion that:

because the dative NP is typically animate, the morphological rule of Object Affix Attachment applies in virtually all derivations and typically refers to the dative NP (1981:44)

is found to be unacceptable in this dissertation.

Consider the following versions of the sentences cited:

- 37b Indoda imthume ihashe umfana  
 The-man he-him-perf-send horse lad  
 The man sent the lad for the horse

- 37c Indoda ilithume umfana ihashe  
 The-man he-it-perf-send lad horse  
 The man sent the lad for the horse

and

- 38b Umfazi uluphe ubisi usana  
 The-woman she-it-perf-give milk baby  
 The woman gave milk to the baby

- 38c Umfazi uyiphe usana inyama  
 The-woman she-it-perf-give baby meat  
 The woman gave meat to the baby

The above sentences are enough evidence that the object concord (direct object slot) is accessible to both NPs. Our discussion on datives in this chapter, however, puts emphasis on inherent dative verbs, that is verbs which are three place predicates without any morphological affixation.

### 3.7.1 Inherent dative verbs

This refers to a set of verbs which are inherently connected with dative constructions, that is, those that are inherently three place predicates. The verb /"-pha"/ 'give', for instance, always requires both a direct and indirect object and may occur without any dative marker. However, this is subject to certain restrictions, ie, a non-occurrence of either object may result in ungrammaticality. Consider the following examples which are unacceptable:

- 39a\* Umalume upha umtshana .....  
 Uncle he-pres give nephew .....  
 Uncle gives his nephew .....

- 39b\* Umalume uphe ..... imali  
 Uncle he-perf-give ..... money  
 Uncle gave ..... money

A dative NP should, however, be distinguished from a direct object NP. In this sense one would like to note that agentive and instrumental phrases are defined by surface morphology such as prefixes (prepositions) while in the case of dative NPs there are no such prepositions. Vitale's object-affix attachment rule is therefore suspect, that:

If the P-marker contains two objects, the verb is typically marked for agreement with the indirect object (i.e. the dative NP) (1981:47).

It has already been stated in 3.7 that in double object constructions both NPs are marked by an object concord in Xhosa. This means that Object-Affix Attachment marks indirect objects only when both NPs are either animate or inanimate. Nevertheless, the presence of a dative NP is a marker of high transitivity. The morphological, syntactic and semantic factors used to mark dative constructions are therefore being the same as those used to code transitivity. These are: animacy, an obligatory object and object concord incorporation.

### 3.8 LOCATIVE NOUNS AND LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

A locative construction here refers to a construction which normally contains an unmarked NP from the locative class. These constructions co-occur with both transitive and intransitive class of verbs, as well as certain verbs of motion. The morphology of these locative NPs plays an important role in the configuration and lexical make up of a sentence.

#### 3.8.1 Morphologically marked vs unmarked locative nouns

A few nouns in Xhosa are inherently (and exclusively) locative. These are nouns referring to time as 'izolo' (yesterday), 'imini' (day), 'ubusuku' (night) etc and nouns referring to places such as 'iBhayi' (Port Elizabeth), 'umva' (back) etc. Consider the following sentences:

40a USipho uthanda iBhayi  
 Sipho he-pres-love Port Elizabeth  
 Sipho loves Port Elizabeth

- 41a USipho ubuya umva  
 Sipho he-pres-move back  
 Sipho is moving backwards

When nouns in this class function as locatives they typically show up in the surface form with the prefix /e-/ and suffix /-ni/. This suggests that Xhosa has a special rule which contains a feature specification [ $\pm$  loc] for any form having the feature [N]. In other words, virtually all nouns can perform various functions and thus may be marked morphologically with the feature specification [+ loc]. This morphological marking applies to these locative NPs as well.

Consider the following sentences as opposed to the above examples in 40a and 41a:

- 40b USipho uthanda eBhayi  
 Sipho he-pres-love in-Port Elizabeth  
 Sipho likes it in Port Elizabeth
- 41b USipho ubuya emva/ngomva  
 Sipho he-pres-go to-back/by-back  
 Sipho is going to the back (backwards)

Also look at the following pairs of examples involving marked and unmarked locative nouns:

- 42a USipho uvula ucango  
 Sipho he-pres-open door  
 Sipho opens the door
- 42b USipho uvule ecangweni  
 Sipho he-perf-open door  
 Sipho opened the door

- 43a USipho ubethe uphondo  
Sipho he-perf-beat horn  
Sipho beat the horn
- 43b USipho ubethe ephondweni  
Sipho he-perf-beat at-horn  
Sipho beat by the horn
- 44a Umfazi uyigalele amanzi isinki  
The-woman he-perf-pour sink water  
The woman poured the sink with water
- 44b Umfazi ugalele amanzi esinkini  
The-woman she-perf-pour water in-sink  
The woman poured water into the sink
- 44c Umfazi ugalele isinki ngamanzi  
The-woman she-perf-pour sink with-water  
The woman poured water over the sink

From the above sentences the following observations could be made:

- (1) Locative morphemes are optional in some locative NPs.
- (2) Unmarked locatives have the same syntactic operations as ordinary nouns.
- (3) A locative NP without the locative morpheme behaves like a noun and even triggers object concord incorporation.
- (4) When locative nouns are unmarked they are individuated and viewed as specific entities thus augmenting transitivity.
- (5) The inherited syntactic properties of nouns is a consequence of this increased transitivity.

- (6) When nouns are marked for locative, transitivity of a class is reduced.
- (7) Most unmarked locative NPs pass tests of objecthood such as accessibility to the position immediately after the verb, object concord incorporation and passivization.

Consider:

44d Isinki igalelwe amanzi  
 The sink it-pres-pour-pass water  
 The sink has water poured on it

### 3.9 IMPERSONALS

It must also be said that a Xhosa sentence must contain a noun or pronoun which functions as a subject of a sentence. This means that each verb must be subcategorized for a minimum of one argument. However, it does happen that some constructions do not have subjects or objects or both. Consider the following sentences:

- 46a Kuyabanda  
 It-SC-pres-cold  
 It is cold
- 47b Kuyana  
 It-(SC)-pres-rain  
 It is raining
- 48c Kutya ingcuka  
 It-SC-pres-eat wolf  
 A wolf is eating

Note that in each of the above sentences, the verb is marked by the subject affix "/ku-/" (it) which I refer to as the 'neutral' or 'impersonal' subject concord, although it has an independent

status as a marker referring to a cl15 subject. The implications of this are as suggested in Vitale that:

However, since there is no overt NP which controls agreement on the verb, let us further assume that the NP must be marked with a feature [-definite] (1981:56).

The insertion of the feature [-definite] satisfies the general condition on derivations and is semantically motivated, a feature you will find in passive constructions which do not involve promoted objects. An interesting feature of this construction is that it tends to typify verbs of nature, stative verbs and other intransitive type constructions such as habitual and existential actions. One could thus conclude that it is a feature of low transitivity. Example 48c, for instance, is an instance of a demoted subject. In this instance the subject is indefinite and is not marked in the verb. In this case it is not viewed separately from the event, a feature of low transitivity.

It can be further argued that in sentence 48c, *Ingcuka* is a syntactic object although it lacks object properties such as O.C. incorporation and passivization. This is enough evidence that the clause is a low transitive clause. Consider the following ungrammatical structures:

49\* *Kuyayitya ingcuka*  
It-pres-it-eat the wolf

50\* *Kuyayityiwa ingcuka*  
It-pres-it-eat-pass the-wolf

### 3.10 VERBS OF NATURE AND DELETABLE SUBJECTS

Certain verbs of natural phenomena such as, /-na/ 'rain', /-banda/ 'cold', /-ggutha/ 'blow hard', /-duduma/ 'thunder' etc are usually classified under the category of impersonals since

they also utilize the prefixes /-ku/. However, these are here grouped separately since they sometimes take a subject NP which is deletable. Consider the following examples:

51a [Imvula] iyana  
The-rain it-pres-rain  
It is raining

52a [Umoya] uyagqutha  
The-wind it-pres-blow-hard  
The wind is blowing hard

It will be noted in the above sentences too, that the subject is deleted. Reasons for this is that these are the only nouns that occur with these verbs. This is more a reflection of non linguistic factors such as cultural expectations than linguistic anomaly. These verbs are classified as intransitive because they are subcategorized for one argument NP. [NP-] which may be typically one indicating some type of natural phenomena such as 'rain', 'wind' etc. Other verbs indicating natural phenomena like /-banda/ 'cold' also fall into this category. It is interesting too, to note that some verbs relating to natural phenomena may co-occur with structures similar to other impersonals. Consider the following versions of 51a and 52a:

51b Kuyana  
L-SC-pres-rain  
It is raining

52b Kuyagqutha  
L-pres-blow  
It is blowing

The absence of the object NP in these structures further points to the intransitivity of the clause. Further note that what is crucial here is that only the event schema is activated in these sentences. That is, generating such structures is governed

either by understood subjecthood or absence of an overt controller NP. A feature of low transitivity is further supported by sentences such as 53a and b below. Consider:

53a Izibane zacima  
The-lights they-pst-went-off  
The lights went off

53b Kwacima  
It-pst-went off  
It went off

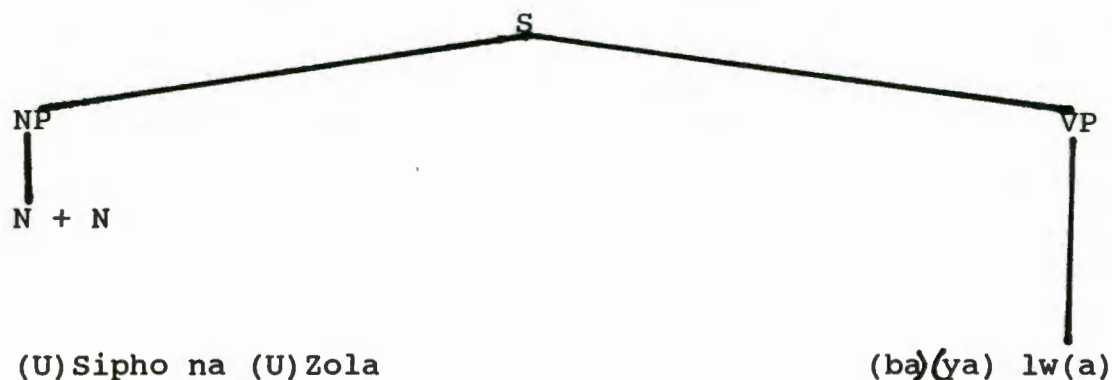
### 3.11 CONJOINED SUBJECTS

This refers to instances where there is more than one subject in a sentence (in this case, two). These subject NPs are joined together by means of an associative /na-/. Consider the following examples:

54a USipho ulwa uZola  
Sipho he-pres-fight Zola  
Sipho is fighting Zola

54b USipho noZola bayalwa  
Sipho and Zola they-pres-fight  
Sipho and Zola are fighting

One could argue here that two sentences have been collapsed into one by means of a 'conjunction-reduction' rule. The action in this case is doubly transferred. Transformational grammar is useful here since it argues that two or more arguments have been collapsed into one argument NP. One sees here two micro arguments bounded together within a single argument NP. This could be represented by the structure below:



Note here that when this happens the verb takes a single argument NP. It is further interesting to note that semantically, this implies that the subject and object NPs in 54a are viewed as one in 54b. Perspectivization therefore plays a crucial role here. Further note that such structures may take an extra object NP if it is unmarked. This unmarked NP in this case is viewed as a separate entity from the event. Consider the following set of sentences and compare 54c with 54d:

54c USipho noZola balwa ngamanqindi [+ loc]  
 Sipho and-Zola they-pres-fight with-fists  
 Sipho and Zola are fighting with fists

54d USipho noZola balwa amanqindi [+ NP]  
 Sipho and Zola they-pres-fight fists  
 Sipho and Zola fight with fists (lit: boxing)

### 3.12 REFLEXIVES

This refers to constructions where the subject of a sentence is the same as the object. In this case the subject and object have the same reference. In Xhosa the object is deleted by an EQUI-NP deletion rule and the deleted object is indexed in the verb by a reflexive morpheme /-zi-/ which occupies the object concord slot. The following examples indicate this:

55a Umntwana uhlamba umntwana  
 The-child he-pres-wash child  
 The child washes the child, /a/

and

55b Umntwana uyazihlamba  
 The-child he-refl-pres-wash  
 The child washes him/herself

Note that what in the English sentences is replaced by himself is in Xhosa replaced by the affix /-zi-/. However, it will be observed here that transitivity is a determining factor in reflexivization, as not each and every verb effect reflexivization, as Chomsky argues:

the reflexivization rule does not always apply even when the two nouns are strictly identical and hence co-referential (1965:146). The following examples illustrate this:

56a\* USipho ufe uSipho  
 Sipho he-perf-die Sipho  
 Sipho died Sipho

56b\* USipho uzifile  
 Sipho he-himself-perf-die  
 Sipho died himself

57a\* USipho ulele uSipho  
 Sipho he-perf-sleep Sipho  
 Sipho slept Sipho

57b\* USipho uzilele  
 Sipho he-refl-perf-sleep  
 Sipho slept himself

One should note here that sentence 57a excludes sexual intercourse. The verbs in 56 and 57 are intransitive and therefore do not effect reflexivization. This therefore suggests that it is not only a presence of an object that triggers reflexivization rather than the lexical content of the verb. Therefore only prototypical transitive structures enter into reflexivization without any restrictions.

However, once these verbs are extended, reflexivization is triggered. Consider these examples:

58 USipho uzifisile  
Sipho he-refl-perf-cause-die  
Sipho caused himself to die

59 USipho uzifele  
Sipho he-himself-per-die-own  
Sipho died on his own self

This should be seen as a morphosyntactic consequence of applying 'causative' and 'applied' extensions which are correlates of high transitivity since they generally increase the transitivity of a verbal clause.

An important point to note here is that reflexivization has the following syntactic consequences for transitivity:

- (1) Syntactically, it reduces transitivity of a clause by prohibiting a verb from taking an extra object unless it is a body part or is semantically possessed. Consider:

60 USipho uzihlamba iinzipho  
Sipho he-refl-pres-wash nails  
Sipho washes his nails

- (2) It blocks passivization, i.e. clauses with the reflexive affix do not effect passivization. Consider:

61\* USipho uyazihlanjwa  
Sipho he-pres-refl-wash-pass

- (3) Semantically, the subject and object NP in reflexives are co-referential. This means reflexives lack an important component of transitivity, individuation and consequently total affectation of the patient.
- (4) Reflexives therefore belong to the domain of low transitivity.

### 3.13 BODY PARTS

Body part syntax bears a very interesting set of grammatical relations that have serious consequences for transitivity. Consider the following examples:

62a Umfana uphuza intombi isidlele  
The-lad he-pres-kiss maiden cheek  
The lad kisses the girl on the cheek

63a Umkhwetha uthambisa iqabane lakhe ingceke  
The-initiate he-pres-smear colleague his clay  
The initiate is smearing his colleague with clay

64a Umkhwetha uthambisa umzimba amafutha  
The-initiate he-pres-smear body oil  
The initiate is smearing his body with oil

Also consider the following versions of the above sentences:

62b Umfana uphuza isidlele sentombi (+ poss)  
The-lad he-pres-kiss cheek of-maiden  
The lad is kissing the maiden's cheek

- 62c Umfana uphuza isidlele entombini (+ loc)  
The-lad he-pres-kiss cheek on-maiden  
The lad is kissing the maiden on the cheek
- 62d Umfana uphuza intombi esidleleni (+ loc)  
The-lad he-pres-kiss maiden on-cheek  
The lad is kissing the maiden on her cheek
- 63b Umkhwetha uthambisa iqabane ngengceke (+ ins)  
The-initiate he-pres-smear comrade with-clay  
The initiate smears his comrade with clay
- 63c Umkhwetha uthambisa ingceka eqabaneni (+ loc)  
The-initiate he-pres-smear clay on-comrade  
The initiate is smearing clay on his comrade
- 63d Umkhwetha uthambisa umzimba ngamafutha (+ ins)  
The-initiate he-pres-smear body with-oil  
The initiate smears the body with oil
- 64b Umkhwetha uthambisa amafutha emzimbeni (+ loc)  
The-initiate he-pres smear oil on-body  
The initiate smears oil on the body

From the above sample sentences the following observations could be made in the case of body parts.

- (1) A relationship exists between body parts, possessives, locatives and instrumentals.
- (2) Body parts are contiguous with their possessors and this has morphosyntactic consequences for transitivity.
- (3) Once a possessor NP is marked for possession the marked structure assumes a final position unless the possessee NP triggers OC incorporation. Consider:

62e Umfana uyiphuza esidleleni intombi  
 The-lad he-her-pres-kiss on-the-cheek the-maiden  
 The lad kisses the maiden on the cheek

62f Umfana usiphuza entombini isidlele  
 The-lad he-it-pres-kiss on-the-maiden cheek  
 The lad kisses the cheek on the maiden

- (4) Body parts do occupy both the direct and indirect object slots with the same predictable syntactic consequences, that is, triggering 3-1 and 2-1 advancement through passivization. This is effectively argued in Chapter Four below. Consider:

62g Intombi iphuzwa isidlele ngumfana  
 The-maiden she-pres-kiss-pass cheek by-lad  
 The maiden has her cheeks kissed by the lad

62h Isidlele siphuzwa entombini ngumfana  
 The-cheek it-pres-kiss-pass on-maiden by-lad  
 The cheeks have been kissed on the maiden by the lad

- (5) Once they are morphologically marked this syntactic mobility is restricted.

These points are motivated further in Chapter Four, especially with the passive extension.

- (6) I further suggest here that clauses with the unmarked nominals should be regarded as having a signal of increased transitivity than their marked counterparts as the body part is marked for individuation when unmarked.
- (7) Location and possession is an experiential gestalt and in cases where spatial proximity and possession are not brought into perspective, the unmarked nominals are used. Grammatical description is therefore from a certain vantage

point. This tends to affect transitivity.

- (8) Body parts unmarked for possession or location are a signal of metaphoric transitivity.

### 3.13.1 Syntactic factors

The following syntactic tendencies seem to feature quite prominently in the case of body parts.

#### 3.13.1.1 Possessor ascension

Here the possessor NP is promoted to the status of a direct object while the possessed NP is pushed to the status of some oblique phrase. In Xhosa the latter seems to occupy the indirect object position. In this case the possessor can occur without the possessive morpheme if the possessed object is a body part.

It must be noted that because body parts are physically attached or contiguous with their possessors, when a body part is affected the possessor is naturally affected by the action and thus is a full participant in that action. That the possessor is mentioned as a distinct participant is therefore only a signal of increased transitivity.

Consider the following examples:

65a Umfana ubuka intombazana amabele  
 The-lad he-pres-admire maiden breasts  
 The lad admires the maiden's breasts

65b Umfana ubuka amabele entombazana  
 The-lad he-pres-admire breasts of maiden  
 The lad admires the breasts of the maiden

### 3.13.1.2 Body part idiom

The term is used to refer to a physical or emotional state experienced by the person but which is expressed grammatically as either a state experienced solely by a body part without referring to the possessor, or as the state experienced by both the person and the body part, where often no possessive morphology is used to show the relationship between the two. A difference between this and possessor ascension is that the possessor is involved in the action as in the examples below.

66a Indoda ihluthi umngqusho  
 The-man he-pres-fed mealies  
 The man is fed mealies

66b Indoda ihluthi ngumngqusho  
 The-man he-pres-fed by-mealies  
 The man has been fed mealies

However, body part idiom or 'container vessel' relationship is an instance of increased transitivity as the container is viewed as distinct from the vessel and the event.

### 3.13.1.3 Body part and reflexivization

Given that reflexives signal repeated mention of a participant it follows that any action a person performs on his body will qualify for the status of a reflexive since a person is essentially equivalent to his body. Body parts therefore trigger reflexivization. The following examples illustrates this:

67a Indoda izisika umnwe  
 The-man he-pres-cut finger  
 The man cuts his finger, and

67b Indoda izisika emnweni  
 The-man he-pres-cut finger  
 The man cuts at his finger

The sentences in 67a and b are related in meaning. It will always be observed that body part is located within the body and thus possessed. However, this notion is suppressed when this relation is unmarked as in 67a. This therefore is a signal of increased transitivity. It is further interesting to note that reflexivization may be morphologically unmarked or understood. Consider the following examples in 68a and 68b:

68a Indoda izicheba iindevu  
 The-man he-refl-pres-shave beards  
 The man shaves himself beards

68b Indoda icheba iindevu zayo  
 The-man he-pres-shave beard his  
 The man shaves his beard

The fourth syntactic behaviour of body parts, the passive will be discussed in Chapter Four under verb extension.

#### 3.13.1.4 Summary - body part and transitivity

According to the transitivity hypothesis, the most crucial implication for the notion of transitivity is an effective transference of an action depending on the following factors:

- (1) The agent and patient arguments are distinct from each other.
- (2) The patient is totally affected by the action expressed by the verb, where the agent is the subject and the object 'patient of', in a two argument clause.

Fox (1981) in this instances proposes the following tentative solutions:

- (a) When a body part of the agent is expressed as the object or patient argument condition (1) above is not satisfied since A and P are not distinct. Such clauses are therefore low in transitivity.
- (b) Reflexives and body part idioms are instances of low transitive clauses in body part syntax.
- (c) Possessor ascension clauses would be expected to elevate a participant from a status of possessor to that of an affected object and are thus high in transitivity since condition (2) is met.
- (d) Transitivity is not merely determined by a presence of an object.
- (e) Stative verbs do take objects when it comes to body parts.
- (f) When body parts are not marked for possession they behave syntactically like ordinary NPs.
- (g) I must add here another aspect, that, affection is an experiential gestalt. (i) The unmarked body part, possessive locative etc signal augmented transitivity by coding these entities as distinct and individuated.

In the present dissertation, however, I note the following inconsistencies in Fox's findings.

- (i) If possessor ascension elevates a clause into a high transitive clause, it negates his earlier conclusion, namely: condition (i) above is not satisfied and that A and P are not distinct.

(ii) That body parts behave like ordinary NPs is suspect. This is further dealt with in Chapter Four under verb extension.

In this instance, therefore, I suggest that transitivity cannot be reduced to a bilateral categorization, and should be viewed as a continuum. Affectation of the patient is therefore a continuum and depends on perspectivization of the event. Clauses with unmarked body parts or possessives activate an event schema where the possessed NP is viewed as distinct from the possessor. Such clauses therefore have augmented transitivity.

### 3.14 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to revisit the most pertinent issues that affect transitivity. These are valency and the underlying predications of transitive as well as intransitive constructions. These two are to be treated separately.

#### 3.14.1 Valency

It is been argued in 1.5 above that there exist a close relationship between the valency of a verb and its transitivity since virtually the same strategies used to code valency are also used to mark transitivity. The terminology used to describe the valency of a verb in particular are also used to describe transitivity. These are: (according to Comrie, 1987), semantic roles, pragmatic roles and grammatical (syntactic) relations, in addition to morphological marking. In the following sections, I treat these separately and argue the extent to which they relate to transitivity. These factors are:

##### 3.14.1.1 Semantic roles

The terms used here are mostly those used in case grammar. It is noted here that grammatical or syntactic relations bear a loose relationship with semantic roles. This is evident in sentences 62-67 above where the same strategies used to code

locatives and instrumental cases are also used to signify possession. I will for convenience therefore reproduce sentences 62a-62d.

- 62a Umfana uphuza intombi isidlele  
The-lad he-pres-kiss maiden cheek  
The lad kisses the maiden cheek
- 62b umfana uphuza isidlele sentombi  
The-lad he-pres-kiss cheek of-maiden  
Thelad kisses the maiden's cheek
- 62c Umfana uphuza isidlele entombini  
The-lad he-pres-kiss cheek in-maiden  
The lad kisses the cheek in the maiden,
- and
- 62d Umfana uphuza intombi esidleleni  
The-lad he-pres-kiss girl on-cheek  
The lad kisses the girl on the cheek

A further instance of these conflated semantic roles is when instrumentals are raised into the subject slot. Consider the following sentences and compare with 62 above.

- 69a Isitshixo sivule ucango  
The-key it-perf-open the-door  
The key opened the door
- 69b Ucango luvulekile  
The-door it-perf-open-neut  
The door is open

It is easy to say that the nouns underlined in the above sentences are performing different functions in each case, a difference that can be described by assigning different semantic

roles respectively, of agent, patient and instrument. Grammatical relations, however, fail to note that although the door is sometimes the direct object, oblique phrase and sometimes subject, its semantic role remains constant, as the affected argument and therefore the patient. Consider further instances of sentences 69a and 69b.

69c Isitshixo sivule emnyango  
 The key it-pres-open at-door  
 The key opened at the door

69d Indoda ivule umnyango ngesitshixo  
 The-man he-perf-open the-door with-the-key  
 The man opened the door with a key

Note too that although the key is sometimes subject and sometimes an oblique phrase, it fulfils the same semantic role of instrument.

The above argument, however, present the following problems:

- (1) Justification of semantic roles.
- (2) Justification of particular assignment of semantic roles.

In this case one should distinguish between agents by defining them as animate conscious initiators of actions and inanimate instruments as means used by the former agents to carry out an action as in 69d. That the latter could be raised into the position of the former agents, merely signals meaning extension. Furthermore, one still needs to define the initiators of the action in sentences such as:

70a Umoya uvuthuza amagqabi  
 The-wind it-pres-blow the-leaves  
 The wind is blowing/blow the leaves.

Here 'umoya' (wind) is neither a conscious initiator nor a tool

used by a conscious initiator. Further consider sentences such as:

70a Indoda inyuka intaba  
The-man he-pres-mount mountain  
The man is going up the mountain

70b Indoda inyuka entabeni  
The-man he-pres-mount at-mountain  
The man mounts up the mountain

It is misleading here to regard 'indoda' as agent since although he has volition, he is merely undergoing an action. This is not the only two participant clause where there is no clear distinction or conflict between semantic roles and grammatical relations. Thus I may add another role that of experiencer. Consider the following sentence:

72 Umfazi uva iintlungu  
The-woman she-pres-feel pains  
The woman feels/is feeling pains

These clauses are correlated with low transitivity and relate to such sentences as:

73a Indoda ijonge incwadi  
The-man he-perf-look book  
The man is looking at a book (lit: reading)

and

73b Indoda ibona incwadi  
The-man he-pres-see book  
The man sees the book

In this sense an assumption would be that a is higher in

transitivity than b.

It is for the above observation that one may suggest the following factors that are also crucial for transitivity:

- (1) Semantic relations are a continuum, the labels representing different points along this continuum.
- (2) The continuum as a whole can be regarded as a continuum of control. In this sense agents and subject NPs differ according to this locus of control.
- (3) The more an NP has this property, and the more this manifests itself in a clause the more transitive that clause will be.
- (4) Volition cannot be regarded as the only property of agent NPs.
- (5) Perspectivization of an event is crucial for transitivity.
- (6) Instrument raising is metaphoric and is a deviation from the prototype categorization of humans as agents.
- (7) Agency is a continuum and as such graded.

#### 3.14.1.2 Pragmatic roles

This refers to the different ways in which semantic information is structured. One is referred to 2.12 in Chapter Two for functional notions. Consider the following examples:

74a UBhayi udubula isela  
 Bhayi he-pres-shoot thief  
 Bhayi shoots the thief

74b UBhayi udubula kwisela

Bhayi he-pres-shoot at-thief

Bhayi shoots at the thief

In the above set of sentences the following observations are made:

- (1) The marked nominal in 74b reduces the transitivity of the clause by implying location or directionality.
- (2) The marked nominal is not viewed as separate from the event and thus least focused.
- (3) Sentence 74b implies that the action was incomplete, unsuccessful and therefore the patient is not totally affected.
- (4) Such clauses are therefore low in transitivity.

#### 3.14.1.3 Grammatical relations

The term is preferred to syntactic relations since it is wide in significance. Reference is here mostly directed to subjects and direct objects. Semantic and pragmatic roles are needed to express semantic relations and package them in terms of information flow. The latter is a significant function of syntactic (grammatical) relations. Syntax is related to semantics and pragmatic roles and can only be understood in terms of an interaction between semantic and pragmatic roles. Subjecthood is for instance understood in terms of the prototype subject which is the interaction between agency and topic. Some grammatical relations become given as evident in sentences such as 74a as opposed to other oblique NPs that bear some other relation to the predicate in 74b. Topicalized and specified subjects and focused object NPs are therefore a feature of high transitivity while unspecified subject NPs are a feature of low transitivity.

#### 3.14.1.4 Morphological cases

Sentences 74a and 74b above are a clear indication that there is a discrepancy between grammatical relations and morphological cases. In this case the distribution of morphological cases becomes irrelevant to the operation of syntactic processes. Morphology thus becomes arbitrary relative to syntax. Sometimes a discrepancy exists between morphology and syntax as evident in the examples suggested above. Despite this, morphology plays a crucial role in the conditioning of certain syntactic processes, a number of syntactic processes setting to put the same semantic role in different grammatical relations and to have the same grammatical relation serving a number of semantic roles as in 74b where a direct object noun is coded with morphological properties of locative constructions. This is a signal of increased transitivity. It is further noted here that such syntactic violations do not exclude such structures from being semantically acceptable or interpretable.

#### 3.14.1.5 Underlying predication and transitivity

Actions and states have predictable consequences for transitivity. Hopper and Thompson 1980's 'transitivity hypothesis' identifies state verbs with low transitivity and action verbs with high transitivity. However, actions and states are merely extremes of the same continuum in the same sense as 'transitivity' and 'intransitivity'. The most distinguishing factor in the two constructions is that in stative verbs existence is expressed by the underlying verb 'be' while in action verbs existence is expressed by 'do' or 'act'. 'do' asserts causation of existence if it is a process, and implies the directedness of this action on the part of the subject of 'do'. In fact, every declarative sentence pertains to the existence of some process or state of affairs. This existence may be asserted, denied or qualified by a modal or located temporarily or aspectively. The two underlying verbs, however, may not have independent lexicalization.

Embedding to 'be' is a natural consequence of the unspecified character of the subject. Locatives and impersonals share this feature since they purport 'be' or 'be in'. Instrumentals, be they agentive, lack volition and the ability to act purposefully and thus are also coded or associated with the verb 'be'. In reflexives and body parts the number of participants is unclear and thus these have an unspecified character. In active sentences the subject of 'Do' is specified and this is required by virtue of the meaning of the verb 'Do'.

### 3.14.3 Resumé

From the above one could conclude that transitivity depends on a number of factors which co-vary or correlate systematically and extensively. One is therefore forced to take one of two options. One is suggested by Garcia (1975:500), to view transitives and intransitives as mere labels for patterns of co-occurrences which explain nothing, in this sense the meaning postulated for that form fails to explain its observed distribution. The second is to adopt the suggestion by Hopper and Thompson (1980:294), to view transitivity as a continuum. The latter argument is reasonable in that it does not predict whether the transitivity values will surface either in structure or meaning but that if they do surface they will mark a clause as either high or low in transitive value. In this instance I suggest the following with regard to the transitive nature of clauses:

- (1) In its prototypical sense a transitive clause contains a direct object which is a patient.
- (2) There is a transference of an action which results in change on the part of the patient. This may be a physical discernible change, or implied, or change in the patient's location etc.
- (3) There are deviations from this prototype form and this deviation may manifest itself in a number of forms.

- (4) Transitivity is a matter of degree since change is a matter of degree depending on more than one property.
- (5) Deviation from the prototype result in metaphoric extensions.
- (6) Pragmatic and functional notions are crucial for transitivity.
- (7) Transitivity is a property of the clause and not of lexical items and of the construal of the world which the clause symbolizes.
- (8) The semantics of a transitive sentence have the status of an experientially primitive gestalt and its properties are therefore understood relative to the gestalt.
- (9) Morphology plays a prominent and complex role in Xhosa and if it results in certain syntactic violations, semantic meaning is not affected.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## TRANSITIVITY AND VERB EXTENSION

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Three the most salient syntactic and semantic nuances of the verb (the base verb), as well as their implications for transitivity were discussed. The concern of this chapter is to discuss the syntactic as well as the semantic implications and manifestations of the extended verb forms in Xhosa. By this we refer to the five extended verb forms in Xhosa, viz; the 'passive', the 'neuter', the 'reciprocal', the 'applied' and the 'causative' verb extensions.

This chapter is organized along the following lines. Firstly, I show that verb extension is a morphologically productive process having serious and predictable syntactic consequences. Secondly, I group verb extensions into two clusters, viz the 'intransitivizing' extensions such as 'passive', 'neuter' and 'reciprocal' as well as the 'transitivizing' ones such as the 'applied' and the 'causative'. The nature of actions denoted by these extensions as well as the syntactic and semantic environments under which they operate is discussed in detail. Implications of these for the transitive domain and the validity of assigning 'transitivity' to clauses when certain morphemes either augment or diminish it are the subject of this chapter. The role of thematic and semantic case roles and the nature of post verbal NPs for 'transitivity' are also discussed. Lastly, the summary sums up all arguments and suggests that 'transitivity' should be viewed on a 'cline', that is, as a continuum. It is here suggested that the most crucial factors affecting transitivity are 'stativity', 'embedding to BE', 'absence of an overt controller subject agent NP', 'non-distinct/specified NPs', 'co-occurrence restrictions over NPs' and the presence of a dummy S.C. '/ku-/'. These are assumed to be significant for assigning

low transitivity to clauses. This is a view adopted from Satyo (1985:63). On the other hand, 'actions' as opposed to states, have the following properties; embedding to an underlying Do verb, focus on agent, control by an agent and evidential certainty. These are significant determinants of transitivity and are associated with high transitive clauses.

#### 4.2 MORPHOLOGICAL NATURE OF VERB EXTENSIONS

Verb extension here is used to refer to an extended radical (root) i.e. a verb extended by morphological affixation. The method used in identifying these extensions is adopted from Guthrie (1970), that is:

"The elements obtained by subtracting a simplex radical from related extended radical" (1970:92).

Guthrie further goes on to say:

"As an extension is obtained by subtraction, it will have the same kind of characteristics as the entities involved in this operation. In other words, each extension consists of a shape and meaning both obtained subtractively" (op cit:93).

What the above arguments indicate is that, pairs of verbals are distinguished only by the fact that one contains a simplex radical and the other an extended variety of the same simplex. Any difference in behaviour in the two cases must therefore be treated as a function of the extension. The following factors are identified by Guthrie as useful in identifying particular occurrence of an identical extension:

- (a) a single generalized shape
- (b) identical meaning
- (c) identical syntactic function.

In our treatment of verbal extensions, emphasis is put on the five productive verb extensions, viz:

/-an/ /-ek-/ /-iw-/ /-el-/ and /-is-/.

Note, however, that the morphological structure of these extensions is not much within the scope of this discussion. The following table is only meant to capture some important generalization on these extensions:

<u>A: SIMPLEX</u>	<u>B: EXTENDED RADICALS</u>				
BASE STEM	/-an-/	/-ek-/	/-iw-/	/-el-/	/-is-/
[[-bamb]-a]	[[[-bamb]-an]-a]			[[[-bamb]-ek]-a]	
	[[[-banj]-w]-a]			[[[-bamb]-el]-a]	
				[[[-bamb]-is]-a]	
[[-ty]-a]	[[[-ty]-an]-a]	[[[ty]-ek]-a]		[[[-ty]-iw]-a]	
	[[[-ty]-el]-a]	[[[-ty]-is]-a]			

What is observed here is that these productive extensions display some form of derivational morphology. Column A consists of the simplex verb while B consists of the extended forms of these verbs. In addition to these morphological forms of the extended verb the following syntactic and semantic factors could be observed as the sample sentences below indicate.

1 Base verb

USipho ugcina uZola  
Sipho he-pres-keep Zola  
Sipho is keeping/keep Zola

2 Extended verb

(a) USipho ugcinana noZola/USipho noZola bayagcinana  
Sipho he-pres-keep-rec with-Zola/Sipho with-Zola  
they-pres-keep-rec  
Sipho and Zola are keeping on each other

- (b) UZola uyagcineka / UZola ugcineka kuSipho  
 Zola he-pres-keep-neut / Zola he-pres-keep-neut  
 to-Sipho  
 Zola is keepable to Sipho
- (c) UZola ugcinwa nguSipho  
 Zola he-pres-keep-pass by-Sipho  
 Zola is being kept by Sipho
- (d) USipho ugcinela uZola umphako  
 Sipho he-pres-keep-app-Zola provision  
 Sipho is keeping provision for Zola
- (e) USipho ugcinisa UZola umphako  
 Sipho he-pres-keep-cause Zola provision  
 Sipho makes/causes Zola to keep provision for him

In sentences 2(a)-(e) one notes that the meaning of the base verb has changed variably to (a) 'each other', (b) 'be keepable', (c) 'kept by', (d) 'keep for' and (e) 'cause keep', respectively. The change in meaning should therefore be regarded as the function of the extension. In addition to the different variations in meaning the following syntactic manifestation are observed.

- (1) With sentences 2(a)-(c) the valency of the verb is reduced by one i.e. the verbs become monovalent and take one NP argument as compared to 1 which takes two.
- (2) With sentences (d) and (e) the valency of the verb is increased by one i.e. the verbs are trivalent and take three arguments as compared to 1 which takes three.
- (3) The derived forms, that is, (a)-(e) differ from the simple form on the one hand and from each other, on the other hand, in terms of the number of co-occurring NPs they require, and the grammatical relations these arguments bear

to the verb. One can thus, for these reasons conclude that verb extension has serious consequences for transitivity. This entails associating verb extension either with diminished or augmented transitivity as they tend to restrict or facilitate co-occurrence of the arguments of the verb.

#### 4.3 INTRANSITIVISING EXTENSIONS /-an-;/ /-ek-;/ /-iw-/

This part deals with the intransitive clauses, that is, where the occurrence of a verb with an object NP is restricted when a verb takes a verbal extension. These are (1) reciprocal /-an-/, (2) neuter /-ek-/, (3) passive /-iw-/. Their syntactic as well as semantic functions are a subject of this section. An interesting argument that is raised here is whether one can really speak of 'intransitivity' in languages such as Xhosa (Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, etc) in view of the power of some extensions to reduce transitivity. This is the subject of the following section.

##### 4.3.1 The reciprocal /-an-/ extension

This is what is traditionally referred to as a reciprocal extension, which Cantrell (Vide Pahl, 1978) refers to as a 'connective' extension. It implies that more than one agent is involved in the action. The following sentences extracted from Satyo (1985: 106) and renumbered illustrate the nature of reciprocal meaning.

- 3(a) UThemba ubona uNomsa  
 Themba he-pres-see Nomsa  
 Themba sees Nomsa
- (b) UThemba noNomsa bayabonana  
 Themba and-Nomsa they-pres-see-rec  
 Themba and Nomsa see/are seeing each other

Sentence (a) above is a non-reciprocal sentence and both NPs are involved in the action or event of seeing quite clearly, that is,

Themba is the agent and Nomsa is the patient. Sentence (b), on the other hand, is a reciprocal sentence and the two NPs are not involved in the action or event of seeing quite clearly, that is, they are involved in the roles of agent and patient respectively, and also in the respective reverse roles of patient and agent. The two different involvements are therefore combined and become sub-events of a single event. The combination of the agentive and patient involvements of each of the noun phrases results in a reciprocal event. Dougherty (1974:2) suggests that this is a result of an operation termed 'conjunction reduction rule' (CR) which reduces the co-ordination of sentences and introduces 'each other' in its case. In Xhosa this operation is a result of /-an-/ attachment. Consider the following examples reproduced from Dougherty (1974:2) and renumbered.

Sentence 4(a) John hit Bill and Bill hit John generates sentence 4(b) and 4(c).

- (b) John and Bill each hit the other.
- (c) John and Bill hit each other.

Dougherty's hypothesis states that:

'If two or more co-ordinate sentences are alike in specific ways, they can be reduced in a specific way to yield a single derived sentence containing either a co-ordinate NP or a co-ordinate VP' (1974:4).

The CR rule thus yielded sentences 4(b) and 4(c) from sentence (a). The points mentioned above, that is 'CR' and the combination 'collapsing' of roles has important morphological, syntactic and semantic consequences for Xhosa.

#### 4.3.1.1 The syntax of /-an-/

The following syntactic patterns are observed with /-an-/ verb extension.

#### 4.3.1.1.1 Conjoined NPs

The NPs concerned in a reciprocal construction may be conjoined, as the following examples indicate. In this case the conjoined noun phrases syntactically represent the subject of the sentence while at the same time semantically incorporate both the agent and patient in the following two sentences.

5(a) UBrenda uthanda UNhlantla  
 Brenda she-pres-love Nhlantla  
 Brenda loves Nhlantla

(b) UNhlantla uthanda uBrenda  
 Nhlantla he-pres-love Brenda  
 Nhlantla loves Brenda

Note here that subjects and objects of the pairs of sentences are collapsed into one subject slot as a consequence of the attachment of the reciprocal suffix /-an-/ in 5(c) and 5(d) below.

5(c) UBrenda uthandana noNhlantla  
 Brenda she-pres-love-rec with-Nhlantla  
 Brenda is in love with Nhlantla

(d) UBrenda noNhlantla bayathandana  
 Brenda and-Nhlantla they-pres-love-rec  
 Brenda and Nhlantla love each other

#### 4.3.1.1.2 Plural arguments in the subject slot

A further constraint exists in Xhosa reciprocal constructions, that, the subject must be in the plural if it is not conjoined. See the following examples:

- 6 Abafazi bayathandana  
 Women they-pres-love-rec  
 Women love each other

and not

- 7\* Umfazi uyathandana  
 The-woman she-pres-love-rec  
 The woman love each other

However, we wish to add here that in Zulu this sentence may be acceptable if it means a woman who has affairs with lots of men at the same time, (i.e. a flirt).

#### 4.3.1.1.3 Singular nouns as subjects

In this case singular nouns with a collective semantic reading also function as subjects in reciprocal constructions as in

- 8 Isifazi siyahlebana  
 Women-folk it-pres-gossip-rec  
 Womenfolk gossip of each other

#### 4.3.1.1.4 Broken co-ordinate subject NP function

It does happen that the extended verb excludes the semantic reading of 'reciprocity' or association. Here:

The principle of reciprocity is understated and the semantic reading of 'X' is engaged in an event/activity with 'Y' is emphasized (Satyo, 1985:110).

Consider the sentence:

- 9a UMtoto uthandana noNomaZizi  
 Mtoto he-pres-love-rec with-NomaZizi  
 Mtoto is in love with NomaZizi

as opposed to:

- 9b UMtoto noNomaZizi bayathandana  
 Mtoto and-NomaZizi they-pres-love-rec  
 Mtoto and Nomazizi love each other

Note in this case that the choice of subject concords differs, as it is in the singular in sentence (9a) whilst it is in the plural in the case of sentence (9b) and this therefore, excludes the notion of reciprocity in (9a) as compared to sentence (9b).

#### 4.3.1.1.5 Detransitivization

The attachment of /-an-/ to a verbal root has an important function of detransitivizing the verb, that is, it reduces the valency of a verb by one. See the different valency roles of the verb in the following two sentences:

	NP1	VP	NP2
10(a)	Indoda	ithanda	umfazi
	The-man	he-pres-love	woman
	The man	loves	a/his woman

and

- (b) Umfazi nendoda bayathandana  
 The-man and-wife they-pres-love+rec  
 The man and the woman love each other

Satyo (op cit:118) further strengthens this claim on detransitivization by providing the following example which is ungrammatical and restricts /-an-/ from taking an object NP:

- 11\* UNombasa noPhumeza babukana abantwana  
 Nombasa and Phumeza they-pres-admire-rec children  
 Nombasa and Phumeza love each other the children

- 12\* UNombasa noPhumeza baphuzana abantwana  
 Nombasa and Phumeza they-pres-kiss-rec children  
 Nombasa and Phumeza kiss each other children

The ungrammatical sentences above strengthen the claim that /-an-/ disallows any overt NP object. However, body parts are taken as exceptions in this case. Consider:

- 13 UNombasa noPhumeza babukana izidlele  
 Nombasa and Phumeza they-pres-admire-rec cheeks
- 14 UThemba noZola baphuzana imilebe  
 Themba and-Zola they-pres-kiss-rec lips
- 15 Abafazi baphothana inwele  
 The-women they-pres-plait-rec hair

What is observed here is that the object NPs are semantically possessed by the subject NPs. What this suggest therefore is that semantics and syntax do not always coincide. This, however, in no way entails a syntactic deviation rather than another instantiation of body parts, that is, if they are not morphologically marked for possession, they behave like ordinary NPs by being accessible to the direct object position.

#### 4.3.1.1.6 Reciprocals and plus-transitives

One would expect the reduction of occurring NPs to occur with plus-transitives as well with reciprocals. Consider the following sentence:

- 16a UNdondela ubuza umfundi imibuzo  
 Ndondela he-pres-ask student questions  
 Ndondela is asking the student questions

and

- b UNdondela nomfundi babuzana imibuzo  
 Ndondela and student they-pres-ask-rec questions  
 Ndondela and the student are asking each other  
 questions

Here it is observed that where /-an-/ is attached to a verb it necessitates a reduction in the number of overt object NP that may occur with the verb, blocking the co-occurrence of an extra object. In terms of this argument, double transitives will have a valency for one co-occurring NPs, as with ordinary transitives.

#### 4.3.1.1.7 Reciprocals in intransitive clauses

Satyo suggests the following with intransitives.

'Any verb that is marked for not allowing a co-occurring overt object noun phrase (i.e. an intransitive verb) is barred on semantic grounds from permitting the attachment of /-an-/ for indicating reciprocity as such' (Satyo, 1986:115).

Consider the ungrammaticality of the following sentences:

- 17\* UZola uhambana noSipho  
 Zola he-pres-walk-rec with-Sipho
- 18\* UZola nendlela bayahambana  
 Zola and-road they-pres-walk+rec
- 19\* Unondatshaza nomntwana bayamithana  
 The wench and-child they-pres-pregnant+rec

The ungrammaticality of the examples above reiterate the real nature of reciprocal meaning, that is, for the idea of reciprocity to be realized, even if no overt object NP appears syntactically, the logical object must be simultaneously encompassed in the subject.

It has already been noted in 4.3.1.1.2 and 4.3.1.1.3 above, for instance, that inclusive nouns do function as reciprocal subjects because the idea of plurality of argument is already included. Worthy to note here is that for the idea of reciprocity to be maintained, the subject NPs must refer to distinct NPs. Locatives and body parts do not have this property.

Another interesting observation is that certain verbs low in transitivity do occur with special object NPs but these are not allowed to occupy the subject slot with reciprocals. These are taken to be low in transitivity because they permit only specific nouns as objects. Consider the following examples:

20a UZola uhamba le ndlela  
 Zola he-pres-walk this-road  
 Zola usually walks along this road

b\* UZola nendlela bayahambana  
 Zola and-road they-pres-walk-rec

21a Umfazi upheka ukutya  
 Woman she-pres-cook food  
 The woman cooks food

b\* Umfazi nokutya bayaphekana  
 Woman and-food they-pres-cook-rec

22a Usana lulila iinyembezi  
 Child she-pres-cry tears  
 The child is crying tearfully crying

b\* Usana neenyembezi bayalilana  
 Child and-tears they-pres-cry-rec

The examples in 20b, 21b and 22b above indicate that the object NPs in 20-22(a) are special types of NPs, and thus their presence is merely syntactic. One can add here that this is the reason

for their being blocked from being raised to the subject position by the reciprocal /-an-/.

#### 4.3.1.1.8 Summary

The following major syntactic observations are noted with /-an-/.

- (1) There is a high frequency of conjoined subjects.
- (2) There is a high frequency of broken co-ordinate subject groups.
- (3) There is a reduction in the degree of transitivity in an /-an-/ extended verb.
- (4) An overt object NP may be allowed to occur with /-an-/ extended verb, subject to the constraint that there must be a relationship of possession between such an object NP and the subject (whether the subject is conjoined or not).

#### 4.3.1.2 The semantics of /-an-/

I here adopt an idea of 'polysemy' suggested in Taylor 1991. Here it is proposed that polysemy is not be regarded as a characteristic only of lexical items but is to be extended to the domain of morphology and syntax. Satyo (1985) has already noted this when he suggests

'Recently grammarians have realized the misconception of associating a term with a morphological form' (1985:147).

In these terms it is pointed out that the major meaning of this extension is one of reciprocity and that all other meanings show some connection to this major one. Satyo supports this argument with quotations from Pahl (1978) viz:

'The primary function of reciprocal extension is to convert a verb (stem) into one that denotes reciprocal action' and

'With certain verbs there are, however, modifications in the functions of the reciprocal extension. It may cease to be reciprocal and denote unilateral action' (Pahl, 1978:396).

Be that as it may /-an-/ generally denotes mutual action and reciprocity. However, Satyo's assertion, (quoting Doke, 1927) should also be taken into consideration, that:

Certain reciprocals have a slightly different significance from the plain idea of reciprocal action, in that they are intransitive or neuter in force carrying also the idea of association (1985:148).

Bhat's argument is also relevant here, that:

'If a normal non-reciprocal sentence refers to the involvement, in an event, of referents of two distinct arguments, such as agent and patient respectively, a reciprocal sentence refers to the involvement of such referents in both these roles. That is, it combines the normal involvement of two referents with their reverse involvement in a given event or state' (Satyo, op cit:148).

In terms of the above argument, the second, in a pair of sentences such as 24a and 24b, carries a variant meaning:

24a	NP1	+VP	+NP2
	USipho	uthanda	uZola
	Sipho	he-pres-love	Zola
	Sipho loves Zola		

b	NP1	+NP2	VP
	USipho	noZola	bayathandana
	Sipho	and-Zola	they-pres-love+ rec
	Sipho and Zola love each other		

Sentence 24(a) is a non-reciprocal sentence. Here the agent and the patient relation is clear, that is, NP1 is subject and NP2 object. In 24(b) the roles are different in that NP1 and NP2 are both subjects (and objects) respectively. This combination of semantic roles of the relevant NPs has strong syntactic consequences. An important factor here is a suppression of referential identity between two arguments (a feature of low transitivity according to Hopper and Thompson (1980)). In this sense reciprocals bear a similar syntactic feature to reflexives as both refer to a co-reference of subject and object NPs. The difference being only in the way the verbal relationships are distributed among the members of the set designated by these arguments. This difference becomes clear when the action of the individual agents is split. Once this trait is obliterated co-referentiality is undermined. Consider the following sentences:

		X	Y
25a	Reciprocal	UThemba	noNomsa bayabulalana
b	Reflexive	UThemba	noNomsa bayazibulela

This fact may be illustrated in the following diagrams:



The above diagram indicates that co-referentiality in reciprocals is obtained only when the two events are combined while reflexives always involve a single event. The two therefore

differ according to the degree of this co-referentiality and not that one is not co-referential. With reciprocals not only two NPs are viewed as one but also two events and their arguments. So it is not only the participants that are co-referential but the events as well.

#### 4.3.1.2.1 Ways of indicating reciprocal meaning

Two ways of indicating reciprocal meaning which Xhosa uses are outlined by Satyo (op cit:153).

- (1) Marking on the one of the two co-referential arguments.
- (2) Marking on the verb whose arguments are co-referential in the reciprocal sense.

Note, however, that

only a root taking both animate subjects and objects may have standardized reciprocal meaning of 'do mutually to each other' (op cit:154).

Compare:

26a\* UZola nenyama bayathandana  
Zola and-meet they-pres-love+rec

with

b UZola noNomsa bayathandana  
Zola and-Nomsa they-pres-love-rec  
Zola and Nomsa love each other

Sentence (a) is unacceptable because the second NP is [-animate] which suggests that there is a semantic constraint on NPs that serve as agents-cum-patients in reciprocals.

#### 4.3.1.2.2 Further observations on reciprocity

The following semantic relations of reciprocal constructions which have a bearing on 'low transitivity' should be noted, however, the reciprocal idea is here indirect.

(1) Relative mutual interconnection or correlation:

27 Le thisisi ijongene netransithivithi  
This-thesis it-pres-look-rec with-transitivity  
This thesis is about transitivity

(2) Associative significance:

Here the action denoted indicates an action done by two or more persons. The example cited in Satyo (op cit: 154) insufficiently indicates this and a more reasonable example is:

28 Ifilimu iphathene noPolitiko  
The-film it-pres-hold-rec with Politics  
The film is about Politics

(3) Entanglement:

29 Intsontela iphinyelene  
The-thread it-pres-entangled-rec  
The thread is entangled

(4) Coming together to form an assemblage

30 Amadoda aqukene ebuhlanti  
The-man they-pres-assemble-rec at-kraal  
The man are assembling at the kraal

(5) Combining to form a compact, solid, cohesive or united body:

31 Udongo lubumbene  
 The-clay it-perf-mould-rec  
 The clay is moulded

(6) Confusion and complexity:

32 Abafana baphambene  
 The-lads they-perf-confuse-rec  
 The lads are confused

(7) With an applicative verb it denotes increase or intensification:

33 Isidumbu siyavuthelana  
 The-corpse it-pres-inflate-rec  
 The corpse is inflated

(8) With a causative affix it denotes a simultaneous action

34a Ndifikesene noZola eKhostini (place)  
 I-perf-arrive-rec with-Zola at-Korsten  
 I arrived simultaneously with Zola at Korsten

b Living communally  
 UZola uhlalisana nedikazi  
 Zola he-pres-stay-rec with-concubine  
 Zola is living with a concubine

A further interesting observation here is that with the combination of /-is-/ and /-an-/ the causative is barred from its causative meaning as is the case with example 34(b) above.

(9) Durative action:

Here is indicated a process of continuous manner which could be broken into the following

## 35a Habitual action:

Inxila liselana notywala

The-drunkard he-pres-drink-rec with-liquor

The drunkard is continually drinking liquor

## b Continuous:

Indoda ifundana nencwadi

The-man he-pres-read-rec with-book

The man is continually reading a book

## c Concentrated action:

Ititshala ifundana nephepha

The-teacher he-pres-read-rec newspaper

The teaching is concentrating on the newspaper he is reading

The above semantic readings are mostly determined by context and there is an overlap, as the last three examples indicate.

4.3.1.2.3 Fossilized extensions

This is used to refer to a number of extended radicals with no corresponding simple stems as in the following reciprocal verbs where the subtraction rule does not operate:

36a /-dibana/- USipho udibene noZola > badibene  
Sipho he-perf-meet with Zola > they-perf-meet

b /-fana/ - ufana noZola > bayafana  
he-pres-resemble with-Zola > they-pres-resemble  
each other

c /-lingana/ - ulingana noZola > bayalingana  
he-pres-equal-to > they-pres-equal-to  
with-Zola (same size as) (same size as)

d /-hlangana/ - uhlangana noZola > bayahlangana  
 he-pres-meet with-Zola they-pres-meet

Satyo's classification of /-fumana/ 'get' under this category is here found to be unacceptable. The motivation for this is that the subject concord (plural SC) is not obligatory. This verb also obligatorily takes an object as well as its appropriate concord and may even take the reciprocal extension /-an-/. Consider the following example:

37 USipho noZola bafumanene  
 Sipho and-Zola they-perf-find-rec  
 Sipho and Zola found each other

/-Fumana/ seems to be just a reversive form of /-funa/ 'seek' rather than a fossilized reciprocal.

#### 4.3.1.2.4 Lexical reciprocals

I would here like to raise an interesting argument on 'lexical' reciprocity. This idea is adopted from Comrie (1981:161)'s idea of 'lexical causatives'. Central to this argument is that the idea of reciprocity is handled lexically rather than by any morphologically productive process. In this category are verbs such as /-xoxa/ and /-lala/. Note here that the meaning of the latter lexical item is extended to signify a reciprocal activity in the case of sexual intercourse. Consider the following examples:

38 USipho noZola baxoxa ngencwadi (kuba baza kubhala uviwo)  
 Sipho and Zola are arguing to each other about the book (because they are going to write an examination)

39 Indoda nomfazi balele (kuba bafuna umntwana)  
 The man and the woman are sleeping (with each other) (because they want a baby)

Note here that meaning is extended to encompass 'each other'.

#### 4.3.1.2.5 Summary

It was argued above that one of the important behaviours of /-an-/ is to reduce the number of co-occurring by one. This is an overgeneralization as it implies that reciprocals operate only on transitive verbs (constructions) that is, transitivity of a verb is a necessary condition for reciprocal operations as Vitale (1981:148-149) suggests.

- (1) Reciprocal constructions have some obvious parallels to reflexives.
- (2) For one thing, only transitive verbs may enter into either type of construction.
- (3) Reciprocal constructions may be said not to have a surface object.
- (4) Semantically, reciprocal verbs have a transitive function in much the same way that reflexives do.

The above arguments are found suspect, and Vitale's assertion that reciprocals operate on intransitives is disputed, although an inclusion of /-an-/ extension detransitives a verb as reflexives do, by marking co-referential argument.

There is enough evidence to suggest that reciprocals do not only operate on transitive verbs. Consider the following examples with locative and body part NPs.

- 40a Indoda ihamba indlela [+LOC]  
 The-man he-pres-walk-road  
 The man is walking along the road

- b Indoda ihambana nendlela [+LOC]  
 The-man he-pres-walk-rec with road  
 The man usually walks along the road
- 41a Umfazi uziphatha iinwele [+body part/poss]  
 The-woman she-refl-pres-plait hair  
 The woman is plaiting her hair
- b Umfazi uphothana neenwele [+body part/poss]  
 The-woman she-pres-plait-rec with-hair  
 The woman is continually plaiting her hair

The 40b and 41b sentences indicate that NPs such as locatives and body parts trigger an affixation of a reciprocal extension. Note, however, they are blocked from occupying the subject position. This is indicated by the ungrammaticality of the following sentences.

- 42\* Indoda nendlela bayahambana  
 The-man and-the-road they-pres-walk-rec  
 The man and the road are walking each other
- 43\* Umfazi neenwele bayaphothana  
 The-woman and-hair they-pres-plait-rec  
 The woman and hair are plaiting each other

Clauses with such object NPs are thus said to be low in transitivity.

Satyo notes in the case of reciprocals:

"Any verb that is marked for allowing a co-occurring overt object noun phrases (i.e. an intransitive verb) is barred on semantic grounds from permitting the attachment /-an-/ for indicating reciprocity as such" (op cit:115).

This should be viewed in a serious light as Satyo mentions 'overt object', thus implying a variation or gradience in objecthood. As is the case with locatives and body parts, promotion to subject position is a crucial factor for reciprocity and hence mutual action. True reciprocal meaning is attained only when an object is raised into subject position, and animates are principal candidates in this case. To put it more clearly, even if there is no overt object NP syntactically the object must be simultaneously encompassed in the subject, failing which, it will result in 'systematic ambiguity' Satyo (op cit:118).

In examples such as:

- 44 USipho uthandana noNomsa  
 Sipho he-pres-love-rec with-Nomsa  
 Sipho is in love with Nomsa

the idea of reciprocity is ambiguous in that it is not specified that Nomsa also loves Sipho in sentence 44. Nevertheless, Vitale's assertion strengthens the argument on the intransitivizing nature of reciprocals, that is:

"the object concord and the reciprocal affix are mutually exclusive" Vitale (1981:147-148).

Consider:

- 45\* USipho umthandana noZola  
 Sipho he-pres-him-pres-love-rec Zola

Further look at examples such as:

- 46\* USipho uzithandana izidlele  
 Sipho he-pres-them-love-rec cheeks  
 Sipho loves them each other cheeks

- 47\* USipho nezidlele bayathandana  
 Sipho and-cheeks they-pres-love-rec  
 Sipho and the cheeks love each other
- 48\* USipho uthandana nezidlele uNomsa  
 Sipho he-pres-love-rec with-cheeks Nomsa  
 Sipho is in love with cheeks Nomsa
- 49\* USipho uthandana nezidlele kuNomsa  
 Sipho he-pres-love-rec with-cheeks in-Nomsa  
 Sipho loves specifically the cheeks in Nomsa

Note here that sentences 46-49 are ungrammatical while sentence 49 as compared to 48 is grammatical only because it specifies that the body part is located with another entity distinct from the subject, in this case Nomsa. The distinctiveness of the two arguments is therefore loaded in Nomsa by a morphological process. This locative marking, however, reduces transitivity.

#### 4.3.1.2.6 Further features of reciprocals

I will here make further observations on reciprocals. These are:

- (a) /-an-/ attachment is polysemous having several meanings.
- (b) Some verbs allow /-an-/ attachment with ease having predictable consequences. This is the prototype reciprocal.
- (c) Some verbs show selectivity. These are the less typical cases and this is usually the case with idiomatic, stylized or metaphoric reciprocity.
- (d) Some verbs do not allow /-an-/ attachment at all.

- (e) With intransitives /-an-/ attachment is not blocked by semantic compatibility if the meaning it bears in a given context does not imply reciprocity but continuity.
- (f) Semantic compatibility between intransitive radicals and /-an-/ may be further salvaged if the meaning expressed is either metaphoric or idiomatic.

#### 4.3.2 The neuter extension /-ek-/

This section provides a syntactic as well as a semantic description of the behaviour patterns of /-ek-/ extension. Conceptual differences amongst grammarians on this extension are not within the scope of this dissertation. For convenience, the traditional term 'neuter' will therefore be retained. This extension is usually marked by the extension sequence /-ek-/, and is used to indicate 'a change of state, or becoming or getting done' (Pahl, 1978:397). Consider the following sentences, with and without /-ek-/.

- 50a USipho utya inyama  
 Sipho he-pres-eat meat  
 Sipho eats/is eating meat
- b Inyama iyatyeka  
 Meat it-pres-eat-neut  
 Meat is eatable (Meat can be eaten)

In the above sentence, 50a differs from 50b in that it contains a neuter extension /-ek-/. Note here that in sentence 50b the attachment of /-ek-/ blocks the verb from taking an object NP, and at the same time implies an absence of an overt controller agent. /-ek-/ attachment therefore has predictable syntactic and semantic consequences. The following discussion is therefore concerned with the syntax and semantics of -ek-.

4.3.2.1 The syntax of /-ek-/

The following syntactic factors are observed with -ek- extension suffix.

4.3.2.1.1 /-ek-/ and object NPs

Guthrie (1970:96) terms this extension the 'one object less' extension. This implies that this extension entails a presence of one less object than the simplex radical of the verb. Transitive verbs are thus made intransitive and 'plus' transitives have the number of co-occurring NPs reduced by one with /-ek-/ attachment.

Consider the following examples:

	NP1		NP2
51a	UThozi	uthanda	uCebo
	Thozi	he-pres-love	Cebo
	Thozi	loves	Cebo
b	UCebo	uyathandeka	(kuThozi)
	Cebo	he-pres-love-neut	to Thozi
	Cebo	is lovable	to Thozi

Note here that NP2 in the (a) sentence becomes NP1 in the (b) sentence. NP1 in 51a forms the base of a locative construction. It is thus tempting to generalize that with the neuter extension, NP1 is demoted into an oblique phrase or deleted while NP2 is promoted to subject (NP1) position in 51b, a structure represented as:

BASE STEM		NEUTER
NP1+V+NP2	>	NP+V+LOC NP

A neuter extension thus disallows sentences such as

52a\* UCebo uthandeka uThози  
 Cebo he-pres-love-neut Thози

b\* UCebo uyamthandeka uThози  
 Cebo he-pres-him-love-neut Thози

Also consider sentences such as 53 which take the form NP+V+INS NPs viz:

53a UCebo uthandeka ngoThози  
 Cebo he-pres-love-neut by-Thози  
 He is lovable because of Thози

b UCebo uthandeka ngoThози  
 Cebo he-pres-love-neut by-Thози  
 Cebo is loveable because of Thози

From the above sentences Satyo (1985:122) draws the following conclusions:

- (1) The object NP becomes the subject NP with /-ek-/ attachment.
- (2) In the long present tense form NP1 of the unextended verb is not an obligatory part of the verb and if it is included it is realized in its copulative, instrumental or locative form.
- (3) If the short form of the verb is used, NP1 of the unextended verb must appear in the third slot in the form stated in (2) above.

#### 4.3.2.1.2 /-ek-/ and body part in double object NP constructions

The general contention that /-ek-/ reduces the number of co-occurring NPs gives a necessary impression that /-ek-/ cannot function in double object constructions. This conclusion becomes

suspect when one deals with body part syntax as in such constructions the ability of the verb to take an extra object is not blocked. (The problem of body part syntax has already been argued in Chapter Three).

Consider the following examples reproduced from Satyo (op cit:122) and renumbered.

- 54a UNombasa uthanda izidlele kuPhumeza  
 Nombasa she-pres-love cheeks in-Phumeza  
 Nombasa loves the cheeks in Phumeza
- b UNombasa uthandeka izidlele kuPhumeza  
 Nombasa she-pres-love-neut cheeks in-Phumeza  
 Nombasa is lovable the cheeks in Phumeza (lit: it is the cheeks that are lovable in Nombasa to Phumeza)

However, I would like to add further examples:

- 54c\* UNombasa uyazithandeka izidlele kuPhumeza  
 Nombasa she-pres-them-love+ek cheeks in-Phumeza
- d\* Izidlele zithandekwa nguNombasa kuPhumeza  
 Cheeks they-pres-love-neut+pass by-Nombasa in- Phumeza
- e\* KuPhumeza kuthandekwa izidlele nguNombasa  
 in-Phumeza it-pres-love-neut-pass cheeks by- Nombasa
- f\* UPhumeza uthandekwa izidlele nguNombasa  
 Phumeza she-pres-love-neut-pass cheeks by-Nombasa

In the above sentences (54c-f) the following observations are made:

- (1) /-ek-/ attachment blocks the occurrence of an extra object in the sentences.

- (2) If this extra object occurs it is marked for locative. This is clear in 54b.
- (3) 54c indicates that the body part 'izidlele' is blocked from O.C. incorporation.
- (4) In the presence of /-ek-/ a verb may not be passivised.
- (5) Clauses with /-ek-/ fail tests of objecthood with regard to post verbal NPs. These are accessibility to D.O. position, O.C. incorporation and passivization.
- (6) All these are features of low transitivity.

#### 4.3.2.1.3 Double transitives

The same general rule of: move NP2 to NP1 position, NP3 to NP2 position and NP1 to final position in locative, instrumental or copulative NPs with /-ek-/ still holds in double transitives. The following examples elucidate this:

- 55a Umfazi ubuza umntwana umbuzo  
 The-woman she-pres-ask child question  
 The woman is asking a child a question
- b Umntwana ubuzeka umbuzo (kumfazi/emfazini/ngumfazi)  
 The-child she-pres-ask-neut question (to/by women)  
 The child is askable/can be asked a question to the woman (by the woman)

Also consider:

- c Umbuzo ubuzeka emntwaneni (kumfazi/emfazini/ ngumfazi)  
 The-question it-pres-ask-neut to child (by-woman)  
 The question is askable/can be asked from the child by the woman

Note here that with /-ek-/ the marked NPs are optional constituents.

#### 4.3.2.1.4 Intransitives

If the view that the neuter extension reduces the number of verbal participants by one it would be expected that with intransitives, this extension will not operate. Consider the following examples.

- 56a Unonduluka umithi  
 The-wench she-pres-pregnant  
 The wench is pregnant
- b\* Unonduluka uyamitheka  
 The-wench she-pres-pregnant+neut
- 57a Indoda ihluthi  
 The-man he-pres-full  
 The man is full
- b\* Indoda iyahlutheka  
 The-wench she-pres-full+neut

It is observed above that restrictions exist when /-ek-/ co-occurs with intransitives. The unacceptability of the (b) sentences indicates this restricted occurrence of /-ek-/ with intransitives since it is expected that there is no NP that will be promoted to subject position. It is interesting to note how Xhosa handles this problem by the use of 'dummy' subject concord /ku-/. Consider the following examples.

- 56c Kumitheka lula kuNonduluka xa engacwangcisi  
 It-pres-pregnant-neut easy to-wench when she does  
 not contracept (i.e. a wench can get pregnant)

57c Kuhlutheka lula endodeni xa isele

It-pres-full-neut easily to-man when he is drunk (i.e.  
the man can be full.

Note, however, that as in other cases, with /-ek-/, the demoted NP1 is realized as a marked NP.

#### 4.3.2.1.5 /-ek-/ and special object NPs

It is interesting to note that even 'marginal' verbs and 'cognate' NPs (low transitivity NPs) do not offer any problems with /-ek-/ in terms of de-transitivization. 'Marginal' and 'cognate' are here used to refer to less typical transitives as these show selectivity in their occurrence with object nouns. Consider:

58a Indoda ihamba indlela [+LOC]

The-man he-pres-walk [the road]  
The man walks along the road

b Indlela ihambeka lula endodeni xa kukhanya

The-road it-pres-walk-neut easy to-man  
The road is walkable/worth walking to the man when  
there is light

59a Ivila lilele ubuthongo

The-idle he-pres-sleep  
The idle is fast asleep

b Ubuthongo buyalaleka endodeni xa itye isiyobisi

Sleep it-pres-sleep-neut to-man when he-pres-drink  
drugs  
It is worth sleeping/sleepable to the man when he  
drinks a drug

- 60a Indoda ilila iinyembezi  
 The-man he-pres-cry tears  
 The man is crying tearfully
- b Iinyembezi zilileka endodeni xa inxilile  
 Tears they-pres-cry-neut to-man when he-perf-drink  
 Tears are shed/can be shed by the man when he is drunk

What is crucial here, however, is that the extra object is demarked for noun and marked for locative as is the case with all constructions involving /-ek-/. It will also be noted that with /-ek-/ emphasis or focus is more on the source of the action demoted by the verb.

#### 4.3.2.1.6 The neuter and the passive

It so happens that the neuter and the passive function under the same syntactic environments which justifies the term "neutro-passive" according to Satyo, (1985:126 ). The following examples elucidate this point.

- 61a Igwala libetheka uduma  
 The-dastard he pres-inflict-neut wound  
 The dastard can have a wound inflicted on him
- b Igwala libethwa uduma  
 The-dastard he-pres-hit-pass wound  
 The dastard has a wound inflicted on him
- 62a Iinyawo zicandeka yingqele  
 The feet they-pres-pierce-neut by-cold  
 The feet have been pierced by/as a result of cold
- b Iinyawo zicandwa yingqele  
 The feet they-pres-pierce-pass by cold  
 The feet have been pierced by cold

63a Amasa adaleka yinggele  
 Split-heels they-pres-make by cold  
 Split heels are made by cold

b Amasa adalwa yinggele  
 Split-heels they-pres-make-pass by-cold  
 Split heels are made by cold

What is crucial in the above example is that the affected participants are focused. Neuter and passive clauses are therefore clauses of result.

#### 4.3.2.2 The semantics of /-ek-/

Satyo (1985:160) ties this extension with stativity of which two concepts are distinguished:

- (1) the expression of a state or condition without reference to any agency;
- (2) potentiality, that is, whether or not the subject is capable of receiving a given action, usually some reference to agency or the condition of the object being acted upon, or whether or not a certain state may be achieved.

The most relevant of the two conditions is (1) since /-ek-/ is associated with a change of state or process, without any form of agency. However, the idea of 'becoming' may not be independent of some form of agency or another. Satyo (op cit: 167) for these reasons, divides the semantic roles of /-ek-/ into three categories. These are:

- (1) Change of state without reference to agency. Here the subject of the verb has entered into a state or condition, and does not refer either explicitly or obligatorily to any external force. The following examples demonstrate this:

64a Indoda yalahleka kwisixeko esiklulu  
 The-man he-pst-loose-neut in-city big  
 The man got lost in a big city

b Usana luyathandeka  
 The-child it-pres-love-neut  
 The child is lovable

In the above sentences there is hardly any reference to agency or cause.

- (2) Change of state with reference to agency where agency or cause under which change takes place is referred to 'explicitly'.

Consider the following examples where the relationship between the agent NP, the NP object and the verb is morphologically marked by means of a copulative as in passives. It is relevant here to reproduce example 63a:

63a Amasa adaleka yingqele  
 Split-heels they-pres-make-neut by-cold  
 Split heels are made by cold

I must, however, add that in 63a above the agent is not 'explicit' in the true sense of the word. Absence of purposefulness reinforces this argument.

- (3) Understood agency, where agency is covert or understood. Consider the following examples.

65a Umfundi uboneka ukuxoka (kutitshala)  
 The-student he-pres-see-neut to-lye to-teacher  
 The student is seen as lying by the teacher

Here the semantic role contracted between 'kutitshala' and 'ngutitshala' and the predicate should be noted, as, it expresses

the source of the 'process' indicated by the predicate. However, the agent does not participate directly in the action in (b) but ensures direct participation by some unspecified agent while in (a) the agent participates directly. This may be illustrated as follows:

- (a) [X causes: Y: - be in Z]
- (b) [A do to: X-cause Y - be in Z]

(4) The suffix /-ile/ and /-ek-/

/-ek-/ can occur with the suffix ile in which case it indicates stativity instead of perfectivity which states that 'these extended radicals are inchoative in significance' (Satyo, 1985:165).

Consider the following examples:

- 66a Indoda ibambile  
The-man he-perf-hold  
The man is holding
- b Indoda ibambekile  
The-man he-perf-hold-neut  
The man is held (by something)

(5) Potentially; here the neuter extension indicates:

- (a) whether or not a sentence is acceptable of receiving a given action. Here agency is optional but not totally prohibited.
- (b) Whether or not a certain state of condition may be achieved. Consider:

67a Imali ityeka kakubi (xa uyibile)

Money it-pres-spend-neut bad when you have stolen it

Money is badly spent when it is stolen

b Kumitheka (xa ungacwangcisi)

It-pres-pregnant-neut (when you do not contracept;

list: one can be pregnant when she does not  
contracept)

#### 4.3.2.3 Summary

The following observations are noted with /-ek/.

- (1) It is always semantically coded as stative with the verb BE. This is a feature of low transitivity.
- (2) It detransitivizes a verb by reducing the number of co-occurring NPs by 1.
- (3) Basic subjects are either demoted or unspecified hence these NPs are always marked.
- (4) Agency or cause of change may be referred to explicitly or understood, however, 'cause' is not an integral part of the concept or process of change.
- (5) /-ek-/ is restricted from having a semantic relationship with an object NP unless there is a body part relationship. In this sense clauses which were barred from taking an object noun do accept body part nouns in the object slot.
- (6) Object nouns with /-ek-/ are always marked oblique NPs and are optional constituents.

4.3.3 The passive /-iw-/ extension

The passive construction is the most intriguing of the detransitivizing extensions in Xhosa. The main reason for this is that it is usually viewed as an alternative to the active voice which is regarded as its equivalent. In this section syntactic and semantic nuances of the passive are discussed and related to the general problem of transitivity. The relation between actives and passives is noted in such studies as: Eckman (1974), Halle and Bresnan (1985), Kroskrity (1985), Shibatani (1985), Vitale (1981) etc.

In this dissertation I consider a sentence active if the agent, or instrument nominal of the sentence is the superficial subject. A passive of such a sentence is one which has the same nominal dependents of the verb as the active sentence, but which meets the following conditions.

- (1) Some other nominal besides the agent or instrument is the subject.
- (2) The verb form of this sentence is formally related to the verb of the active sentence except for the fact that it consists of an extension which the unextended form does not have.

The following sentences indicate this passive active relation.

	NP	V	NP	
68a	Indoda	itya	inyama	ACTIVE
	The-man	he-pres-eat	meat	
	The man eats meat			
	NP	V	COP	
b	Inyama	ityiwa	yindoda	PASSIVE
	The-meat	it-pres-eat-pass	by-man	
	The meat is eaten by the man			

Note that in the passive form the subject/agent NP1 is realized in its copulative form as evident in 68b as compared to 68a, which suggests that its status is reduced. One can therefore conclude that /-iw-/ attachment affects grammatical relations.

#### 4.3.3.1 The syntax of /-iw-/

The following syntactic behaviour patterns are observed when /-iw-/ is attached to a verb.

##### 4.3.3.1.1 /-iw-/ with transitive sentences

	NP1	V	NP2	
69a	Indoda	isela	amasi	ACTIVE
	The-man	he-pres-drink	milk	
	The man drinks milk			
b	Amasi	aselwa	yindoda	PASSIVE
	Milk	it-pres-drink-pass	by-man	
	The-milk is drunk by the man			

The following observations are made in the following sentences:

- (1) NP1 and NP2 in the (a) sentence are reversed in the (b) sentence.
- (2) NP2 in the (b) sentence is realized in its copulative form.

##### 4.3.3.1.2 /-iw-/ with plus transitives

Consider the following sentences:

	NP1	V	NP2:IO	NP3:DO
70a	Umfazi	unika	umntwana	ubisi
	The-woman	she-pres-give	child	milk
	The woman gives the child milk			

- b      Umntwana      unikwa                      ubisi                      ngumfazi  
 The-child    it-pres-give-pass    milk                      by-woman  
 The child is given milk by the woman
- c      Ubisi              lunikwa                      umntwana                      ngumfazi  
 The-milk    it-pres-give-pass    child                      by-woman  
 The milk is given to the child by the woman

Here it is observed that NP1 position is accessible to both NP2 and NP3. When either of the postverbal NPs in 70a are raised to NP1 position in 70b the other occupies NP2 position while what was NP1 in 70a occupies the final strata. Note, however, this condition may be changed when NP3(DO) is incorporated in the verb. Consider:

- d      Umntwana ulunikwe ngumfazi ubisi  
 The-child it-pres-it-give-pass by-woman milk  
 The child is given milk by the woman

#### 4.3.3.1.3 /-iw-/ and body part syntax

Consider the following set of sentences where there is a possessive relationship between NP2 and NP3.

- | NP1   | VP                | NP2      | NP3      |
|---|-------------------|----------|----------|
| 71a Intombi                                       | iphuza            | usana    | isidlele |
| The-girl  | she-pres-kiss     | baby     | cheek    |
| The girl is kissing the baby's cheek              |                   |          |          |
| b Usana   | luphuzwa          | isidlele | yintombi |
| The-baby  | it-pres-kiss-pass | cheek    | by-girl  |
| The baby is being kissed on the cheek by the girl |                   |          |          |

Also consider:

- c\*    Isidlele            siphuzwa                    usana                    yintombi  
       The-cheek        it-pres-kiss-pass baby                    by-girl  
       The cheek is kissed the baby by the girl
- d     Isidlele            sosana                    siphuzwa                yintombi  
       The cheek        of-baby                    it-pres-kiss-pass        by-girl  
       The baby's cheek is being kissed by the girl
- e     Usana                luphuzwa                    esidleleni                yintombi  
       The-baby        it-pres-kiss-pass at-cheek                    by-girl  
       The baby is kissed at the cheek by the girl
- f     Isidlele                siphuzwe                    elusaneni                yintombi  
       The-cheek            it-pst-kiss-pass at-baby                    by-girl  
       The cheek has been kissed in the baby by the girl
- g\*    Esidleleni siphuzwe usana yintombi  
       On-cheek it-perf-kiss-pass baby by-girl
- h\*    Elusaneni luphuzwe isidlele yintombi  
       On-cheek it-perf-kiss-pass cheek by-girl
- i\*    Isidlele siphuzwa usana yintombi  
       The-cheek it-pres-kiss-pass baby by-girl

The following are observed in the above examples:

- (1) There are restrictions on NP2 and NP3, when they are marked, that is, they are not freely acceptable to NP1 position hence the ungrammaticality of sentence 71(g) and (h).
- (2) NP3 is semantically possessed by NP2 as shown in example 71(d).
- (3) Sentences (d-f) indicate that body parts, locatives and possessives are related.

- (4) Unmarked body parts are freely accessible to NP1 position as evident in 71(d) and (f). When this happens the possessor noun is marked hence the ungrammatical 71(i).

#### 4.3.3.1.4 /iw/ and intransitives

Within the general rule that passive sentences reduces the number of verb participants by one, it would be expected that /-iw-/ would not operate with transitive constructions. However, evidence seems to be to the contrary, consider the following examples.

- 72a Indoda ihluthi  
The-man he-pres full  
The man is full
- b Kuyahluthwa yindoda  
It-pres-full-pass by-man  
The man is usually full
- 73a Unondatshaza umithi  
The-wench she-pres-pregnant  
The wench is pregnant
- b Kuyamithwa ngunondatshaza  
It-pres-pregnant-pass by-wench  
A wench is usually pregnant

The above examples indicate that:

- (1) Contrary to Vitale (1981:) intransitives are passivizable in Xhosa.
- (2) There are, however, restrictions, in that the verb takes an impersonal concord /ku-/.

- (3) The verb takes the tense marker /-ya-/ in which case it indicates that the situation denoted by the verb is extended in time.

#### 4.3.3.1.5 Truncated passives

This is the 'reduced passive' construction according to Eckman (1974) while Vitale (1981) terms this construction '(-specified) passive'. In this case the agent of the passive construction is not specified and is left out. Consider

	NP1	V	NP2
74a	(Oozipeqengeshe)	bangcwaba	abantu
	(Some unspecified people)	the-pres-bury	people
	(Some unspecified people)	bury	people
b	Abantu	bangcwatywa	{ - }
	People	they-pst-bury-pass	
	People	were buried	

The above examples indicate and support Vitale (1981:118) that:

"An agent phrase may be marked [-specified] when this feature specification occurs, the entire agent phrase (including the preposition (na)) is deleted".

#### 4.3.3.1.6 /-iw-/ and locative nouns

Locative nouns behave like direct objects in that they may undergo a proposing rule, and, raised to NP1 subject position with the morphological consequences that the verb is marked with the passive morpheme. More striking is the fact that the class of verbs which allow locatives to be passivised is restricted. These are such verbs as /-hlala/, /-hamba/, etc. Consider the following examples:

- 75a Izidenge zihlala inkanti  
 Fools they-pres-stay bar  
 Fools stay at a bar
- b Inkanti ihlalwa zizidenge  
 Bar it-pres-stay-pass by-fools  
 A bar is stayed at (patronized) by fools
- 76a Indoda ihamba indlela  
 The-man he-pres-walk road  
 The man is walking along the road
- b Indlela ihanjwa yindoda  
 The road it-pres-walk-pass by-man  
 The road is being walked along by the man

This is in line with Vitale's assertion that:

"In two-place locative constructions with transi-  
 tivized (i.e. applied/dative stems) such as /-fik-i-a/  
 'arrive at', /-ing-i-a/ 'enter into' which are  
 typically followed by locative NP's, the syntactic  
 behaviour is similar to that of non-locative  
 transitive constructions" (1981:126).

But consider:

- 77a Izidenge zihlala enkanti  
 The-fools they-pres-stay at-bar  
 Fools stay at (patronise) bars
- b\* Enkanti ihlalwa zizidenge  
 At-bar it-pres-stay-pass by-fools
- 78a Indoda ihamba endleleni  
 The-man he-pres-walk on-road  
 The man walks along the road

b\* Endleleni ihanjwa yindoda  
On-road it-pres-walk-pass by-man

Further look at:

79a Enkanti kuhlalwa zizidenge  
At-bar it-pres-stay-pass by-fools

b Endleleni kuhanjwa yindoda  
On-the-road it-pres-walk-pass by-man

From the above the following observations could be raised:

- (1) Unmarked locatives behave like ordinary NPs. Examples 75(a) and 76(a) indicate this.
- (2) Unmarked locative NPs trigger passivization with the same morphological consequences as ordinary NPs as in 75(b) and 76(b).
- (3) There are restrictions on proposing of marked locatives to NP1 position with passives hence the ungrammatical 77(b) and 78(b).

#### 4.3.3.1.7 Deletable objects and the passive

Here Vitale's assertion that a structure in which an object NP is deleted under the typical NP convention may not be passivized is here suspect. He argues that:

a structure may be passivized just in case the deleted object NP is recovered (1981:119).

The reason for this is that such NP's are not deletable but optional and unspecified. Consider the following examples:

- 80a Abantu balele (ubuthongo)  
 People they-pres-sleep (sleep)  
 People are (fast) asleep
- b Ubuthongo bulalwa ngabantu  
 Sleep it-pres-sleep-pass by-people
- c Kulelwe ngabantu  
 It-pres-sleep-pass by-people  
 It is slept by people/there are people sleeping
- d Kulelwe  
 It-pres-sleep-pass  
 It is slept
- 81a Isibhanxa sihleka intsini  
 The fool it-pres-laugh derision  
 The fools laughs derisively
- b Intsini ihlekwa sisibhanxa  
 Derision it-pres-laugh-pass by fool

It is obvious here that deletable and optional objects are also passivizable although the range of occurrence of such sentences is restricted.

#### 4.3.3.1.8 Further examples involving marked NPs

Consider the following examples with the indefinite subject concord /ku-/ and without /ku-/.

- 82a Umfana wabethwa (enkanti - LOC )  
 (ngegqudu - instr)  
 (yindoda - cop )

The-lad he-pst-hit-pass

The lad was hit (at the bar )  
 (with a stick )  
 (by a man )

b Kwabethwa umfana (enkanti - LOC )  
 (ngegqudu - instr)  
 (yindoda - cop )

It-pst-hit+pass the-lad

A lad was hit/there was a lad hit (at the bar )  
 (with a stick )  
 (by a man )

#### 4.3.3.2 The semantics of /-iw-/

In this section the surrounding passive is cited in 'generative' terms and subsequently followed by a discussion of dominating theories on the semantics of /-iw-/.

##### 4.3.3.2.1 An introductory note

The passive extension has been treated in a number of models (see Satyo, 1985, Chapter 6). One of the problems cited here is the relationship accorded to actives and passives. This is said to entail a syntactic difference in NP arrangement in the two constructions. In the transformational model for instance, the demotion of the subject and the promotion of the object is seen as an end result of an application of certain transformational rules. It's also presupposed that at some level of representation, the active and corresponding passives were identical. One would therefore assume that for every active sentence there would be a corresponding passive sentence. Satyo (1985) has, however, noted the following problems with the transformational model.

- (1) It fails to account for derivation and interpretation of truncated passives as these do not have the agent phrase

expressed by means of a copulative.

- (2) It fails to determine whether there is a lexical feature which is specified in a given predicate in order to predict the occurrence or non-occurrence of passivization in that given verb.

This argument is not progressed any further in this study. A view held in this dissertation is that adopted from Taylor, that:

All meaning is in a sense, pragmatic as it involves the conceptualization of human beings in a physical social environment (1991:132).

In this case, I suggest that in referring to an entity, one highlights different aspects of its domain, and it depends which one is activated. In this sense therefore the use of passive versus active sentences is assumed to be speaker dependent. If focus is on the affected participant or on 'result' then the choice of the passive is preferred. Nonetheless the use of passive to code resultative clauses by topicalizing patients is a feature of low transitivity.

Another relevant approach is Freidin and Mchombo's 'lexical interpretative approach' Satyo (1985:224-225). According to this analysis active and passive forms are not derived from the same P marker, instead their relationship is captured in the lexicon. Inherent passives such as /-nxanwa/ 'be thirsty', /-batywa/ 'be sexually aroused' and /-vuthwa/ 'become ripe' are used to reinforce this standpoint. A defect is that this approach also ignores the usages of the passive.

#### 4.3.3.2.2 Passives and transitivity: competing theories

If one were to carry the argument of demotions and advancements in passive constructions, to its conclusion, and relate it to the general contention that the passive is a detransitivising

If one were to carry the argument of demotions and advancements in passive constructions, to its conclusion, and relate it to the general contention that the passive is a detransitivising extension, one would expect a passive form of intransitive verbs not to occur since there would be no NP to be advanced to the subject position. Evidence, however, yields to the contrary. Truncated passives and impersonal passives which I refer to as 'reduced passives' (vide Eckman:1974) are, indicative of this. I argue here, however, that passives are intransitive and all passive forms have one thing in common: they are stative, embedding to an underlying verb BE, and whenever there is an agent, it will always be unspecified. Two approaches dominate here. One view is held by, Perlmutter and Postal (in Perlmutter 1983) and in Perlmutter and Rosen (1984). The other view is held by Langacker and Munro (1975). These theories are argued in 4.3.3.2.3 and 4.3.3.2.4 respectively.

#### 4.3.3.2.3 Perlmutter and Postal's hypothesis

Perlmutter and Postal (Perlmutter 1983) note two universals that characterize passivization:

- (1) A (direct) object of an active clause is the superficial subject of the 'corresponding' passive.
- (2) The subject of an active clause is neither the superficial subject nor the superficial direct object of the 'corresponding' passive (Perlmutter and Postal, 1983:9).

It is here further argued that the two universals taken together have the following consequence.

- (3) In the absence of another rule permitting some further nominal to be direct object of the clause, a passive clause is a (superficially) intransitive clause. If the two are correct, then a direct object of an active clause is the subject of an intransitive clause in the corresponding

passives is also not adequately explained.

Impersonals are, instead, handled as 'dummy advancements' in Perlmutter (1984:126). It is here argued:

"regardless whether an impersonal passive clause has a dummy nominal visible in its surface form, such a clause has a dummy 2 which co-occurs with a 1 in some stratum and advances to 1 in the next stratum and is thus a passive clause".

Under this analysis passive forms such as impersonal passives do not violate the universal in 1 above since impersonal passives involve the advancement 2-1. In this case, however, 2 is a dummy. The appearance of a dummy, (bracketed in 83 below) does not disprove this. Consider:

- 83a Kubulawa inja (ngoozipeqengeshe)  
 It-pres-kill-pass dog (by some people)  
 A dog is being killed by some people
- b Kutyelwa phandle (ngoozipeqengeshe)  
 It-pres-eat-pass outside (by some people)  
 It is eaten outside by some people (some people eat outside) lit:

Note here that a dummy refers to an unspecified argument.

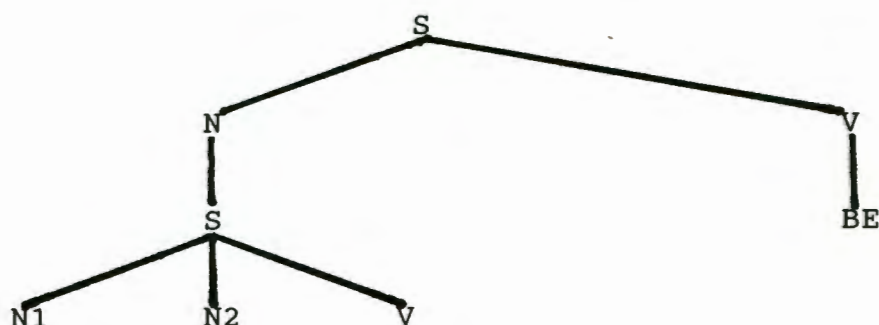
#### 4.3.3.2.4 Langacker and Munro's hypothesis

It is here proposed that in a passive sentence:

- (1) The subject complement (passive subject) is embedded to the predicate BE.
- (2) The underlying subject (NP1) is unspecified. This unspecified argument is an argument whose existence is

semantically implied and which is identified neither by reference nor lexical content.

- (3) No instrumental or agentive phrase is posited as an integral part of a passive construction. When such a phrase occurs it is taken to be derived from an external source conjoined to the structure below.



...

It is suggested here that passives have a distinct underlying structure and do not derive from a corresponding active. Langacker (1975:729) also summarizes the properties that characterise passive sentences as follows:

- (1) Embedding to a stative-existential predicate.
- (2) Unspecified semantic subject.
- (3) Topicalization or foregrounding of the underlying object by virtue of the its moving to subject position.

Note that there is no necessary relationship among these properties. While there are constructions which display all these properties (proto-typical passives) one may recognize the existence of a semi-passive which combines two and lacks the third. There are also impersonal passives. Impersonal passives thus involve embedding of a clause with an unspecified subject to the predicate BE, but the underlying object does not become surface subject. Note too that here BE is considered as a predicate with real semantic content, not simply a semantically

empty grammatical marker that could be inserted transformationally. By this it is argued:

"it may be regarded as a stative or existential predicate one that contrasts with and (in many instances) occurs in lieu of the abstract active predicate DO" (Langacker 1975:791).

#### 4.3.3.3 Summary

In the different types of passive forms mentioned above one could add the following insights extracted from Frajzincier (1982:).

"Whenever there is a passive form of intransitive verbs in several languages, such a form implies that the sentence has an indefinite human agent".

Within the present argument one could add that natural agents would feature closer to human agents as these are all high on the scale of agency. These should also be contrasted with truncated passives which very often do not imply the existence of the subject altogether. Most often the impersonal passive would be used in sentences for which one cannot postulate an underlying subject, and like any other impersonal sentence may not have a surface structure subject. Frajzincier (1982:268) further adds that:

The term passive form designates the form of a verb or sentence which is used in constructions whose primary function is to indicate that the subject of a transitive verb is (1) patient or (2) some other argument rather than the expected agent.

This does not have exactly the same consequences for Xhosa as the demoted subject is a marked nominal in Xhosa while semantically (if it is expressed) it retains its agentive meaning. The second conclusion drawn here does not accurately capture this phenomenon

especially when one notices that the patient in passive sentences is marked in the same way as in the active (i.e. it is in the same nominal form).

Perlmutter and Postal (1984:183-185) observations on the different passive forms should also be seriously considered. Here it is suggested that passives are derived by demoting subjects. In impersonals, however, the demotion of the underlying subject is not triggered by a promotion of some other NP to subject thus triggering /ku-/ as a subject marker, what Perlmutter terms 'brother-in-law agreement'. Impersonal passives of transitive clauses should however be distinguished from those of intransitive clauses as these do not indicate any kind of underlying agents as is the case with 'weather impersonals'.

One can also draw the conclusion that demotion of subjects is not logically or mutually dependent on object promotion and object raising. In this case one does not know whether the difference between full passives (where the agent is stated) and the reduced passives (truncated and impersonal passives) is a result of 'incomplete demotion' or 'complete demotion'.

From the above the following observations are made with regard to passives.

- (1) a non-agent argument assumes clausal topic function instead of subject agent;
- (2) Verb agreement is sensitive to patient, or goal argument, therefore coding priority is associated with the patient than any other argument.
- (3) the identity of the agent is suppressed, creating impersonal constructions;
- (4) Impersonal passives do not assign (focus) control over an event.

- (5) the clause is detransitivized, is stative and less transitive.
- (6) Impersonal passives exhibit 'low' transitivity as compared to semantic passive where the agent is stated.
- (7) Passives form a continuum and are therefore polysemous having several but related meanings as the different passive forms indicate.
- (8) The semantic passive is the prototype form against which others are measured.
- (9) The passive which does not syntactically encode an agent defocuses it to the full extent. That which encodes it in an oblique case defocuses it to the degree assigned to the oblique position, i.e. the lowest degree of focus among the syntactically encoded elements.
- (10) Passives create a syntactic pivot with the syntactic properties:

Agt - 0  
Pat - Subj

The above properties apply to Xhosa passive constructions as well, especially when one notes that the subject of the active predicate is optional and that the promoted object is merely a syntactic rather than a semantic subject.

#### 4.3.4 Locatives, possessives and existentials revisited

In the above discussion reciprocals, neuter and passive construction are regarded as either intransitives, detransitivised constructions or clauses of reduced transitivity. This creates impressions such constructions do not occur with overt object NPs. However, evidence always indicates that these

verbs may occur with object nominals such as locatives, and possessive NPs in their unmarked forms, that is, as ordinary NPs with the same syntactic consequences, such as occupying DO position and triggering passivization through advancements to subject position and triggering both OC and SC incorporation in the verb. Consider the following related sentences where such NPs are marked by the same morphological markings used to mark ordinary NPs. A body part in this case is a good example since it has the features [+ possessive] [+ locative] or could also become the subject of a locative existential. Consider the following sentences:

Sample sentences:

Body part relations

- 83a USipho unqumle umntwana umnwe  
 Sipho he-perf-cut child finger  
 Sipho cut the child's finger

Unmarked cases

- b USipho umnqumle umnwe umntwana  
 Sipho he-him-perf-cut child finger
- c Umntwana unqunyulwe umnwe  
 The-child it-perf-cut-pass finger  
 The child is being cut a finger

Locative cases

- d USipho unqumle umntwana emnweni  
 Sipho he-perf-cut the-child at-finger  
 Sipho has cut the child at the finger
- e Umntwana unqunyulwe emnweni  
 The-child it-perf-cut-pass at-finger  
 The child is being cut at a finger

Possessive cases

- f USipho unqumle umnwe womntwana  
Sipho he-perf-cut finger of-child  
Sipho has cut a finger of a child
- g USipho uwunqumle owomntwana umnwe  
Sipho he-it-perf-cut that-of-the-child finger  
Sipho has cut that finger of a child

Locative cases

- h USipho unqumle umnwe emntwaneni  
Sipho he-perf-cut finger at-child  
Sipho has cut the finger at the child
- i USipho uwunqumle emntwaneni umnwe  
Sipho he-perf-cut at-child finger  
Sipho cut from the child a finger
- j Umnwe unqunyulwe emntwaneni nguSipho  
The-finger it-perf-cut-pass at-child by Sipho  
The finger was cut from the child by Sipho

Possessive cases

- k Umnwe womntwana unqunyulwe nguSipho  
The-finger of-child it-perf-cut-pass by-Sipho  
The child's finger has been cut by Sipho

Locative cases

- l Emntwaneni kunqunyulwe umnwe nguSipho  
At-child it-perf-cut-pass finger by-Sipho  
From the child a finger was cut by Sipho
- m Kunqunyulwe umtwana emnweni nguSipho  
It-perf-cut-pass child at-finger by-Sipho  
The child was cut at the finger by Sipho

Possessive cases

- n    Kunqunyulwe umnwe womntwana nguSipho  
       It-perf-cut-pass finger of-child by-Sipho  
       There was cut a finger of the child by Sipho
- o    Kunqunyulwe umntwana umnwe nguSipho  
       It-perf-cut-pass child finger by-Sipho  
       There was cut a child a finger by Sipho

From the above the following observations could be made in the case of body part NPs:

- (1) The syntactic subject position is accessible to both object NPs through passivization.
- (2) The direct and indirect object slot is accessible to both object NPs with the same OC incorporation consequences.
- (3) NP3 in (a) is semantically possessed by NP2 and usually occupies NP2 position only when it is part of a possessive construction as in f.
- (4) A marked locative could be raised to subject position triggering /ku-/ 'impersonal concord' incorporation.

From the above one would like to draw Christie (1970:168)'s observations to the fore, that 'locatives', 'possessives' and existentials could be analyzed as having a common underlying structure. The fact that one substitutes the other in body part syntax is indicative of this. Lyons (1978) and Vitale (1981) also support this notion. What is interesting here is that the impersonal prefix /ku-/ which triggers the dummy SC is related to the locative class prefix in form. In this sense the set of locative elements are to be interpreted as located with, rather than specifically as 'inside', 'near' etc and the crucial fact is 'be' 'with' as Christie (1978) suggests that:

"The linguisting evidence seems to suggest therefore that 'to be' is to be somewhere" (i.e. located) (Christie, 1970:173).

This may explain the stative reading in these clauses. However, one should also distinguish between 'concrete' and 'abstract' location as in 'statives' and 'objectives'. In this case 'physically part of', 'ownership', 'ownership and inalienable' possession are degrees of proximity. Body part relationship is the clearest example in this case. It is interesting too to note that /ku-/ normally occurs in 'verb first syntax' especially with 'emergence' verbs, locational and motion verb with the following consequences.

- (1) Move the existential verb to the beginning of the sentence,
- (2) remove control of grammatical agreement from the logical subject,
- (3) change verb into a locative/existential agreement.

Note too, that these are features of 'low transitivity'. One would further like to ask why /ku-/ does not occur with reflexives. Finally, as a result of the underlying predicate BE 'locatives', 'possessives' and existentials are regarded as features of low transitivity.

#### 4.3.5 Impersonal passives and neuter verb constructions not involving displaced object arguments

This section raises some of the arguments proposed in 4.3.4 above. Emphasis here however is on sentences involving the passive and neuter verb extensions in which case the object constructions are not raised to the subject position and therefore not displaced. Such constructions are therefore seen as detransitivized or reduced in transitivity since they involve unspecified and demoted subject arguments. Such constructions

therefore do not involve an overt controller NP Agent as indicated in the use of the impersonal subjectival concord /ku-/. This is a feature of low transitivity. Consider the following sentences:

- 84a Kubuzwa abafundi imibuzo  
 It(sc)-pres-ask-pass students questions  
 It is the students who are asked questions
- b Kufunwa abantwana  
 It(sc)-pres want children  
 It is the children who are wanted
- c Kubuzeka abafundi imibuzo  
 It(sc)-pres-ask-neut students questions  
 It is the students who have questions asked
- d Kufuneka abantana  
 It(sc)-pres-want-neut children  
 It is the children who are wanted

Further look at the following ones:

- 84a1 Kubuzwa abafundi imibuzo (ngutitshala)  
 It(sc)-pres-ask-pass students question (by-teacher)  
 The students have themselves asked questions by the teacher
- 84b1 Kufunwa abantwana (ngamapolisa)  
 It(sc)-pres-want-pass children (by-police)  
 The children have themselves wanted by the police
- 84c1 Kubuzeka abafundi imibuzo (kutitshala)  
 It(sc)-pres-ask-neut students questions (to-teacher)  
 The students have themselves asked questions by the teacher

84d1 Kufuneka abantwana (emapoliseni)  
 It(sc)-pres-want-neut children (to-police)  
 The children have themselves wanted by the police

Further look at these:

84a2 Utitshala ubabuza imibuzo abafundi  
 The-teacher he-pres-ask students questions  
 The teacher asks the students questions

84b2 Amapolisa afuna abantwana  
 The-police they-pres-want children  
 The police want the children

What is observed in the above sentences is that sentences 84a2 and 84b2 are the prototype constructions. Sentences 84a-84d and 84a1-84d1 are further instances of these sentences. It is argued, therefore that in these sentences the subject NPs are defocused and unspecified in 84a1-84d1 hence they are marked as 'copulatives' and 'locatives'. This is a feature of defocused NP constituents. Further note that in 84a-84d this process of defocusing is complete when these argument NPs are completely backgrounded since they are not part of the discourse. Note however because there are no focused arguments on the part of the object NPs, the verb takes the dummy S.C which is a feature of defocused subject NPs.

#### 4.3.6 Conclusion

From the above discussion one could draw attention to the following low transitivity features that tend to characterize 'reciprocals', 'neuter' and 'passive' constructions.

- (1) Embedding to the underlying stative predicate BE.
- (2) No overt controller subject (i.e. agent).

- (a) In reciprocals subjects and objects are viewed as one participant.
- (b) In neuter and passive constructions the underlying agent is either unspecified or optional (i.e. suppressed).
- (3) Restrictions on co-occurring object NPs unless that NP is a body part or locative or another oblique phrase.
- (4) If the subject slot is not filled an 'impersonal concord' normally operate.
- (5) All three constructions belong to the domain of 'detransitivization' by reducing the number of verb co-occurring NPs by one. The relationship between the following sentences with regard to lack of agency further seals the argument on detransitivization. Consider:

83a Isidumbu siyavuthelana [kukubola]

The-corpse it-pres-inflate-rec by-decomposition

The corpse is being inflated by decomposition

b Isidumbu siyavutheleka [kukubola]

The-corpse it-pres-inflate-neut by-decomposition

The corpse is inflatable due to decomposition

c Isidumbu sivuthelwa [kukubola]

The-corpse it-pres-inflate-pass by-decomposition

The corpse is inflated by decomposition

#### 4.4 TRANSITIVISING EXTENSIONS: /-el-/, /-is-/

This section deals with transitive clauses. By this is meant clauses where the occurrence of a verb with object NPs is not restricted, and where the transitivity of a verb is augmented rather than diminished by verbal extension. These are the

applied /-el-/ and the causative /-is-/ extensions. In this sense intransitive verbs are made transitive while transitive and double transitive verbs have their transitivity patterns increased. The validity of such assignment when attachment of certain morphemes augments transitivity is discussed. In this case both the syntactic and semantic nuances of the applied /-el-/ and causative /-is-/ verbal extensions are examined.

#### 4.4.1 The applied extension /-el-/: a definition

Without a wasting time on the relevance of the term 'applied' to this extension, which is not relevant for this discussion, the traditional term will be retained for convenience. According to Gowlett (1970: 186) this extension indicates that the action of the verb is applied or directed on behalf of, for, to the detriment of, towards or with respect to some person, thing or place. This view is maintained by Pahl (1978:400-401) where the following 'primary' functions of this extension are noted:

- (1) Performance of action for a person.
- (2) Performance of an action in someone's stead.
- (3) Performance of action for a reason.
- (4) Performance of action for an aim or purpose.
- (5) Performance of action at a place.
- (6) Performance of action moving in the direction of.

Below syntactic behavioural patterns of the applied extension as a result of /-el-/ attachment are discussed, analyzed and related to the semantic significance of this extension.

##### 4.4.1.1 The syntax of /-el-/

The attachment of /-el-/ to the verb typically allows the occurrence of an unmarked non-subject NP that the basic (unextended) form of the verb does not allow. This extra NP is dependent upon the applied form and thus should be regarded as the property of the applied form of the verb. Syntactically,

this means /-el-/-attachment involves the addition of an extra NP to the basic sub-categorization of the verb. When this extension is affixed to a verb then the verb requires an extra-object. Consider the following sentences. The former ~~of~~ is reproduced from Satyo (1986:128).

- 85a Umfundisi ufunda ibhayibhile  
 The-preacher he-pres-read bible  
 The preacher is reading a bible
- b Umfundisi ufundela ibandla ibhayibhile  
 The-preacher he-pres-read-app congregation bible  
 The preacher is reading a bible for the congregation
- c Umfazi umithi  
 The-woman she-pres-pregnant  
 The woman is pregnant
- d Umfazi umithela indoda  
 The-woman she-pres-pregnant-app man  
 The woman is pregnant/got pregnant for the man

Note the addition of the extra NP in the (b) and (d) sentences as compared to the (a) and (c) sentences in (85). The following syntactic behaviours of /-el-/ are for these reasons noted.

#### 4.4.1.1.1 /-el-/ with intransitives

Intransitive verbs become two place instead of one place predicates. Compare the ungrammatical 86a with 86b. These sentences suggests that /-el-/ affixion demands an obligatory object.

- 86a\* Indoda ifele                      NP1 + V  
 The-man he-pst-die-app  
 The man died for

- b Indoda ifele isizwe NP1 + V + NP2  
 The-man he-pst-die+app for-nation  
 The man has died for the nation

#### 4.4.1.1.2 /-el-/ with transitives

When the applied extension is added to these verbs (transitives), they become three place instead of two place predicates. The following examples elucidate this.

- 87a Inkwenkwe icheba ingca NP1 + V + NP2  
 The-boy he-pres-cut grass  
 The boy cuts grass

- b Inkwenkwe ichebela umLungu ingca NP1 + V + NP2 + NP3  
 The-boy he-pres-cut-app White-man grass  
 The boy is cutting grass for the White man

#### 4.4.1.1.3 /-el-/ with plus transitives

When /-el-/ is attached to double transitives one would expect a verb to have three post verbal NPs. In this sense the valency of a verb would be further increased. This in fact is highly restricted in occurrence. Consider the following examples reproduced from Satyo.

- 88a NP1 + V + NP2 + NP3  
 Umfazi unika unina le swekile  
 The-woman she-pres-give mother this sugar  
 The woman gives her mother this sugar

- 89a Umfazi upha unina le swekile  
 The-woman she-pres-give-mother this sugar  
 The woman gives her mother this sugar

and

88b NP1 + V + NP2 + NP3 + NP4  
 Umfazi umnikela unina umntwana le swekile  
 The-woman she-her-pres-give-app mother child this  
 sugar  
 The woman is giving the child sugar for her mother

89b Umfazi umphela unina umntwana le swekile  
 The-woman she-her-pres-give mother child this sugar  
 The woman gives her mother for the child this sugar

#### 4.4.1.1.4 /-el-/ with deletable object NPs

The occurrence of /-el-/ with deletable object NPs has interesting syntactic consequences. Consider the following sentences.

90a Umfazi uphekela indoda ukutya  
 The-woman she-pres-cook-app man food  
 The woman cooks food for the man

b Umfazi uphekela indoda  
 The-woman she-pres-cook-app man  
 The woman cooks for the man

c\* Umfazi uyaphekela  
 The-woman she-pres-cook-app  
 The woman cooks for

d\* Umfazi uphekela ukutya  
 The-woman she-pres-cook-app food  
 The woman cooks for food

The above sentences indicate that there is a constraint on the deletability of one or both object NPs.

- (1) The indirect object, that is, the object of /-el-/ is not deletable hence the ungrammatical 90(d).

- (2) The applied form of the verb obligatorily takes an object hence the ungrammatical 90(c).

4.4.1.1.5 Grammatical agreements with two object NPs

In Xhosa there is provision for one OC slot, that is, only one object in the case of two object construction can be indexed in the verb by means of its appropriate concord. In this case one would expect a competition for object incorporation in the verb. Consider the following sentences.

- 90a ULucy uphekela u-Arthur ukutya  
Lucy she-pres-cook-app Arthur food  
Lucy cooks food for Arthur
- b ULucy umphekela ukutya u-Arthur  
Lucy she-him-pres-cook-app food Arthur
- c ULucy ukuphekela u-Arthur ukutya  
Lucy she-it-pres-cook-app Arthur food
- d\* ULucy uphekela ukutya u-Arthur  
Lucy she-pres-cook-app food Arthur
- e\* ULucy umphekela u-Arthur ukutya  
Lucy she-him-pres-cook-app Arthur food
- f\* ULucy ukuphekela ukutya u-Arthur  
Lucy she-it-pres-cook-app food Arthur

In the above sentences it will be observed that both objects (in the case of sentence 91a-c) can be incorporated into the verbal complex, that is, there are no restrictions on the verb on accessibility to the OC slot by either of the two object NPs. However, the following observations could be made on the ungrammaticality of sentences 91d-f.

- (1) When there is no OC incorporation in the verb the direct object occupies a final position hence in sentence 91(d) is ungrammatical as compared to 91(a).
- (2) When an NP is indexed in the verb it occupies the final position, that is, the position of the direct object position even if it is the indirect object as sentences (b) and (c). Word order restrictions are therefore crucial. Also consider the following examples:

- g\* ULucy uyakuphekela uArthur ukutya  
 Lucy she-pres-it cook-app Arthur food  
 Lucy cooks it Arthur food
- h\* ULucy uyakuphekela ukutya uArthur  
 Lucy she-pres-it-cook-app food Arthur  
 Lucy cooks it food Arthur
- i ULucy uyamphekela uArthur ukutya  
 Lucy she-pres-him-cook-app Arthur food  
 Lucy cooked Arthur the food
- j ULucy uyamphekela ukutya uArthur  
 Lucy she-pres-him-cook-app food Arthur  
 Lucy cooks food for Arthur

Sentences 91(i) and (j) as opposed to (g) and (h) indicate that with the tense/aspect marker /-ya-/ only the indirect object, that is, the object of /-el-/ will trigger grammatical agreement. It should also be noted that when a construction with /-el-/ takes three object NPs as when /-el-/ co-occurs with plus transitives only the object of /-el-/ will still trigger grammatical agreement. Consider the following ungrammatical sentences in 92(a) and 92(b).

92a\* Umfazi uyinikela umntwana unina iswekile  
 The-woman she-it-pres-give-app child mother sugar  
 The woman gives the child sugar for its mother

b\* Umfazi umnikela iswekile unina umntwana  
 The-woman she-her-pres-give-app sugar mother child  
 The woman gives the child sugar for its mother

and compare with 92(c)

c Umfazi umnikela unina le swekile umntwana  
 The-woman she-her-pres-give-app mother this sugar  
 child  
 The woman gives the child this sugar for its mother

Further observations on /-el-/ and implications of /-el-/ attachment to the verb are discussed under semantics below.

#### 4.4.1.2 The semantics of /-el-/

Here I evaluate various semantic nuances as a result of /-el-/ attachment to verbs in Xhosa, and the implications of this for the issue transitivity. Two views dominate here for the various uses of applied verbs in Xhosa. One view is held by Pahl (1978:400-401) and is noted in 4.4.1 above. The second view is held by Satyo (1985:167) where the following usages of the applied extension are cited:

- (1) Benefactive or performance an action in someone's interest.
- (2) Performance of an action in someone's stead or on his behalf.
- (3) Performance of an action for a reason.
- (4) Performance of an action for an aim or purpose.
- (5) Performance of an action at a place.

The above usages are associated with such semantic relations as 'dative', 'benefactive', 'goal', 'locative' and 'instrumental'

relationships. Note that (1) and (2) as well as (3) and (4) could be viewed as the same usage respectively (i.e. benefactive). In this sense /-el-/ attachment is concerned with two primary significances viz (a) 'benefactive' reading as in (1)-(4) and (b) directionality as in (5).

#### 4.4.1.2.1 The dative semantic relation

One would like to examine the true status of the two nominals in double transitive verbs and how these relate to thematic relations such as 'goal' and 'purpose'. I wish to point out here that the thematic relations tend to be affected when either of the two post verbal nominals are marked, for instance, by the locative prefixes /ku-/ and /e- ni/ or the instrumental /nga-/. I will further predict here which nominal will be marked either for [+ locative] or [+ instrumental].

Consider the following sentences with 'direct' and 'indirect' objects.

- 93a Inkwenkwe ibhalela uyise incwadi  
The-boy he-pres-write-app father letter  
The boy writes a letter to his father
- 94a Ndixelela abantu ulwimi  
I-pres-tell-pass people lies  
I am telling people lies
- 95a Ndibikela abantu ukufa  
I-pres-report-app people death  
I reported death to the people
- 93b Inkwenkwe ibhalela incwadi kuyise  
The-boy he-pres-write-app letter to-father  
The boy is writing a letter to his father

- 94b Ndixelela abantu ngolwimi  
I-pres-tell-app people about-lies  
I am telling people about lies
- 95b Ndibikela abantu ngokufa  
I-pres-report-app people about-death  
I am reporting to the people about death
- 93c\* Inkwenkwe ibhalela uyise ngencwadi  
The-boy he-pres-write-app father about-letter
- 94c\* Ndixelela ulwimi ebantwini  
I-pres-tell-app lies to-people
- 95c\* Ndibikela ukufa ebantwini  
I-pres-report-app death to-people
- 93d Inkwenkwe ibhalela incwadi kuyise  
The-boy he-pres-write letter to-father  
The boy is writing a letter to his father
- 94d Ndixela ulwimi ebantwini  
I-pres-tell lies to-the-people  
I tell death to the people
- 95d Ndibika ukufa ebantwini  
I-pres-report death to-people  
I am reporting death to the people

Satyo (1985:168-169) with the above sentences notes that in the case where the dative is marked by the locative (or instrumental) prefix it is one slot away from the verb as sentences 93b, 94b and 95b indicate. Here two major factors which determine the choice of dative coding strategy are mentioned. These are:

- (1) If the verb is underived as in 93d, 94d and 95d the coding strategy preferred is that of marking the relevant NP for dative. This entails morphological marking for locative or instrumental.
- (2) On the other hand if a verb is extended by /-el-/ then it can be assumed that the dative is already encoded in the verb and therefore there is no need to encode it on the dative NP as well.

Further note that there are restrictions on the locative and instrumental marking on NPs. Sentences 93(c), 94(c) and 95(c) indicate this although it is not quite clear why this is so.

#### 4.4.1.2.2 Inherent dative verbs

In Xhosa one finds that there are verbs that require the dative to be marked by /-el-/, and those which are inherently marked for dative as such. Consider:

96a Utitshala unika usana ubisi  
 The-teacher he-pres-give baby milk  
 The teacher gives the baby milk

Satyo (op cit) notes that when /-el-/ is attached to these verbs a reason or purpose semantic relation is contracted. Consider the following sentence where /-el-/ is attached to an inherent dative.

b Utitshala ulunikela ukusela usana ubisi  
 The-teacher he-it-pres-give-app to-drink baby milk  
 The teacher gives the baby milk to drink  
 (lit: The teacher gives milk for the baby to drink)

97a Umfana ubhalela uyise ileta  
 The-lad he-pres-write father letter  
 The lad writes his father a letter

Note in this case that the dative NP is incorporated in the verb. Satyo's observations should thus also be viewed in a very serious light, that:

"If in the discourse the focus is on who will receive (i.e. who will be the recipient) then the unmarked dative NP will be preferred. If on the other hand, the focus is on TO WHOM the letter is going, then the dative NP will be specially marked" Satyo (1985:170).

Consequently, the dative NP must obligatorily follow the accusative NP. This word order constraint will be violated only when the accusative is incorporated in the verb. Sentences 97 (a) and (b) illustrate this point.

97b Umfana uyibhalela kuyise ileta  
 The lad he-it-pres-write-app to-father letter  
 The lad is writing the letter to his father

instead of

c\* Umfana ubhalela kuyise ileta  
 The-lad he-pres-write-app to-father letter

From the above, Satyo (op cit) concludes:

"It could, therefore, be argued that these different strategies of encoding the dative indicate as it were, the person 'concerned' by the action, the particular way in which he/she is concerned, by:

- (1) Marking on the verb and zero-marking on the dative NP;
- (2) marking on the verb as well as specific marking on the dative NP". Satyo (1985:170)

- (1) Refers to a dative-recipient interpretation and
- (2) a dative-locative interpretation.

The above are therefore the primary concerns of /-el-/ attachment.

#### 4.4.1.2.3 The benefactive/recipient relation

Here are collapsed various usages of /-el-/ into one, viz. performance of an action 'for a person', 'in his interest', 'in someone's stead' and 'on behalf of someone' into one relation, that is; 'benefactive'. The reason for this is that in such sentences the 'indirect' object benefits from the action of the subject. Consider the following sentence; reproduced from Satyo (1985:171) and renumbered.

98a Utata wakhela umama indlu  
 Father he-pres-build-app mother house  
 Father is building a house for mother

b Intombazana ithengela unina iswekile  
 The-girl she-pres-buy-app mother sugar  
 The girl is buying mother sugar (sugar for her mother)

and

c UProfesa ubhalela umfundi ithisisi  
 The-professor he-pres-write-app student thesis  
 The professor is writing a thesis for the student

In all the above examples the indirect objects (NP2s) are recipients of the action denoted by the verb and therefore benefit from the actions of '/akhela/' (build for), '/-thengela/' (buy for), and '/-bhalela/' (write for). The different usages are therefore subcategorization of one relation, that is, benefactive-recipient in which case the beneficiary is normally a human being. One could thus conclude that such constructions

are high in transitivity and could even be viewed as 'double accusatives', by this I mean that one of the two objects is the object of the simple verb and the other the object of the derived verb. What is significant here is that, the action in such sentences is purposeful, aimful and there is no ambiguous path from source to goal.

#### 4.4.1.2.4 Locative significance and directionality

A close relationship is noted to exist between the applied extension and the locative case. It should be noted in this case 'that locational and directional elements do not contrast' as observed in Satyo (1985:188).

The following examples in sentences are reproduced from Satyo (1985:188-189) and renumbered, indicate what happens when an applied extension co-occurs with a locative (Satyo, 1986: 188-189).

- 99a Umntwana wâbalelekéla ébhédini  
The-child he-pst-ran-app to-bed  
The child ran towards the bed
- b Amadoda abuyela ezindlwini  
The-men they-pres-return-app to-houses  
The men return to their houses
- c Utitshala uphungela ekomityini  
The-teacher he-pres-drink-app at cup  
The teacher is drinking from a cup
- d Umama utyéla étafileni  
Mother she-pres-eat-app at-table  
Mother is eating from the table

and compare with

- 100a Umntwana wabaleka ebhedini  
The-child he-pst-run at-bed  
The child ran on the bed
- b Amadoda abuya emizini  
The-men they-pres-return at-houses  
The men return from the houses
- c Utitshala uphunga ekomityini  
The-teacher he-pres-drink in-cup  
The teacher drinks from a cup
- d Umama utya etafileni  
Mother he-pres-eat at table  
Mother is eating from a table

From the above pairs of sentences Satyo (op cit) makes the following observations on the semantic implications of /-el-/ with locatives:

- (1) to denote motion proceeding towards an object apprehended as the goal of the motion in cases in which the motion reaches the object (or a point in such immediate proximity to it as to admit of the conception of the object as reached by the motion);
- (2) that a motion which reaches an object (or a point in immediate proximity to the object) apprehended as the ending point of a preceding motion, that is, denoting the act of reaching, not the motion by which reaching was affected, in this case the limit of a motion. Consider the following example given by Satyo:
- (3) that, it can denote motion that enters into the interior of the body or surface thought of as the goal or ending point;

- (4) to denote extension when the complement indicates the ending point or limit of something thought of as extending;
- (5) moving or moved into physical contact with the object;
- (6) of motion or direction towards a goal without implication of actual reaching, or (imaginary motion and imaginary reaching, a simple relation of direction);
- (7) end-point relation or static location;
- (8) to indicate that the locative NP is conceived of as a source or place or origin from which something arises, issues or is fetched.

From the above observations one could also draw the following with regard to the sentences in 99(a)-(d) and 100(a)-(d).

- (1) With the unextended motion verbs the implication is moving away from whilst with the extended ones the implication is moving towards or in the direction of as is indicated by 99(a) in contrast to 100(a).
- (2) In the case of 99(c) and 100(c) sentences, no recognized semantic difference could be derived in the extended and unextended verbs although it can be assumed that with the extended form 'specificity' of the action is highlighted.
- (3) With the locative construction the applied extension signifies direction either to or from a goal and a source respectively.

#### 4.4.1.2.5 Deletable (cognate) objects

I introduce this section with the following examples of deletable objects:

- 101a Indoda ilele [ubuthongo]  
 The-man he-pres-sleep [sleep]  
 The man is fast asleep
- b\* Indoda ilalela ubuthongo  
 The-man he-pres-sleep-app sleep  
 The man is sleeping sleep
- 102a Indoda ilila (inyembezi)  
 The-man he-pres-cry (tears)  
 The man is crying tearfully
- b\* Indoda ililela iinyembezi  
 The-man he-pres-cry-app tear  
 The man is crying for tears
- 103a Indoda ihleka intsini  
 The-man he-pres-laugh-app derision  
 The man is laughing derision
- b\* Indoda ihlekela (intsini)  
 The-man he-pres-laugh (derision)  
 The man is laughing derisively
- 104a Indoda itya (ukutya)  
 The-man he-pres-eat (food)  
 The man eats food
- b\* Indoda ityela ukutya  
 The-man he-pres-eat-app food  
 The man is eating for food

The ungrammaticality of the (b) sentences in 101-104 demonstrate that deletable objects do not occur as objects of /-el-/. In this case the verb must be obligatorily followed by a locative or an additional NP in which case the direct object must be incorporated in the verb. Consider the following sentences:

- 105a Indoda ibulalela endlwini ubuthongo  
 The-man he-pres-sleep-app in-house sleep  
 The man sleeps in the house
- b Indoda ibulalela umfazi ubuthongo  
 The-man he-pres-sleep-app wife sleep  
 The man sleeps for his wife
- 106a Indoda iyihlekela endlwini intsini  
 The-man he-it-pres-laugh-app at-house derision  
 The man is laughing derisively at the house
- b Indoda iyihlekela umfazi intsini  
 The-man he-it-pres-laugh-app woman derision  
 The man is laughing derisively for the woman
- 107a Indoda izililela endlwini iinyembezi  
 The-man he-them-pres-cry-app at-house tears  
 The man is crying tearfully at the house
- b Indoda izililela umfazi iinyembezi  
 The-man he-them-pres-cry-app wife tears  
 The man is tearfully crying for the wife
- 108a Indoda ikutyela endlwini ukutya  
 The-man he-it-pres-eat-app at-house food  
 The man is eating food at the house
- b Indoda ikutyela umfazi ukutya  
 The-man he-it-pres-eat-app wife food  
 The man is eating the food for the woman

One should further note that the applied may take both a locative and an additional object in which case it becomes a double dative referring both to location and reason or purpose or beneficiary at the same time. Consider:

- 109 Indoda iyihlekela umfazi intsini endlwini  
 The-man he-it-pres-laugh-app wife derision at-house  
 The man is laughing derisively for the moment at the house
- 110 Indoda izililela umfazi iinyembezi endlwini  
 The-man he-them-pres-cry-app wife tears at-house  
 The man is tearfully crying for the woman at the house

#### 4.4.1.2.6 The applied and affectation of the object

In some instances the applied extension may indicate how the object of the applied verb is affected by the action or process or state denoted by the verb. Consider the following examples which focus on the semantic reading, to 'the detriment of'.

- 111a Indoda inxilela umfazi/emfazimi  
 The-man he-pres-drink-app woman  
 The man drinks for/to the detriment of the woman
- b Imali yalahlekela uZola  
 Money it-pst-lost-app Zola  
 Money got lost for/to the detriment of Zola

#### 4.4.1.2.7 The applied with both the 'instrumental' and the 'locative'

It is further interesting to note further co-occurrences involving 'locatives' and 'instruments'. The following examples illustrate this relationship between instrumentals and locatives with the applied extension.

- 112a Abantwana bathembe utitshala  
 The-children they-pres-trust teacher  
 The children trust the teacher

- b Abantwana bathembele kutishala  
The-children they-pres-trust to-teacher  
The children are putting their trust to the teacher
- c Abantwana bathembele ngotishala  
The-children they-pres-trust by-teacher  
The children are assured of trust by the teacher

In sentences 112(a)-(c) the (b) sentence puts emphasis on the 'direction' of the pupils trust whilst in the case of (c) emphasis is on 'source'. When this happens, a reading of how the trust that the teacher has affects the children is highlighted (focused). The latter sentences would therefore be higher than the (b) sentences in transitivity. 'Source' and 'goal' reading therefore are crucial for transitivity.

#### 4.4.1.2.8 Deletable locative NPs

In Xhosa the locative is sometimes deleted when it is clear that the object is the target of the action of the verb. Consider sentences such as:

- 113a Indoda itshixa isefu  
The-man he-pres-lock safe  
The man is locking the safe
- b\* Indoda itshixela esefini  
The-man he-pres-lock-app at safe  
The man is locking at the safe
- c Indoda itshixela imali esefini  
The-man he-pres-lock-app cash at-safe  
The man in locking up cash in the safe
- d Indoda itshixela imali  
The-man he-pres-lock-app cash  
The man is locking the cash in

Sentence 113(d) is an instance of a deleted locative. Note that sentence 113(b) is ungrammatical and is grammatical only when the verb does not take /-el-/ extension as in 113(e).

113e Indoda itshixa esefini  
 The-man he-pres-lock at-safe  
 The man is locking at the safe

#### 4.4.1.2.9 Datives and transitivity-revisited

Here I propose that in the case of the two unmarked nominals occurring with the verb as objects, such clauses would be higher in transitivity when compared with one with a marked nominal in the 'indirect object' position. Consider the following sentences:

114a Indoda ithumela unina imali                    BEN  
 The-man he-pres-send-app mother cash  
 The man sends cash to the mother

b     Indoda ithumela imali kunina                LOC  
 The-man he-pres-send-app cash to-mother  
 The man sends cash to his mother

One could observe in the two sentence a dative rule which relates the transitive sentence in (a) to that in (b). Dative is therefore a productive rule which permutes a direct object with an indirect object (BEN) and deprives the indirect object of its preposition as in sentence 114(b) as compared to 114(a). Dative is therefore an object creating rule by turning the indirect object into a direct object by occupying its position. The underlying direct object is therefore displaced and 'inaccessible to later syntactic rules' (Chung, 1989:228)

That the indirect object is taken out of the locative case is further proof of the above fact. The '(a)' sentence therefore focuses on the recipient or the beneficiary and therefore is

higher in transitivity than the (b) sentence which focuses on the nature of the process by asserting directionality and therefore ambiguously specifies the dative by proposing the direct object and prefixing /ku-/ to the indirect object.

#### 4.4.1.2.10 Beneficiary and animacy

It is stated in 4.4.1.2.1 that animacy is significant for the role [+ beneficiary]. In other words, the feature specification [+ human/animate] is significant for benefactive objects. This, however, interacts with other grammatical features such as word order and object concord incorporation. As it appears the 'benefactive' has high priority in accessibility to the object position. It can thus be argued in this case that, in sentences where both objects are human, word order constraint has to be supplemented with OC incorporation for the marking of the indirect object. Consider the following examples:

115a Ndithandela uZola intombi  
 I-pres-love-app Zola girl  
 I love this girl for Zola

b Ndithandela intombi uZola  
 I-pres-love-app girl Zola  
 I love Zola for the girl

Note in these sentences that the thematic relations 'Direct' and 'Indirect object' in respect of 'Zola' and 'intombi' are respectively reversed in the (a) and (b) sentences when word order changes. Word order is thus crucial in this respect. Note however that once the object is incorporated in the verb the word order restrictions are altered and it is the benefactive object which is incorporated in the verb. Consider.

116a Ndimthandela intombi, uZola  
 I-him-pres-love-app girl Zola  
 I love the girl for Zola

- b Ndimthandela uZola, intombi  
 I-it-pres-love-app Zola girl  
 I love Zola for the girl

This in no way suggests that ambiguity may not occur especially in sentence 116(b) where the feature specification [+ male] may determine the benefactive relation over a female, as is the case where humans have priority over non-humans. Males therefore seem to have coding priority over females. Discourse factors therefore have predictable consequences for benefactive role. In this sense in sentence 116(b) uZola is still interpreted as the beneficiary.

Further look at the following examples.

- 117a Ndithengela uSipho amashiti  
 I-pres-buy-app Sipho sheets  
 I am buying sheets for Sipho
- b Ndiwathengela uSipho amashiti  
 I-them-pres-buy-app Sipho sheets  
 I buy Sipho sheets
- c Ndimthengela amashiti uSipho  
 I-him-pres-buy-app sheets Sipho  
 I buy sheets for Sipho

In all the three examples above 'uSipho' is the beneficiary. The above examples indicate that animates have priority over inanimates for the benefactive role. Also consider:

- 118 USipho uthengele ibhedi amashiti  
 Sipho he-perf-buy-app bed sheets  
 Sipho bought the bed sheets

- 119a USipho uthengele amashiti ibhedi  
 Sipho he-perf-buy sheets bed  
 Sipho bought the sheets a bed
- b USipho uwathengele ibhedi amashiti  
 Sipho he-them-perf-buy-app bed sheets  
 Sipho bought the sheets for the bed
- c USipho uyithengele ibhedi amashiti  
 Sipho he-it-perf-buy-app bed sheets  
 Sipho bought sheets for the bed

Note here that it is easy to conclude that when both objects are inanimates neither could be assigned the benefactive role as this is normally assigned to the human/animates. However, there is a high degree of possession or part-whole association between the objects, that is an object is semantically possessed by the other in sentences 118 & 119(a)-(c). Coding priority is thus on the possessor NP 'ibhedi'. It is also interesting to observe that in sentences 119(c) and 119(d) the semantic reading of 'purpose' or 'for' is added to the idea of possession or association. Choice of beneficiary is however always on the possessor noun.

I would further like to add a problem which arises when both post verbal NPs belong to the same class and gender. Consider:

- 120a Ndithandela uZola uSipho  
 I-pres-love-app Zola Sipho  
 I love Sipho for Zola
- b Ndithandela uSipho uZola  
 I-pres-love-app Sipho Zola  
 I love Zola for Nomsa
- c Ndimthandela uSipho uZola  
 I-pres-love-app Sipho Zola  
 I love Zola for Sipho

- d Ndimthandela uZola uSipho  
 I-pres-love-app Zola Sipho  
 I love Sipho for Zola

Note here that word order rather than OC incorporation determines the thematic relations DO and IO.

4.4.1.2.11 The applied extension and unspecified causation

The applied extension has interesting semantic consequences when it co-occurs with certain 'emotion' or perception verbs which are followed by objects. This has serious consequences for the directedness of the action denoted by the verb since there is a tendency for action to roll backwards towards the subject. In other words the subject is the affected participant and does not seem to effect an action as would be expected, since the extension is transitivity. The object of the verb is in this case the 'source' of the action. Consider the following examples.

- 121a USipho ulilela uZola  
 Sipho he-pres-cry-app Zola  
 Sipho is crying for Zola

- b USipho ukhalazela uZola  
 Sipho he-pres-complain-app Zola  
 Sipho is complaining about Zola

It could be argued here that in the above sentences the objects are the source of the action denoted by the verb and the affectation by the action or process is directed towards the subject which is an experiencer. This is argued in 3.5 in Chapter Three. In sentence 121(a) for instance one could further suggest that Sipho is crying either for the absence of Zola or an unspecified action or state associated with Zola.

4.4.1.2.12 The applied and the tense marker /-ya-/

Another feature of the applied extension is that it obligatorily takes verbal adjuncts. In other words it must be followed by either an adverb or an object noun with the tense marker /-ya-/ in the present tense as compared with its unextended counterpart. Consider the ungrammaticality of the (b) sentences as compared to (a) and (c) in 122(a)-(c) below.

122a Indoda iyatya

The-man he-pres-eat

The man eats

b\* Indoda iyatyela

The-man he-pres-eat-app

The man eats for

c Indoda iyatyela endlwini

The-man he-pres-eat-app at-house

The man eats at the house

/-el-/ attachment is not associated with augmented transitivity in such clauses.

4.4.1.2.13 The applied and meaning extension

Note, however, in some cases where the meaning of the verb has shifted the applied may not be followed by an object or an adverb. Consider.

123a Indoda iyaphanga

The-man he-pres-rifles

The man rifles (of food)

b Indoda iyaphangela

The-man he-pres-work

The man works

In the (b) sentence meaning is extended from 'rifle' to 'work'. The extended and the unextended counterpart are not related in meaning. /-el-/ attachment does not have a transitivizing function in such sentences.

#### 4.4.1.2.14 Summary of findings

From the above discussion the following observations are raised with /-el-/ attachment.

- (1) The applied extension has two major semantic implications viz (a) benefactive and (b) locative/directionality.
- (2) In the case of the former the following underlying relations are added: for, on behalf of, for an aim, to the extent of, to the detriment of, for a reason etc.
- (3) Sentences with the (a) implication rate higher in transitivity than the (b) implication which is concerned with directionality.
- (4) The following are the various usages of the (b) implication: at, in, with, to/towards, from, in the direction of etc.
- (5) By obligatorily taking an object or having a DO implication. Applicative verbs belong to the domain of high transitivity.
- (6) Animacy is crucial in applicative verbs either as subjects or objects.
- (7) The applied verbal extension is associated with the dative case and is therefore transitive.

- (8) Thematic roles such as source, goal, benefactive are crucial for applied verbs and these affect the transitivity pattern by marking clauses as either high or low in transitive value.
- (9) Volition and wilful actions feature prominently in sentences involving applicatives. This is a feature of high transitivity.
- (10) Where there is no formal marking of a thematic relation by a preposition, as it is the case once dative movement has applied, the interpretation of an NP is subject to the thematic hierarchy condition which determines that goal readings are preferred to BEN readings when BEN is not marked by OC for instance.
- (11) Once /-el-/ is affixed to double transitives a double dative, usually expressed by or marked for instrumental results. This marking reduces transitivity by being concerned with the nature of the action.
- (12) When /-el-/ functions with motion verbs it implies to or towards a certain locality rather than from, with locatives, while with the non-motion verbs it implies moving away from a certain location or direction. This concern with directionality is a feature of low transitivity.
- (13) In choosing between a marked an unmarked dative NP semantic conceptualization is crucial. This involves interpretation that the speaker chooses to select, i.e. the semantic functions of benefactive, source, goal, purpose etc will play a leading role in the selection of an additional NP relative to the speaker's intension. Xhosa morphology handles this problem quite effectively.

#### 4.4.2 The causative extension

This discussion puts emphasis on 'morphological causatives', that is verbs which consist of the /-is-/ affix. When /-is-/ is affixed to a verb root it has certain syntactic and semantic consequences for the verb. This is the subject of this section. Although emphasis here is on morphology, /-is-/ attachment also has syntactic consequences for the verb. This study also finds it necessary to discuss the nature of the causative situation in itself as well as its implications for transitivity. Central to the latter issue is 'control', 'ability' and 'volition'. The order is important. The latter is effectively handled under semantics below.

##### 4.4.2.1 The syntax of /-is-/

The following syntactic relations are contracted with /-is-/ attachment:

##### 4.4.2.1.1 /-is-/ with intransitives

When /-is-/ is attached to a verb root, the tendency is to increase the valency of a verb by one. /-is-/ attachment, therefore has a transitivizing function. Consider the following examples involving states and processes.

##### Intransitives

NP + V  
 124a Indoda iyahamba  
 The-man he-pres-go/walk  
 The man is going/walking

NP1 + V + NP2  
 b Indoda ihambisa ivili  
 The-man he-pres-go/walk-cause wheel  
 The man is causing the wheel to go/walk/move

States

NP + V  
 125a Intombazana imithi state  
 The-girl he-pres-pregnant  
 The girl is pregnant

NP + V + NP2  
 b Indoda imithisa intombazana  
 The-man he-pres-pregnant-cause the girl  
 The man impregnants the girl

NP + V  
 126a Indoda inxilile  
 The-man he-perf-intoxicate  
 The man is intoxicated

NP + V + NP2  
 b Utywala bunxilisa indoda  
 Liquor it-pres-intoxicate-cause man  
 Liquor has made the man intoxicated

Process

127a Amanzi ayabila  
 Water it-pres-boil  
 Water is boiling

b Umfazi ubilisa amanzi  
 Woman she-pres-boil-cause water  
 The woman is boiling/causing water to boil

From the following examples it will be observed that the attachment of /-is-/ to a verb transitivizes the (a) sentences into the (b) sentences. In this case intransitives, state verbs and process verbs are changed into action verbs and these verbs must obligatorily take post verbal object NPs. This is shown in the ungrammaticality of the following versions of the above sentences in the (c) sentences below.

125c\*      Inkwenkwe imithisa  
             The-boy he-pres-pregnant-cause  
             The boy is causing to be pregnant/impregnant

127c\*      Umfazi ubilisa  
             The-woman he-pres-boil-cause  
             The woman is causing to boil/boiling water

#### 4.4.2.1.2 /-is-/ and action verbs

When /-is-/ is attached to action verbs, these verbs become double transitives. Consider the following sentences.

	NP1		NP2	
128a	Indoda	ibona	umhambi	
	The-man he-pres-see traveller			
	The man sees a traveller			

	NP1		NP2		NP3
b	Indoda	ibonisa	umhambi	indlela	
	The-man he-pres-see-cause traveller route				
	The man is showing a traveller the route				

	NP1		NP2
129a	Utitshala	ufunda	incwadi
	The-teacher he-pres-read book		
	The teacher is reading a book		

	NP1		NP2		NP3
b	Utitshala	ufundisa	umfundi	incwadi	
	The-teacher he-pres-read-cause student book				
	The teacher is teaching the student a book				

One observes in the above examples that verbs which normally take one object NP take an additional object NP3.

4.4.2.1.3 /-is-/ and double transitives

It is best to introduce this section by means of examples. These are:

- 130a Indoda ipha umfazi imali  
 The-man he-pres-give woman cash  
 The man is giving the woman cash
- b Indoda iphisa ngemali emfazini [+ LOC + INS]  
 The-man he-pres-give-cause with-cash to-woman  
 The man is giving out cash to the woman
- c Indoda imphisa imali umntwana umfazi  
 The-man he-her-pres-give-cause cash child woman  
 The man is causing the child to give money to the woman
- d Indoda i(m)phisa umfazi imali ngomntwana  
 The-man he(her)-pres-give-cause woman cash by-child  
 The man is causing the child to give the woman money

It will be observed here that double transitives get an additional third object NP (NP4). This additional NP is sometimes marked for instrumental or locative as in (d) above. The exact role of this instrumental or locative is made clear in 4.4.2.2 below.

4.4.2.1.4 /-is-/ and locative and instrumentals

/-is-/ verbal extension also in the absence of an additional NP takes a locative which may be marked or unmarked. Consider.

- 131a UProfesa ufundisa eKapa  
 Professor he-pres-learn-cause in-Cape-Town  
 Professor teaches in Cape Town

- b UProfesa ufundisa iKapa  
 Professor he-pres-learn-cause Cape-Town  
 Professor teaches/is teaching Cape Town
- 132a UProfesa ufundisa isiXhosa eKapa  
 Professor he-pres-learn-cause Xhosa in-Cape-Town  
 Professor is teaching Xhosa in Cape Town
- b UProfesa ufundisa iKapa isiXhosa  
 The professor he-pres-learn-cause Cape-Town Xhosa  
 The professor teaches Cape Town Xhosa

Note that the marked locative NPs in 131(a) and 132(a) assume a sentence final position unless the other NP is incorporated in the verb as in sentence 132(c) below.

- 132c UProfesa usifundisa eKapa isiXhosa  
 Professor he-it-pres-learn-cause in-Cape-Town Xhosa  
 Professor is teaching Xhosa in Cape Town

In this case the causative extension has syntactic patterns which are similar to the applied extension, that is, having one of the two post verbal NPs marked either for locative or instrumental.

Also consider sentences such as.

- 132d UProfesa ufundisa iKapa ngesiXhosa  
 The-professor he-pres-learn-cause Cape-Town  
 about-Xhosa  
 The professor is teaching Cape Town about Xhosa
- e UProfesa ufundisa eKapa ngesiXhosa  
 The-professor he-pres-learn-cause in-Cape-Town about-  
 Xhosa  
 The professor is teaching in Cape Town about Xhosa

The roles of the marked NPs are argued in 4.4.2.2 below.

4.4.2.1.5 /-is-/ and body parts

When /-is-/ occurs with body parts unmarked for possession it has the expected syntactic factors of triggering two or three additional object NPs. Consider:

- 133a UZola ucheba uNomsa iinwele  
 Zola he-pres-cut-cause Nomsa hair  
 Zola causes Nomsa to have her hair cut
- b UZola uchebisa uNomsa uSipho iinwele  
 Zola he-pres-cut-cause Nomsa Sipho hair  
 Zola causes Nomsa to have Sipho's hair cut

Note that the unmarked body part assumes a sentence final position unless one object NP is incorporated in the verb in which case such an NP will assume the sentence final position as in:

- 133c UZola umchebisa iinwele uNomsa uSipho  
 Zola he-him-pres-cut-cause hair Nomsa Sipho  
 Zola causes Sipho to have Nomsa cut her hair
- d UZola umchebisa iinwele uSipho uNomsa  
 Zola he-her-pres-cut-cause hair Sipho Nomsa  
 Zola causes Nomsa to have Sipho cut his hair

Interesting to note too, here is that the body part could be incorporated in the verb as in sentence 133(e) below. However, the verb is restricted to two post verbal NPs in the case. Consider.

- 133e USipho uzichebisa UZola iinwele  
 Sipho he-them-pres-cut-cause Zola hair  
 Sipho causes Zola to cut hair

But consider

- f\* USipho uzichebisa UZola UNomsa inwele  
Sipho he-them-pres-cut-cause Zola Nomsa hair

Note sentence 133(f) is ungrammatical as would be expected since there is a general restriction on post verbal NPs with reflexives.

#### 4.4.2.1.6 /-is-/ and the tense marker /-ya-/

When /-is-/ co-occurs with the tense morpheme /-ya-/ it has the same consequence of cancelling occurrence of post verbal NPs. Consider sentence 134(b) below which is ungrammatical as opposed to (a) and (c).

134a UZola uqhubisa uThozì imoto  
Zola he-pres-drive-cause Thozì car  
Zola causes Thozì to drive a car

b\* UZola uyaqhubisa uThozì imoto  
Zola he-pres-drive-cause Thozì car

c. UZola uyaqhubisa  
Zola he-pres-drive-cause  
Zola teaches driving

#### 4.4.2.1.7 /-is-/ and motion verbs

Unlike the applied extension /-is-/ may not be followed by a locative only with motion verbs and must take an obligatory object. Consider sentences 135(b) below as opposed to 135(a).

135a UZola uhambela ecaweni                      Applied  
Zola he-pres-move-app to-church  
Zola is moving in the direction of the church

- b\* UZola uhambisa ecaweni  
 Zola he-pres-move-cause to-church  
 Zola is causing to move to church

The ungrammaticality of sentence 135(b) demands that verb taking the /-is-/ affix obligatorily take object nouns.

#### 4.4.2.1.8 /-is-/ without increased valency

It happens in some cases that /-is-/ does not have a transitivizing function that is, does not trigger increased valency. Consider the following example:

- 136a Isela liphika inyani  
 The-thief he-pres-deny truth  
 The thief denies truth
- b Isela liphikisa inyani  
 The-thief he-pres-deny-cause truth  
 The thief disputes truth

The above sentence is an example where /-is-/ attachment does not triggering an additional NP. There are further instances where /-is-/ restricts than permits an extra object NP. In this case /-is-/ seems to be intransitivizing. Consider sentences 137(b) and 138(b) as compared to 137(a) and 138(a).

- 137a Ndithenga icuba  
 I-pres-buy tobacco  
 I buy tobacco

Here there is one object.

- b Ndithengisa ngecuba/icuba  
 I-pres-buy-cause tobacco  
 I sell tobacco

Here there is a marked object noun or unmarked form of such a noun.

138a Ndipha umntwana imali  
 I-pres-give child money  
 I give the child money

Here there are two objects.

b Ndiphisa ngemali emntwaneni no NP object  
 √I-pres-give+cause with-money to-child  
 I am giving money out to the child

Further look at:

c\* Ndiphisa imali  
 I-pres-give+<sup>x</sup>cause money

d\* Ndiphisa umntwana imali  
 I-pres-give+<sup>x</sup>cause child money

The ungrammatical sentences (138c and d) indicate that /-is-/ attachment may require that the two post verbal NPs be marked. In this sense /is/ attachment reduces transitivity. It is also interesting to look at sentences such as:

139a Ndijongisa uZola with NP object  
 I-pres-look Zola  
 I am looking at Zola

b Ndijongisa kuZola no NP object  
 I-pres-look-cause at-Zola  
 I am looking to Zola

140a Ndibheka uZola with NP object  
 I-pres-look Zola  
 I am looking for Zola

- b      Ndibhekisa kuZola                      with no NP object  
          I-pres-look-cause Zola  
          I am referring to Zola

The implications of this for transitivity are discussed under semantics in 4.4.2.2 below.

#### 4.4.2.2 The semantics of /-is-/

Two views dominate most of the argument here. One view is held by Comrie (1981). This view puts emphasis on 'cause' and its 'effect'. This view is useful, its limitation lies in the fact that although it acknowledges an occurrence of different causative constructions, it neither states how these constructions are used in sentences nor the implications for opting to use one construction instead of the another. The second view is adopted from Brennestuhl (1982), Givon (1974), Itkonen (1983), and Taylor (1991). Central to this argument is the relation that 'cause' holds with such notions as 'control', 'ability' and 'responsibility'. The two views are weighed and analyzed and related to the controversy surrounding transitivity.

##### 4.4.2.2.1 Comrie's hypothesis

This is a framework which Satyo (1985) has inherited from Comrie (1981) on the nature of the causative situation. It is here argued:

"Any causative situation involves two component situations, the cause and its effect (result)". Satyo (1985:198)

It is further argued that:

"These micro-situations thus combine to give a single macro-situation, the causative situation". (op cit)

The following examples reproduced from Satyo (1985:198-199) and renumbered are meant to illustrate this point.

141a Uprofesa ufuna ithisisi ephucukileyo

The professor wants a good thesis

b Ngoko ke umfundi ufunda iincwadi ezininzi

therefore the student reads a lot of books

In terms of the above analysis (i.e. Comrie's), the demands of the professor cause the student to read widely. The two micro-situations cited above are summarized in such a way that the following sentences are realized.

c Ukufuna kukaProfesa ithisisi ephucukileyo kumenza umfundi afunde incwadi ezininzi

The professor's demand for a good thesis causes/makes the student to read widely.

By this is meant:

d Uprofesa wenza (ukuba) umfundi afunde iincwadi ezininzi

The professor causes/makes the student to read widely

e Uprofesa ufundisa umfundi iincwadi ezininzi

The professor causes the student to read widely

Note that in sentence 141(e) the causative extension is productive since, when it is affixed to the verb root two predications are collapsed into one and a conjunction reduction rule is operative, this is evident in sentence 141(e) above when compared to 141(d).

It will be observed here that the causative clauses noted above possess the following important transitivity notions:

- (1) two or more distinct participants,
- (2) an action that is effective,
- (3) a deliberate and volitional action, therefore agency,
- (4) embedding to an underlying action predicate DO (i.e. 'cause', 'make')
- (5) change in the object as a result of the action of subject,
- (6) the verb takes two agents and therefore asserts a 'double predications' (propositions) involving double functions with regard objects and subjects
- (7) morphological affixation means that syntactically the causative and the base proposition are consolidated and the agent of the original base predicate is reassigned to another category.

#### 4.4.2.2.2 Types of causative predications

Comrie (1981:159-162) distinguishes between three types of causative constructions. These have serious consequences for the notion of transitivity especially when they suggest a variation or degree of control or responsibility assigned to the causer agent. However, Comrie's warning on this distinction should not be ignored, that is:

"we can make a three way typological distinction, although, as with many typological distinctions, forms in languages do not always fit neatly into one or other of these three types, rather a number of intermediate types are found" (1981:159-160).

Along the continuum of causative constructions the following are normally found, analytic causatives, morphological causatives and

lexical causatives. These are discussed separately.

(1) Analytic causatives

'The prototypical case of the analytic causative is where there are separate predicates expressing the notion of causation and the predicate of the effect' (Comrie 1981:160).

According to Satyo (1985:199) the best way to illustrate this in Xhosa involves the use of the verb 'enza' ('make' or 'cause to'). Consider:

142a Indoda yenza ukuba imoto ihambe  
The-man he-pres-cause car move  
The man makes the car to move

b Indoda yenza ukuba isigebenga sife  
The-man he-pres-cause killer die  
The man causes the killer to die

It should be pointed out in this case that this does not have obvious consequences for Xhosa as such and more so confusing. The above mentioned verbs (i.e. 'make' and 'cause to') do not have a regular occurrence. The oddity of the constructions in 142(a) and 142(b) indicate this. Further note that it is not clear whether direct co-ercion is implied in such sentences.

(2) Morphological causatives

This type of causative has the following characteristics:

- (i) the causative is related to the non-causative predicate by morphological means, that is, by affixation. This entails the causative extension /-is-/ in Xhosa.

(ii) This relationship is productive especially when one forms causatives out of causatives. The following examples illustrate this point.

143a Indoda ifunda incwadi (non-causative)

The-man he-pres-read book

The man reads a book

b Indoda ifundisa umntwana incwadi (+ cause)

The-man he-pres-read-cause child book

The man is causing the child to read a book

c Indoda ifundisisa umntwana incwadi ngesigebenga

(+ cause + cause)

The-man he-him-pres-read-cause-cause child book by-killer

The man is causing the child to read a book by means of a killer

### (3) Lexical causatives

This refers to cases where:

the relation between the expression of effect and the expression of a macro-situation is so unsystematic as to be handled lexically, rather than by any productive process. (Comrie 1981:161).

In Xhosa the best examples of this instance is the two verbs /-bulala/ 'kill' and /-fa/ 'die' where the former is viewed as the causative of the latter. While one may argue that /-bulala/ is a causative of /-fa/ there is absolutely no formal relationship between the two verbs. Argument on this is carried further in 5.6 (Chapter 5) below.

#### 4.4.2.2.3 Summary of the three causative implications

It is noted here that although the three types of causatives are mentioned a relationship between them is not explicitly stated. It is in this light that I suggest that any semantic configuration of a certain type of a lexical item may have several of possible forms of surface expression, that is:

If a speaker wishes to, however, he can use any role sets that he thinks will get him understood. (Grimes 1980:165).

In this sense roles are added to a conventional role set for a predicate without further adjustment. These can be called 'supernumerary roles'. From this can be added that the speaker assumes either from experience of context, once reference is established by expansion of details and this depends on the speaker's control. What is suggested here, is consistent with the notion that 'change' is a continuum, and therefore, because change is a result of participant control, control in itself becomes a continuum. The above three types of clauses fluctuate between indirect and direct causation as a result of the degree of control or assigned responsibility accorded to the causer agent or to the causee agent. Transitive relations therefore are only transparent once the relation of cause is direct. This entails morphological marking by /-is-/. This is argued in detail in 4.4.2.2.6 below.

#### 4.4.2.2.4 The causative and its implications

The best way to introduce this section is to quote from Pahl (1978:403-405) on the primary functions of the causative in Xhosa, that is:

- (1) To cause one to perform the action of the verb.
- (2) To help someone or something perform the action of the verb.

- (3) To cause the object of the sentence to be subjected to the action of the verb.
- (4) Keeping company.
- (5) To denote that an action is directed at the object of the sentence.
- (6) Subjection of the object or person whose name appears in the form of an agentive adverb to the action of the basic verb root by the subject of the sentence.
- (7) Exposure of the object person whose name appears in the agentive adverb to the basic verb by others.

The following examples reinforce the above assertions respectively.

144a UZola uhlekisa umntwana

Zola he-pres-laugh-cause child

Zola is causing the child to laugh.

b UZola uhlekisa ngomntwana

Zola he-pres-laugh-cause by child

Zola is causing laughter by means of the child

c Indoda ithwalisa umfazi inyanda

The-man he-pres-bear-cause woman bundle

The man is assisting the woman to bear the bundle

d Indoda iqondisa umfazi ngethisisi

The-man he-pres-understand-cause woman about-thesis

The man is causing the woman to understand about the thesis

- e Indoda ilalisa umfazi (ngokoyika izihange)  
The-man he-pres-sleep-cause wife (for fear of robbers)  
The man is keeping the woman company (for fear of robbers)
- f Indoda ixokisa umfazi  
The-man he-pres-lie-cause wife  
The man is lying to the wife
- g (i) Indoda yendisa intombi  
The-man he-pres-wed-cause girl  
The man weds his daughter (to someone)
- (ii) Indoda ibolekisa ngehashe  
The-man he-pres-lend-cause with-horse  
The man lends his horse away
- (iii) Indoda iphisa ngemali  
The-man he-pres-give-cause with-cash  
The man gives his cash away
- h (i) Indoda ihlekisa ngomfazi  
The-man he-pres-laugh-cause with-woman  
The man is making the woman an object of laughter
- (ii) Umfazi uhlekisa ngomyeni  
The-woman she-pres-laugh-cause man  
The woman is making the man an object of laughter

From the above the following conclusion could be contracted with causatives.

- (1) There is a presence of a 'prime agent' (the causer) which is the planner or designer of the action denoted by the verb.

- (2) A 'causee agent' which is normally the executor of the action denoted by the verb.
- (3) The presence of double agents augments transitivity.
- (4) In case of trivalent verbs NP1 would be the (causer) 'prime' agent and NP2 the 'causee' agent. Consider.

145a Indoda iqhubisa umfana imoto (NP1 + NP2 + NP3)

The-man he-pres-drive-cause lad car

The man is causing the lad to drive a car

b Indoda iqhubisa imoto ngomfana (+ INS)

The-man he-pres-drive-cause car with-lad

The man is causing/making the lad drive a car

c Umfundi uzibethisa ngotishala (+ INS)

The-student he-himself-hit-cause by-teacher

The student is causing himself to be hit by the teacher

d Oontamnamu bagxothisa abafundi ngenqununu (+ INS)

Informers they-pres-dismiss-cause students by principal

Informers cause the students to be dismissed by the principal

e Oontamnamu bagxothisa inqununu abafundi (NP1+NP2+ NP3)

Informers they-pres-dismiss-cause principal students

Informers cause the principal to dismiss students

f Indoda iziseza utywala (+NP)

The-man he-himself-drink-cause liquor

The man is causing himself to be drunk

- g Indoda izinxilisa ngotywala (+ INS)  
 The-man he-himself-drink-cause with-liquor  
 The man causes himself to be drunk with liquor

It would be observed here that certain constraints block the occurrence of the causative with reflexives in which case the causee agent is marked for instrumental. This is used to denote that the causee agent is interpreted as means by which the action of the verb is achieved. This is also evident in cases where the instrumental case marking for the causee agent is obligatory as in examples 145(c) and (g) above.

The NP that occupies the direct object position in causatives has an employee function and what is noteworthy here is the manipulation of the causee agent either by employing it, delegating or deputing it, what Satyo (1985:207) terms 'employed' or 'delegated' agency. This applies even if the direct object is the experience in which case maintenance of the patient as the affected part is suggested.

What is crucial here, however, is that once the causee agent is marked for instrumental its degree of assigned responsibility is neutralized and there is less manipulation. Consequently the verb is less transitive than the one with an unmarked causee.

Satyo (1985: 212) summarizes the following significances conveyed by causative verbs:

- (1) compulsion
- (2) manipulation
- (3) instruction
- (4) permission
- (5) supervision or overseeing
- (6) helping/assisting
- (7) doing together.

The latter two significances could be regarded as 'assistive'. These significances are sometimes ambiguous and are usually disambiguated by selected adverbials or complementary clauses.

#### 4.4.2.2.5 Cause, control and responsibility

This section refers to my second viewpoint on the notion of causation. While the first viewpoint concentrated on cause and its effect, here, I concentrate on how this effective action is handled. What is crucial here is the locus of control and the degree of shared responsibility assigned to the agent of the action. This is a view held by Brennestuhl (1982), Givon (1974), Itkonen (1983), as well as Taylor (1991). Givon (1974) argues that, notions such as agent, intent, and control are significant for causativization. In this case, the semantics of lexical, morphological and separate verb predicates are expected to differ in many respects.

Givon argues that, the subject of causative expressions is a nominal; P1 [cause] is a predicate which takes two sentential arguments (processes, actions, events or states) i.e. a relation between a cause-proposition [PC] and an effect proposition [Pe].  
(1974:2-3)

In Givon's terms [PC] is the subject of the entire causative expression. [Pe], the subject-patient, that is, the subject of [Pe] is considered the object of causation. In lexical causatives the two are condensed into a single lexical verb, while in morphological and separate verb predicates there are two nominals one of which is the subject (agent-initiator) and the other the object of the causative verb. One therefore has two subjects, the subject of the cause proposition and the subject of the effect proposition, and two objects, the object of the cause proposition and the object of the effect proposition. Here [Pc] and [Pe] are 'cause' and 'result' propositions respectively.

4.4.2.2.6 Sample sentences: implications of the above

- 146a USipho uqhubisa inkwenkwe imoto  
 Sipho he-pres-drive-cause boy car  
 Sipho is makes the boy drive a car
- b USipho wenza ukuba inkwenkwe iqhube imoto  
 Sipho he-pres-cause boy drive car  
 Sipho causes the boy to drive a car
- 147a USipho ubulele inkwenkwe  
 Sipho he-pres-kill boy  
 Sipho kills the boy
- b USipho wenze ukuba inkwenkwe ife  
 Sipho he-perf-cause boy die  
 Sipho caused the boy to die
- c USipho uyazifisa  
 Sipho he-pres-refl-die-cause  
 Sipho takes death
- 148a USipho uyazibulala ngotywala  
 Sipho he-pres-ref-kill with-liquor  
 Sipho is killing himself by means of liquor
- b Utywala bubulala uSipho  
 Liquor it-pres-kill Sipho  
 Liquor kills Sipho
- c USipho uyazibulalisa ngotywala  
 Sipho he-pres-refl-kill-cause with-liquor  
 Sipho makes himself to die by means of liquor

149a Ifilimu ibulalisa abantwana ngezihange

The-film it-pres-kill-cause children by-robbers

The film causes the children to be killed by the robbers

150a Umzobo uhlekisa utitshala ngabantwana

The-cartoon it-pres-laugh-cause teacher by- children

The cartoon causes the teacher to be laughed at by the children

b Umzobo uhlekisa abantwana utitshala

The-cartoon it-pres-laugh-cause children teacher

The cartoon causes the children to laugh at the teacher

c Umzobo uhlekisa ngetitshala abantwaneni

The-cartoon it-pres-laugh-cause with-teacher at-children

The cartoon causes the teacher to be the children's object of laughter

The above sentences have serious implications for causation, by referring either to control, intent and (or) volition. This property is reduced in separate verb predicates. Such clauses do not provide clarity on incidental (non-intended) actions on the part of the subject or intended actions by individuals. In other words control or intent remains in the object of 'cause', that is the cusee agent. However, it should be pointed out that the notion of causation is specific only when a person deliberately makes another person perform an active action or to be in a certain state. 'Make' in this case, therefore seems to suggest more intentful causativization. This is evident in sentences 146(a) and 147(a) as compared to 146(b) and 147(b). Morphological causatives have this property. Further to note is the hierarchical principle which governs causation. The scale of animacy is crucial in this instance and relates to the locus of control. This interacts with 'volition' and 'control' over

situations. Generating sentences such as 151 are thus blocked:

151\* Umfazi umithisa indoda  
 The-woman she-pres-pregnant-cause man  
 The woman impregnants the man

since a male subject-agent is here required.

The above argument suggests that

"the concept of action relies crucially on two more basic concepts to which it has been reduced, namely the concepts of control and ability" Brennestuhl (1982:1).

However, as is evident in sentences 146(a) as compared to (b), control and ability are a matter of degree. The establishment of control goes deeper into the conditions under which we ascribe ability to someone. These relations are complex, having sub-abilities of 'ability', 'inability', 'driveness' and 'controllability'.

In sentences 146 and 147 above, it becomes obvious that in the 'separate verb causative' constructions in 146(b) and 147(b) the degree of responsibility assigned to the subject of [Pc] is unclear and context will determine the degree of responsibility assigned to subjects in such clauses. However, with the morphological causatives, in 146(a) and 147(a) an implication of instruction and manipulation of the subject of [Pe] is activated, that is, 'inkwenkwe' is an executor rather than a controller of the event, that is, dependent on the subject of [Pc]. Interesting to note too, is the unsystematic relationship that exist between /-fa/ 'die' and /-bulala/ 'kill' with regard to 'control'. In the former verb, the action signified is not under the control of an agent, 'natural causes'. Consider the following example:

149 Uyafa

He-pres-die

His is dying

(lit His is sick to the extent of death)

which suggest a serious illness than death. The above stated verb is associated with agents irrespective of whether they have direct control, volition, intent etc. This is argued effectively in 5.6 in Chapter Five below.

In Xhosa, this raises interesting questions since 'die' /-fa/ is restricted in its occurrence with the causative /-is-/ attachment. /-is-/ attachment does not operate with /-fa/ and when it does, it triggers reflexivization. When this happens, meaning is extended to 'fake-cause'. 'Bulala' on the other hand takes the causative extension without restrictions. See sentences 150 below.

150 USipho ubulalisa umfazi ngezihange

Sipho he-pres-kill-cause wife by-robbers

Sipho causes/makes his wife to be killed by robbers

Further note too that inanimates do function as subjects of causative verbs as in (148-150) above. However, note that control may be implicitly assigned to the object of cause which has an alternative reflexive reading such as:

151 USipho uzigulisa ngotywala

Sipho he-refl-sick-cause by-liquor

Sipho causes himself to be sick by liquor

thus suggesting that utywala is the means by which the action or state of Sipho is achieved. It does happen, as in the case of an accidental [Pc], that is, an event where the subject is not in control, that the subject of [Pe] is the cause of either an act or a state. If the former is the case, then the subject of [Pc] has control. Consider the following:

152a Le moto ingenaziqhoboshi ibulalise abantwana ngale  
ndoda

This car it-no-have-them-brakes it-perf-kill-cause  
children with-this car

(This car with no brakes caused children to be killed  
by this man)

b Iintloni zililisa uNomsa

Bashfulness it-pres-cry+cause Nomsa

Bashfulness causes Nomsa to cry

The above argument suggests that nominals in causatives are hierarchized and only one of them has control. However, the subject of [Pc] may assume control only in the absence of the subject of [Pe]. This may explain why it is marked for instrumental. Xhosa morphology therefore is a productive mechanism. Givon's observation should as well be observed here, that:

In most causative expressions in language, one nominal is at the same time both actor and controller. This is so because most causative expressions in language involve results which are states and thus results in which the nominal involved is merely a patient (Givon, 1974:21).

The nature of causation becomes clear therefore when there is manipulation of one human agent by another according to Itkonen (1983:19). That nominals low on the agency scale are raised to subject of [Pc] position only suggests mediated rather than direct causation which is governed by direct control, as Givon (1974) maintains.

"The notion of control demands the interpretation of causation as relations between individuals. Further, if controlled causation takes place not only the controller but the controlled manipulated individual must be human agentive" Givon (1974:23).

Note, however, that since agentive is associated with control, natural agents and automatic machines are semi-agentive since they can move themselves. Consider the following examples.

156a Ikhomputha ibalisa umabhalane imali

The-computer it-pres-count-cause clerk money

The computer assists the clerk in counting money

b IATM iqhathisa abantu imali

The-ATM it pres-cheat-cause people money

ATM machines cause people to be cheated of their money

Note in the case of (a and b above) that the 'causative' is associated with effective action. The notion of 'control', 'direct' or 'mediated' is however closely bound with the way in which we tend to assign responsibility or blame. The notion of cause thus has social dimensions from which it is viewed.

#### 4.4.2.2.7 Cause and agency

This section complements the previous one. While 4.4.2.2.6 puts emphasis on 'cause and control', in this section it is argued that there is an interrelationship between these factors and agency. Agency, however, is an evasive term which is difficult to define in absolute terms. The term is employed in various ways, such as, 'agentive case', 'agentive verbs', 'agentive nouns' or 'agentive clauses'. The latter is a preferred term here. In addition to this disagreement on how the term is to be used, there is further disagreement over which lexical items are to be regarded as agentive. Lyons (1986:387) for instance sees 'see' as agentive while some linguists may suggest that 'see' is

'non agentive'. Fillmore for instance assigns the term to the dative case. (cf Cruse 1973:11)

Cruse (1973:11) attempts to solve this problem by suggesting two approaches in which to define agency. These are:

- (a) define agentivity in referential terms.
- (b) Give a purely linguistic description.

In this case:

- (a) refers to an animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb, and natural agents are treated as exceptions.
- (b) on the other hand relates the feature to the meaning of the surface lexical item DO.

while

- (c) 'wilful source' of the activity.

Needful too to say, although agentivity is assigned to the verb, agentive verbs are defined by the referential properties of the subject nouns. In the present study, grammatical relations are viewed as a continuum. In this sense they are not taken outside the speaker's conceptualization of an event according to Cruse (1978:12-13). The relationship between agentivity and DO demands that agentive verbs be substituted by the phrase DO SOMETHING. In this sense Lyons (1981:356)'s treatment of 'walk' as an exception is suspect for Xhosa, for the Xhosa equivalent /-hamba/ is more of an undergoer verb. It is also worth noting that treating verbs and their participants in isolation rather than as parts of clauses or discourse phenomena is 'problematic'. The 'do' test also does not seem to hold here for instance. It is in the light of the present argument that thematic relations are seen as crucial.

The term 'agentive' must therefore be applied to anything that exerts force and not only to human NPs. Agentivity therefore must be understood within the context of polysemy in grammatical relations. This consequently suggests that agentivity should be viewed on a cline. Such a generalization not only accommodates a variety of related meanings and usages but also the relationships that grammatical units bear to each other along this continuum which I term 'the continuum of control'. Thus, to 'volition', 'internal energy' or 'source' are added 'position' and 'motion' as manifestation of control as determined by the speaker's semantic conceptualization. In this sense natural agents and inanimates are not viewed as exceptions for agency but as its variant manifestations. Consider the following examples.

- 154a I-ATM ikhuthuza abantu - machine  
 The-ATM it-pres-cheat clients  
 The ATM cheats clients
- b Umoya uvuthuza amagqabi - natural agent  
 The-wind it-pres-blow leaves  
 The wind is blowing the leaves
- c Ilitye laphule ifestile - inanimate  
 The-stone it-perf-break window  
 The stone broke the window
- d Amakolomi axhasa udonga - inanimate  
 The-columns they-pres-support wall  
 The columns support the wall
- e I-othobhanki ikhuthuzisa abantu ngezicaka zebhanki - machine  
 The-auto-bank it-pres-cheat-cause clients  
 by-assistants of-bank  
 The auto-bank machine causes the bank's assistants to cheat clients

- f Iintsika zimise uphahla lwendlu - inanimate  
 The-pillars they-perf-firm-cause roof of-house  
 The pillars support the roof of the house

The above examples indicate that the term agent if it is viewed as a continuum, is applied to acts as well as states brought about by arguments which use their own energy in carrying out an action. Machines and natural agents which have these features trigger agentive clauses and even effect reflexivization. Consider:

- 157(a) Imatshini iyazicima  
 The-machine it-pres-refl-turn-off  
 The machine turns itself off
- (b) Izibane ziyazicima  
 The-lamp they-pres-refl-turn-off  
 The lamps turned themselves off
- (c) Ilektriki ifundisa uZola  
 Electricity it-pres-learn-cause Zola  
 Electricity causes Zola to read (i.e. facilitates his reading)
- (d) Ilektriki yenza ukuba uZola afunde  
 Electricity it-pres-cause that Zola-reads  
 Electricity causes Zola to read (i.e. with ease).

To conclude this section, one can conclude that agents naturally occur with verbs that involve a significant degree of what is called 'protagonist control' McLendon (1978:4). Patients, which are focused, as in 'statives' presuppose a lack of this protagonist control that is, those arguments are involved in the activity but do not have a controlling role. For control to be effective, however, there must be a presence of a distinct controlled participant. In other words to be agentive is to be 'agentive to', 'do something to', 'cause something to', i.e.

'make something to', 'effect on' etc. In other words, there must be a direct effect, or result on the part of the second participant. The DO notion thus correlates with the components of high transitivity such as volition and initiation. As would be noted, applied and causative constructions have a high degree of these factors thus falling high on the transitivity scale as humans and agentive nouns have a high frequency of occurrence in these clauses. However, more crucial is the acknowledgement that if transitivity is viewed on a cline, so is causation.

#### 4.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

From the above one can conclude that the passive, reciprocal and neuter verbal extensions belong to the domain of low transitivity and thus may be classified as intransitives. This is because such clauses are usually coded with features of transitivity, such as absence of or an unspecified character of an agent, embedding to the underlying stative verb BE, foregrounding of patients as 'experiencers' rather than 'effectors' of actions and non-distinctiveness of agents and patients, as in the case of reciprocals. Applied and causative constructions are regarded as transitive clauses. This is because they are coded with features of high transitivity. These are, distinctiveness of agent and patient arguments, volitional and effective actions, control and a high frequency of human and animate agents. The /-ya- and /-ile/ as tense markers, restriction of object concord incorporation and reflexivization are further instances of low transitivity. Their presence in reciprocals, neuter and passive constructions is thus expected. The following table is meant to capture the most important generalization on the transitive nature of clauses. It suggests that clauses are more or less transitive.

MORE TRANSITIVE	LESS TRANSITIVE
1 Causative, applied	- reciprocal, neuter, passive
2 Frequency of specified agency -	unspecified or no agency
3 Presence of distinct arguments-	such feature does not seem to dominate
4 Obligatory objects which are distinct	- no distinct syntactic objects
5 Restricted impersonal concord - /ku-/	High frequency of impersonal subject concord /ku-/
6 Increased valency	- diminished valency
7 Volitional and controlled situation	- clauses lack such a feature
8 Effective actions	- experiences
9 Active	- stative
10 Unmarked distribution of focus in clause with pre-supposition of subject and assertion in verb and its immediate complements	- marked distribution of focus e.g. subject focus, instrument focus or sentence adverbial
11 Human topics	- variety of topics, including natural phenomena

- |    |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|
| 12 | Strict chronological sequencing  | - | simultaneous overlapping of situations                               |
| 13 | View of event as a whole, whose completion is a necessary prerequisite to a subsequent event | - | Completion is not a necessary prerequisite to a subsequent happening |
| 14 | Perfective   | - | imperfective   |

## CHAPTER FIVE

## TRANSITIVITY AND SPECIALIZED MEANING

## 5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last four chapters the relationship between syntactic structures and meaning, and how these relate to the issue of 'transitivity' is defined and discussed but not exhaustively. This chapter is an expansion of the ideas expounded in the last three chapters. Some of the problems in these chapters are not treated in a strict sense, i.e. within a relevant theory of meaning. This chapter is an attempt to resolve some of the issues raised in the last three chapters and to give an adequate explanation of them within relevant theories of meaning. Emphasis is put on cognitive and pragmatic domains with emphasis falling on specialized meaning.

The discussion that follows is pursued along the following lines: Firstly, I provide philosophical definitions of meaning such as 'truth' and propositional logic and how these can be seen with the cognitive domain. Secondly, I deal with the concept of metaphor, its implications for semantic conceptualization and how it affects transitivity. Thirdly, I discuss and provide arguments against 'transformational grammar' and why it is not an adequate theory of grammatical description. Emphasis in this case is put on passive and causative constructions. Fourthly, I provide a 'case' account of words and sentences and its relevance for a cognitive approach. Lastly, I conclude this chapter with a pragmatic approach and suggest that syntactic structures are instantiations of pragmatic options. Hendrickse (1990) and Taylor (1991)'s arguments are primary sources of references in this case.

## 5.2 PRELIMINARY DEFINITIONS: SOME THEORETICAL QUESTIONS

It is difficult to give a precise definition meaning, however, in the present discussion I hold the view that meaning cannot be seen in isolation from the general conception of what language is, that is, as 'an association between sound and meaning'. Language entails meaning just as meaningfulness is linguistic. It should be borne in mind too that this association of sound and meaning is not haphazard but patterned. This means that it is phonologically, syntactically and semantically arranged. The emphasis here is on semantics. Two questions generally dominate semantic thoughts. These are:

- (1) What sort of thing is meaning?
- (2) What is the form of semantic rules whereby meanings of compounds are built up from the meanings of their constituent parts?

Lewis (1970: 19) in an attempt to answer these questions suggests two topics that need to be distinguished.

- (1) The description of possible languages or grammars as abstract semantic systems whereby symbols are associated with aspects of the world.
- (2) The description of the psychological and sociological facts whereby a particular one of these abstract semantic systems is one used by a person or population.

The above facts suggest a 'concept' and how it is 'used' in contexts, that is function, thus:

an answer to what a meaning is to what a meaning does,  
(Lewis 1970:22).

Another conception of meaning is held by Fillmore (1971) that, meaning refers to a:

concept or idea existing in the head of a speaker before an utterance and the head of the hearer after the utterance (Fillmore, 1971:273).

This is a mentalist conception of meaning.

This assertion is of no use if one wants to know whether the hearer correctly understands a linguistic form or the same conception is shared by both interlocutors. Fillmore (op cit) suggests a behaviourist definition of meaning, that:

the meaning of a linguistic form was taken to be the situation which preceded the performance of an utterance and the behaviours, on the part of the participants in the speech act which followed it.

Here a 'speech act' rather than a linguistic form is highlighted. In other words, one is not precisely told what a linguistic form means but instead when people use such a linguistic form.

Katz (1972) equates semantics with meaning. It is here argued:

'Semantics is the study of linguistic meaning. It is concerned with what sentences and other linguistic objects express, not with the arrangement of their syntactic parts or with their pronunciation' (1972:1).

Hurford and Heasley (1985:3) on the other hand define meaning as:

'The word mean is applied to people who use language in the same sense as to intend'.

Roughly, to mean is in this sense 'to intend'. It seems here the speaker's intention is emphasized, and nothing is suggested on understanding on the part of the hearer.

The question of semantics is further raised by Minnis (1971:76). Semantics is used in the Greek sense, that is, 'sema' which means 'sign'. It has double ambiguity in that it is not confined to linguistics but is philosophical. It is not restricted to words but exists below and above the word level. 'Below' in the sense of inflections being prominent and 'above' in the sense that sentences, phrases, clauses are significant in understanding utterances. This notion may be expanded as that, although linguistic meaning could be recovered from words, true meaning is gained from things other than words, as Minnis argues:

'The meaning of a sentence in general depends, in some systematic way, on the meanings of the words that make it up and, second that for a word to have a particular meaning is a matter of its making up a particular systematic contribution to the meanings of the sentences in which it occurs' (1971:90).

Minnis (op cit) further suggests two conflicts that tend to characterize meaning viz:

(a) Communication/intention and (b) Formal semantics.

In (a) it is suggested that:

It is impossible to give an adequate account of the concept of meaning without reference to the possession by speakers of audience directed intentions of a certain complex kind.

In (b) it is suggested that there exists:

a relationship between what people intend saying and utter and what those sentences conventionally mean.

This means that particular meanings of words and sentences are a matter of rule and convention which can only be understood by reference to communication-intention. This argument, carried further, means understanding language entails making abstractions from the material, to which the multiplicity of actual utterance can be referred and by which it can be explained according to Minnis (1971:19).

It is obvious therefore, that it is difficult to come up with a specific definition of meaning, in other words, the word 'mean' means different things to different people. Nevertheless key words in an attempt to define 'meaning' are such concepts as 'mental concept', 'sign', 'use', 'interlocutors' and structure. In the following sections we look at how these aspects are handled by language theories and how they in turn affect the issue of transitivity.

From the above arguments it is also evident that to define meaning is a daunting task. Most of our discussion therefore will be restricted mostly to how meaning is adjusted by extensions that transitivize and those that reduce transitivity.

### 5.3 TRUTH ACCOUNT OF MEANING AND TRANSITIVITY

It is best to introduce this section with a quotation from Lewis that:

'Semantics with no treatment of truth conditions is not semantics' (1970:18).

Relevance of this notion for the present issue is more on instances where syntactic and semantic restrictions are violated especially by affixation of certain morphemes such as verbal

extensions and which may affect or fail to affect transitive relations.

In Lewis's terms, the meaning of a sentence is 'something that determines the conditions under which a sentence is either true or false' (op cit: 22) that is, it determines the truth-value of the sentence in various possible states of affairs, at various times, at various places for various speakers. This is said to apply to meaning. Lewis further goes on to say:

"a meaning for a name is something that determines what thing, if any, the name names in various possible states of affairs, at various times, and so on. Among 'things' we include things that do not actually exist, but might exist in states of affairs different from actual state of affairs" (1970:23).

Note that this is in no way an attempt to make a detailed analysis of a treatment of the theory of 'truth'. The truth value of a sentence is thus related to the extension of that sentence and an extension of something depends on its meaning and in general on other things such as facts about the world, time of utterance, place of utterance, speaker and surrounding discourse. Meaning is thus a combination of various factors. What is not stated here is, however, what determines how something depends on something else. Lewis (op cit) suggests therefore that extension of meaning may be determined by items termed co-ordinates. Two of these are our concern here, these are:

- a) possible world co-ordinates, that is, truth value on facts about the world.
- (b) Contextual co-ordinates, that is, dependence on features of context. It should be noted that world co-ordinates might belong here since different

possible utterances are related in different possible worlds. Such aspects as time, place, speaker, audience, indicated objects and previous discourse co-ordinates are subsidiary to (a).

It is interesting to note that in Lewis's terms, meaning is related to 'extension' and presupposition, as:

'an appropriate intension for a sentence is any function from indices of its truth value' (Lewis, op cit: 24).

Intentions are thus designed to do part of what meanings do, that is, they are part but not whole of meaning. Packaged information is thus provided with morphosyntactic coding devices.

It is generally accepted in this case that verb extensions transmit information with a greater measure of purposefulness or precision. In this case consider the relationship between sentences 1(a) and (b).

1a Indoda ilimisa inkwenkwe intsimi  
The man causes the lad to plough the field

b Indoda yenza ukuba inkwenkwe ilime intsimi  
The man causes the lad to plough the field

Note that the detailed information in 1(b) is coded and conveyed with precision in 1(a). One must also add that if you compare the verb in sentence 1(a) with that in 1(c) below an extension of meaning will be noted in that the verb extension /-is-/ in (a) has affected the transitive nature of the clause in 1(c) by making it a three place instead of a two predicate. Consider.

c Indoda ilima intsimi  
The man ploughs (is ploughing) the field

Lexical constituent in these terms for sentences 1(a)-1(c) suggests a difference in intentions, and thus in meaning. I therefore suggest that meanings and 'compound meanings' build up from 'simple meanings'. Taken to proper conclusions, this necessitates an introduction of 'polysemy' as crucial factors and meaning relatedness in grammatical relations.

Further look at the following Xhosa sentences.

- 2a Utywala busela indoda  
 The-liquor it-pres-drink the-man  
 Liquor the man drinks
- b Indoda isela utywala  
 The-man he-pres-drink the-liquor  
 The man drinks liquor

The (a) sentence above may be said to be an untrue statement, (proposition) and therefore not a meaningful sentences for the following reasons (inconsistencies);

- (1) possible world co-ordinates are violated in that there is no consistency with our world view, on our facts about the world.
- (2) Lexical constituents as sub-categorization of the lexical items suggest that the object NPs should be the subject of the verb while the grammatical subject should be the object. Note that in sentence 2(a) the verb root /-sel-/ is supposed to have the feature specifications [-[+liquid]] and [+animate]-] as is the case with sentence 2(b).

It can, however be argued that as far as context co-ordinates are concerned, the sentences in 2(a) is true in its metaphorical sense. In this sense in sentence 2(a) emphasis is on the effect

that liquor has on the man, that is, 'indoda' is the affected participant. This is maintained in Keenan (1971:45) that:

"the presupposition of a sentence are those conditions that the world must meet in order for the sentence to make a literal sense. Thus, if some such condition is not met, for some sentence S, then either S makes no sense at all or else it is understood in some non-literal way, for example a joke or metaphor".

It is here suggested that such features are crucial for transitive relations.

What is crucial here is that violation of selectional restrictions does not restrict nor block a sentence from being interpretable. That is, syntactic structures can be in conflict with semantic restrictions but this does not render a sentence meaningless.

Keenan (1971:45) and Katz (1972:119) assert a relationship between truth and logic, in other words truthful statements are seen as logical statements. Here this is supported by quotation from Keenan.

"We can define one notion of presupposition solely in terms of the basic semantic concepts used in mathematical logic: truth and logical consequence. In standard mathematical logic, truth is conceived of (informally) as a relation between a sentence considered as a syntactic object, and the world (model, interpretation)" (1971:45).

This standpoint is maintained by Katz where linguistic truth is defined as

'statements whose truth conditions are satisfied just on the basis of principles that enter into the structure of the language in which the statement is expressible' (1972:119).

Of these two kinds are to be observed viz.

- (1) 'Logical truths', this refers to standard practice as a sentence such as 2(b) will be used as a correct version of 2(a) above.
- (2) 'Analytic truths', which are explicative predications in the form of the meaningfulness of the sentence in 2(a) above.

Note that 'truth' and 'sense' are related here in that, meaningfulness suggests an abstraction drawn on presupposition and utterance, that is, expressions, what presuppositions refer to as things talked about, are not constant, language is used differently. This is the subject of 'metaphor' which is the following section.

Another crucial point with the notion of truth is synonymy. In this sense I refer to such factors as equivalence relations, paraphrases and similarity of meaning. This relates more to 'logical semantics'.

Synonymy suggests a relation between predications, and (not) words. The notion of synonymy can be used to determine whether two sentences express different propositions. Here are noted two extremes, viz.

- (1) 'No two sentences are synonymous, even pairs that are said to be transformationally related

and

- (2) two sentences are synonymous if they have the same truth-value'.

Since it is difficult to determine sameness of meanings the two notions raised could be expanded as:

- (3) 'Call two sentences synonymous if they have the same truth-value in all possible worlds' (Partee, 1971:4).

'Datives', 'passives' and 'separate predicate causatives' and 'lexical causatives' are useful in expounding the ideal suggested by Partee above. Consider the following related pairs of sentences.

- 3a Umfana ubhalela uyise incwadi  
The-lad he-pres-write-app father letter  
The lad is writing (writes) his father a letter
- b Umfana ubhalela incwadi kuyise  
The-lad he-pres-write-app letter to-father  
The lad is writing (writes) a letter to his father
- 4a Indoda itya inyama  
The-man he-pres-eat meat  
The man eats (is eating) meat
- b Inyama ityiwa yindoda  
The-meat it-pres-eat-pass by-man  
The meat is eaten by the man
- 5a Indoda ilimisa amakhwenkwe intsimi  
The-man he-pres-plough-cause boys field  
The man makes the boys plough the field

- b     Indoda yenza ukuba amakhwenkwe alime intsimi  
        The-man he-pres-do boys that they-pres-plant field  
        The man causes the boys to plant the field

The (b) sentences in 3-5 above are said to be paraphrases of the (a) sentences. It is very interesting to note that objections could be raised on the sameness of the relationships cited above. Note that the (a) sentences predicate volitional and intentional actions while in the related pairs there is no such a relationship. In other words in sentence 3(b) direction is emphasized, in 4(b) 'inyama' (meat) is predicated as opposed to 4(a) as the presupposition is about what happens to the 'inyama' (meat) rather than what the man does. In sentence 5(b) ploughing 'lima', in the case of second predicate does not necessary depend on the man 'indoda'. What is further interesting here is that the transitive relations governing dative shift, passive and causative in the above sets have serious consequences for the notion of truth and synonymy and consequently transitive relations. The (a) sentences in 3 and 4 with the unmarked dative and the unmarked post verbal NP are higher in transitivity the (b) sentences whose NPs are marked. Sentence 5(a) entails direct cause as compared to indirect cause as in 5(b). What is significant here is that grammatical relations should be seen within the domain of polysemy and relatedness of meaning rather than having a one to one correspondence. Morpho-syntactic coding devices in Xhosa are crucial in this regard. It must be said here that the truth value of sentences shapes or is shaped by structure and it is this that determines transitivity.

One must however add that, although the concept of meaning is inseparable from the concept of truth, truth must be related to pragmatics as Itkonen (1983) suggests:

"Truth can neither exist nor be understood independently of people's conceptual activities, more precisely of their mental acts (or attitudes) of believing something to be true, and of their corresponding linguistic acts of asserting something to be true" (1983:109).

Meaning therefore must belong to the cognitive domain. This is the subject of our last section.

#### 5.4 METAPHOR AND TRANSITIVITY

In this section I first give a 'literary' definition of metaphor. Such a definition is then related to its 'linguistic-philosophical' definition. I will also attempt to explain how metaphor operates within grammar and how it in turn affects transitivity. Shipley (1970:197) defines metaphor as:

the substitution of one thing for another, or the identification of two things from different ranges of thought.

Metaphor, one would say, operates logically because language operates logically, in as much as reference to objects is symbolic. We relate to our world through symbols. As one would say as in Shipley's terms:

'Language is vitally metaphoric' and 'thought works basically through metaphor' (op cit:197).

Words identify things, in other words they are signs by which we respond to in understanding our world.

This notion is maintained by Lakoff and Johnson that:

Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (1980:3).

Lakoff further goes on to say:

Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people.

Metaphor therefore defines our perceptions of everyday realities. Lakoff and Johnson (op cit) further expand this argument, that:

The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.

Metaphor is in this sense not only in the words we use but in our very concept and how we use it. This suggests therefore that metaphor is literal. One would argue therefore that:

"Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in the person's conceptual system" (Lakoff, op cit: 6).

Metaphor therefore means 'metaphoric concept'. Metaphorical expressions are thus tied to metaphoric concepts in a systematic way. Metaphorical linguistic expressions thus refer to an understanding of the metaphoric nature of our activities. Understanding a metaphor is related to our perceptions of our universe. Consider the following examples:

- 6a UProfesa uyayihlala i-ofisi  
 The-professor he-pres-it-stay office  
 The professor stays in the office

b UProfesa uhlala e-ofisini  
 The-professor he-pres-stay in-office  
 The professor stays in the office  
 (lit spend most of the time in his office)

7a Indoda ilele (ubuthongo)  
 The-man he-perf-sleep (sleep)  
 The man is fast asleep

b Indoda ilele umfazi  
 The-man he-perf-sleep woman  
 The man slept with a woman

I will here look at the above sets of literal sentences 6(a) and 7(b), equate them with the following sets of sentences to establish their relationships in terms of metaphorical conception of meaning, and lastly to ascertain whether 'metaphorical' concept has any implications for transitive relationships. It is here argued that the use of the unmarked locative in 6(a) and the substitution of the deletable NP 'ubuthongo' (sleep) by 'umfazi' in sentence 7(b) are instance of metaphoric extension hence they are equated with 8(a) and (b) below.

8a UJon uyabutya utywala  
 He-John he-pres-it-eat liquor  
 John eats liquor (lit. drinks excessively)

b Umfundi uyawatya amagama  
 The-student he-pres-them-eat words  
 The student eats words (lit. he gets high pass marks in exams)

The above arguments indicate that verbs are used either transitively or intransitively depending on the nature of the argument NPs. Note here that sentences 6(a) and 6(b) respectively indicates that 'i-ofisi' in 6(a) is incorporated in

the verb which is a property of objects and therefore marked [+ N] whilst in 6(b) the verb is used intransitively as 'e-ofisini' is now marked [+ loc].

In the abovementioned sentences that is 6(a) and 6(b), the metaphoric conception is based on the way we tend to use language and the way our language is organized. Note that in sentences 6 for instance the locative noun 'i-ofisi' is subcategorized differently in 6(a), [+ N] as opposed to 6(b) where it is marked [+ Loc]. Such an categorization raises the status of the verb '/hlala/' from an intransitive one in 6(b) to a transitive one. The transitive use in 6(a) is thus metaphoric in significance. Metaphorical structuring therefore entails sub-categorization. The categories themselves are open-ended and entail re-categorization. The understanding of the metaphor therefore is based on our understanding of the structure of our language, and therefore our past experience. It is further interesting to note that the demarked NPs when used metaphorically are focused constituents and behave like ordinary NPs. Metaphor therefore tends to augment the transitivity of a clause.

Note too that the meaning of '/-lala/' in 7(b) is extended from a stative verb in 7(a) as the object NP 'umfazi' is now an affected participant. More so the verb is transitivized. Metaphoric extension therefore affects transitive relations. Metaphor is therefore object creating. However, perspectivization is crucial here, and metaphor results from the description of an event from a certain vantage point. Meaning is therefore a matter of an experiential gestalt and its understanding is relative to a prior understanding of the gestalt. Metaphoric extension of syntactic construction therefore entails conceptualization of a thing in terms of another.

'/-hlala/' and '/-lala/' in 6(a) and 7(b) are thus conceived as temporally bounded events rather than states when used

metaphorically. Thus one component of the transitivity schema is imposed, in this sense, punctuality. I must also add that in 6(a) perspectivization of the locative direct object renders it more important than the event, as it is focused. Thus in 6(a) /-hlala/ (sitting) not only means being 'located' or 'being in' but altering the condition of the office 'from empty to occupied'. This adds another transitivity component, affectedness of O (object). Metaphor thus asserts that more abstract and illegible areas of experience can be conceptualized in terms of the familiar and concrete. Meaning therefore is not affected by a violation of selectional restrictions but results in conceptualization of one cognitive domain in terms of components more usually associated with another cognitive domain. Any reasonable account of linguistic behaviour should thus make reference to cognitive structures. It must be said too that metaphor entails a relationship of polyemesy between grammatical relations and grammatical categories.

I must also add, that part of the meaning of a lexical item is found in its being related to other propositions, such as roles. Thus to know a particular role structure does not imply knowing its meaning but some of the essential elements of its meaning. It is also argued here that being located in also entails altering the condition of that locality and it depends which domain is activated. Part of the meaning of a lexical item also involves its being related to other lexical predicates through role relationships. This is an associative relationship. The meaning of 6(a) and (b) therefore is triggered by this associative relationship. 6(a) does not mean 'i-ofisi' is not 'locative' but that it is individuated and therefore one part is activated. Locatives are nouns, but a subset of nouns. Lexical units are therefore hierarchically arranged as super sets. This dual allegiance is however organized and restricted and its application to each and every noun is unproductive. Metaphorization is thus systematic and restricted to a certain set of verbs and nouns. Consider:

9a \*Uhamba inyama  
He-pres-sit meat

b \*Ulala imoto  
He-pres-sleep car

I will here reproduce sentences 8(a) and (b) and explain why we say the interpretation of metaphor is related to the general sub-categorization rules. See the examples below in relation to 8(a) and (b) above.

8a USipho uyabutya utywala  
b Umfundi uyawatya amagama

Also see their entailments

10a USipho uyasela  
Sipho he-pres-drink  
Sipho drinks

10b USipho uyafunda (kakhulu) ngoko ke uyapasa  
He-Sipho he-pres-read (too-much) therefore he-pres-  
pass  
Sipho reads a lot therefore he gets high pass marks

It is interesting to note here that the verbs in sentences 8(a) and 8(b) are intransitive in their underlying literal senses that is, 9(a) and 9(b). When these verbs (constructions) are used metaphorically their transitivity is augmented and they do take object NPs. Metaphor therefore entails syntactic re-categorization just as sentences 6(a) and 7(b) above. Note too that the verbs '/-funda/', '/-sela/', are entailed by '/-tya/' and '/-sela/' (verbs of eating, swallowing and drinking). This therefore suggests that these verbs are sub-categorized together in the organization of the grammar of language. Further note that the noun following '/-tya+/' in sentences 8(b) is not

marked [+ food stuff, + concrete etc] and therefore not specific. However, 'ukutya' and 'amagama' share the feature [- count, etc]. One could thus say the organization of metaphor is related to one's general sub-categorization.

From the above one could conclude that metaphors have entailments through which they make coherent aspects of our experience, that is, they coherently organize certain aspects of our experience thus creating social realities. This notion is related to the notion of truth. Metaphors tell truth but indirectly, although within the pattern of the social organization of language as we base our actions on what we think to be true. Lakoff and Johnson further expand our argument by suggesting:

In general, the true statements that we make are based on the way we categorize things and therefore on what is highlighted by the natural dimensions of the categories (1980:163).

It is here further argued that sentences are not true or false independent of human purpose. A statement is either true or false relative to understanding it, and understanding involves categorization. Meaning therefore is relative to highlighted properties. These are crucial for transitivity.

'Categories are neither fixed nor uniform' according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:165). They are adjustable in contexts. Whether a statement is true depends on whether the category employed in it fits, and this in turn varies with human purposes and other aspects of context. Lakoff and Johnson therefore rightfully argue:

"Understanding a sentence entails understanding the situation as a sentence fits our understanding of the situation" (op cit:169).

The violation of selectional restrictions in sentences 8(a) and 9(a) entails violation of syntactic and semantic relations but this does not block sentences from being interpreted as such.

It becomes further interesting to note that operations conditioning understanding metaphor are similar to those surrounding increased or reduced transitive relations as within contexts.

A theory of meaning which does secure a relationship between meaning and context, that is, 'semantics minus pragmatics' is therefore found to be inadequate in this dissertation. Finally, I suggest that polysemy, (relatedness of meaning) permits different meanings to get associated and therefore is helpful for our understanding of transitivity.

#### 5.5 LOGICAL SEMANTICS

This is used to refer to a grammar proposed in Keenan (1972), Gueron (1981), von Stechow (1975), Hurford and Heasley (1985) etc. However no in-depth discussion of this theory will be made here except to give some of its suggestions and the extent to which they adequately relate to the issue of transitivity. This theory is based on rules borrowed from logic, these are rules for calculations, inference thought and reasoning. Equivalence relations of these are crucial in the case of properties of predicates. Hurford and Heasley (1985:199) mention six of these properties, which can be divided into three. These are:

- |     |                          |   |                 |
|-----|--------------------------|---|-----------------|
| (1) | Entailment               | ) |                 |
| (2) | similarities/differences | ) | symmetry        |
| (3) | referring expressions    | ) |                 |
| (4) | same referent            | ) | reflexivization |
| (5) | transitive               | ) |                 |
| (6) | intransitive             | ) | transitivity    |

These predicate properties complement each other and are crucial for transitivity. I will consider here three predicate relations that tend to characterize Xhosa, these are 'dative', 'reflexive' and the 'causative'. Consider the following sets of sentences.

- 11a USipho uthumele umfana incwadi  
 He-Sipho he-pres-send-app the-lad a-letter  
 Sipho sent the lad a letter
- b USipho uthumele incwadi emfaneni  
 He-Sipho he-perf-send-app letter to-the-lad  
 Sipho sent a letter to the lad
- 12a USipho ucheba iindevu (zakhe)  
 Sipho he-pres-shave beard (his)  
 Sipho is shaving his beard
- b USipho uzicheba iindevu  
 Sipho he-refl-shave beard  
 Sipho is shaving himself the beard
- 13a Umzingeli ubulele ixhama  
 The-hunter he-perf-kill a-deer  
 The hunter killed a deer
- b Umzingeli wenze ukuba ixhama life  
 The-hunter he-perf-do that a-deer it-pres-die (subj)  
 The hunter made a deer to die

In the above sets of sentences one could immediately assume that the (b) sentences are entailments of the (a) sentences. This is defined in terms of 'SPL' (Standard Predicate Logic) Keenan (1972:414). This is the source of logical structures for natural languages, since that is where the only well understood logical relation (entailment) is defined. In other words, when one sentence entails another the other follows logically from the first. This is to say:

"S entails T just in case T is true in every state of the world in which T is true" (Keenan 1972:414).

In the above pairs of sentences a dative noun is entailed by a Loc NP in terms of a dative rule in 11(a) as compared to 11(b). A reflexive rule inserts /-zi-/ in sentence 12(b) and deletes a redundant N in 12(a) and (b). In sentences 13(a) and (b) a lexical rule collapses '/-fa/' and '/-enza/' into a single lexical item 'bulala', bulala therefore = /-enza/ + /-fa/.

These rules (rules for logical form) LF feed rules of interpretation to explain synonymy in syntactically dissimilar forms (structures) in terms of a single logical structure and explain why the same constraint applies to dissimilar structures. In the above sentences therefore one sees the following relations:

NP + VP + NP2 + NP 3	#	NP + VP + NP + LOC
NP + VP + NP index	#	NP + VP + REFL
NP + VP + (CONJ) + NP + VP	#	NP + VP + NP

The tendency in these operations is to reduce the transitive relations by reducing valency by one in 11(b) and 12(b) as compared to 12(a) and (b) and having two low transitivity predicates in 13(b) as compared to 13(a). This therefore raises objection on synonymy or equivalence of meaning in the above sets of sentences since logical equivalence and entailment affect transitivity by either augmenting or reducing it. The pairs of sentences therefore cannot be said to be equivalents of each other. An analysis which comes close to explaining this relation is 'partial synonymy' since the two sets have certain meanings in common, that is, they have the same predication, but differ in the nature of this predication. The sets of sentences are therefore partially logically equivalent. Stechow (1975:207) defines this notion as follows:

A sentence S of a language L<sub>i</sub> P entails a sentence t of a language L<sub>j</sub> if there is no context C such that S is true in C in a particular one of its meanings and t is false in C in a particular one of its meanings.

The dative in sentence 11(a) in no way implies directionality as is the case with 11(b). The sentence in 12(a) asserts a possessive relationship marked by a possessive pronoun, this is not the case in 12(b) where such a relationship is not highlighted. The periphrastic causative in 13(b) in no way implies direct manipulation or control but mediated causation if compared to 13(a). It can therefore be asserted that entailment affects transitive relations. The marked dative NP for instance reduces the transitivity of the clause in 11(b) if compared to 11(a).

The above arguments could be further expanded by an analysis linking (logical form) LF with discourse as in Williams (1977: 102), that:

These rules specify the relationship of a sentence to its linguistic context, that is, its relationship to other sentences in discourse.

It is also relevant at this stage to examine passive constructions to expand the argument on equivalence relations. The passive for instance is discourse conditioned. This is apparent when focus is assigned to question and answer pairs. Consider:

13aQ Iphi/itheni inyama ?

It-pres-where/it-pres-what the meat ?

Where is/what happened to the meat ?

A Inyama ityiwe (nguJon)  
 The-meat it-perf-eat-pass (by John)  
 The meat is eaten by John

Q wenze ntoni uJon ?  
 He-pres-do what John?  
 What did John do ?

A UJon utye inyama  
 He-John he-perf-eat the-meat  
 John ate the meat

In the above sets of sentences it becomes clear that passives are not entailments of actives. The (a) sentences are about what happened to 'inyama' while the (b) sentences are about what John did, to 'inyama' (meat).

From the above therefore, one could conclude that logical relations do not on their own adequately explain sentence equivalence and have to borrow from discourse analysis. This raises serious questions on the validity of entailment when it has a consequence of affecting meaning and therefore transitivity. Context and pragmatic factors determine whether two sets of sentences are to be interpreted as the same. 'Partial synonymy; is an evasive term although it must be said that it comes closer to handling this problem. Even there, one never has complete entailment in that though the (b) sentences entail the (a) sentences it does not work out vice versa. Entailment therefore does not preserve but affects meaning.

It must be said therefore that logical semantics do not adequately handle the problem of transitivity on the following grounds.

- (1) No two sentences are equivalents of each other even pairs that are said to be transformationally related.

- (2) Clauses with the marked NP arguments rate lower in transitivity than their unmarked counterparts.
- (3) The unmarked NPs are focused constituents and this suggests that thematic relations are crucial in signalling transitivity.
- (4) The relations between the above sets of sentences are more explained in terms of polysemy and meaning relatedness in grammatical relations rather than equivalence relations.
- (5) This relatedness of meaning is apprehended cognitively.
- (6) Logical relations do not explain why a speaker prefers one sentence type over the other.

#### 5.6 AGAINST TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMARS

One can here make a brief reference to linguists such as Katz (1972), Fodor (1970), Bach (1980), Partee (1971), Postal (1970) and Bartsch and Venemann (1972). Evidence is in this case provided on the inadequacy of transformational and phrase structure grammars to adequately relate to transitive structures. Emphasis is put on 'causatives', 'passives', 'reflexives', 'reciprocals' and constructions involving the impersonal concord /ku-/ (ku-insertion).

It is best to introduce the arguments here with quotations from Katz, that:

"semantic elements are autonomous and relate to syntactic elements only by virtue of highly abstract connections between the systems into which they enter within a grammar" (Katz 1972:57).

It is here further argued:

Meaning must be an abstraction from the variable features of the things referred to by a term: the meaning of a word must represent only the invariant features by virtue of which something is a thing, situation, activity, event or whatever of a given type (op cit:60).

In terms of Katz's arguments, semantic competence can be reconstructed on the basis of formal features of semantically interpreted underlying P-markers. It is argued here that judgements about the semantic structure of sentences are predicted from such definitions and the appropriate semantically interpreted P-markers. In the following sub-sections the inadequacy of such an approach and inconsistencies thereof are examined with arguments extracted from Bartsch and Vennemann (1972), Bach (1980), Postal (1970), as well as insights gained from Fodor (1970). Quotations from Bartsch and Vennemann much serve as a base for most of the discussion here, viz.

- (1) "Note that the principle that the syntactic rules preserve information does not conflict with the observation that surface representations can be ambiguous. Since the meaning intended by the speaker is one of possible interpretations of his sentence, all the information contained in his semantic representation has been converted successfully" (Bartsch 1972:44).

It is here further argued:

- (2) "Conversely a listener may 'get a wrong reading' of the surface sentence produced by the speaker. But this is not because the syntactic rules are not meaning preserving but because the listener has applied the 'wrong rules' in his analysis" (op cit).

An inconsistency is immediately noticed in (1) above. In this instance one would like to ask why there would be ambiguity if meaning is the same or preserved. The second part of the argument is misleading. 'Possible interpretation', 'skilful' and 'successful' are not clarified.

The argument in (2) is further confusing. The 'wrong rules' and 'wrong reading', is reference here made to different interpretation of the same sentence or vice versa? This is not clear. That syntactic rules are not meaning preserving is apparent in the following treatment of causatives.

#### 5.6.1 The causative revisited

Causative verbs generally require special semantic features which go beyond the merely causative component. In Xhosa, causatives are brought about by a productive verb stem formation process, that is, by a productive morphological process. This entails three things, viz:

- (1) change in the morphological shape of the verb e.g.

tya - minus /-is-/  
 tyisa - plus /-is-/

- (2) assigns a new category to this stem, that is, the verb takes an additional NP, in this case it has a transitivizing function.

NP + V + NP

- CF (a) Indoda itya inyama - no /-is-/-attachment  
 The man eats meat

NP + V + NP + NP

- (b) Indoda ityisa umfazi inyama - + /-is-/-attachment  
 The man causes/makes the woman eat meat

(3) introduces at least one meaning postulate e.g.

thenga - buy

thengisa - sell (i.e. cause-buy)

The above cases present fewer or no problems. The relationship between the causative and the non-causative counterpart is unambiguous. The causer, causee and the causative situation are not unclear. Morphology, syntax and semantics interact in an unambiguous way.

However, consider what is generally termed 'lexical' causatives and 'periphrastic' causatives in relation to the intransitive verb stem '-fa'. Consider:

/-fa/ die	:	no/-is-/-attachment
/-fisa/ cause-die	:	+/-is-/-attachment

One immediately notes a constraint or restricted occurrence with /-fa/ above since the causative affix is here restricted in its occurrence unless there is a presence of a reflexive affix.

Consider:

14a Itutu liyazifisa  
 The-thief it-pres-refl-cause-die  
 The thief kills (is killing) himself

as opposed to

b\* Itutu lifisa usana  
 The-thief it-pres-cause-die a-baby  
 The thief causes a baby to die

Transformational grammar handles this problem by suggesting that /-bulala/ (kill) is an equivalent of 'cause-die' and that an operation occurs at the level of the 'lexicon', that the verb

stem formation occurs in the lexicon. In this dissertation, it is suggested that lexical analysis of causatives is tempting but incorrect. In the light of a lexical account of causatives /-bulala/ is compared with a periphrastic causative consisting of /-enza/ (make, do) and /-fa/. A lexical account of causatives therefore suggest that the following two constructions are equal.

- 15a UJon ubulele ixhama  
 He-John he-perf-kill deer  
 John killed the deer
- b UJon wenze ukuba ixhama life  
 John he-perf-do that the-deer it-pres-die-(subj)  
 John causes (made the deer to die)

In the present thesis it is held that the two sentences do not stand in an equivalence, bidirectional relation but only in an unidirectional implicative relation. This is disregarded in Bartsch who can only say:

'Causatives belong to lexical semantics, i.e. lexical units of transitive verbs' (Bartsch 1972:127).

It is therefore held here that, judged superficially the sentences (a) and (b) above may seem to be equivalents. However, on closer examination certain objections can be raised, viz:

- (1) Sentence 15(a) is unambiguous in that it is explicitly stated that John directly caused and manipulated the 'buck's dying' by killing it. In this instance, there is direct causation.
- (2) In sentence (b) it is not stated clearly that John killed the buck although it is asserted that John caused that event which consisted in the buck's dying.

In this case there is no direct relationship between John's action and the buck's dying.

- (3) One would further like to ask why the causative morpheme does not operate on /-fa/.
- (4) It is suggested here therefore that meaning between these structures is therefore not invariant.

The problem with causatives is as well noted in Fodor (1977:430-431), where it is argued that, causative derivation entails predicate raising and lexicalization. Here it is suggested:

'one prima facie simple sentence containing a surface transitive verb derives from a complex deep structure containing an intransitive embedded verb 'do-so' replacing the matrix verb and the constituent VP' (op cit:130).

Periphrastic verbs bring us closer to this. For this reason the phonetic structure /-bulala/ is related to a transformational source containing '/-enza/' and '/-fa/'. This argument is easily disputed by sentences 14 and 15 above. The following reasons, extracted from Fodor (1977:431-435) also indicate this. These are DO-SO operation, adverb matching and instrumental adverbials.

- (1) The 'do-so' enza operation does not always hold (operates) equally. In other words it is not directly related to cause. Sentence 16b below indicates this when compared to 16a below.

16a Itolo libulele ixhama (yaye ndothukile ukuba lenze loo nto)

The-arrow it-perf-kill deer (and it surprised me that it-pst-do so)

The arrow killed the deer

i.e. Itola - enza  
 arrow - do

- (b) Itolo lenze ukuba ixhama life (yaye ndothukile ukuba lenze loo nto)  
 The-arrow it-pst-do that deer it-pst-die (and it surprised me that it do)  
 The arrow made the deer to die  
 (ambiguous either itola or ixhama - enza)

Note here that sentence (b) (with two verbs) is ambiguous in that both NPs 'Itolo' and 'ixhama' are the subject of '/-enza/' in the embedded sentence. This problem is, however, resolved when the subject and object of /-enza/ in the main sentence belong to different classes, that is, class and concordial agreement are significant. Consider:

- 17a UJohn ubulele ixhama yaye ndothukile ukuba enze loo nto  
 John he-perf-kill the/a deer and-it-perf-shock that it-perf-do that  
 John killed a deer and it surprised me that it did so

- (2) Adverb matching on both verbs in predicate raising. Here we reproduce and renumber sentences from Fodor (1977:433).

- 18a CF UJon wenze ukuba uBill afe ngeCawe kuba emhlabe ngoMgqibelo  
 John caused Bill to die on Sunday by stabbing him on Saturday

- 18b CF UJon ubulele uBill ngeCawe kuba emhlabe ngomgqibelo  
 John killed Bill on Sunday by stabbing him on Saturday

NB: The above examples are relevant for cause although they may not clearly explain this problem for Xhosa.

(3) Instrumental (means) adverbials.

'A structurally necessary and sufficient condition for an NP being shared with an instrument adverbial is that the NP be the deep subject of the verb that the instrumental modifies' (Fodor 1977:435).

Consider the following sets of sentences reproduced from Fodor (op cit):

19a John killed Bill by swallowing his tongue

Bill is here not the subject of any verb.

b John caused Bill to die by swallowing his tongue

Here it will be observed that Bill could still be understood as the subject of swallow. However, note that it is not clear whose tongue is swallowed. So what we have is 'double ambiguity' which brings us to another problem of body part. It is interesting to note ~~that~~ for the above reasons that 'two predicate causatives' are low on the volition scale by (i) lacking direct manipulation and (ii) lacking identity of the causer in the embedded verb. Single and two place predicates are therefore not derivational as they differ in their transitivity properties unless the formal semantic theory provides a disciplined technique to represent this discrepancy. More crucial here is that there is no unambiguous path from source to goal. It is best to close this section with a quotation from Bartsch (1972:143) that:

Absence of an explicit theory of semantics is at the root of the inadequacy of transformational grammar as a theory of grammar.

### 5.6.2 The case of the passive revisited

The following analysis shows a great indebtedness to Bach (1980)'s arguments for or against a transformational passive. It is generally assumed that

'passive is transformational rule defined only for transitive verb phrases' (Bach 1980:297).

In addition to this Bach gives the following evidence against the T-pass which we will focus on.

#### 5.6.2.1 Objects that are already there

This refers to special object NPs and idioms, reflexives and reciprocals. Consider the following sets of sentences.

- 20a UJon uzibona esipilini  
 He-John he-pres-refl-see in-mirror  
 John sees himself in the mirror
- b\* Uzibonwe ngu Jon esipilini  
 He-refl-perf-see-pass by-John in-mirror
- 21a UZola noNomsa bayathandana  
 Zola and-Nomsa they-pres-love-rec  
 Zola and Nomsa love each other
- b\* Bathandanwa ngu Zola noNomsa  
 They-pres-love-pass-rec by-Zola and-Nomsa
- 22a Indoda iyayitya  
 The-man he-pres-it-eat  
 The man eats it

- b\* Iyayityiwa yindoda  
It-pres-it-eat-pass by-man

5.6.2.2 Subjects that are already there (indefinites)

- 23a Kwavuleka umngxuma emva kwebhombu  
It-pst-open-neut hole after bombing  
A hole was opened after the bombing

- b\* Umngxuma wavulekwa emva kwebhombu  
Hole it-pst-open-neut-pass after bombing

5.6.2.3 NPs that accidentally fit the structural analysis of  
T pass i.e. NPs and PPs not distinguished

- 24a1 UJon uhamba iTopiya/eTopiya  
He-John he-pres-go Ethiopian church/at Ethiopian  
church  
John attends the Ethiopian church

- a2 ITopiya ihanjwa nguJon  
It-Ethiopian church it-pres-go-pass by John  
The Ethiopian church is attended by John

- b\* ETopiya ihanjwa nguJon  
At-Ethiopian church it-pres-go-pass by John

- b2 ETopiya kuhanjwa nguJon  
At-Ethiopian church it-pres-go-pass by John

Note that in sentence 24(b2) meaning changes in relation to spatial orientation, that is, reference is made to Ethiopia as a place rather than as a specific locality that is a place relation is focused.

It will be observed here that the passive verbal extension is restricted in reflexives, reciprocals, derived intransitives (neuter), with the tense marker /-ya-/, and locative adverbials. Note however that in certain environments with the impersonal /ku-/ this restriction is relaxed except with reflexives. Consider the following sets of sentences with passivized intransitives.

- 20c\* Kuzibonwe nguJoni esipilini  
It-itself-see-pass by John at-the mirror
- 21c Kuthandanwa nguZola noNomsa  
It-pres-love-pass by-Zola and-Nomsa
- 22c Kutyiwa yindoda  
It-pres-eat-pass by-man      It > impersonal concord
- 23c Kwavulekwa ngumngxuma emva kwebhombu  
It-pst-open-neuter-pass by-hole after the bombing

It could thus be concluded that reflexives are very low in transitivity and therefore do not trigger T pass. T Pass therefore does not operate freely with intransitives and less typical transitives as opposed to transparent transitives. Passives become reassigned syntactic category PVP (passive verb phrase) which combines bE and GET to form IVP (intransitive verb phrase). Passives are thus stative or adjectival in the underlying structure. One would also like to ask why adverb proposing can only operate after /ku-/ insertion as in 20(b2). Agentless passives further complicate this problem. Consider Bach's example:

'John was killed instantly in the crash' (1980:333).

It is interesting to note how Xhosa morphology handles this problem. Passive in Xhosa is a property of transitives and

always implies agency. In this case a neuter verb extension would have handled the problem noted by Bach. Consider sentences 25(a) as compared to 25(b):

25a UJon wasweleka ngoko engozini  
 He-John he-pst-lose-neut instantly at-accident  
 John was lost instantly during the accident

and

b UJon wabulawa ngoko engozini (which implies agency)  
 He-John he-pst-kill-pass instantly at-accident  
 John was killed instantly during the accident

In this sense it is noted that when no agency is implied the neuter verbal extension is used while a passive form is used when agency is implied. Nonetheless we conclude with the notion that:

- (1) T-Pass operates freely in transitives.
- (2) T-Pass is not meaning preserving.
- (3) T-Grammar does not handle the problem of agentless passives. Relational grammar evades this problem by suggesting a dummy subject.
- (4) T Grammar must still explain why T Pass operates on truncated subjects but not on reflexives.
- (5) Bresnan's lexicalist rule is also disputed on the ground that a lexical rule cannot apply on syntactic structures.

#### 5.7 COGNITION, LANGUAGE ACQUISITION, THOUGHT AND INFORMATION FLOW (FUNCTIONAL NOTIONS)

Linguists as well as psychologists have always noted the deep connections between language, thought and reality. The link

between grammar and perception of reality is noted in such works as Whorf (1956), Solan (1983), Tabossi (1983), Anderson (1985), Katz (1972), Sgall (1975) and Koster (1978) to name a few. This is not a detailed treatment of language and cognition, however, it is felt here that a treatment of language and cognition can never be adequate without referring to such issues as the lexical properties of words, sentence structure and information flow (thematic notions) as well as context. In other words one is not only limited to the structure of sentences but also grammatical and lexical properties of words in certain contexts is a crucial factor. A cognitive approach to grammatical description therefore becomes relevant. This, however, is seen against the background of cognitive psychology.

Cognitive psychology mainly deals with 'Gestalt principles of perceptual organization' Anderson (1985:55). Here the pattern of organization and context is crucial. The following are also noted.

- (1) Principles of proximity,  
that is, elements close together tend to organize into units,
- (2) Principles of similarity:  
that is, objects that look alike tend to be grouped together,
- (3) Principles of good continuation:  
By this is meant that, we, objects (or reality) is segmented into its components. This entails 'top down' processing, as:

"High level knowledge determines interpretation of low-level perceptual units" Anderson (1985:61).

Context or general world knowledge guides our perception of reality. In this case, perception can proceed successfully when only some of the features are recognized, with context filling in the remaining parts. In memory meaning rather than structure is retained. Anderson supports his argument with the structure:

T **A** E C **A** T

The structure is perceived as 'the cat' although the H and the A are identical. Linguistically this has predictable consequence. Consider the following structures:

26a Ukutya ikutyile indonda  
The-food he-it-perf-eat man  
The food, he ate, the man

and

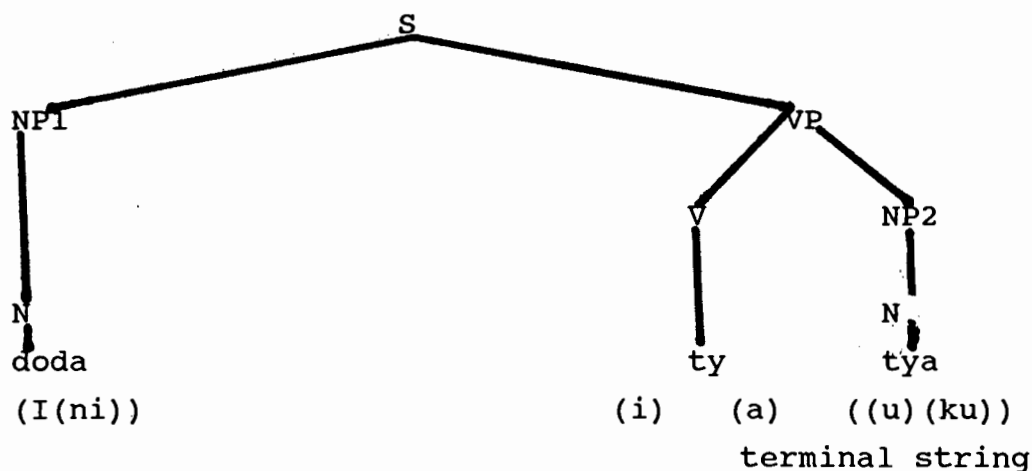
b Ikutyile indoda ukutya  
He-it-perf-eat man food  
He ate, the man, the food

or

c Ikutyile ukutya indoda  
He-it-perf-eat food, man

The above sentences are viewed as the same because they are phonetic representations of the same mental structure, which may be represented as follows:

d [(I)nd(oda) [[(1)(ku) (ty)(ile)] (u)(ku) tya]



Our conceptions of the properties of the words, as word forms that is, as verbs or nouns determine our interpretations as such, in as much as lexical categorization determines which form would be regarded as subjects or objects in the case of nouns. The terminal string is what determines the actual meaning, with the grammatical formatives coming in at a later stage. This means, words have to be lexically interpreted first. What the above argument entails is that rules of sentence interpretation determine that the sentences (a-d) are interpreted as the 'same' even if the thought as put into a form of words is entirely new to the hearer, as with, the forms (a-c). This, Katz (1972:181) terms the 'principle of affability'.

Katz further argues that:

"Each human thought is expressible by some sentence of any natural language" (1972:19).

Languages can express whatever can be 'meaningfully' spoken about. What is (meaningfully) thinkable is communicable through some sentence of a natural language

"because the structure of sentences mirrors the structure of thoughts" (op cit:19).

This, relates more to the relationship the structures (a-c) and (d) bear to each other. Different structures can therefore communicate sameness or relatedness of meaning. This is more explainable in terms of polysemy. In this sense one can say that the above sets of sentences are differently similar. By this one distinguishes between the deep structure (d) and the surface representations, (a-c). In this sense the way a sentence is structured has to do with information flow and prominence. This I will term 're-interpretation' since rules which will determine which information is topical or prominent or thematic will apply only after lexical and selectional restrictions have applied. These different levels of interpretation are also noted in Sgall (1975:297-298) that:

"The meaning of the sentence is determined not always uniquely, but with a finite number of resulting values by the structure of the sentence" (1975:298).

In this sense the actual meaning of a sentence is not only determined by linguistic meaning alone but by how that linguistic meaning is structured, and by context. In this sense:

"The sentence adapted to its functioning in communication in that it contains a distinction between those items of the universe of discourse shared by the speaker and the hearer that should be identified easily by the hearer as points in which the change of information should be enclosed and those items that specify the change itself" (op cit:303).

These are 'topics' of the sentence (contextually bound segment) and 'focus'. Note however that not every element of the universe of discourse can be referred to by topic. There is a hierarchy or partial ordering that these elements must assume and only elements above a certain level of threshold in this hierarchy can be referred to by topic. This means items not only known to the

speaker and hearer but having been activated or foregrounded by context or situation. One thus encounters such notions as topic shift. In sentence 26(a) for instance the object noun is fronted and therefore topical while the predicate is focused. In 26(b) the predicate is topical and the subject focused while in (c) it is the object noun that is focused. In this instance one would like to ask what this has to do with transitivity. I am not going to be concerned with 'trace theory' here as cited in Koster (1978:32), that, 'moved categories are linked to their original positions'. This functional labels represent the 'transitivity system of the language'. In this sense the factors governing transitivity notions are the same as those governing information flow by distinguishing arguments from non-arguments as arguments are more prominent than non-arguments. One could further suggest that anaphor and pronominal reference (object concord and reflexives) affect transitivity of clauses by being linked to demotions, promotions, and therefore, arguments and non-arguments. In sentences 26(a-c) for instance, object concord incorporation is linked to object promotion and subject demotion as a result of leftward and rightward shifts. Such constructions are therefore candidates for triggering passivization or impersonal constructions where the semantic subject becomes a non-argument. The following examples elucidate this.

- 26e Ukutya kutyiwe (yindoda) - pass  
 The-food it-perf-eat-pass (by-man)  
 The food has been eaten
- f Kutye indoda (ekutyeni) - impersonal  
 It-perf-eat man from-food  
 The man has eaten from the food
- g Kutyiwe (yindoda) ukutya - impersonal pass  
 It-perf-eat-pass by-man food  
 It is eaten from the food by the man

One could thus say that demarking of the above NPs reduce them as non-arguments. It is more interesting to note too that once one has such constructions one has a choice between two possibilities or use of NPs. Solan for instance rightfully argues that linguistic principles: "reflect innate cognitive structures" Solan (1983:xi).

In this sense a relationship is always noted between experience and language development, that is, there is 'a relationship between linguistic universals and experience' Solan (1983:2).

It is here further argued

"Learning a language requires the interaction of experience with certain structured constraints on the form that languages can take" (op cit).

Noun-verb-noun sequence, for instance, is normally with an actor-action-object sequence, that is, grammatical relations are inferred from word order. This sometimes result in over-generalization which are argued in 5.11 below with regard to body parts and locatives. A further point of interest is that the strategies used to code grammatical relations are the same as those used to code transitivity.

What is implied here is that transitive structures have the necessary conditions of such generalization in a congruent sense. Deviation from this having a relationship of polysemy. This however consequently diminishes the transitivity of a clause.

The value of a cognitive approach lies in its securing a relationship between structures and how this can be seen within the domain of polysemy. Similarity and dissimilarity of meaning are seen as definitely affecting the transitive nature of clauses. This does not conflict with Hopper and Thompson who view transitivity as a continuum.

## 5.8 LEXICAL SEMANTICS, COGNITION AND CONTEXT

In the last section I dealt with cognition, as well as its relation to language's structuring of information. In this section I still discuss language and the mind (thought). However emphasis is here put on structuring and organization of lexical information and how it is retrieved and comprehended in sentences of a language. I also discuss how this relates to the issue of transitivity, in other words how transitivity is captured in the lexicon. In this sense I suggest that strict lexical interpretation of syntactic structures in lexical units by means of semantic features alone is not adequate for an analysis of transitive structures. In this instance arguments by Tabossi (1983), Cruse (1986), Robins, R.H. (1971) as well as Fuchs and Rouault (1975) are outlined to account for the inadequacy of a lexicalist treatment of syntactic information. Chomsky's assertion on selectional restrictions is used to introduce our argument. Chomsky, in *Aspects* (1965: 113) suggests:

We shall say that a selectional rule, ..... defines a selectional relation between two positions in a sentence - for example, ....., the position of the verb and that of the immediately preceding or immediately following noun. [Such selectional relations determine grammatical relations, in one of the senses of this traditional term] (1965:113).

The following Xhosa sentences are used to reinforce this argument.

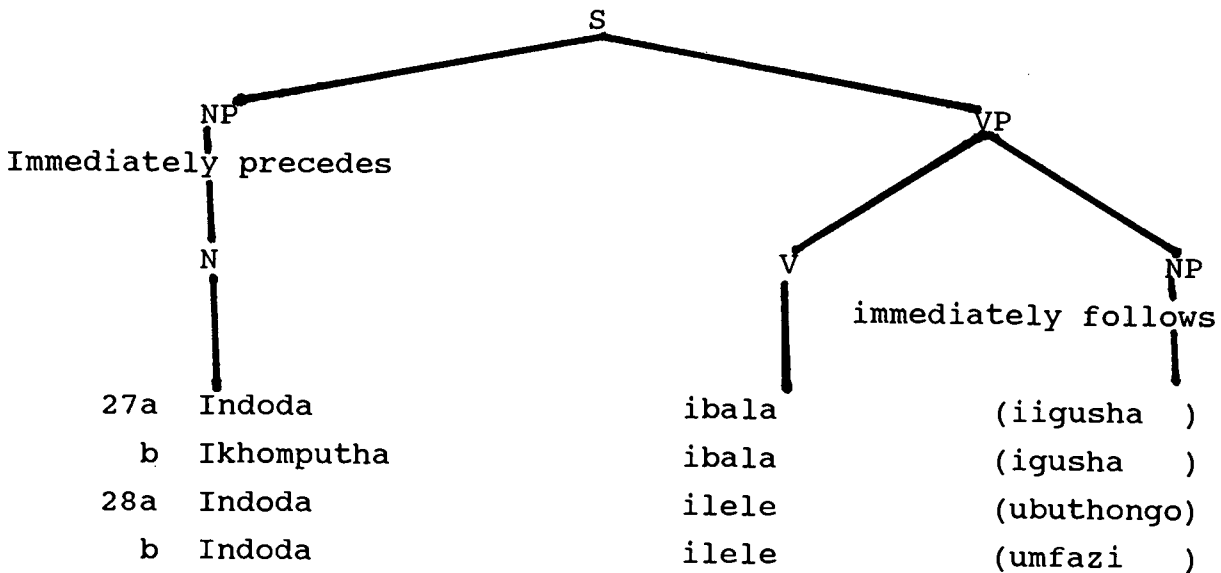
27a Indoda ibala iigusha  
 The-man he-pres-count sheep  
 The man counts sheep

b Ikhomputha ibala iigusha  
 The-computer it-pres-count sheep  
 The computer counts/is counting sheep

28a Indoda ilele (ubuthongo)  
 The-man he-perf-sleep (sleep)  
 The man is fast asleep

b Indoda ilele umfazi  
 The-man he-perf-sleep woman  
 The man slept the woman

These sentences can be structurally illustrated by the following diagram.



It is easy to conclude here that if one says the verb '/-bala/' in sentence 27(a) has the selectional restriction [+V, + [+ human subject]-, +[-± concrete] - object]]] the examples in 27(b) will immediately be counter examples since your [V] has the features [+ [+non human] -subject]. The same can be said for sentence 28(a) which has the structure [V [+V, + [+ abstract] -object]] as compared to 28(b) which is [V [+V, + [+ concrete] -object]]].

This problem raises some doubts on the relevance of subcategorization features in interpreting sentences. It also implies that not only the verb determines our interpretation of sentences. The inconsistency in the grammatical relations in the pairs of sentences above suggests that there needs to be extra information which will tell us which sentences speakers of a language will produce. Sentence 27(b) for instance is not blocked from possible interpretation.

Cruse in this case already notes a relationship between words and appropriate contexts. He suggests:

the semantic properties of a lexical item are fully reflected in appropriate aspects of the relations it contracts with actual and potential contexts (1986:1).

In these terms the relevant contexts could include extra-linguistic situational contexts. However it is here further suggested that there are good reasons for a principled limitation to linguistic contexts. One could thus not doubt that the following sentences are odd or deviant both contextually and grammatically.

29a\* Il'itye liginye ikhaphetshu  
 The-stone it-perf-swallow cabbage  
 The stone swallowed a cabbage

This is linked to Chomsky's:

a\* Colourless green ideas sleep furiously and  
 b\* Quadruplicity drinks procrastination

In this instance one notes the following relations between language and context.

- (1) the relation between a lexical item and extra-linguistic contexts is often crucially mediated by purely linguistic contexts. Metaphor has indicated this.
- (2) Any aspect of an extra linguistic context can in principle be mirrored linguistically.
- (3) Linguistic context is more easily controlled and manipulated.

Despite this argument Cruse admits that words are not bearers of messages and do not on their own make sense. He therefore argues:

"A linguistic item must in general have at least the complexity of a simple sentence to show such properties" (1986:9).

Cruse, however, argues further:

Words contribute via their own semantic properties, to the meanings of more complex units, but individually they do not occasion on most vivid and direct experiences of language (op cit).

Although such lexicalist theories suggest that the meaning of a word is fully reflected in its contextual relations and is constituted by its contextual relations, it is not at all clearly stated, which one effectively secures meaningfulness, words or contexts. In this sense two types of normalities are suggested (op cit: 54):

- (1) sentence internal normality
- (2) contextual normality.

The latter is said to be a strong determinant of sense relation, that is, context causes sense not meaning. This is not relevant for this study since we make no distinction between sense and meaning.

In this sense Tabossi's view is held here, that:

the contextual encoding of a word is such that it renders more easily available the contextually pertinent aspects of the meaning of the word and inhibits the availability of non-pertinent aspects (1983:iii).

This approach is not at all in conflict with our cognitive approach. Context thus renders salient a particular aspect of a word's meaning (variation). This is termed 'priming'. It is however not clear at what stage during comprehension context affects specific interpretation of a word, that is, whether lexical interpretation occurs immediately at the time of retrieving a word's meaning from the lexicon. In which case meaning will rely on:

- (1) knowledge of the world and of the communicative situation,
- (2) communication can succeed because the participants have similar extra linguistic knowledge.

Let us for convenience reproduce sentence 28(b) above:

28b Indoda ilele umfazi  
The man slept the woman

It is obvious that this utterance did not occur outside a particular context, and for the features of the lexical item the features in A are rendered salient by context as opposed to B.

A	B
-lal + V + - NP + - [+ concrete] + - [+ human] + [+ animate] -	-lal- + V ± - NP + - [± concrete] + [± animate] -

This therefore suggests that the verb can either be used transitively or intransitively depending on context. Despite these factors one would still like to ask the following questions.

- (1) Does a sentential context reliably and systematically affect the way in which a given noun is mentally represented, so that some aspects of its meaning are more reliable than others?
- (2) If that difference occurs how does context operate to produce them?
- (3) At what stage during comprehension of sentences does context become effective, immediately at retrieval or at a later stage?

Further look at the following sentences where dissimilar objects 'amanzi' [+ liquid] and 'ipilisi' [- liquid] co-occur with the same verb and vice versa.

- 30a Usele amanzi [+[-N[+ liquid]]]  
 He-perf-drink water  
 He drank water
- b Usele ipilisi [+N-[-N[+ concrete]]]  
 He-perf-drink pill  
 He drank a pill

- c Uginye ipilisi [+N-[+N[+ concrete]]]  
 He-perf-swallow pill  
 He swallowed a pill

The above questions are not adequately handled in Tabossi's study. Although I accept her rightful assertions that context guides the process of interpretation and her acknowledgement that the lexicon deals with individual words and this is not meaning. It is best to close the argument here in answer to some of the above questions with a quotation from Fuchs and Ronault (1975:373) that:

Our basic assumption is that syntactic structures (to which may be added an interpretation of the basic lexical units by means of semantic features cannot on their own satisfactorily account for a certain number of phenomena, such as the different roles of determiners, the choice of the passive as opposed to the active, the use of auxiliaries, tenses, presenters, etc.

In this sense one should take a look at the whole dimension of utterance. I would also like to add that although context has an effect on aspects of word meaning as far as retrieval from the mental lexicon, this is not enough. In this sense it must be clear that we are not studying retrieval of lexical items but their interpretation, and thus meaning. Secondly we need a thorough explanation of what constitutes context. This is one of the concerns in the following sections.

#### 5.9 TRANSITIVITY AND CASE RELATIONS

In this section I will not endeavour to discuss all case relations exhaustively. However, one has to refer to those aspects which are significant for the issue of transitivity and transitive relations viz 'subject', 'direct object', 'indirect

object' and other 'oblique NPs' such as 'locative' and 'instrumental cases'. These are seen in relation to other descriptive concepts such as 'nominative' case, 'agentive' case, 'accusative' and 'dative'. The notion of 'topicality' and 'relative topicality' are also found unavoidable since they affect transitivity relations. It is best to introduce our discussion with Crystal's definition of CASE as:

A grammatical category used in the analysis of word classes to identify the syntactic relationship between words in a sentence, through such contrasts as nominative, accusative, etc. The traditional classification, such as is found in Latin grammar, is based on the morphological forms of the word (1987:42).

Note in this case, that it is distinguished between 'case forms', 'case functions' and 'case relations'. One would like to add further pragmatic functions also, as they play a significant role in these relations. It is also necessary to raise some issues on the problems one encounters in this case with regard to languages without prepositions such as Xhosa. Nonetheless, morphology is a crucial factor.

Silverstein's theory on 'functional morphosyntax' also comes closer to solving problems related to a case approach (vide Foley and Van Valim, 1984:76). In this sense case marking is seen and treated as a 'dependent variable', the various attested configurations of which are the result of the interaction of a number of independent variables of referential and predicational meaningfulness of linguistic discourse. Four variables noted here are the following:

- (1) Inherent referential content of NPs coded in categories and organized by pragmatic and semantic prererferential markedness.

- (2) Propositional case relations within a clause viz 'agent of', 'patient of', 'subject of', 'dative of', etc at clause level of analysis.
- (3) Clause linkage environment.
- (4) Type of discourse reference system employed.

Note that in the light of this argument the predicate is the nucleus (innermost layer) of the clause. It is usually, but not always surrounded by two arguments depending on valency. What one has therefore are core arguments which tend to be unmarked and peripherous arguments which express spatio-temporal setting of events and secondary participants like beneficiary which tend to be marked. Case marking therefore has to do with ordering of arguments and prepositional assignments. Here one still has the case hierarchy subj > DO > IO > other oblique. This relationship between case, markedness, morphology and sub-categorization is noted in Hoekstra (1980), and Chung (1978). Givon (1979) also notes a relationship between case marking and word order typology. I here discuss how these case notions manifest themselves in Xhosa sentences of which the following are important, 'datives', 'locatives', 'instrumentals', 'indirect objects' and 'direct objects'. The following is also found to be important, /ku-/insertion and 'empty cases', 'accusatives', 'ergativity', 'subject and object ambiguity' and 'object of result'. Consider the following examples of pairs of related sentences.

- 31a UThozi uthumela umfana ileta  
 Thozi he-pres-send-app lad letter  
 Thozi sends/is sending the lad a letter
- b UThozi uthumela ileta emfaneni  
 Thozi he-pres-send-app letter to-lad  
 Thozi sends/is sending the letter to the lad

- c UThozi uthumela ileta ngomfana  
 Thozi he-pres-send-app letter by-lad  
 Thozi sends/is sending the letter by the lad
- 32a Umoya uphaphathekisa ibhityo  
 The-wind it-pres-flutter-cause lean-one  
 The wind causes the lean one to flutter
- b Ibhityo liphaphatheka emoyemi  
 The-lean one he-pres-flutter in-wind  
 The lean one flutters (gets fluttered) in the wind
- c Kuphaphatheka ibhityo emoyeni/ngumoya  
 It-pres-flutter lean-one in-wind/by-wind  
 The lean gets fluttered in the wind/by the wind

In the pairs of sentences above the following relations are noted.

In 31(a-c) the following relations are noted.

- 31a AGT > Subj > DO > IO-dat-BEN  
 b AGT > Subj > DO > LOC  
 c Subj > DO > AGT-INSTR

In 32(a-c) on the other hand the following relations are contracted:

- 32a Subj > ACC - DO  
 b Subj - ACC > LOC  
 c Subj > ACC-DO > LOC

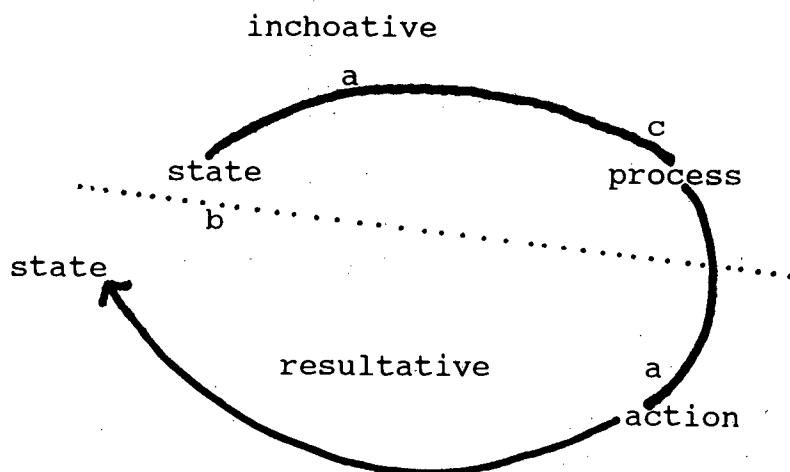
In 31(a) the subject is in the agentive case, the DO is in the accusative whilst the IO is in the dative or benefactive. Note that in 31(b) on the other hand the IO appears in the locative. In 31(c) the subject is not agentive whilst it is the IO that is

agentive and also instrumental. Note however that DO is always in the accusative. These structures indicate that case relations are not definite entities as one notes multi-case roles of the NPs above. Note that in 32(a-c) a subject object ambiguity is noted as the subject in 32(a) is not agentive as it lacks volition, appears in its locative form in 32(b) and 32(c). In 32(b) the subject is accusative and is viewed as the entity that comes into existence, moves or changes as a result of an action. This is made more clear in 32(c). Note too that in 32(c) we have a 'minus' or 'empty case' according to Pollock (1981:219-225) as /ku/-insertion suggests.

In this sense one would firstly like to ask the role of the verbal extension /-el-/ in 31(c-) since it triggers different case forms and relations. Secondly, one would also like to ask what roles do the different case forms play in this case. In other words, does a single form have multi purposes? In 32(a-c) one would like to ask what the role of the causative /-is-/ is in the case of 'objectivization' of 'ibhityo' in 32(a) as well with subjectivization of 'umoya'. The subject/object ambiguity in 32(b) and the relationship between subjects and agents as exhibited in the empty case in the impersonal in 32(c) are further points of interest. It is further interesting to note that ibhityo occurs in the 'nominative' when it appears both as subject and object. This raises a question of whether sentences 32(a-c) are semantically related. This, however, becomes easier if one notes the following quotation from Hurford and Heasley:

The notions inchoative, causative and resultative take one round 'in a circle' from words denoting states, through words denoting processes through words denoting actions and back to words denoting states"  
Hurford and Heasley (1985:212).

The following diagram is meant to illustrate this if referred to 32(a-c). The line is merely to differentiate between action and states-processes.



One would also further like to ask about the choice of the use of the nominative-dative instead of the locative case and the significance of this for other syntactic transformations. In this sense, Kayne (1981:148)'s observations on 'Give' in English and Green (1974:72)'s observations on 'to-phrases' raises further questions on case relations.

Consider the following sentences extracted from Green (1974:72) and renumbered.

- 33a I gave a book to John  
 b\* I gave to John a book

These are compared to the following Xhosa sentences.

- 34a Ndithumele incwadi emfaneni  
 I-perf-send-app book to-lad  
 I sent the book to the lad
- b\* Ndithumele emfaneni incwadi  
 I-perf-send-app to-lad a book  
 I sent to the lad a book

One would therefore like to ask in this case a reason for a restriction on the movement of the 'to phrase' (locative NP) in 33 and 34(b) sentences. This suggests that those structures,

marked for locative are concerned with directionality rather than 'dative' or 'benefactive'. Functional and pragmatic notions therefore tend to affect word order and provide constraints on transitive relations. The prepositionally marked NPs (in Xhosa locative marking) results in diminished transitivity. Further note that this concern, 'perspectivization' consequently affects transitive relations. In the case of the subjectivization of 'umoya' through predicate raising, as is the case in causatives tends to augment the transitivity of clauses. In this sense it seems the following factors are crucial for Xhosa sentence structure.

- (1) An unmarked form of the verb is either transitive or intransitive.
- (2) Complex verbs through predicate raising or lowering are either transitive or intransitive.
- (3) Xhosa is ergative.
- (4) Transparency of case determines transparent transitivity.
- (5) Xhosa morphology captures case relations in a transparent way although it must be stated that 'case relations' and grammatical relations form a continuum and thus any conflict between lexical marking of case and morphology must also be seen within the domain of polysemy and meaning relatedness.

Nevertheless, although there is an interplay between morpho-syntax and case markings, it is however not clear why a speaker of a language will prefer one structure instead of another within a single case framework. Kayne (1981) thus comes closer to solving this problem when he asserts that, government and binding is unclear in some instances, that:

NPs must receive case from V and must therefore be governed by V.

that is

A governs B only if there is an unambiguous path from B to A, (Kayne 1981:147).

Thus is the case in sentences 31-34 above. The relationship between structures is thus more conveniently argued within Taylor's (1991) proposal of extending polysemy to grammatical relations. This not only secures relationships in meaning between different structures but also acknowledges that grammatical relations are a continuum. This is also not in conflict with Hopper and Thompson's hypothesis which views transitivity on a cline. Case therefore is assumed to have an abstract general meaning, each case having a large number of meanings which can be separated from one another. All the different means of each case are interrelated and every case meaning is complex having a number of components. It is therefore more possible that all the meaning of one case may share some of the components of the other.

#### 5.10 SPEECH ACTS AND TRANSITIVE STRUCTURES

It is not necessary here to give an exhaustive treatment of the speech act theory. However, I will briefly outline what is expounded by its exponents viz Garner (1971), Robins (1971) and Searle (1970). Speech act theory is relevant here mainly because of its assertion on the value meaning of utterances in contexts. Robins (in Minnis 1971) suggests that, speaking is essentially making and responding to certain sets of noises by means of which we co-operate in living in and thus:

understanding our common world and in regulating our relations with one another ..... (Robins 1971:17).

It is here further argued that understanding a language means making abstractions from the material, to which the multiplicity of actual utterance can be referred and by which it can be explained.

This notion is expanded in Searle (1970). It is suggested here that speaking a language is essentially:

- (1) performing a speech act, that means more abstractly, referring and predicating.
- (2) These acts are in general made possible by and are performed in accordance with certain rules for the use of linguistic elements.

Linguistic communication is thus not the symbol, word or sentence, or even the token of the symbol but rather the production or issuance of the symbol or word or sentence in the production of that speech act. It is therefore intentional behaviour, with the theory of language being part of the theory of action, that is, rule governed behaviour. Searle further philosophises on the fact that by suggesting that one says what he wants to say in the way he wants to say it, but within the grammar of the language, that is, what can be meant can be said. In this sense:

A given language may not have a syntax of vocabulary rich enough for me to say what I mean in that language but there are no barriers in principle to supplementing the impoverished language or saying what I mean in richer one (Searle 1970:17).

A study of meaning is therefore synonymous with the study of speech acts. Searle (1970) further argues that:

Therefore it is in principle possible for every speech act one performs or could perform to be uniquely determined by a given sentence (or set of sentences), given the assumption that the speaker is speaking literally and that the context is appropriate (op cit:18).

This is the 'principle of expressibility' (op cit:19). This interacts with CLA (circumstances of the locutionary act) according to Garner, (1971:25). By this is meant context-intention relation on the speaker (locutionary source), and hearer (locutionary target), and the locutionary act. A suggestion is made here that, thus for a sentence utterance to make an assertion it must satisfy the following conditions:

- (1) knowledge of the language and the universe,
- (2) existence (whether concrete or abstract),
- (3) grammatical properties.

Let us look at our sentences 31(a) and (b) and 32(a-c) above and renumber as 35 and 36 respectively.

- 35a UThozi uthumele umfana incwadi  
 Thozi he-perf-send-app lad a-letter  
 Thozi sent the lad a letter
- b UThozi uthumele incwadi emfaneni  
 Thozi he-perf-send-app letter to-the-lad  
 Thozi sent the letter to the lad
- 36a Umoya uphaphathekisa ubhityo  
 The-wind it-pres-flutter-cause lean-one  
 The wind flutters/is fluttering the lean-one

- b    Ibhityo liphaphatheka emoyeni  
       The-lean-one he-pres-flutter in-wind  
       The lean one gets fluttered/is fluttering in the wind
- c    Kuphaphatheka ibhityo emoyeni  
       It-pres-flutter lean in-wind  
       The lean is fluttering in the wind

In performing different utterance acts, a speaker may perform the same propositional and illocutionary acts (as is the case with synonymy), the converse is also true. In this sense 'illocutionary and propositional acts consist characteristically in uttering words in sentences in certain contexts, under certain conditions and with certain intentions' Searle (1970:24).

One could therefore conclude that in the above pairs of sentences, the production of different utterance acts affects propositional content. (Note here that we do not in any way suggest sameness of meaning is absolute). One can expand the argument further, saying that the characteristic by grammatical form of the illocutionary act is the complete sentence, even one word sentence. In this sense the characteristic grammatical form of the propositional acts are parts of sentences. In the light of the present argument, sentences and not words are used to say things. Word order and the different morphological categories (the structure of the above sentences) therefore have a bearing on the senses of these sentences. In Searle's terms:

whenever the illocutionary force of an utterance is not explicit it can always be made explicit, (1970:68).

In sentences 35 and 36 above, therefore, different utterances acts are used to code related propositions. If one wants to focus on direction he thus chooses sentence 35(b) in preference

for 35(a). In the latter case one of the two object NPs in plus transitives is marked for locative as is the case with 35(b) instead of the benefactive as in 35(a). Note however that this tends to diminish transitivity of the clause hence 'umfana' is either marked or demarked for the nominative case. This is linked to what Searle terms 'axiom of identification' where a speaker identifies one object from other objects.

In conclusion, I suggest that the meaning of grammatical structures is both language internal and language external. These interact in various ways but which one is important or basic is a point of interest. It can thus be said too that variation of structures affect transitive relations. Although grammatical structure of sentences and context affect syntactic structures, which one is more important or basic is a subject of debate. In other words, does one limit himself to one or both? The latter is more promising. Reasons for this, as pragmatics hold, are that one not only interpret what exists but what might exist as well, in other words what one wants to exist. What we think therefore shapes what we want to believe and what we want others to believe. This is the subject of the following section.

#### 5.11 LINGUISTIC CONTEXT AND PRAGMATICS

In the previous sections, it is made clear that it is impossible to discuss language without referring to context. In this section, I wish to suggest a more convincing argument for a relationship between language and context; pragmatics and 'polysemy'. In this sense syntactic structures are seen as instantiations of pragmatically available options and polysemy. Hendrikse (1990) and Taylor (1991) are in this case primary sources of reference. Other sources relevant and to be cited whenever necessary are the following: Whorf (1956), Van Orman Quine (1960), Gazdar (1979), Hopper (1982), Lakoff (1980), Isard (1975), Bartsch (1972). These works expand one's horizons beyond the sentence. However, although emphasis here is on contextual

approaches, data from other frameworks will be accepted if helpful. Whorf reasonably notes that:

a sentence grammar will not work unless it is part of a discourse grammar, because certain factors are needed for the understanding of elements in sentences that are not available within those sentences themselves but only elsewhere in the discourse (1956:1).

Although we do not make a discourse analysis here, we hold the view that sentence semantics are not enough and that context contributes to our understanding of linguistic units. Whorf further argues that:

The structure of a human being's language influences the manner in which he understands reality and behaves with respect to it (1956: 23)..

In this sense language produces an organization of experience. This is what understanding of a situation entails. Van Orman Quine's analysis of the social aspect of language further supports the notion that language is a 'social art', that:

In acquiring it we have to depend entirely on inter subjectively available cues as to what to say and when. Hence there is no justification for collating linguistic meanings, unless in terms of men's dispositions to respond overtly to socially observable stimulations (1960:ix).

However, to the above arguments, one may add the notion of intention. As (though indirect), it might be argued, that there is an essential connection between what a person means, or intends, and what the words he uses are conventionally held to mean. This is argued in Lyons (1983:14).

Although there is a connection between what a person means and what he means to say (intention vs convention), I hold the view that this is direct and that sentences are not only 'interpreted in context, they contribute to context as well' this is argued by Isard (in Keenan, 1975:28). Minnis (1971)'s view that language should be pictured as a chess-board where no item can be added, removed or displaced without affecting the general pattern is therefore relevant.

Pragmatics, or contextual use of language is defined by Gazdar (1979:x) as: 'meaning minus semantics'. It is here further argued further that:

Sentence A pragmatically presupposes that B just in case the use of A to make a statement is appropriate (or perhaps normal) only in contexts where B is presupposed by the speaker. (Gazdar 1979:104)

and or

A proposition B is a pragmatic presupposition of a speaker in a given context just in case the speaker assumes or believes that B, assumes or believes that his audience assumes or believes that B, and assumes or believes that his audience recognizes that he is making these assumptions or has these beliefs. (op cit)

In the sentences 32(a-c) above therefore, the following is proposed:

- (a) 'umoya' is assigned responsibility by the speaker, in 32(a).
- (b) space dimension is focused in the case of the adjunct, in 32(b).

(c) the state of affairs is focused hence the predicate is fronted in 32(c).

It is worthwhile to hypothesize here that both the speaker and hearer share the same disposition, and that form, function and setting interact in grammar. A.P. Hendrikse (1990)'s article nurtures most of the insights in the present debate.

It is also argued here that the notion held by formal linguists such as Chomsky, that relations between structures can be expressed derivationally is questionable, and that

structures between which more transparent relations are reputed to exist should be accounted for in terms of non-formal cognitive notions such as those proposed in schema theory (Hendrikse 1990:333).

The transformational grammar's approach that syntactic phenomena are autonomous and independent of non-formal (i.e. pragmatic functional, semantic and conceptual) considerations, is questioned. Hendrickse suggests that transparent syntactic analysis fails when there is no one-to-one corresponding factors with syntactic factors. Here the following factors are questioned:

- (1) The transformational view that the syntactic structure of a sentence is a variant function of some more basic kernel type.
- (2) Systematic relations between sentences suggest that some sentences will be derived and others basic.

In this sense main declarative active clauses are taken to be basic because they have the least complicated simplex syntax and semantics. This standpoint is questioned in Hendrikse (1990:336). It is suggested here that:

'Even though these structures may appear to have the simplex syntax and the least complicated semantics their basicness is not uncontroversial and the notion basic sentence or basic structure seems to be an intuitive, that is, a pre-theoretical notion, more than anything else'.

It is only Keenan's (1976) elusive definition of basicness that is more useful in this case. One is here referred to 1.2.1 above for Keenan's definition of basic sentences. Structures such as 'truncated passives' as noted in 4.3.3 above further present problems.

The following structures proposed in Hendrikse (1990) are of paramount interest in this discussion.

#### 5.11.1 Subjectivization from a locative source

It is here suggested that locative constructions are multivalued in significance expressing locality in place, space and time, and that:

of all locative constructions, only those expressing locality can act as the source for the subjectivization of the locative prepositional NP's Hendrikse (1990:346).

The following examples are reproduced from Hendrikse and renumbered.

#### A Locative-locality

- 37a Utata ulala ebhedini  
 Father he-pres:sleep on:a/the bed  
 'Father sleeps on a/the bed'

- b    Ibhedi ilala utata  
       the-bed it:PRES:sleep father  
       'The bed is specifically for father to sleep on'
- 38a   Iimfama zifunda esikolweni  
       the:blind they:pres:study at:/a/the school  
       'The blind study at a/the school'
- b    Isikolo sifunda iimfana  
       the:school it:pres:study the blind  
       'The school is specifically for the blind to study at'

B    Locative-time place

- 39a   Utata ulala ebusuku  
       father he:pres:sleep at:night  
       'Father sleeps at night'
- b    Ubusuku bulala utata  
       the:night it:pres:sleep father  
       'The night is specifically for father to sleep'
- 40a   Ixhego lihlala idolophu  
       the:old:man he:pres:live in:town  
       'The old man lives in town'
- b    Idolophu ihlala ixhego  
       the:town it:pres:live an/the:old:man  
       'The town is specifically for the old man to live in'

From the above examples Hendrikse (op cit) draws the following conclusions:

- (1) Although there is no structural difference between the set of sentences, subjectivization is allowed in A but not in B.

- (2) This is a result of semantic differences in relations between the constituents of the sentences in A which does not exist between the constituent in B.
- (3) These semantic differences are the association of 'bed' and 'sleep' and the reservation of a bed for a specific person as natural. This applies to schools as well and does not seem to be the case in the sentences in B.

Hendrikse's findings are here found suspect. Firstly there is no significant difference between these sets. Secondly what Hendrickse calls erroneous are grammatical. Consider the following structures.

- 41a Imimi ilala umantshingilane, ubusuku bona utata  
The-day it-pres-sleep watch-man, the-night IT father  
'The day is for the watchman to sleep, and the night specifically for father'
- b Le dolophu ihlala ixhego  
This town it-pres-live old-man  
'In this town lives an/the old man'
- c Le vekhi iza kuhamba uSipho, le izayo uZola  
This week is to-go Sipho this it-pres-come Zola  
'In this week Sipho is going, in the coming one Zola'
- d Le yile lali ibanga udushe  
This it-this location it-pres-cause disturbances  
'This the location that causes disturbances'
- e Le nyanga uDisemba iyabagqiba abantu  
This month December it-pres-finish people  
'The December month finishes people'  
(lit: many people die during this month)

The above examples therefore render Hendrikse's arguments speculative and misconceptuous. While I agree with his argument that subjectivization is dependent on pragmatic semantic properties and is not structure dependent, his explanations are found unacceptable. In this sense role and reference seem to influence the projection of these structures.

#### 5.11.2 Semantic case function

In Hendrikse's terms the case function of the subject NPs in the (a) sentences in 37 and 38 is retained in the postponed subjects in the (b) sentences. However, a closer inspection of the role of these NPs will reveal a significant difference between the (a) and (b) sentences. In this case Hendrickse's proposal of BENEFACTIVE PURPOSE and NEUTRAL cases are more valuable and interesting arguments. The postponed NPs definitely have a benefactive significance. In this sense the case properties of the preposed NPs are shifted, that is, (instead of specifying the location where the action takes place, it has an additional case role of 'purpose' for which the location is used or a neutral case role typical of copulative predicates with nominal or adjectival complements). This argument carried further provides insights on constructions such as the following:

- 42a UJon usika isonka ngemela  
 John he-pres-cut bread with-knife  
 John cuts/is cutting bread with a knife
- b Imela isika isonka (ku-Jon)  
 The-knife it-pres-cut bread (to/in John)  
 The knife cuts bread (to/in John)

which have the underlying implications.

- c Imela yeyokusika isonka  
The-knife it-is-of-cutting bread  
The knife is specifically for cutting bread
- d Yimela esika isonka  
It-is-the-knife that-pres-cut bread  
It is the knife that specifically cuts bread
- e Yimela ekusikwa isonka ngayo  
It-is-the-knife that-pres-cut-pass bread by-it  
It is the knife that bread is cut by

In this sense the notion of purpose, usage, habituality and potentiality are noted. I therefore suggest that in the above sentences, contrary to Hendrikse, the case properties of the preposed NPs is not shifted, but rather, other case properties are added into it and highlighted or activated. In this sense context renders salient the property of purpose. The ambiguity of 42(b) and the instrumental case recoverability in 42(e) indicates this in the embedded relative sentence. In this sense the inherent locative and instrumental case relations are always retained but started differently.

### 5.11.3 Topicality and definiteness

Subjectivization has a tendency of 'topic shifting'. In the sentences 42 above the preposed NPs are analyzed as topics, have a definite reading and associated with deixis, hence their occurrence with a deictic pronoun. Hendrikse therefore correctly argues that:

The deictic force of the definiteness of the preposed NPs in 24(b) and 25(b) (my 37(b) and 38(b) seem to derive from the fact that some or other focus of contrast is involved in the meaning of these sentences. (Hendrikse 1990:348).

In sentences 24 and 25(b) (37b and 38b) 'utata' and 'iimfana' are singled out as sole users of ibhedi 'bed' and isikolo 'school'.

#### 5.11.4 Significance of the verb

It is here asserted that instead of expressing an actual, specific action or event as in 37(a) and 38(a) above, in the (b) sentences the verb expresses a potential significance. However, I suggest here that this is restricted to the present tense. Therefore, Hendrikse's assertion therefore is suspect, that:

Even if we change the tense of the verb from present to past or future, the action/event remains a potential cannot wholly be true. It is the general nature of the future to signify potential since it is not dealing with an actualized but a visualized event. In the past tense, as for the example

Isitulo sahlala umakhulu

The-chair it-past:(LONG AGO):sit grandmother

'The chair was specifically for grandmother to sit on'

There does not seem to be a potential significance in the above example (op cit:349). What is true though is the fact that, once the prepositioned NP is preposed, the verb no longer expresses an event but an attribution of that NP and that once this happens,

The construction thus seem to show some affinity with copulatives, while the verbs function like complements (op cit).

This may explain why the agent in the passive is either in copulative form or is simply deleted.

5.11.5 Typical 'basic sentences' construction involving subjectivization

Consider the following examples reproduced from Hendrikse (op cit:350) and renumbered:

- 43a Umfundi ufunda isiNgesi  
 the:pupil he:pres:study English  
 'The pupil studies English'
- b Umfundi uyafunda  
 the:pupil he-pres study  
 'The pupil studies'
- 44a Isitulo sihlala utitshala  
 the:chair it:pres:sit the:teacher  
 'The chair is specifically for the teacher to sit on'
- b\* Isitulo siyahlala <sup>1</sup>  
 the:chair it:pres:sit  
 'The chair is sitting/can sit'

It is apparent here that subjectivization from a locative source restricts the omission of NPs in 44(b) as opposed to 43(a) and (b). A further point to note in this case is that OC incorporation and the passive verbal extension are blocked from occurrence. Consider further instances of sentence 44:

- 44c\* Isitulo siyamhlala  
 the:chair it:pres:him:sit  
 'The chair sits him'

<sup>1</sup> Note here that sentence 44(b) is correct in some instances, however, meaning shifts here from 'sit' to 'last'.

44d\* Utishala uhlalwa sisitulo  
 the:teacher he:pres:sit:passive it:pres:be:the:chair  
 'The teacher is seated by the chair'

#### 5.11.6 Subject postponing

While I agree with Hendrikse that subjectivization of a prepositional NP 'essentially brings this NP into a focal position in the sentence' (op cit: 351) I disagree with him when he suggests that

To remove this NP again from this position by postponing it, would negate the semantic functional effects of this construction (op cit).

Consider the following sentence.

45 Sihlala utishala isitulo  
 it:pres:sit the:teacher the:chair  
 'It sits the teacher the chair' (op cit).

This sentence has the same syntactic operation as other sentences with postponed subjects in Xhosa just as in the grammatical structure below.

46 Utya inyama utata  
 He-pres-eat meat father  
 He eats meat, father

#### 5.11.7 Subjectivization from an instrumental source

Consider the following sentences reproduced from Hendrikse (op cit:354) and renumbered.

- 47a Utishala ubhala ileta ngosiba  
 The:teacher he:pres:write a/the:letter with:a/the:pen  
 'The teacher writes a/the letter with a/the pen'
- b Usiba lubhala utishala  
 The:pen it:pres:write the:teacher  
 'The pen is specifically for the teacher to write with'
- c Usiba lubhala ileta  
 the:pen it:pres:write the:letter  
 'The pen is specifically for writing letters'
- d Usiba lubhala utishala ileta  
 the:pen it:pres:write the:teacher the:letter  
 'The pen is specifically for the teacher to write letters (op cit).

In the above constructions the instrumental NP is preposed and, as in locative construction predicates attributes of the subjectivized NPs which is to the benefit of an implied agent. However an instrumental is different from a locative in that it predicates an attribute which relates to either an agent NP or patient NP. Also consider:

- 48a Amakhwenkwe asika ngemela  
 the:boys they:pres:cut with:a/the:knife  
 The boys cut with a/the knife
- b Imela isika amakhwenkwe  
 the:knife it:pres:cut (the):boys  
 'The knife is specifically for boys to cut with'  
 'The knife is specifically for circumcising boys'

Contrary to Hendrikse I hold the view here, that sentence 47(d) is correct and that both agent and patient can be simultaneously

coded in a sentence. However, 48(b) is a bit of a problem and creates ambiguity when an instrumental is subjectivized in that 'amakhwenkwe' is either the subject or the object. In the latter instance 'imela' is not restricted to cutting either 'by the boys' or 'the boys'. Noteworthy though is the fact that the preposed NPs are topicalized and that in instrumentals the demoted subject is still agentive when it occurs as in the second reading of 48(b).

#### 5.11.8 Case relations revisited

Here it is relevant to introduce this section with a quotation from Hendrikse (1990:358):

The case frames of verbs play a vitally important role in explicating the various relations that different NPs can enter with the verb as well as showing the nature of the relation between related sentences: and that

Each vocabulary word has associated with it a complex symbol containing four types of features: category features, contextual features, inherent features and rule features.

Of these a number of contextual features are represented by a case frame in which the cases that occur with a lexical item are shown e.g. [- Dat (ins) AGT], [- Dat-ins], [- DAT (INS) (AGT)] etc. In terms of these arguments, however, case relations cannot account for semantic pragmatic peculiarities of constructions in a straightforward manner.

However, I suggest here that case can either be marked in one of the argument or in the verbal complex. When that happens it merely marks a potential of entering into a particular relations with context filling the remaining part if there is any. Xhosa

morphology handles this problem quite well. A speaker for instance implies presence of an agent in a structure such as 49 below, as opposed to 50:

49 U-Jon uvule ucango ngesitshixo  
John he-perf-open the-door with-key  
John opened the door with a key

59 Isitshixo sivule ucango  
The-key it-perf-open door  
The key opened the door

He may also choose a passive form as in 51(a) or a neuter as in 51(b) in the case of an absence of an agent. Consider:

51a Ucango luvuliwe (implied a agent)  
The door it-perf-open-pass  
The door is opened

b Ucango luvulekile (no agent)  
The-door it-perf-open-neut  
The door is open

#### 5.11.9 Subjects as actualizers of events

Here Hendrickse correctly points out a case of 'alternating intransitives'. Consider the following sentence:

52 'John reads well' (Hendrikse 1990:360).

It is here argued that this sentence does not express an actual event. John is not reading at the moment of speaking and is not reading anything in particular. These sentences therefore are said to merely predicate John's attribute, that is, his ability or potential to read well. The sentences 53 and 54 are Xhosa equivalents of Hendrikse's examples. It is interesting to note

that such structures have morphosyntactic consequences for Xhosa. Xhosa morphology demands that such structures take a continuous present tense marker or be followed by an adjunct. Consider the following pairs of sentences.

- 53a UJon uyafunda  
 John he-pres-read  
 John reads/is reading
- b UJon ufunda kakuhle  
 John he-pres-read well  
 John reads well
- 54 UJon ufundeka kakuhle  
 John he-pres-read-neuter well  
 John can be well read

It is further interesting to note the function of the neuter verbal extension.

#### 5.11.10 Syntactic orientation as a semantic property

It is here suggested that syntactic orientation of a lexical item determines the structure of sentences. Actions can either be oriented either towards the subject or towards the object, and discontinuation of an action being due to the referent of the subject NP. The NP that is oriented towards is fronted and appears as surface subject. Verb extension effectively handles this case. In the neuter, passive, and reciprocal verbal extension the action is oriented towards the object of an underlying string and in derived transitives such as causative and applied verbal extension the action is orientated towards the subject. Consider the following pairs of sentences and compare the neuter in 55(b) with the neutral pattern in 55(a) and the causative pattern in 56(b) with 56(a).

- 55a Ubawo ufunda ibhayibhile (neutral)  
 Father he-pres-read bible  
 Father reads/is reading a/the bible
- b Ibhayibhile iyafundeka (neuter)  
 The-bible it-pres-read-neut  
 The bible is readable
- 56a Ibandla lifunda ibhayibhile (neutral)  
 The-congregation it-pres-read bible  
 The congregation reads/is reading a/the bible
- b Ubawo ufundisa ibandla ibhayibhile (causative)  
 Father he-pres-read-cause congregation bible  
 Father teaches/causes/the congregation (to read the bible)

In the causative structure, note that there is predicate raising with the action orientated no longer towards the subject of the underlying string but in addition, the subject of the causative situation.

#### 5.11.11 Meanings relativized to scenes

Emphasis is here put on universal properties of lexical structure and what linguistic organization should offer. In this sense Meanings of utterances are relativized to scenes in the sense that speaker's choose and understand expressions by having or activating in their minds scenes or images or memories of experiences within which the word or expression has a naming, describing or classifying function. Whenever a particular verb within a particular scene or image domain is used it has a bearing on the scene or image in the sense of giving a specific perspective on the scene or image (Hendrickse 1990:365).

It is here further argued:

Whenever we pick up a word or phrase, we automatically drag along with it large context or framework in terms of which the word or phrase we have chosen has an interpretation. It is as if descriptions of the meanings of elements must identify simultaneously figure and ground (op cit).

The suggestion here is that semantics should study cognitive scenes and how these are created by or activated by utterances. Let us again reproduce on sentences 32(a-c) above and renumber.

- 57a Ibhityo liphaphatheka emoyeni  
 The-lean-one he-pres-flutter in-wind  
 The lean one is fluttering in the wind
- b Ibhityo liphaphatheka ngumoya  
 The-lean-one he-pres-flutter by-wind  
 The lean gets fluttered by the wind
- c Umoya uphaphathekisa ibhityo (kuba libhityile)  
 The-wind he-pres-flutter-cause the lean-one (because he is lean)  
 The wind (causes the lean one to) flutter(s) (because he is) (lean)

The above sentences are 'stative' in significance although they contain two arguments. The lexical content of both the verb and its argument tell us how to interpret these sentences as stative and transitive low. These 'lexical' items have the following components:

Ibhityo

[ + N  
 + proper  
 + individuation  
 + singular/count  
 + referential, definite ]

umoya

[ + N  
 + individuation  
 + singular, count ]

phaphatheka

[ + V ]

It must be said that our linguistic knowledge of a verb not only includes lexical composition but the various ways in which the various parts of an event can be realized in the form of an utterance with the verb activating the entire scene. The nature of the participants also play a part in this case.

However, when the verb is re-analyzed as causative it takes two NPs one of which is foregrounded. As this entails subjectivization, the preposed NP is re-analyzed as agentive hence it is marked as such in (c) or nominative as in (a). Note that the subjectivized NP is made definite and referential. Once this grammatical function is affected transitivity is either augmented or diminished. Transitivity is therefore sensitive to grammatical relations as the subject lacks volition in sentence 57(c) which is in its underlying form stative and as such towards the affection of *ibhityo*. The tendency, however, is to augment transitivity in the derived structure.

## 5.12 CONCLUSION: SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AS PRAGMATIC OPTIONS

I conclude here in Hendrikse's terms, that syntactic structures are instantiations of pragmatic options, that

The basicness of certain linguistic structures is not a function of abstract and formal linguistic principles. Rather, it is a function of the human being's pragmatic and conceptual knowledge of the world. What human beings consider to be basic or derivative will be determined by the ways in which they construe their universe; not what suits linguists to set up consistent and descriptively adequate formal models (369-370).

One can here add that, in order to understand this basicness in a pragmatic and conceptual sense one needs to turn to a mental model of the relation between linguistic structures and one's pragmatic conceptual knowledge. A meaning of sentence is thus not a mental representation but a mental model of a state of affairs, or a construction of a situation described by the sentence. Perceptual, cognitive and cultural factors play a prominent role in this case. Our schemes for perception therefore determine which behaviour of sentences is likely to occur in a given context. This entails predicate raising and 'demotions', to use concepts from relational grammar. Human beings therefore select from several available options relative to context which structures to use. These structures may be object orientated, as in intransitive, or subject orientated as in transitives. Syntactic structures therefore represent cognitive and pragmatic options as allowed by a specific situation or event schema. The verb in this sense constitutes the focal element of a sentence. These cognitive and pragmatic perspectives are realized syntactically. Consider the following:

- 58a Umfundi ufunda incwadi (neutral)  
 The student he-pres-read book  
 The student reads/is reading a/the book
- b Incwadi iyafundeka (neuter)  
 The-book it-pres-read-neut  
 The book is readable/easy to read
- c Incwadi ifundiwe (passive)  
 The-book it-pst-read-pass  
 The book is/has been read

What is observed here, is that the difference between sentences 58(a), (b) and (c), is that speakers exercise the options with the perspective one wants to focus on by means of a choice of lexical items and a particular syntactic structure. These choices are not free completely and the selected verb imposes certain restrictions on the subsequent structural choices, not by virtue of constraints inherent in the verb but by virtue of the underlying schema it represents. A subject is selectionally related to a verb, if it occurs with an agent, the agent will be the subject as in 58(a) unless in special constructions as passives. This is normally the case in transitives. If a verb is intransitive either the patient or actor depending on whether the verb is an action or state verb will be the subject. If a verb is in the causative the causer will be the subject. In derived intransitives therefore, states, events or activities are related by foregrounding either actors or patients, in other words, such structures are patient orientated rather than agent orientated. This entails the speaker's evaluation of an event. For these reasons therefore lexical information co-occurs with various factors relative to structuralization of information. When this co-variation occurs case markings are re-analyzed. Clause structure therefore will determine whether a verb is transitive or intransitive. Transitivity or intransitivity of a verb or clause is one of several possibilities and has to be

viewed either within the domain of polysemy and as a continuum. The semantic structures assigned to utterances are focus-sensitive and tend to reflect the role of arguments or constituents of the utterance in the manipulation of context models in the processing of understanding. These context models are the mental models that speakers and hearers build of their environments.

**CHAPTER SIX****SUMMARY AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS****6.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter is a general discussion as well as a concluding summary of most of the issues raised in the last five chapters and the highlights of this work. Its main purpose is to punctuate the standpoint taken in this dissertation and to put emphasis on the more significant observations and conclusions drawn in the last five chapters. However, I am not going to make a chapter by chapter analysis rather than to raise the more pertinent issues and solutions for the issue of transitivity in broad and general terms. In this case some of the concluding remarks here are drawn from works such as Allen (1964), Alsina and Mchombo (1989), Bhatia (1982), De Kadt (1991), Hendrikse (1989), Langacker (1987), Kachru (1981), Pandharipande (1981), Taylor (1991), Verhaar and John (1990), etc. Arguments extracted from these works are weighed against Hopper and Thompson (1980)'s findings.

It is evident from the works consulted in this dissertation, that studies on 'transitivity' have been functional in approach and discourse oriented. Transitivity is thus conceived as a property of clauses rather than verbs. More important is that transitivity is distinguished in degrees along a cline, involving a number of parameters concerning argument NPs and verbs as well as pragmatic parameters of various kinds. These parameters are discussed and explained in Chapters One and Two as component parts of transitivity. My first concern in this conclusion therefore is on what has been solved and resolved. Secondly, I focus on what I find to be tentative solutions to the problem. This entails solutions which are found to inadequately handle the issue at hand. Thirdly, I re-evaluate Hopper and Thompson's

findings and the extent to which they succeed in solving the problem of transitivity. Lastly, I suggest that this theory needs updating. In this case I introduce the notion of 'polysemy' and 'meaning relatedness' and suggest that transitivity should be seen within the cognitive domain. In this instance fluidity and deviations in grammatical relations, morphological and case marking should be seen within the context of polysemy and meaning relatedness.

Such an approach does not conflict with Hopper and Thompson's findings but provides more meaning to their solutions.

## 6.2 TRANSPARENT AND MORE PREDICTABLE ISSUES

It is observed here that the dichotomy between 'transitive' and 'less transitive' is unambiguous and presents very few or no problems. Consider the sets of examples in the following sections.

### 6.2.1 The transitive construction

- 1a Indoda itya inyama  
 The-man he-pres-eat meat  
 The man eats/is eating the meat
- b Umfana ukhaba ibhola  
 The-lad he-pres-kick ball  
 The lad kicks/is kicking the ball

The above sentences are prototypical transitive structures and satisfy most of the conditions in Hopper and Thompson's study with regard to transitives. These are underlying an action verb, more than one participants (viz. subject and object), individuation of and affectation of the object, and physical and discernible change and change of location on the part of the object. Interaction of grammatical notions such as case, agency,

agreement, word order, topicality and thematic organization of information are here clear and unambiguous.

### 6.2.2 Intransitive constructions

Sentences 2(a) and 2(b) below satisfy the necessary conditions of intransitives. These are non distinct arguments, absence of agency, a single participant, no observable effect on object, non-volition and stativity. Grammatical coding of information is also unambiguous. Consider the following sets of sentences:

2a Indoda yalahleka ePitoli  
 The-man he-pst-lose in-Pretoria  
 The man got lost in Pretoria

b UDushe lwaqhambuka eBhisho  
 Trouble it-pst-start at-Bisho  
 Trouble started at Bisho.

### 6.2.3 Plus-transitive structures

This type of construction also presents limited problems for our hypothesis as a result of the presence of two NP argument following the verb. A goal and purpose relationship is also triggered and this secures an unambiguous path from source to goal. This does not conflict with change of location and affectedness constraint proposed by the transitivity hypothesis. Consider the following sets of sentences with the structure: source - path - goal.

3a Indoda ipha umntwana imali  
 The-man he-pres-give child money  
 The man gives the child money/money to the child

- b Umfazi unika umntwana ubisi  
 The-woman he-pres-give child milk  
 The woman give the child milk/milk to the child

6.2.4 Verb extensions as devices for increasing or decreasing transitivity

Verbal extension is both a transitivizing and intransitivizing process. This does not conflict with the transitivity hypothesis and presents few problems for transitivity if 'transitivity' is viewed as a continuum, and which can either be augmented or diminished by a productive mechanism, in this case verbal extension. The following examples elucidate this as further instances of sentence 1(a) above.

- NP1            V            ass  
 1b Indoda ityana nenyama  
 The-man he-pres-eat+rec with-meat  
 The man persistently eats meat
- NP1            V            loc  
 c Inyama iyatyeka (endodeni)  
 The-meat it-pres-eat-neuter (to-man)  
 Meat is eatable (to the man)
- NP1            V            cop  
 d Inyama ityiwa (yindoda)  
 The-meat it-pres-eat-pass (by-man)  
 The meat is eaten (by the man)
- NP1            V            NP2            NP3  
 e Indoda ityela umntwana inyama  
 The-man he-pres-eat-app child meat  
 The man eats/is eating meat for the child

	NP1	V	NP2	NP3
f	Indoda	ityisa	umntwana	inyama
	The-man	he-pres-eat-cause	child	meat
	The man makes/causes the child to eat meat.			

Sentences 1(b-d) are intransitivized by verb extension on the following grounds: subject demotion and restriction on post verbal NPs by marking them adverbially or copulatively or deleting them (hence they are bracketed) in 1(c) and (d). Marking is a signal of the unspecified character of the demoted subjects. This is either absence or unspecified controller subject NPs. The activated situation is stative in significance. Morphological case, and syntactic marking interact to code diminished transitivity.

Sentences (e) and (f) on the other hand are coded with all the properties of high transitivity. These are, presence of more than one distinct object NP. High degree of affectation by triggering more than one or two object NPs. An unambiguous path from source to goal, causativity and purposefulness correlate with 'change', a crucial transitivity notion. Agency is perspectivized in such constructions.

The above arguments suggest that:

- (1) Transitivity depends on a number of features.
- (2) Transitivity is a continuum, it can be raised or lowered.
- (3) Transitivity is linked either to stativity or causativity (NB causativity is here an underlying verb DO rather than a causative extension).
- (4) Transitivity is linked to thematic and pragmatic factors.

### 6.3 CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES AND TENTATIVE SOLUTIONS

The transitivity hypothesis postulates that transitivity is a matter of a continuum scale rather than a clear cut dichotomy. Clauses can be ranked as either high or low on the transitivity scale in terms of each of the ten parameters set in 1.6.2 above. A clause that has more high transitivity features is more transitive than a clause which has fewer transitivity features. These features co-vary systematically and extensively. If features are paired, clauses are either transitive or intransitive, if those features occur on the same side of the high or low transitivity scale.

The following is a list of less typical transitive constructions. Here clauses which initially took locative, possessive and instrumental NPs do not receive case assignment for these and are marked nominative. Such clauses become two or more participant clauses.

#### 6.3.1 Body part and inalienable possession

Body parts and possessives deviate from the central specification of transitivity by being accessible to the position of direct object in clauses normally rated low on the transitivity scale. These are:

##### (1) Object of stative constructions

- 4a    Indoda iyagodola                    + stative  
       The-man he-pres-get-cold  
       The man begets cold
- b     Indoda igodola umzimba            + body part NP2  
       The-man he-pres-get-cold body  
       The man gets cold by the/his body (The man's body gets cold).

(2) Object of reflexive constructions

- 5a Igqiyazana liyazibuka + reflexive  
 The-maiden she-pres-refl-admire  
 The maiden admires herself
- b Igqiyazana lizibuka amabele + refl + body part NP2  
 The-maiden she-pres-refl-admire breasts  
 The maiden admires her breasts.

(3) Object of clauses whose transitivity is reduced by verb extensions

- 6a I-ayisi imuncwa ikhrimu + pass + body part NP2  
 The-ice it-pres-lick-pass cream  
 The ice has the cream licked (The cream in the ice can be licked)
- b Imbiza iqhekeka umqheba + neut + body part NP2  
 The-pot it-pres-break-neut handle  
 The pot has its handle breaking
- c Abantwana babukana izidlele +rec + body part NP2  
 The-children they-pres-admire-rec cheeks  
 The children admire each other's cheeks.

(4) /Ku-/-insertion, locativity and possession

- 7a Kudumbe indoda umlenze + /ku-/ + body part NP2  
 It-perf-swell man leg  
 There is a man's leg swollen
- b Kudumbe indoda emlenzeni + /ku-/ + loc  
 It-perf-swell man in-leg  
 There is a man swollen by his legs

- c Kudumbe umlenze wendoda + /ku-/ + NP + poss  
 It-perf-swell leg of-man.  
 There is a man's leg swollen.

### 6.3.2 Substitution of cognates by ordinary objects

- 8a Indoda ilele ubuthongo + cog NP2  
 The-man he-perf-sleep deep-sleep  
 The man is fast asleep

- b Indoda ilele umfazi + obj NP2  
 The-man he-perf-sleep woman  
 The man slept the woman.

### 6.3.3 Unmarked locatives in the object slot

- 9a UGqozo uhlala eBisho + loc  
 Gqozo he-pres-stay at-Bisho  
 Gqozo stays/is staying at Bisho

- b IBisho lihlala uGqozo + NP2  
 Bisho it-pres-stay Gqozo  
 Bisho is specifically for Gqozo to stay

- c UGqozo uhlala iBisho +NP2  
 Gqozo he-pres-stay Bisho  
 Gqozo stays specifically at Bisho.

### 6.3.4 Subjectivization of instruments as metonymical transitivity

- 10a Utishala ubhala ngosiba + ins  
 The-teacher he-pres-write with-pen  
 The teacher writes with a pen

- b USiba lubhala utishala + NP2  
 The-pen it-pres-write teacher  
 The pen is specifically for the teacher to write with.

#### 6.3.5 Experiences as subjects and stimuli as objects

- 11a Indoda ikhumbula umfazi + NP + V + NP  
 The-man he-pres-remember woman  
 The man remembers of the woman
- b Indoda ibaleka umfazi + NP + V + NP  
 The-man he-pres-run wife  
 The man is running away from a/the woman.

#### 6.3.6 The marked dative relation

- 12a Indoda ithumela umfana incwadi + NP+V+NP+NP  
 The-man he-pres-send-app lad letter  
 The man sends/posts the lad a letter
- b Indoda ithumela incwadi emfaneni + NP+V+NP+loc  
 The-man he-pres-send-app letter to-the-lad  
 The man sends/posts a letter to the lad.

#### 6.3.7 Marked and unmarked causee agents

- 13a Indoda iqhubisa umfana imoto +NP+V+NP+NP  
 The-man he-pres-drive-cause lad car  
 The man makes/causes the lad drive a car
- b Indoda iqhubisa imoto ngomfana NP+V+NP+Ins  
 The-man he-pres-drive car by-lad  
 The man has the car driven by the lad.

### 6.3.8 Summary and implications of the above issues

What is observed in this section is that morphosyntactic marking and morphological derivation of verbs interact in signalling high or low transitivity. However, it is also observed that some clauses low in transitivity are found in the morphosyntactic trappings of high transitivity. This entails an ability to occur in two or more participants clauses, individuation of objects, assignment of subjecthood to instrumentals etc. It is also noted that sometimes there is subject-object/agent-patient anomaly as in 6.3.5 above. Thirdly, it will be noted that double transitives may have one of the two post verbal NPs unmarked as nominative. This therefore suggests that syntactic structures are sometimes in conflict with semantic conceptualization. What is interesting in this case is that semantic interpretation is not blocked.

Solutions in this case are provided in Chapters Three, Four and Five. More important of these are:

- (1) Body parts are understood to be contiguous with their possessors and thus may be accessible to the position of direct object. The tendency here is to augment transitivity of clauses.
- (2) Locatives, possessive and instrumental NPs are specific types of NPs and may assume DO position if unmarked.
- (3) When these NPs occupy DO position, they trigger metaphoric transitivity.
- (4) Ergative marking is an occurrence in Xhosa.
- (5) Locative marking on dative is not in conflict with the function of directionality typical of applicatives.

- (6) The causee agent is under the control of the agent of 'cause' and therefore may be marked for instrumental. What is interesting here is that this reduces transitivity by focusing on the inanimate direct object.
- (7) Transitivity is viewed as a continuum. Any co-relation of these high/low transitive features is expected. If it does occur it will mark a clause as either high or low in transitive value.
- (8) The more transitive an event the more likely it is to have both a visible agent and visible patient.
- (9) Changes in transitivity are reflected in the morphological case marking system.
- (10) Reduction in transitivity can be due to the following factors: less specific patient, focus not on agent, loss of control by an agent and less evidential certainty.

The transitivity hypothesis however does not predict whether any co-relation will surface either in structure or meaning. Transitivity features manifest either morphosyntactically or semantically. The hypothesis further implies that grammatical coding is open-ended. In this case one would like to draw attention to the fact that the hypothesis does not dispute nor support that clauses may entail each other with or without affecting meaning. The hypothesis also does not explain why and what the implications are when a dative is marked or unmarked. A more reasonable account of transitivity is Verhaar (1990)'s classification of verbs as IL (intransitive low), IH (intransitive high), TL (transitive low) and TH (transitive high). Such an approach may be applied to such constructions involving intransitivizing extensions as well as to transitivizing verbal extensions. IH may be used to refer to clauses involving raising of instrumentals, locatives and

possessives. TL and TH may be used for clauses whose status is either raised or lowered by affixation of certain verbal extensions. Verhaar's argument is, however, lexico-semantic. It takes us nowhere in that it implies that clauses may have a clear cut dichotomy and does not suggest whether they may be any affinity between IH and TL verbs. Furthermore, Verhaar disregards discourse phenomena as suggested in Hopper and Thompson's study.

#### 6.4 HOPPER AND THOMPSON'S HYPOTHESIS: SOME THEORETICAL QUESTIONS

In the last section it is pointed out that the basis of Hopper and Thompson's study lies in its assertion that transitivity is viewed on a cline having certain morphosyntactic, semantic and discourse signals of high or low transitivity. However, it is not clear in Hopper and Thompson's study whether transitivity will surface either in structure or meaning. I here raise some questions in relation to pertinent reflexes of transitivity and answers that are provided. These are:

- (1) Are the ten parameters equally relevant to a given morphosyntactic property of transitivity. The answer is no! Some parameters need to be refined in order to characterize various semantic differentiations that are reflected in the morphosyntax: e g volitionality and agency.
- (2) What happens when there is a contradiction? Is the hypothesis too strong? No! The hypothesis provides little answers. Co-variation is strong for instance in volition and agency but not in agent, volition and affectedness.
- (3) What are the implications of affectation? Is there a scale. The hypothesis suggests a degree.

- (4) Must not the parameters perhaps be graded in relevance and rank. For instance, affectedness is crucial, but volitionality and agency are irrelevant.
- (5) Don't we need a classification of case frames? In other words, what are the implications of their occurrence and the likelihood of occurrence and the ability to take prepositions. Definitely, grammatical categories are polysemous.
- (6) The hypothesis stipulates explicitly that a transitive case frame must involve prototypical transitive verbs. Is this stipulation usually observed? This is not stated explicitly.

I therefore suggest in this dissertation that in order to improve one's understanding of transitivity one needs to examine the following factors:

- (1) Which parameters co-vary and do not co-vary and under what conditions.
- (2) In which area of grammar each parameter is manifested.
- (3) Which parameters are relevant to a given morphosyntactic phenomenon and to what extent.
- (4) How can these parameters be refined.

The above four points are noted in 6.5 below.

#### 6.5 ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS: A COGNITIVE PRAGMATIC APPROACH

Xhosa syntax has a coding system involving four coding devices. These are word order, morphology, various constraints such as identity and co-reference as well as intonation. The former

deviations from a prototype construction. Incorporation, if it applied transformations, can also be applied to individual words than sentences and thus facilitate any deviations from any case assignment.

Polysemy permits deviations by acknowledging that, when one talks about an entity, one highlights different aspects of its constitution and it depends which domain is activated. Polysemy allows mass and multiplex conceptualizations. 'Dative' of 'goal' and 'place' are for instance polysemous. If a speaker puts emphasis on goal or recipient, an unmarked form is used while a marked form will signal directionality. All meaning is therefore pragmatic in that it involves conceptualization by human beings of their environment. Concepts are structured (represented) in the mind and any reasonable account of linguistic behaviour needs to make reference to the conceptual structures which linguistic forms conventionally symbolize. Members of a grammatical category thus do not necessarily exhibit a common set of syntactic properties. Consequently constructions need to be regarded as prototype categories with some instantiations counting as better examples of the construction than others. It is the prototype construction that is consistent, others express meanings which differ to a greater or lesser extent from the central specification, or alternatively items which fill a construction slot may diverge from the formal specification of the prototype. Taylor thus suggests:

the characterization of a construction needs to specify, not only the prototype, but also the manner and extent of permitted deviations from the prototype. In other words, the degree of productivity of a construction needs to be stated as part of its characterization (1991:200).

This permits peripheral memberships and dual allegiance. Description therefore is from a vantage point and depends on

perspectivization.

## 6.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, this dissertation does not conflict with Hopper and Thompson's hypothesis in viewing transitivity as a continuum. However, I would like to suggest that transitivity has a central specification involving two participants with both NPs having specific reference and the verb being realist, affirmative, indicative and in a reporting sense (present or past). Transitivity encompasses a number of properties and a relevant model in this case is inherited from Taylor (1991: 206). The length of such characterization should not imply a particular complexity of the semantics of a transitive clause rather than to suggest that the meaning of a construction depends on a primitive gestalt, and each of these properties are understood relative to a prior understanding of that gestalt. The gestalt in its sense does not emerge from a summation of independently conceptualized attributes. Here is the list of the properties of a prototypical instantiation of transitivity.

- (a) Two or more participants
- (b) Individuation
- (c) Agency > subject > topic
- (d) Volition, control and humanness
- (e) Effect on patient and intention of subject
- (f) Perceptible change to an onlooking observer after the event
- (g) Punctuality
- (h) Direct physical contact and immediate effect
- (i) A causative component
- (j) Adversive relationship between agent and patient
- (k) Events are real, not imaginary, or hypothetical or counterfactual.

The more a clause deviates from this specification the less transitive it is going to be. The converse is true for the

prototype single participant clauses as a result of certain morphosyntactic codings. Morphosyntactic markings activate certain semantic conceptualizations and perspectivization which might signal high or low transitivity. I will here give two sets of less typical issues to support our argument. These are; locative object and direct object, marked and unmarked.

- 14(a)      Umfazi uhlala endlwini      marked  
 The-woman he-pres-stay in-house  
 The woman stays in doors
- 14(b)      Umfazi uhlala indlu      unmarked  
 The-woman she-pres-stay house  
 The woman stays specifically in the house
- 14(c)      Indlu ihlala umfazi  
 The-house it-pres-stay woman  
 The house is specifically for the woman to stay  
 in  
 or
- 15(a)      USipho usika inyama  
 Sipho he-pres-cut meat  
 Sipho cuts/is cutting the meat
- 15(b)      USipho usika enyameni  
 Sipho he-pres-cut at-meat  
 Sipho cuts/is cutting at the meat.

I conclude here that locative and instrumental morphological markings on the object nouns reduces transitivity by perspectivizing direction and thus the marked NPs are not viewed as distinct from the event. This therefore backgrounds affectation. In the unmarked NPs transitivity is focused since the unmarked NPs, even if they are locative in significance are individuated and viewed separately from the event. Affectation

is thus highlighted in that perspectivization is on the effect of entering the house in the structures:

indlu ihlala umfazi  
or  
umfazi uhlala indlu.

In the above examples transitivity is augmented since specifically staying in a house is cognitively viewed as altering its condition and therefore occupying the house is an effected action.

#### 6.7 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- (1) Syntactic factors and semantic factors do not have a one to one correspondence. This affects transitive relations.
- (2) Controversial issues are resolved by a cognitive approach to meaning.
- (3) Transitivity entails correlation between grammatical and pragmatic factors.
- (4) Transitivity is not a simple discrete phenomenon which is either present or absent.
- (5) Transitive structures have a central specification, and any deviation from this is to be understood within the domain of polysemy.
- (6) Grammatical relations are polysemous, this involves actions, agents, case relations, effect, cause and control etc.
- (7) Affectedness is gradient and may not be a strong feature as it appears.

- (8) Prototypical constructions highlight inherent properties of transitive relations.
- (9) Meaning does not occur outside human purpose and intention.
- (10) Linguistic reality in syntactic structures is governed by the human being's pragmatic and conceptual knowledge together with the particular orientation or perspective which is allowed by a specific situation or event schema activated by that expression. Xhosa morphology handles this adequately and when it manifests itself it marks a clause as either high or low in transitive value.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

-	:	minus
+	:	plus
*	:	ungrammatical, semantically odd/deviant
#	:	Entail
A/AGT	:	Agent/Agency
A.C.P.	:	Advancement Continuity Principle
A.H.	:	Accessibility hierarchy
Abstr	:	Abstract
acc.	:	Accusative case
ACP	:	Advancement continuity principle
ACT	:	Active voice
Aff	:	Affix
AH	:	Accessibility hierarchy
Ans/A.	:	Answer
app	:	Applied form of the verb
Ascr.	:	Ascriptive
Ass	:	Assistive
Ass	:	Associative adverbs
B/Subject/b-subject	:	Basic subject
B/sentence/b-Sentence	:	Basic sentence
Ben.	:	Benefactive
C.R.	:	Conjunction reduction rule

**361.**

<b>cause</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Causative form of the verb</b>
<b>CLA</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Circumstances of the locutionary act</b>
<b>Cog.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Cognate object</b>
<b>Comp.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Compliment</b>
<b>Cop</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Copulative</b>
<b>D.O.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Direct object</b>
<b>dat/DAT</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Dative case</b>
<b>def.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>definite</b>
<b>F</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Form</b>
<b>FSP</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Functional succession principle</b>
<b>FSP</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Functional succession principle</b>
<b>I.H.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Intransitive high</b>
<b>I.L.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Intransitive low</b>
<b>I.O.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Indirect Object</b>
<b>I.V.P.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Intransitive verb phrase</b>
<b>Indef.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Indefinite</b>
<b>INS/INSTR/Ins/Instr</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Instrumental case (form)</b>
<b>intr/intrans</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>intransitive</b>
<b>IP</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Instrumental preposing</b>
<b>L-dislocation</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Left dislocation</b>
<b>LF</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Logical form</b>
<b>Loc</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Locative form</b>
<b>N.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Noun</b>
<b>N.P.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Noun phrase</b>

**362.**

Neut	:	Neuter
nom.	:	Nominative case
NP	:	Noun Phrase/Noun
O/obj	:	Object
O	:	One object less verbal extensions
O.C.	:	Object concord/affix
Object of Comp.	:	Object of Compliment
Obl.	:	Oblique Phrase
P.S.H.	:	Promotion to Subject Hierarchy
P.V.P.	:	Passive verb phrase
P-marker	:	Phrase marker
pass	:	Passive form of the verb
pass.	:	Passive
Pat	:	Patient
PC	:	Cause proposition
Pe	:	Effect proposition
Perf	:	Perfect tense form
Pl	:	Cause
Pl.	:	Plural
Poss.	:	Possessive
Pref	:	Prefix
Pres	:	Present tense form
Pres	:	Present tense form
Proc.	:	Process

**363.**

<b>Pst</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Past tense form</b>
<b>PVP</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Passive verb phrase</b>
<b>Ques/Q.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Question</b>
<b>R-dislocation</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Right dislocation</b>
<b>rec</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Reciprocal form of the verb</b>
<b>refl.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Reflexive</b>
<b>S/subj.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Subject</b>
<b>S.C.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Subject concord</b>
<b>S.P.L.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Subject properties list</b>
<b>Sing</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Singular</b>
<b>SPL</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Standard predicate Logic</b>
<b>Subj</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Subjective mood</b>
<b>T.H.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Transitive high</b>
<b>T.I.H.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Topicality implication hierarchy</b>
<b>T.L.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Transitive low</b>
<b>T.P.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Topic prominence</b>
<b>T-Grammar</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Transformational grammar</b>
<b>T-pass</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>passive transformation</b>
<b>tr/trans.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>transitive</b>
<b>TS</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Topic Shift</b>
<b>V</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Verb</b>
<b>Va verb</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>transitive verb</b>
<b>Va verb</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>intransitive verb</b>

**364.**

**Vtr.**

**:** **Transitive verb**

**[0]**

**:** **Empty slot/category**