3. Alternations

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the view that the behaviour of a verb, particularly with respect to the expression and interpretation of its arguments, is to a large extent determined by its meaning, was expounded. The shared components of meaning within a class determine the argument structure of the predicate.

Verbs as argument-taking elements, show especially complex sets of properties. These properties include the occurrence of verbs with a range of possible combinations of arguments and adjuncts in various syntactic expressions. The arguments which appear with a verb in a sentence construction may change their syntactic positions when the construction is paraphrased. In Chapter 2 the focus of discussion was the relationship between the predicate and its arguments. As far as the syntactic relationship is concerned, the variation occurred mainly between the internal arguments while the external argument maintained a constant subject position. The syntactic variation in the expression of arguments, sometimes accompanied by changes in meaning, is referred to as alternation and it is this concept that will form the discussion of the present chapter. Some of the syntactic alternations that verbs may participate in are i.a. dative alternations, fulfilling alternations, sum of money subject alternations and possession alternations. Due to the nature and scope of this work, only the alternations which have been mentioned here will be dealt with in this discussion.

In dealing with this topic, a wider scope of syntactic variation between the arguments will be considered which will affect the external argument much more
than it was affected in the previous chapter. Here, again, the semantic shift which accompanies the alternations will be highlighted and discussed.

### 3.2 Dative alternation

Dative alternations belong to one of the major classifications which cover alternate expressions of VP-internal arguments that do not affect a verb’s transitivity, i.e. dative alternations do not have an intransitive counterpart. All of these alternations are displayed by ditransitive verbs and not by monotransitive verbs. Dative alternations arise because the verbs which participate in this alternation allow more than one way of expressing their arguments. For instance the PAS of a verb may have a *recipient + theme* role combination in its internal arguments. Dative alternation allows such arguments to have the thematic role combination of *theme + location*. In this case there is a distinct variation in the syntactic ordering of the internal arguments where the secondary argument, which normally takes its position adjacent to the verb, is subsequently taken to the end of the sentence, whereas the primary argument takes up the position of the secondary argument. This syntactic variation is accompanied by a change in the thematic role combination of the internal arguments where the *recipient* is subsequently expressed as *location*.

In English, dative alternations are characterised by an alternation between the prepositional frame [NP1 V NP2 to NP3] and the double object frame [NP1 V NP3 NP2]. These alternations occur i.a. with verbs of change of possession, among them, *give verbs*, *verbs of future having*, *bring and take verbs*, *send verbs*, *slide verbs*, *carry verbs*, *drive verbs*, *verbs of throwing*, *verbs of transfer of a message* and *verbs of instrument of communication*. The following English examples demonstrate how this alternation takes place:
1. a. [They] lent [a bicycle] [to me]
   
b. [They] lent [me] [a bicycle]

In sentence a. the prepositional frame

\[ \text{NP1 V NP2 to NP3} \]

is displayed. In sentence b. the alternation occurs as a double object frame

\[ \text{NP1 V NP3 NP2} \]

In this alternation, the NP which is the object of the preposition to in the prepositional frame turns up as the first object in the double object construction. This alternation can be schematically represented as follows:

2. \[ \text{[NP1] V [NP2] [to NP3]} \]
   \[ \text{[NP1] V [NP3] [NP2]} \]

In Xitsonga, unlike in English, the basic syntactic form of a ditransitive verb is the double object frame, V NP NP. Ditransitive verbs appear in predicates which have two internal arguments, e.g.

3. a. Khamba ri-nyika **maphorisa vumbhoni**
   5thief 5SC-give-PRS 6police 14evidence
   (The thief gives the police evidence)

The lexical entry of this verb may have the following features with its associated theta-grid:
Morphophonological: -nyik-
Categorial: [+V, +N]
Subcategorisation: [____NP NP]
Theta-grid: è1 è2 è3

è1 stands for the external argument while è2 and è3 stand for the two internal arguments of the ditransitive verb nyika (give) which have the grammatical function of secondary and primary object respectively.

Syntactically the secondary object is the noun phrase immediately adjacent to the verb, i.e. maphorisa. The primary object is the NP which follows the secondary object, i.e. vumbhoni. In support of the fact that this is the basic syntactic structure, the two objects may not be interchanged in the surface structure as in the example below, as the sentence becomes ungrammatical:

3. b. *Khamba ri-nyika vumbhoni maphorisa
   5thief 5SC-give-PRS 14evidence 6police
   (The thief gives evidence to the police)

Dative alternation may only occur in these objects when the secondary object becomes an NPLoc as in the example below:

4. a. Khamba ri-nyika maphorisa vumbhoni >
   5thief 5SC-give-PRS 6police 14evidence
   (The thief gives the police evidence)

   b. Khamba ri-nyika vumbhoni emaphoriseni
   5thief 5SC-give-PRS 14evidence LOC-6police
   (The thief gives evidence to the police)
Also, when the ditransitive verb is used with the passive, in the D-structure, the order of the internal arguments is that the secondary object follows immediately after the verb and the primary object comes last, e.g.

c. Ku-nyikiwa **maphorisa vumbhoni**
   Indefinite-give-PASS-PRS 6police 14evidence
   (It is given to the police evidence)

It is from this basic structure that the following sentence constructions are formulated:

d. **Vumbhoni** byi-nyikiwa **maphorisa**
   14evidence 14SC-give-PASS-PRS 6police
   (Evidence is given to the police)

   OR

e. Maphorisa ya-nyikiwa **vumbhoni**
   6police 6SC-give-PASS-PRS 14evidence
   (The police are given evidence)

Dative alternation (non-passive forms) here can be schematically represented as follows:

5. \[ \text{[NP1]} \ V \quad \text{[NP2]} \ [\text{NP3}] \]

\[ \text{[NP1]} \ V \quad \text{[NP3]} \ [\text{NP2Loc}] \]
It is clear in this schematic representation that the dative alternation occurs within the VP internal arguments. The normal syntactic order of these arguments is that the secondary object is succeeded by the primary object. In the alternate form the primary object comes first followed by the secondary object which now appears as a locative.

The locative phrase may appear with the element eka-. The complements of this preposition may i.a. be the following:

*the NP must be a class 1a, 2a or 2 noun:

6. personal nouns : eka Ximbani
   (at Ximbani’s)

7. kinship nouns : eka va-malume
   (at my uncles’)

8. a. human : eka vasweki
   (at the cooks’ place)

   *the NP may be a pronoun:

   b. pronouns : eka hina
     (at our place)

When any other NP appears with the element eka- as in examples 6-8 above, a nominal modifier has to appear with an NP:

9. a. Nhvana u-hakela mali *eka hofisi
1girl 1SC-pay-PRS 6money LOC-9office
(The girl pays money at the office)

BUT

b. Nhwna u-hakela mali eka hofisi ya rhente
1girl 1SC-pay-PRS 6money LOC-9office POSS-9rent
(The girl pays money at the rent office)

The locative NP with (e-/ -ini) occurs generally with non-class 1a and 2a nouns, e.g.

10. Murimi u-hlenga mali ehosini/ ekerekeni
1farmer 1SC-contribute-PRS 6money LOC-9king/ LOC-9church
(The farmer contributes money to the king/ to the church)

11. Murimi u-hakela mali exikolweni
1farmer 1SC-pay-PRS 6money LOC-7school
(The farmer pays money to the school)

It is clear thus far that some specific rules can be formulated for the locative which distinguish between the element eka- and the NPLoc with the e-/ -ini morphemes.

Class 1a and 2a nouns unquestionably appear as the complement of the element eka- in the locative phrase:

12. eka kokwana eka Golele
(at granny's) (at the Goleles')
The rest of the nouns can occur either as the complement of the element eka- or with the NPLoc with e/-ini morphemes.

This distinction is of interest to the formation of the locative, but it is insignificant to the operation of dative alternation, because it does not affect the semantic interpretation of the locative.

The following sentences allow the occurrence of dative alternation. The verbs are selected from give verbs and verbs of future having:

3.2.1 Give verbs

13. a. Wanuna u-nyika wansati ntsako>
   1man 1SC-give-PRS 1woman 3joy
   (The man gives the woman joy)

   b. Wanuna u-nyika ntsako eka wansati
   1man 1SC-give-PRS 3joy LOC-1woman
   (The man gives joy to the woman)

14. a. Ritlatla u-ha mutswari rirhandzu>
   1PN 1SC-give-PRS 1parent 5love
   (Ritlatla gives the parent love)

   b. Ritlatla u-ha rirhandzu emutswarini
   1PN 1SC-give-PRS 5love LOC-1parent
   (Ritlatla gives love to the parent)
15. a. Dosi u-hakela *vatirhi muholo* >  
1PN 1SC-pay-PRS 2workers 3wages  
(Dosi pays the workers wages)  

b. Dosi u-hakela *muholo eka vatirhi*  
1PN 1SC-pay-PRS 3wages LOC-2workers  
(Dosi pays wages to the workers)  

16. a. Muongori u-phakela *vavabyi nyama* >  
1nurse 1SC-serve-APL-PRS 2patients 9meat  
(The nurse serves patients meat)  

b. Muongori u-phakela *nyama evavabyini*  
1nurse 1SC-serve-APL-PRS 9meat LOC-2patients  
(The nurse serves meat to the patients)  

17. a. Nsinya wu-nyika *swimilani ndzhuti* >  
3tree 3SC-give-PRS 8plants 3shade  
(The tree gives plants shade)  

b. Nsinya wu-nyika *ndzhuti eka swimilani*  
3tree 3SC-give-PRS 3shade LOC-8plants  
(The tree gives shade to the plants)  

18. a. Nsimu yi-hakela *hosi mavele* >  
9field 9SC-pay-PRS 9king 6mealies  
(The field pays the king mealies)  

b. Nsimu yi-hakela *mavele ehosini*
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9field 9SC-pay-PRS 6mealies LOC-9king
(The field pays mealies to the king)

19. a. Mpfula yi-ha **swimilani timinerali** >
9rain 9SC-give-PRS 8plants 10minerals
(Rain gives plants minerals)

b. Mpfula yi-ha **timinerali eka swimilani**
9rain 9SC-give-PRS 10minerals LOC-8plants
(Rain gives minerals to the plants)

20. a. Nambu wu-phakela **masimu mati** >
3river 3SC-supply-APL-PRS 6fields 6water
(The river supplies the fields water)

b. Nambu wu-phakela **mati emasin'wini**
3river 3SC-supply-APL-PRS 6water LOC-6fields
(The river supplies water to the fields)

A. **Semantic interpretation of internal arguments**

The secondary internal argument is generally interpreted as recipient because it is the entity which receives something from the subject. The primary object on the other hand is largely interpreted as theme in the sense that it is the entity which changes possession and which `moves' from the ownership of the subject to that of the secondary object, e.g.

21. Ngati yi-phakela **miri swakudya**
9blood 9SC-supply-PRS 3body 8food
(Blood supplies the body food)
In this example *miri* (body) is accordingly the **recipient** whereas *swakudy* is the **theme**. The secondary object may also be interpreted as **benefactive** because the argument *miri* in this example benefits from the action expressed by the predicate.

However, in the example below, the secondary object will have a **malefactive** reading because this time it is disadvantaged by the action expressed by the predicate:

22. Nereta yi-nyika **miri vuvabyi**
   9syringe 9SC-give-PRS 3body 14disease
   (A syringe gives the body a disease)

The presence of a [-animate] feature does not affect the interpretation of the internal argument, e.g.

23. Nambu wu-phakela **masimu mati**
   3river 3SC-supply-APL-PRS 6fields 6water
   (The river supplies the fields water)

In the dative alternation the secondary internal argument is still interpreted as **recipient**. However, the additional meaning of **location** is made possible:

24. Muvabyi u-hakela **mbuti en'angeni**
   1patient 1SC-pay-PRS 9goat LOC-9witchdoctor
   (The patient pays a goat at the witchdoctor's)

25. Nsinya wu-nyika **ndzhuti eka swimilani**
   3tree 3SC-give-PRS 3shade LOC-8plants
(The tree gives shade to the plants)

The interpretation of the primary internal argument remains the same after dative alternation, theme (see mbuti and ndzhuti in the foregoing examples).

B. Summary

The internal arguments can appear with [+ animate] features. A change in the features of these arguments often gives rise to ambiguous sentences:

If a sentence has a combination of [+animate] ([+A]) and [-animate] ([−A]) features an ambiguous reading of the sentence results, e.g.

26. a. Manana u-phamela swisiwana swakudya  
    1mother 1SC-serve-APL-PRS 8poor 8food  
    (Mother serves the poor food)

   b. Manana u-phamela swakudya eswisiwaneni  
    1mother 1SC-serve-APL-PRS 8food LOC-8poor  
    (Mother serves food among the poor)

The ambiguity is that the secondary object in the dative alternation can be interpreted as recipient and location.

A combination of the features [+A] [+A] in the internal arguments also results in the ambiguous interpretation of the secondary object as recipient and location:

27. a. Muvabyi u-hakela n'anga mbuti  
    1patient 1SC-pay-PRS 9witchdoctor 9goat  
    (The patient pays the witchdoctor a goat)
b. Muvabyi u-hakela mbuti en'angeni
   1patient 1SC-pay-PRS 9goat LOC-9witchdoctor
   (The patient pays a goat at the witchdoctor's)

When the internal arguments appear with the feature combination [-A] [+A],
dative alternation is not allowed. Consider the following examples:

28. a. N'anga yi-nyika nambu n'wana >
      9witchdoctor 9SC-give-PRS 3river 1child
      (The witchdoctor gives the river a child)

   b. *N'anga yi-nyika n'wana enambyeni
      9witchdoctor 9SC-give-PRS 1child LOC-3river
      (The witchdoctor gives the child at the river)

The problem here is that when the secondary object is forced into dative
alternation, it loses the meaning of recipient and assumes the reading of
location only. The object n’wana is still the primary object and it is still the theme.
The sentence lacks a secondary object with the reading recipient (i.e. the river is
a location and no longer a recipient).

When both internal arguments display a [-A] feature the NPLoc in dative
alternation is interpreted ambiguously as recipient and location. The
interpretation is the same irrespective of whether the secondary object is under
human control or not, e.g.

29. a. Vatswari va-nyika xikolo mali >
      2parents 2SC-give-PRS 7school 6money
      (The parents give the school money)
b. Vatswari va-nyika *mali exikolweni*
   2parents 2SC-give-PRS 6money LOC-7school
   (The parents give money to the school/ at school)

30. a. Nambu wu-phakela *masimu mati* >
   3river 3SC-supply-APL-PRS 6fields 6water
   (The river supplies the fields water)

   b. Nambu wu-phakela *mati emasin'wini*
   3river 3SC-supply-APL-PRS 6water LOC-6fields
   (The river supplies water to/ in the fields)

The interpretation of the verb *lomba* is particularly interesting. In isolation the verb is rather ambiguously interpreted as *borrow* (a *get* verb) or *lend* (a *give* verb). When the locative frame is used, it is a *get* verb which means *borrow* e.g.

31. a. Mudyondzisi u-lomba *n'wana buku*
   1teacher 1SC-lend-PRS 1child 9book
   (The teacher lends the child a book)

The alternation will read as follows:

   b. Mudyondzisi u-lomba *buku en'waneni*
   1teacher 1SC-lend-PRS 9book LOC-1child
   (The teacher *borrows* a book from the child)

When this verb is used in the basic form as in a. above, the secondary internal argument can be interpreted as *recipient*. In dative alternation its locative counterpart is interpreted as *source*. 
There is thus no ambiguity between recipient and source. However, there are instances where a reading of location is possible, bringing about ambiguity between source and location, e.g.

32. a. Muvatli u-lomba vumakelo muchini >
   1sculptor 1SC-lend-PRS 14factory 3machine
   (The sculptor lends the factory a machine)

   b. Muvatli u-lomba muchini evumakelweni
   1sculptor 1SC-lend-PRS 3machine LOC-14factory
   (The sculptor borrows the machine at the factory, or)
   (The sculptor borrows the machine from the factory)

From the discussion above it is clear that (except for the verb lomba which behaves differently from the others semantically) all the give verbs can appear in the dative alternation and semantically behave in much the same way, creating ambiguity between recipient and source or location and source.

It was mentioned earlier that verbs of future having also participate in dative alternation. The following examples demonstrate its occurrence:

3.2.2 Verbs of future having

33. a. Wanuna u-tshembisa jaha nyiko >
   1man 1SC-promise-CAUS-PRS 1boy 9gift
   (The man promises the boy a gift)

   b. Wanuna u-tshembisa nyiko eka jaha
   1man 1SC-promise-CAUS-PRS 9gift LOC-1boy
   (The man promises a gift to the boy)
34. a. Xitlhangoma u-kolota xikolo nhlamuselo >
1PN 1SC-owe-PRS 7school 9explanation
(Xitlhangoma owes the school an explanation)

b. Xitlhangoma u-kolota nhlamuselo exikolweni
1PN 1SC-owe-PRS 9explanation LOC-7school
(Xitlhangoma owes an explanation to the school)

35. a. Phorisa ri-rihisa muchayeri R500 >
5policeman 5SC-fine-CAUS-PRS 1driver R500
(The policeman fines the driver R500)

b. Phorisa ri-rihisa R500 eka muchayeri
5policeman 5SC-fine-CAUS-PRS R500 LOC-1driver
(The policeman fines R500 to the driver)

36. a. Hosi yi-tiyisisile valanguteri ntirho >
9king 9SC-guarantee-INTSV-PFT 2guards 3work
(The king guaranteed the guards work)

b. Hosi yi-tiyisisile ntirho eka valanguteri
9king 9SC-guarantee-INTSV-PFT 3work LOC-2guards
(The king guaranteed work to the guards)

37. a. Mapapa ya-tshembisile tiko mpfula >
6clouds 6SC-promise-CAUS-PFT 5land 9rain
(The clouds promised the land rain)
b. Mapapa ya-tshembisile **mpfula etikweni**
6clouds 6SC-promise-CAUS-PFT 9rain LOC-5land
(The clouds promised rain to the land)

38. a. Vukhongeri byi-kolota **swisiwana vutomi** >
14religion 14SC-owe-PRS 8poor 14life
(Religion owes the poor life)

  b. Vukhongeri byi-kolota **vutomi eswisikaneni**
14religion 14SC-owe-PRS 14life 8poor
(Religion owes life to the poor)

39. a. Baku ri-tiyisisile **vahloti vutumbelo** >
5cave 5SC-guarantee-INTSV-PFT 2hunters 14hiding place
(The cave guaranteed the hunters a hiding place)

  b. Baku ri-tiyisisile **vutumbelo eka vahloti**
5cave 5SC-guarantee-INTSV-PFT 14hiding place LOC-2hunters
(The cave guaranteed a hiding place for the hunters)

**A. Semantic interpretation of arguments**

The normal syntactic order of the internal arguments of verbs of **future having** is that the secondary object succeeds the verb immediately and is followed by the primary object, e.g.

40. Wanuna u-tshembisa **jaha nyiko**
1man 1SC-promise-CAUS-PRS 1boy 9gift
(The man promises the boy a gift)
The secondary object can have a [+ animate] feature. See the example above for a [+A] feature and the following example for a [-A] feature:

41. Mapapa ya-tshembisile tiko mpfula
    6clouds 6SC-promise-CAUS-PFT 5country 9rain
    (The clouds promised rain to the country)

Whether the secondary internal argument has a [+animate] or a [-animate] feature, it is interpreted as recipient. The primary internal argument on the other hand is interpreted as theme.

After dative alternation the interpretation of the primary object remains the same, viz. theme:

42. a. Wanuna u-tshembisa nyiko eka jaha
    1man 1SC-promise-CAUS-PRS 9gift LOC-1boy
    (The man promises a gift to the boy)

    b. Mapapa ya-tshembisile mpfula etikweni
        6clouds 6SC-promise-CAUS-PFT 9rain LOC-5country
        (The clouds promised rain to the country)

The interpretation of the secondary object also stays as recipient. However, an extra meaning of location is added:

43. a. ... emasin’wini
    ... (to/ at the fields)

    b. ... eka vahloti
        ... (to/ at the hunters’)

B. Summary

Verbs of future having behave just like give verbs syntactically. They take internal arguments with both [+ animate] features. A change in the features of these arguments often gives rise to ambiguous sentences:

If a sentence has a combination of [+A] [-A] features an ambiguous reading of the sentence results, e.g.

44. a. Wanuna u-tshembisa **hahani nyiko**  >  
    1man 1SC-promise-CAUS-PRS 1aunt 9gift  
    (The man promises a gift to aunt)

   b. Wanuna u-tshembisa **nyiko eka hahani**  
    1man 1SC-promise-CAUS-PRS 9gift LOC-1aunt  
    (The man promises a gift at aunt's)

The ambiguity is that the secondary object in the dative alternation can be interpreted as recipient or as location.

A combination of the features [+A] [+A] in the internal arguments also results in the ambiguous interpretation of the secondary object as recipient and location in the dative alternation:

45. a. Wanuna u-kolota **Mathye nsati**  >  
    1man 1SC-owe-PRS 1PN 1wife  
    (The man owes Mathye a wife)

   b. Wanuna u-kolota **nsati eka Mathye**
When the internal arguments appear with the feature combination [-A] [+A], dative alternation occurs as follows:

46. a. Xikwembu xi-tshembisile misava swihari >
7god 7SC-promise-CAUS-PFT 4earth 8animals
(God promised the earth animals)

b. Xikwembu xi-tshembisile swihari emisaveni
7god 7SC-promise-CAUS-PFT 8animals LOC-4earth
(God promised animals to the earth)

47. a. Xikwembu xi-tiyisisile ntanga valanguteri >
7god 7SC-guarantee-INTSV-PFT 3garden 2caretakers
(God guaranteed the garden caretakers)

b. Xikwembu xi-tiyisisile valanguteri entangeni
7god 7SC-guarantee-INTSV-PFT 2caretakers 3garden
(God guaranteed caretakers to/ at the garden)

The primary object has the meaning of theme whilst the secondary object is interpreted as recipient. When the secondary object is forced into dative alternation, it adds another meaning of location. The primary object retains the meaning of theme.

When both internal arguments display a [-A] feature, the primary object is interpreted as theme while the secondary object is interpreted as recipient.
However, the NPLoc in dative alternation is interpreted ambiguously as recipient and location.

The interpretation is the same irrespective of whether the secondary object is under human control or not. Consider the sentences below:

48. a. Xitlhangoma u-kolota xikolo mali >  
1PN 1SC-owe-PRS 7school 9money  
(Xitlhangoma owes the school money)

b. Xitlhangoma u-kolota mali exikolweni  
1PN 1SC-owe-PRS 9money LOC-7school  
(Xitlhangoma owes money at/ to the school)

49. a. Mapapa ya-tshembisile masimu mpfula >  
6clouds 6SC-promise-CAUS-PFT 6fields 9rain  
(The clouds promised the fields rain)

b. Mapapa ya-tshembisile mpfula emasin'wini  
6clouds 6SC-promise-CAUS-PFT 9rain 6fields  
(The clouds promised rain at/ to the fields)

Another syntactic alternation in which verbs may participate is the fulfilling alternation.
3.3 Fulfilling alternation

Verbs of fulfilling are those verbs where "X gives something to Y that Y deserves, needs, or is worthy of". These verbs express their arguments in the pattern \([\text{NP1}] \ V \ [\text{NP2}] \ [\text{to NP3}]\).

This pattern is typical of verbs of change of possession. The other variant of fulfilling alternation involves the frame \([\text{NP1}] \ V \ [\text{NP3}] \ [\text{with NP2}]\). Here follows an example of how this alternation works in English:

50. a. The judge presented a [prize] [to the winner]

b. The judge presented the [winner] [with a prize]

In the first frame (as in sentence a.), the goal argument is expressed in the prepositional phrase whereas in the variant form (as in sentence b.) the theme argument is expressed in the prepositional phrase. The schematic representation of this alternation is as follows:

51. \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[NP1]} & \ V & \text{[NP2]} \\
\text{[NP1]} & \ V & \text{[NP3Loc]} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[NP1]} & \ V & \text{hi NP2} \\
\end{array}
\]

In Xitsonga there are no verbs from the set of verbs of fulfilling which satisfy the specifications of the fulfilling alternation as in the scheme in 51 above. When the primary object is forced to be the complement of hi- with the meaning of instrument, ungrammatical sentences are generated:

52. a. Mulanguteri u-humesa tiyunifomo ejele >

1warder 1SC-issue-CAUS-PRS 10uniforms LOC-5jail
(The warder issues uniforms in jail)

b. *Mulonguteri u-humesa tiyunifomo hi jele
   1warder 1SC-issue-CAUS-PRS 10uniforms with 5jail
   (The warder issues uniforms with the jail)

Another type of syntactic alternation that verbs may participate in is the **sum of money** alternation.

### 3.4 Sum of money alternation

In this alternation the sum of money that is involved in certain financial transactions can optionally be expressed as the subject of certain verbs describing such transactions. For instance the English statement in sentence a. below can be reformulated as the one in b. as follows:

53. a. Mother will buy a dress for R200 >  

b. R200 will buy a dress

The sum **R200** was substituted for **Mother** as the subject of the sentence. This phenomenon is found with those verbs of **obtaining** where the process of obtaining involves the transfer of money. When these verbs take a **sum of money** subject, this sum is understood to be sufficient to allow the transaction to take place. This alternation can be represented differently schematically:

54.  
   \[ [\text{NP1}] \quad \text{V} \quad [\text{NP2}] \quad [\text{NP3}] \quad \text{V} \quad [\text{NP2}] \]
In Xitsonga this phenomenon occurs freely with a wider variety of verb types among them, get verbs, exchange verbs and equip verbs.

The following are possible alternations within the different groups of verbs:

Firstly, it occurs with ditransitive verbs which have as one of their internal arguments, the sum of money in the following sentences:

55. a. Muthori u-hakela vatirhi R200 >
1employer 1SC-pay-PRS 2workers R200
(The employer pays workers R200)

b. R200 yi-hakela vatirhi
R200 9SC-pay-PRS 2workers
(R200 pays the workers)

56. a. Manana u-longisa vaxambili R50 >
1mother 1SC-equip-CAUS-PRS 2travellers R50
(Mother equips travellers with R50)

b. R50 yi-longisa vaxambili
R50 9SC-equip-CAUS-PRS 2travellers
(R50 equips the travellers)

In these sentences the sum of money initially appears as the primary object NP at the end of the sentence. In the alternate form the sum of money takes the sentence initial position where it acts as the subject. The original semantic subject is deleted from the surface structure while the secondary object NP keeps its initial position immediately after the verb. Consider the following sentences:
57. a. Hahani u-dyisa Molefe *tipondho timbirhi*  
1Aunt 1SC-feed-CAUS-PRS 1PN 10pounds two  
(Aunt makes Molefe to feed himself with two pounds)

b. *Tipondho timbirhi* ti-dyisa Molefe  
10pounds two 10SC-feed-CAUS-PRS 1PN  
(Two pounds feeds Molefe)

58. a. Feme yi-phakela swisiwana *R5000*  
9firm 9SC-distribute-APL-PRS 8the poor R5000  
(The firm distributes R5000 to the poor)

b. *R5000* yi-phakela swisiwana  
R5000 9SC-distribute-APL-PRS 8the poor  
(R5000 is distributed to the poor)

3.4.1 The occurrence of sum of money alternation with get verbs

The following scheme indicates how the sum of money alternation occurs with get verbs. In this scheme, the verbs that are used come from the fulfilling alternation. These verbs are all used with one object only:

59. [NP1] V [NP2] [hi-NP3]  
   [NP3] V [NP2]  

The examples below are appropriate:
60. a. Mutluti u-xava xikwekwetsu  
   hi gidi ra tirhandi >
   1sailor 1SC-buy-PRS 7boat for 5thousand POSS-10Rand
   (The sailor buys a boat for one thousand Rands)

   b. Gidi ra tirhandi ri-xava xikwekwetsu
   5thousand POSS-10Rand 5SC-buy-PRS 7boat
   (One thousand Rands buys a boat)

61. a. Vatirhi va-khatela mihandzu  
   hi khume ra macheleni >
   2workers 2SC-pick-APL-PRS 4fruit for 5ten POSS-6shilling
   (The workers pick fruit for ten shillings)

   b. Khume ra-macheleni ri-khatela mihandzu
   5ten POSS-6shilling 5SC-pick-APL-PRS 4fruit
   (Ten shillings picks fruit)

62. a. Hosi yi-tlhava homu  
   hi dzana ra tirhandi >
   9king 9SC-slaughter-PRS 9ox for 5hundred POSS-10Rand
   (The king slaughters an ox for one hundred Rands)

   b. Dzana ra tirhandi ri-tlhava homu
   5hundred POSS-10rand 5SC- slaughter-PRS 9ox
   (One hundred Rands slaughters an ox)

63. a. Wansati u-hlayisa ndhawu  
   hi ntlhanu >
   1woman 1SC-reserve-PRS 9place for 3fifty cent
   (The woman reserves a place for fifty cents)

   b. Ntlhanu wu-hlayisa ndhawu
   3fifty cents 3SC-reserve-PRS 9place
(Fifty cents reserves a place)

64. a. Bazi ri-kuma dizele yitsongo **hi pondho** >
5bus 5SC-get-PRS 9diesel small for 9pound
(The bus gets a small amount of diesel for one pound)

   b. **Pondho** yi-kuma dizele yitsongo
9pound 9SC-get-PRS 9diesel small
(One pound gets a small amount of diesel)

65. a. Muchini wu-khatela mihandzu **hi khume** >
3machine 3SC-pick-APL-PRS 4fruit for 9Rand
(The machine picks fruit for one Rand)

   b. **Khume** ri-khatela mihandzu
9Rand 9SC-pick-APL-PRS 4fruit
(One Rand picks fruit)

66. a. Xithuthuthu xi-hlayisile vupakelo **hi 20c** >
7motorbike 7SC-reserve-PFT 14parking for 20c
(The motorbike has reserved parking for 20c)

   b. **20c** yi-hlayisile vupakelo
20c 9SC-reserve-PFT 14parking
(20c has reserved parking)

In the sum of money alternation, the NP-phrase with **hi-** which initially occupies the position next to the object NP, moves to take up the subject initial position in the sentence. Since the hi-phrase indicates **instrument**, the new **sum of money**
subject also indicates instrument. The old subject disappears from the surface structure. Sum of money alternations can also occur with give verbs.

3.4.2 The occurrence of sum of money alternation with give verbs

67. \[\text{[NP1]} \quad V \quad \text{[NP2]} \quad \text{[NP3]} \quad \text{[hi-NP4]}\]

\[\text{[NP4]} \quad V \quad \text{[NP2]} \quad \text{[NP3]}\]

The sentences that are used in this structure also come from fulfilling alternation. However, these are ditransitive in contrast to those that are discussed in 59-66 above, which are monotransitive.

68. a. Wanuna u-nyika wansati ntsako hi pondho >
1man 1SC-give-PRS 1woman 3joy with 9pound
(The man gives the woman joy with one pound)

b. Pondho yi-nyika wansati ntsako
9pound 9SC-give-PRS 1woman 3joy
(One pound gives the woman joy)

69. a. Muxavisi u-ha muxavi kepisi hi R5 >
1hawker 1SC-give-PRS 1buyer 9cap for R5
(The hawker gives the buyer a cap for R5)

b. R5 yi-ha muxavi kepisi
R5 9SC-give-PRS 1buyer 9cap
(R5 gives the buyer a cap)
70. a. Muhehi u-hakela muchayeri bonasi **hi R200** >
1PN 1SC-pay-PRS 1driver 9bonus with R200
(Muhehi pays the driver R200 bonus)

    b. **R200** yi-hakela muchayeri bonasi
R200 9SC-pay-PRS 1driver 9bonus
(R200 pays the driver bonus)

71. a. Hahani u-dyisa Molefe lanci **hi khume ra tipondho** >
1aunt 1SC-feed-CAUS-PRS 1PN 9lunch with 5ten POSS-10pound
(Aunt feeds Molefe lunch for ten pounds)

    b. **Khume ra tipondho** ri-dyisa Molefe lanci
5ten POSS-10pound 5SC-feed-CAUS-PRS 1PN 9lunch
(Ten pounds feeds Molefe lunch)

72. a. Vhengele ri-lomba vanhu khasete ya vhidiyo **hi R10**>
5shop 5SC-lend-PRS 2people 9cassette POSS-9video for R10
(The shop lends people a video cassette for R10)

    b. **R10** yi-lomba khasete ya vhidiyo
R10 9SC-hire-PRS 9cassette POSS-9video
(R10 hires a video cassette)

73. a. Feme yi-phakela vanhu tinyiko **hi R5000** >
9firm 9SC-distribute-APL-PRS 2people 10gifts for R5000
(The firm distributes gifts to people for R5000)
b. **R5000 yi-phakela vanhu tinyiko**  
R5000 9SC-distribute-APL-PRS 2people 10gifts  
(R5000 distributes gifts to people)

Again here the **sum of money** alternation found at the end of the sentence after the primary object NP moves up to substitute the old subject which then disappears from the surface structure. The instrumental preposition **hi-** also disappears physically. Since it indicates **instrument**, it is therefore implied in the new **sum of money** subject because it also indicates **instrument**.

### 3.4.3 The occurrence of sum of money alternation with equip verbs

74. a. Mininjhere u-hlomisa vabeji **hi R2000**  
1manager 1SC-arm-CAUS-PRS 2gamblers with R2000  
(The manager arms the gamblers with R2000)

b. **R2000 yi-hlomisa vabeji**  
R2000 9SC-arm-CAUS-PRS 2gamblers  
(R2000 arms the gamblers)

75. a. Tatana u-byarhile mpingu **hi R50**  
1father 1SC-carry-PFT 3burden with R50  
(Father carried the burden for R50)

b. **R50 yi-byarhile mpingu**  
R50 9SC-carry-PFT 3burden  
(R50 carried the burden)

76. a. Malume u-longisa ximawusi **hi tisente ta dzana**  
1uncle 1SC-equip-CAUS-PRS 7hawker with 10cent POSS-5hundred
(Uncle equips the hawker with one hundred cents)

b. **Tisente ta dzana ti-longisa ximawusi**
   10cents POSS-5hundred 10SC-equip-CAUS-PRS 7hawker
   (One hundred cents equips the hawker)

77. a. Maskew Miller yi-hakerile vatsari **hi R2000** >
   9PN 9SC-reward-PFT 2author with R2000
   (Maskew Miller rewarded the authors with R2000)

b. **R2000** yi-hakerile vatsari
   R2000 9SC-reward-PFT 2authors
   (R2000 rewarded the authors)

3.4.4 The occurrence of sum of money alternation with verbs of exchange

78. a. Wansati u-cincisile rhoko **hi R150.30** >
   1woman 1SC-exchange-CAUS-PFT 9dress for R150.30
   (The woman exchanged the dress for R150.30)

b. **R150.30** yi-cincisile rhoko
   R150.30 9SC-exchange-CAUS-PFT 9dress
   (R150.30 exchanged the dress)

79. a. Wanuna u-sivile ntlhanu **hi pondho** >
   1man 1SC-substitute-PFT 3fifty cent for 9pound
   (The man substituted fifty cents for a pound)

b. **Pondho** yi-sivile ntlhanu
9pound 9SC-substitute-PFT 3fifty cents
(A pound substituted fifty cents)

80. a. Murimi u-bindzurisile teretere hi R51000>
1farmer 1SC-trade-CAUS-PFT 9tractor for R51000
(The farmer traded the tractor for R51000)

b. R51000 yi-bindzurisile teretere
R51000 9SC-trade-CAUS-PFT 9tractor
(R51000 traded for the tractor)

81. a. Dayi yi-hundzurile muhlovo wo basa hi R5
9dye 9SC-change-PFT 3colour POSS-white for R5
(The dye changed the white colour for R5)

b. R5 yi-hundzurile muhlovo wo basa
R5 9SC-change-PFT 3colour POSS-white
(R5 changed the white colour)

3.4.5 The occurrence of sum of money alternation with verbs of fulfilling

With these verbs a locative NP is added after the primary internal argument. The locative NP is succeeded by the sum of money NP. The sum of money alternation we are dealing with here thus has the frame:

82. [NP1] V [NP2] [NP3Loc] [hi-NP4]

[NP4] V [NP2] [NP3Loc]
The following examples demonstrate how the NP of the *hi-* phrase is moved to the subject position of the alternation. In this case also the original subject NP disappears from the surface structure.

83. a. Mulanguteri u-humesa tiyunifomo ejele *hi R50* >
1warder 1SC-issue-CAUS-PRS 10uniform LOC-5jail for R50
(The warder issues uniforms in jail for R50)

b. *R50 yi-humesa tiyunifomo ejele*
R50 9SC-issue-CAUS-PRS 10uniform LOC-5jail
(R50 issues uniforms in jail)

84. a. Murimi u-yisa mihandzu evhengeleni *hi R20* >
1farmer 1SC-supply-CAUS-PRS 4fruit LOC-5store for R20
(The farmer supplies fruit to the store for R20)

b. *R20 yi-yisa mihandzu evhengeleni*
R20 9SC-supply-CAUS-PRS 4fruit LOC-5store
(R20 supplies fruit to the store)

85. a. Tintsumi ti-siya hlomisa evukweni *hi tihomu timbirhi* >
10messengers 10SC-leave-PRS 5bride LOC-14in-laws for 10cows two
(The messengers leave the bride at her in-laws for two cows)

b. *Tihomu timbirhi ti-siya hlomisa evukweni*
10cows two 10SC-leave-PRS 5bride LOC-14in-laws
(Two cows leave the bride at her in-laws)
3.4.6 Summary for sum of money alternation

In the **sum of money alternation** the basic movement is that of the sum of money NP which moves from the object position at the end of the sentence to the new subject position at the beginning of the sentence. The original subject NP disappears from the surface structure.

In the structure in 82 the object NP is semantically interpreted as **theme** while the subject NP is the **agent** with [+animate] NPs or **cause** with the [-animate] featured NPs.

After the alternation the new **sum of money** subject NP maintains the thematic role of **theme**. The primary object may also be interpreted as **benefactive** in sentences and alternations such as

86. a. Muthori u-hakela **vatirhi** R200 >
    1employer 1SC-pay-PRS 2workers R200
    (The employer pays workers R200)

   b. R200 yi-hakela **vatirhi**
      R200 9SC-pay-PRS 2workers
      (R200 pays the workers)

When ditransitive **give** verbs are used, the original subject may be interpreted as **agent** or **source**, e.g.

87. **Wanuna** u-nyika wansati ntsako hi pondho
    1man 1SC-give-PRS 1woman 3joy with 9pound
    (The man gives the woman joy with a pound)
It is agent because of its wilful action of giving, and source because it is responsible for the woman's joy.

After alternation the hi- NP which now serves as the new subject may maintain its instrumental role but it is also interpretable as cause in the sense that it makes the woman happy. The primary object ntsako has the reading of theme while the secondary object is the beneficiary and recipient. Another alternation in which verbs participate is the possession alternation.

3.5 Possession alternation

3.5.1 The possessive construction in Xitsonga

The possessive is a word category which modifies the noun and which denotes possession, i.e. it indicates the possessor and the possession. The syntactic structure of the possessive in Xitsonga is characterised by the fact that unlike in European languages such as English in particular, the possession precedes the possessor, e.g.

88. Rito ra mina
    5voice POSS-me
    (My voice)

The structure of the possessive phrase may be illustrated as follows in the form of a phrase marker:
The main constituents of this construction are the head noun *rito* which is the possession, and the possessive phrase *ra munhu* which is made up of the possessive concord *ra-* and its complement NP *munhu*, the latter being the possessor. The category N is the head of this noun phrase as it is the daughter of NP and the sister to PP. Similarly, the category Poss is the head of PP and is in sisterhood relation with NP2 which serves as its complement.

The possessive marker *-a* appears with an AGR element (*-* in the example above) which resembles the subjectival agreement morpheme of the head noun (*rito*). This AGR element establishes agreement between the possessor and the head of NP (*rito*) as is evident in the example above.

The possessive marker *-a* may take different forms of complements, i.a. pronouns (such as *mina* in the example above); noun phrases such as *munhu* (which may appear with a nominal modifier) as in the example below:

**Figure 7: The Possessive Phrase**
89. **Rito ra munhu lonkulu**
   5voice POSS-1person big
   (The voice of an elderly person)

   The form of the possessive is different when found in relationship terms such as the following where the possessive pronouns are within the nouns:

90. a. **nakulorhi** (my friend)
    
    b. **nakuloni** (your friend)
    
    c. **nakulobyeye** (his/her friend)

   The forms of the possessive are also incorporated in pronominal stems as follows:

91. 1st person singular : -nga plural: -irhu

   2nd person singular : -ku plural: -inu

   class 1 : -kwe

   Consider the following appropriate examples:

92. 1st pers. sing. **n'wananga**
   (my child)

---

1 The possessive concord consists of two parts, viz. the agreement element and the possessive marker –a. The reader is referred to the full list of possessive concords under our Explanatory Notes.
1st pers. pl. tibuku terhu
(our books)

2nd pers. sing. vana vaku
(your children)

2nd pers. pl. tibuku tenu
(your books)

class 1 vana vakwe
(his/her children)

Semantically, different types of possession are distinguished:

- individual possession, e.g.

  hanci ya mufana
  9horse POSS-1boy
  (the boy’s horse)

- relationship terms, e.g.

  nakulorhi
  (my friend)

- communal possession, e.g.

  masirha ya ka Mashalani
  6graves POSS-LOC-1PN
  (the graves of the Mashalani’s)
- family possessions, e.g.

movha *wa ka hina*
3car POSS-LOC-us
(our family’s car)

nsimu *ya ka va-Butana*
9field POSS-LOC-2PN
(the field of Butana's family)

The possessive alternation can appear in two forms, viz. with ditransitive verbs and with the locative argument respectively as represented in 93 and 104 below:

93. \[ V \ [NP1] [NP2] \]
\[ V \ [NP2] a [NP1] \]

When the lexicon is inserted in this schematic representation, sentences such as the following are generated:

94. a. Xibedhlele xi-hakele *wansati muholo* >
7hospital 7SC-pay-PFT 1woman 3wages
( The hospital paid the woman wages)

b. Xibedhlele xi-hakele *muholo wa wansati*
7 hospital 7SC-pay-PFT 3wages POSS 1woman
(The hospital paid the wages of the woman)
Sentence a. indicates the basic syntactic pattern of internal arguments appearing with ditransitive verbs. In this pattern the secondary object takes its position immediately after the verb, followed by the primary object in juxtaposition.

In sentence b. which indicates the possessive alternation, the primary object argument succeeds the verb directly, followed by the possessive construction, which qualifies the possession. There is no longer a secondary object in this instance.

In the basic pattern with ditransitive verbs, the NP *wansati* is semantically interpreted as the *recipient* (also *benefactive*) whilst the NP *muholo* has the semantic reading of *theme*.

In the alternation the NP *wansati*, which was originally the *recipient*, now becomes the complement of the possessive concord *wa-* and subsequently assumes the meaning of *possessor*. The NP *muholo* which is the *theme* now becomes the head of the new NP *muholo wa wansati* and this new NP is now the *theme*. Thus the *recipient* has disappeared.

It is, however, possible to add a new *recipient* *wanuna* to the alternate form as in sentence b. below:

95. a. Xibedhlele xi-hakele muholo wa wansati >
7hospital 7SC-pay-PFT 3wages POSS-1woman
(The hospital paid the wages of the woman)

b. Xibedhlele xi-hakele wanuna muholo wa wansati
7 hospital 7SC-pay-PFT 1man 3wages POSS-1woman
(The hospital paid the man the woman's wages)
This type of possessive alternation occurs with give verbs and verbs of future having. These verbs take two internal arguments each. The examples follow below:

### 3.5.2 Possession alternation with give verbs

96. a. Nsinya wu-nyika **swimilani ndzhuti** >  
3tree 3SC-give-PRS 8plants 3shade  
(The tree gives plants shade)

   b. Nsinya wu-nyika **ndzhuti wa swimilani**  
3tree 3SC-provide-PRS 3shade POSS 8plants  
(The tree provides shade of plants)

97. a. Nsimu yi-hakela **vatirhi mihandzu** >  
9field 9SC-pay-PRS 2workers 4fruit  
(The field pays the workers fruit)

   b. Nsimu yi-hakela **mihandzu ya vatirhi**  
3field 3SC-pay-PRS 4fruit POSS 2workers  
(The field pays the fruit of the workers)

98. a. Mpfula yi-ha **swimilani timinali** >  
9rain 9SC-give-PRS 8plants 10minerals  
(Rain gives plants minerals)

   b. Mpfula yi-ha **timinali ta swimilani**  
9rain 9SC-provide-PRS 10minerals POSS-10plants
(The rain provides the minerals of the plants)

99.  a. Mufana u-phakela **tinguluve swakudy**a >
1boy 1SC-serve-APL-PRS 10pigs 8food
(The boy serves pigs food)

   b. Mufana u-phakela **swakudy**a **swa tinguluve**
1boy 1SC-serve-APL-PRS 8food POSS-10pigs
(The boy serves the food of the pigs)

3.5.3 Possession alternation with verbs of future having

100.  a. Tatana u-tshembisa **vana malekere** >
1father 1SC-promise-CAUS-PRS 2children 6sweets
(Father promises children sweets)

   b. Tatana u-tshembisa **malekere ya vana**
1father 1SC-promise-CAUS-PRS 6sweets POSS-2children
(Father promises sweets of the children)

101.  a. Xitlhangoma u-kolota **hahani Betty duku** >
1PN 1SC-owe-PRS 1aunt 1PN a 5headcloth
(Xitlhangoma owes aunt Betty a headcloth)

   b. Xitlhangoma u-kolota **duku ra hahani Betty**
1PN 1SC-owe-PRS 5headcloth POSS-1aunt 1PN
(Xitlhangoma owes the headcloth of aunt Betty)

102.  a. Muchayeri u-riha **phorisa R2000** >
1driver 1SC-pay-PRS 5policeman R2000
(The driver pays the policeman R2000)
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b. Muchayeri u-riha **R2000 ya phorisa**
   1driver 1SC-pay-PRS R2000 POSS-5policeman
   (The driver pays the policeman’s R2000)

103. a. Timbyana ti-tiyisisa **vaendzi vuhlaliseko**
   10dogs 10SC-guarantee-INTSV-PRS 2visitors 14safety
   (The dogs guarantee visitors safety)

   b. Timbyana ti-tiyisisa **vuhlaliseko bya vaendzi**
   10dogs 10SC-guarantee-INTSV-PRS 14safety POSS-2visitors
   (The dogs guarantee the safety of the visitors)

The second possible possessive alternation occurs with locative arguments and can be schematically represented as follows:

104. V [NP1] [NP2Loc]

V [NP1] a [NP2]

In this second possession alternation there is no syntactic change of position by the internal arguments. The [NP2Loc] which appears at the end of the sentence alternates with the [NP2] which appears as a complement of the possessive -a, which is also at the end of the sentence. This type of alternation occurs with those verbs which appear with locative arguments, viz. **contribute** verbs, verbs of **fulfilling** and **obtain** verbs. Consider the following examples:

105. a. Musweki u-ava swakudy a **evaneni**
   1cook 1SC-distribute-PRS 8food LOC-2children
(The cook distributes food to the children)

b. Musweki u-ava swakudya swa vana
   1cook 1SC-distribute-PRS 8food POSS-2children
   (The cook distributes the food of the children)

In this alternation the locative *evaneni* is the recipient and *swakudya* is the theme. In sentence b. this recipient now becomes the complement of the possessive *a-* and therefore assumes the meaning of possessor while the theme *swakudya* becomes the possession. In this instance the recipient disappears.

However, even in this case a new recipient in the form of a locative may be added to the alternate form:

106. a. Musweki u-ava swakudya swa vana >
    1cook 1SC-distribute-PRS 8food POSS-2children
    (the cook distributes the food of the children)

    b. Musweki u-ava swakudya swa vana eswisiwaneni
    1cook 1SC-distribute-PRS 8food POSS-2children LOC-8the poor
    (The cook distributes the food of the children to the poor)

In this alternate form the locative *eswisiwaneni* becomes the new recipient whilst the NP *swakudya swa vana* becomes the new theme. In all these cases the recipient (also benefactive/ malefactive depending on discourse context) may also be ambiguously interpreted as location.

The foregoing semantic interpretation applies in the same way to the contribute verbs below:
3.5.4 Possession alternation with contribute verbs

107.  a. Mutswari u-hlenga mali exikolweni >
1parent 1SC-contribute-PRS 9money LOC-7school
(The parent contributes money to the school)

b. Mutswari u-hlenga mali ya xikolo
1parent 1SC-contribute-PRS 9money POSS-7school
(The parent contributes school funds)

108.  a. Mandela u-ava swiambalo eswisiwaneni >
1PN 1SC-distribute-PRS 8clothes LOC-8the poor
(Mandela distributes clothes to the poor)

b. Mandela u-ava swiambalo swa swisiwana
1PN 1SC-distribute-PRS 8clothes POSS-8the poor
(Mandela distributes the clothes of the poor)

109.  a. Mudyondzi u-tlherisa tibuku elayiburari >
1student 1SC-return-CAUS-PRS 10books LOC-9library
(The student returns books to the library)

b. Mudyondzi u-tlherisa tibuku ta layiburari
1student 1SC-return-CAUS-PRS 10books POSS-9library
(The student returns library books)

110.  a. Tinyiko u-phahla swikwembu eka hina >
1PN 1SC-offer-sacrifice-PRS 8gods LOC-us
(Tinyiko offers sacrifice to the gods at our place)

b. Tinyiko u-phahla swikwembu swa ka hina
1PN 1SC-offer-sacrifice-PRS POSS-our 8gods
(Tinyiko offers sacrifice to our gods)

111. a. Mutirhi u-pambula mali ebankini >
1worker 1SC-share-PRS 9money LOC-9bank
(The worker shares money in the bank)

b. Mutirhi u-pambula mali ya banki
1worker 1SC-share-PRS 9money POSS-9bank
(The worker shares the bank’s money)

3.5.5 Possession alternation with verbs of fulfilling

112. a. Mulanguteri u-humesa tiyunifomo ejele >
1warder 1SC-issue-CAUS-PRS 10uniforms LOC-5prison
(The warder issues uniforms in prison)

b. Mulanguteri u-humesa tiyunifomo ta jele
1warder 1SC-issue-CAUS-PRS 10uniforms POSS-5prison
(The warder issues prison uniforms)

113. a. Murimi u-yisa mihandzu emakete >
1farmer 1SC-go-CAUS-PRS 4fruit LOC-3market
(The farmer supplies fruit to the market)

b. Murimi u-yisa mihandzu ya le makete
1farmer 1SC-go-CAUS-PRS 4fruit POSS-LOC-3market
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(The farmer supplies the market's fruit)

114.  a.  Rifu ri-siya tinhenha enyimpini  
      5death 5SC-leave-PRS 10heroes LOC-9war 
      (Death leaves heroes at war)

      b.  Rifu ri-siya tinhenha ta nyimpi  
          5death 5SC-leave-PRS 10heroes POSS-9war 
          (Death leaves the war's heroes)

The verbs of **fulfilling** are interpreted slightly differently from the **get** verbs, verbs of **future having** and **contribute** verbs. In the basic form the locative argument does not have the reading of **recipient** but is mainly interpreted as **location**. A reading of **source** is also possible with the verb **humesa**.

...humesa tiyunifomo ejele >  
...issue-CAUS-PRS 10uniform LOC-5prison  
(...issue uniforms in prison)

...humesa tiyunifomo ta jele  
...issue-CAUS-PRS 10uniforms POSS-5prison  
(...issue prison uniforms)

In the alternate form the locative NP becomes the complement of the possessive **-a**. This alternate form of the possessive phrase is interpreted as **theme** only. As with the likes of **get** verbs, a new role of **location** may be added:

115.  U-humesa tiyunifomo ta jele elorini  
      1SC-issue-CAUS-PRS 10uniforms POSS-5prison LOC-9lorry  
      (He issues prison uniforms in the lorry)
3.5.6 Possession alternation with obtain verbs

116. a. Nhwanu u-amukerile sagwati eka jaha > 
1girl 1SC-accept-PFT 9gift LOC-1boy
(The girl accepted a gift from the boy)

b. Nhwanu u-amukerile sagwati ra jaha 
1girl 1SC-accept-PFT 9gift POSS-1boy 
(The girl accepted the boy's gift)

117. a. N'wana u-nkhensa switsundzuxo eka vatswari > 
1child 1SC-accept-PRS 8advice LOC-2parents
(The child accepts advice from parents)

b. N'wana u-nkhensa switsundzuxo swa vatswari 
1child 1SC-accept-PRS 8advice POSS-2parents
(The child accepts the parents' advice)

118. a. Phorisa ri-hlengeletile swibamu eka swigevenga > 
5policeman 5SC-collect-PFT 8guns LOC-8thugs
(The policeman collected guns from the thugs)

b. Phorisa ri-hlengeletile swibamu swa swigevenga 
5policeman 5SC-collect-PFT 8guns POSS-8thugs
(The policeman collected the thugs' guns)

119. a. Mbyana yi-khomile phayisela eka muyivi > 
9dog 9SC-seize-PFT 5parcel LOC-1thief 
(The dog seized a parcel from the thief)
b. Mbyana yi-khomile phayisela ra muyivi
9dog 9SC-seize-PFT 5parcel POSS-1thief
(The dog seized the thief's parcel)

120. a. Makhamba ya-vutlile xipachi eka wansati
6thieves 6SC-snatch-PFT 7purse LOC-1woman
(The thieves snatched a purse from the woman)

b. Makhamba ya-vutlile xipachi xa wansati
6thieves 6SC-snatch-PFT 7purse POSS-1woman
(The thieves snatched the woman’s purse)

121. a. Thicara u-hlawurile muyimeri etlilasini
1teacher 1SC-select-PFT 1representative LOC-9class
(The teacher selected a representative from the class)

b. Thicara u-hlawurile muyimeri wa tlilasi
1teacher 1SC-select-PFT 1representative POSS-9class
(The teacher selected a class representative)

The locative in obtain verbs largely has the reading of source. A reading of location is also possible:

...hlawurile muyimeri etlilasini
...select-PFT 1representative LOC-9class
(...selected a representative in class)

In the alternate form this NP is interpreted as theme. Again in this case the NPLoc becomes the complement of the possessive -a.
3.5.7 Summary

It has been proved beyond any reasonable doubt that possessive alternation does occur in Xitsonga. Its occurrence takes the form of two distinct frames: firstly occurring with ditransitive verbs and secondly with locative arguments.

When it occurs with ditransitive verbs there is a definite change in the syntactic pattern of the internal arguments. This change is such that the secondary object which basically succeeds the verb immediately, becomes the complement of the possessive -a and hence the possessor of the primary object.

This change is accompanied by a semantic shift in the interpretation of the internal arguments. The secondary NP object which is originally the recipient now becomes the complement of the possessive -a and subsequently loses its role as recipient. In this way the recipient disappears.

The primary object NP which originally reads as theme becomes the head of a new NP which assumes the role of theme. The most interesting feature of this alternation is the possibility to add a new recipient to the alternate form.

In the alternation with the locative the NPLoc becomes an NP which is a complement of the possessive -a. Again the locative which is the recipient now becomes the possessor resulting in the loss of the role of recipient. However, it is also possible to add a new recipient in the form of a locative at the end of the sentence. The primary object NP which is originally the theme continues to serve this role as head of the new NP.
3.6 Conclusion

In this Chapter, various alternations were discussed, viz. the dative, fulfilling, sum of money subject and possession alternations.

In Xitsonga the dative alternation occurs with give verbs and verbs of future having and may only occur when the secondary object becomes an NPLoc within the frame

\[
[\text{NP1}] \ V \quad [\text{NP2]} \ [\text{NP3}] > \\
[\text{NP1}] \ V \quad [\text{NP3}] \ [\text{NP2Loc}].
\]

The fulfilling alternation occurs with the frame

\[
[\text{NP1}] \ V \quad [\text{NP2}] \quad [\text{to NP3}] \quad \text{or alternatively} \\
[\text{NP1}] \ V \quad [\text{NP3}] \quad [\text{with NP2}]
\]

However, in Xitsonga there are no verbs from the set of verbs of fulfilling which satisfy the specifications of the fulfilling alternation. When the primary object is forced to act as the complement of hi- with the thematic role of instrument, ungrammatical sentences are generated instead.

The sum of money alternation uses the frame

\[
[\text{NP1}] \ V \quad [\text{NP2}] \ [\text{NP3}] > \\
[\text{NP3}] \ V \quad [\text{NP2}]
\]

and it occurs with get verbs, equip verbs, verbs of exchange and verbs of fulfilling.
The possession alternation can appear in two forms, viz. with ditransitive verbs and with the locative argument. It operates within the frames

\[
V \quad [\text{NP1}] \quad [\text{NP2}] \quad > \\
V \quad [\text{NP2}] \quad a \quad [\text{NP1}] \\
\text{And} \\
V \quad [\text{NP1}] \quad [\text{NP2Loc}] \quad > \\
V \quad [\text{NP1}] \quad a \quad [\text{NP2}]
\]

The fact that syntactic variation is inextricably bound to semantic shift cannot be over-emphasized. Therefore a semantic interpretation of the various arguments (both external and internal) formed a comprehensive part of the core business of this chapter.

As in Chapter 2, morphological issues that affect the predicate and its arguments on the syntactic-semantic level did not form part of this chapter. These will be dealt with in the next chapter.