

CHAPTER 3

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

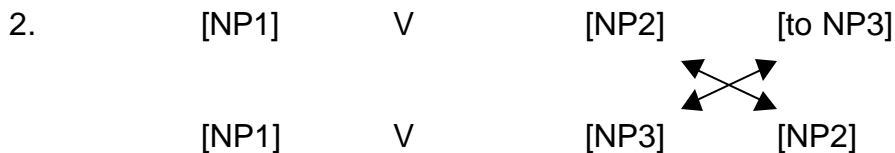
[NP1 V NP2 to NP3]

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

[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:



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 NP_{Loc} 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. [NP1] V [NP2] [NP3]
 
 [NP1] V [NP3] [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. | Nhwana u-hakela mali * eka hofisi |
|----|----|--|

1girl 1SC-pay-PRS 6money LOC-9office
(The girl pays money at the office)

BUT

- b. Nhwana 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')

eka va-Prudence	eka va-N'wampfundla
(at Prudence's place)	(at Mr hare and company's place)

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**

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 *swakudya* 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 [\pm 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 **borrow**s 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. Vukhongereri byi-kolota **swisiwana vutomi** >
 14religion 14SC-owe-PRS 8poor 14life
 (Religion owes the poor life)
- b. Vukhongereri byi-kolota **vutomi eswisiwaneni**
 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 [\pm 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 [\pm 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**

1man 1SC-owe-PRS 1wife LOC-1PN
 (The man owes a wife to 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.

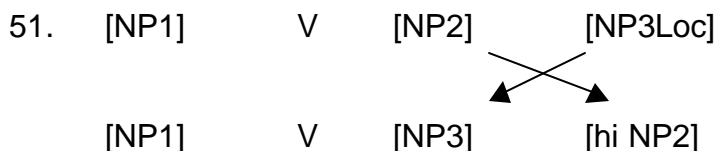
3.3 Fulfilling alternation

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 **[NP1] V [NP2] [to NP3]**.

This pattern is typical of verbs of **change of possession**. The other variant of fulfilling alternation involves the frame **[NP1] V [NP3] [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:



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. *Mulanguteri 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. [NP1] V [NP2] [NP3]
 [NP3] V [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:

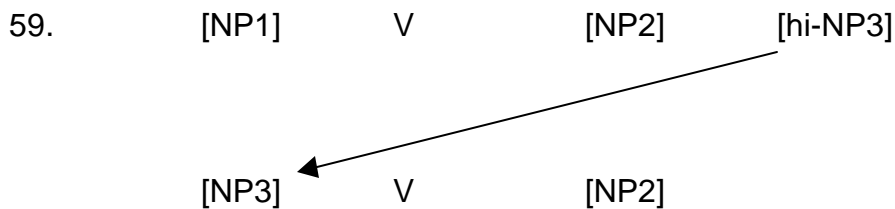
55. a. Muthori u-hakela vatirhi **R200** >
 1employer 1SC-pay-PRS 2workers R200
 (The employer pays workers R200)
- b. **R200** yi-hakela vatirhi
 R200 9SC-pay-PRS 2workers
 (R200 pays the workers)
56. a. Manana u-longisa vaxambili **R50** >
 1mother 1SC-equip-CAUS-PRS 2travellers R50
 (Mother equips 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:



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

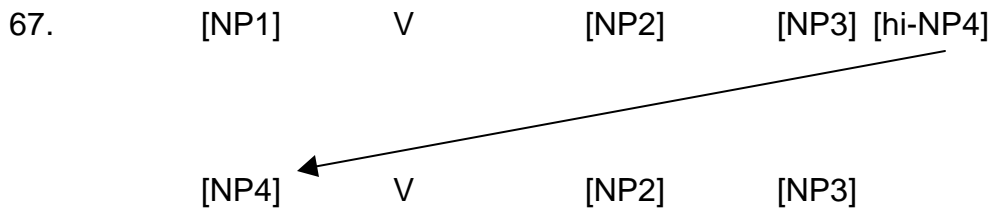
(Fifty cents reserves a place)

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



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:

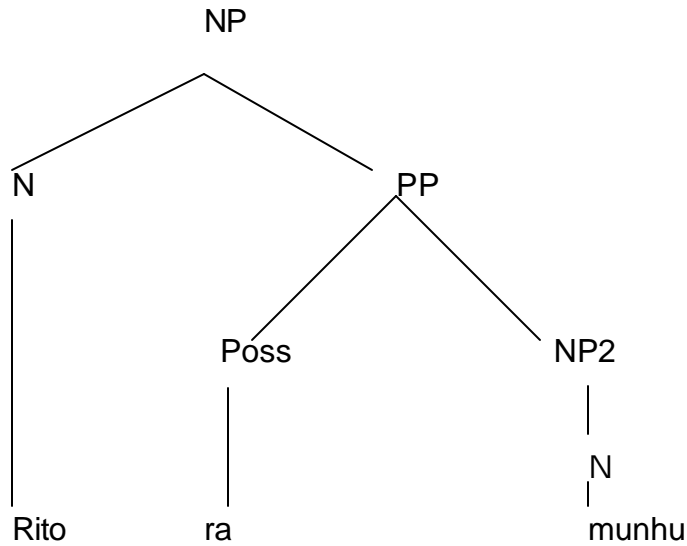


Figure 7: The Possessive Phrase

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 ¹possessive 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:

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. **nakulobye** (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.

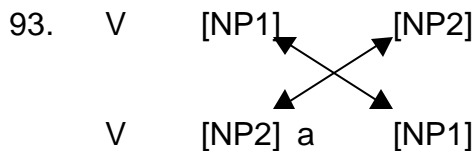
masirha **ya ka Mashalani**
6graves POSS-LOC-1PN
(the graves of the Mashalani's)

- 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:



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 timinerali** >
 9rain 9SC-give-PRS 8plants 10minerals
 (Rain gives plants minerals)
- b. Mpfula yi-ha **timinerali ta swimilani**
 9rain 9SC-provide-PRS 10minerals POSS-10plants

- (The rain provides the minerals of the plants)
99. a. Mufana u-phakela **tinguluve swakudya** >
 1boy 1SC-serve-APL-PRS 10pigs 8food
 (The boy serves pigs food)
- b. Mufana u-phakela **swakudya 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)

- 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 vuhlayiseko** >
 10dogs 10SC-guarantee-INTSV-PRS 2visitors 14safety
 (The dogs guarantee visitors safety)
- b. Timbyana ti-tiyisisa **vuhlayiseko 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 swakudya **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

- (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. Nhwana u-amukerile sagwati **eka jaha** >
 1girl 1SC-accept-PFT 9gift LOC-1boy
 (The girl accepted a gift from the boy)
- b. Nhwana 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 NP_{Loc} 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 NP_{Loc} within the frame

[NP1] V	[NP2] [NP3]	>
[NP1] V	[NP3] [NP2 _{Loc}].	

The fulfilling alternation occurs with the frame

[NP1] V	[NP2]	[to NP3]	or alternatively
[NP1] V	[NP3]	[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

[NP1] V	[NP2] [NP3]	>
[NP3] V	[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	[NP1]	[NP2]	>
V	[NP2] a	[NP1]	
		And	
V	[NP1]	[NP2Loc]	>
V	[NP1] a	[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.