CHAPTER 4

4.   Verbal affixes

4.1   Introduction

Since verbal affixes change the PAS of verbs, which is the main concern of this thesis, it is necessary therefore to devote a chapter to a discussion of verbal affixes.

The previous two chapters, by design, made no attempt to discuss verbal affixes. Verbal affixes are what some grammarians like Baumbach (1987) and Poulos (1990) prefer to call `verbal extensions' since they are attached between the root and the terminating vowel or some other suffix, reserving `affix' for the superordinate with prefix and suffix as co-hyponyms. In the GB approach, however, many scholars, among them, Baker (1988), Jackendoff (1972) and Spencer (1991) refer to i.a. the applicative/applied *affix* {-el-}, the causative *affix* {-is-}, the passsive *affix* {-iw-}, etc. as will this chapter.

Although some Tsonga grammarians, among them, Baumbach (1987), Marhanele (1986) and Nkondo (1986) have written about the Xitsonga affixes, to the best of my knowledge no systematic account of the use of these suffixes with different semantic verb classes has been undertaken. Du Plessis et al. (1995) provide a more comprehensive discussion based on intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verb stems. Matsinhe (1994:174) in his article classifies these affixes into two main groupings, viz. "(1) valency reducing affixes: neutro-stative, passive, reciprocal and reflexive and (2) valency increasing affixes: applicatives and causatives." From this grouping, this chapter will look at the latter, focussing on the applicative and the causative only.

This chapter therefore endeavours to investigate the semantic effect of the applicative and the causative on the PAS of the verbs to which they are attached in general and to verbs of change of possession in particular.

4.2   The applicative

The applicative is the verbal affix {-el-} which is used to extend the verb stem in the derivation of verbs and change the PAS of the verb it is attached to.

Syntactically, the applicative affix has an effect on the PAS of verbs. When it is incorporated in the verb stem, it allows the internal arguments to be increased by one more argument. If it is added to an intransitive verb stem, it will change that verb into a transitive verb, e.g.

1.   a.   **Ximanga** xa-fa   >
            7cat 7SC-die-PRS
            (The cat dies)

      b.   **Ximanga** xi-fela kondlo
            7cat 7SC-die-APL-PRS 5rat
            (The cat dies for a rat)

Another characteristic of the applicative is that the applicative verb usually appears with a complement. These predicates may not undergo argument reduction unless the applied verb assumed an idiosyncratic meaning, e.g.

2   *Va hanyela
       2SC-live-APL-PRS
       (They live for)

Morphologically the applicative is used as a verbal affix and is affixed between the root and the terminating vowel. It can be used with intransitive, mono-transitive and ditransitive verb stems, e.g.

3. a. -tirh-a   >   -tirh-el-a
        work-PRS   >   work-APL-PRS
        (work)   (work for)

    b. -tlakul-a   >   -tlakul-el-a
        lift-PRS   >   lift-APL-PRS
        (lift)   (lift for)

    c. -lomb-a   >   -lomb-el-a
        lend-PRS   >   lend-APL-PRS
        (lend)   (lend for)

The applicative affix can be reduplicated in the verb stem, e.g.

4. a. -khoma   >   -khomela   > -khomelela
        hold-PRS   >   hold-APL-PRS   > hold-APL-APL-PRS
        (hold)   (hold for)   (hold on/delay)

Often, when reduplication occurs, the meaning of the verb becomes idiomatic, e.g.

    b. -tirha >   -tirhela   >   -tirhelela
        work-PRS>   work-APL-PRS>   work-APL-APL-PRS
        (work)   (work for)   (use `muti' on something)

    c. -yima >   -yimela   >   -yimelela

wait-PRS>   wait-APL-PRS>   wait-APL-APL-PRS

(wait)   (wait for)   (protect verbally)

Advocates of Word Syntax, such as Di Sciullo and Williams (1987), have attempted to demonstrate that the range of meanings within L(exical)-derivation is constrained by the subcategorization frames of lexical items, i.e. by their argument structure or grammatical function. Word Syntax studies have focussed on thematic relations or argument structures for which verbs subcategorize.

The argument structure of a predicate is a list of its theta-roles like **agent, theme, experiencer, goal,** etc. One of these arguments is distinguished as the external argument or theta-role. As in the case of Syntax, the external argument is the [1]head of the argument structure. Thus, the head of a word derived by affixation determines the external argument of the word:

V.
R(oot)   -el-
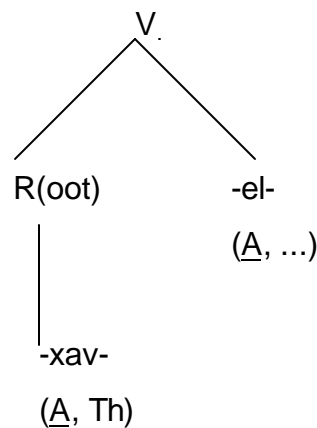(A, ...)

-xav-
(A, Th)

Figure 10: The {-el-} head structure

This structure represents an applicative derivation through the applicative verbal suffix {-el-} which has been added onto the verbal root {-xav-} (buy), turning it into an extended root {-xav-el-} (buy for). Note: The (A) stands for an **agent** external argument and the (Th) stands for the internal **theme** role.

This applicative suffix {-el-} bears an external argument which becomes the external argument of the whole structure. The arguments of the non-head verbal stem {-xav-a} including its external argument become internal arguments of the whole:

5.   Tatana u-xav-el-a n'wana tibuku

        1father 1SC-buy-APL-PRS 1child 10books

        (Father buys the child books)

In this example *Tatana* is the new external argument of the whole. *N'wana* is the old external argument of the verb {-xav-a} which has now become an extra accusatively marked internal argument of the derived word {-xav-el-a}. This argument may have different semantic roles like **benefactive**, **direction**, **location**, etc. In the foregoing example the argument taken up by *n'wana* is dependent on the applicative {-el-} and can be interpreted as **benefactive** here. *Tibuku* is also an internal **theme** argument.

The affix {-el-} may be assigned the following designations:

        -el- :   f(x)

                acc

Because {-el-} is a [2]functor (also called a *function*), all the arguments of the stem will be carried over to it. In addition, the argument **X** of {-el-} will be an argument of the whole structure because {-el-} is the head of the whole structure.

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[1] Trask (1993:125) defines `head' as "that element of a constituent which is syntactically central in that it is primarily responsible for the syntactic character of the constituent…". `Non-head' is used with the opposite meaning to this.

[2] Spencer (1991:300) defines a `functor' as "a way of expressing relationships between entities".

Furthermore, the {-el-} argument will be realised as accusative. Because the head has no external argument and because it does not control the external argument of the stem, the external argument of the non-head will be the external argument of the whole structure as the stem will be head with regard to external argument. These properties are illustrated in the following representation:
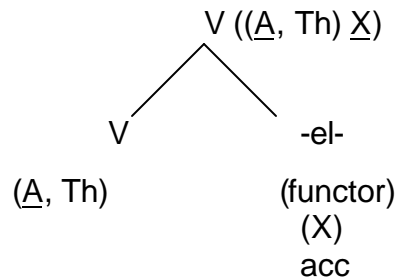
V ((A, Th) X)

V   -el-

(A, Th)   (functor)
                (X)
                acc

Figure 11: The {-el-} as functor

The applicative constructions do not occur with a controller for the external argument of the stem. Thus the external argument of the stem becomes the external argument of the whole structure.

4.3   Examples of the applicative with the different types of arguments

4.3.1   NP internal argument

The NP internal argument may have a [± animate] feature. The presence or absence of these features affect the semantic interpretation of the argument. Generally an argument with a [+animate] feature will have a semantic interpretation of **benefactive**, which is most commonly found with the applied suffix. With a [-animate] feature it may have a semantic reading of **purpose**. Consider the following examples:

6.   a.   Mamukhele u-hanyela **Hatlani**   = benefactive

1PN 1SC-live-APL-PRS 1PN

(Mamukhele is living for Hatlani)

      b.   Mamukhele u-hanyela **ntirho**   = purpose

              1PN 1SC-live-APL-PRS 3work

              (Mamukhele is living for work)

The **benefactive** role may be further interpreted in three different ways depending on discourse factors. Firstly, the reading is **benefactive** because the action expressed by the predicate benefits the internal argument. Secondly, it may be interpreted as **substitution** because the subject is perfoming the action on behalf of the internal argument. Thirdly, a role of **malefactive** is possible if the action perfomed is to the disadvantage of the internal argument. For instance if the subject is living to terrorise the internal argument.

The role of **benefactive** also applies to nouns which are not animate *per se* but which have the feature [+human control]:

7.   Vaaki va-hanyela **mfumo/ feme/ khamphani/ kereke**

          2citizens 2SC-live-APL-PRS 3government/ 9firm/ 9company/ 9church

          (The citizens lives for the government/ firm/ company/ church)

However, some verbs do accept a noun with a [+animate] feature to have a reading of **purpose**:

8.   Thicara u-vuyela **vadyondzi**

          1teacher 1SC-return-APL-PRS 2students

          (The teacher is returning for the purpose of the students)

A reading of **recipient** is also possible with some applied verbs when the NP has a [+animate] feature. If the NP has a [-animate] feature however, it is read as **theme**. Consider the following examples respectively:

9.   a.   Muxiyi u-vhakela **Mavhavaza**

           1PN 1SC-visit-APL-PRS 1PN

           (Muxiyi visits Mavhavaza)

     b.   Mixiyi u-vhakela **ntanga wa swihari**

           1PN 1SC-visit-APL-PRS 3garden POSS-8animals

           (Muxiyi visits the zoo)

The applied suffix may appear in a number of locative or motion contexts such as with directional verb phrases. In such cases both nouns (i.e. [+animate] or [-animate]) may have the reading of **direction**, e.g.

10.   a.   Movha wu-jikela **exineneni**

           3vehicle 3SC-turn-APL-PRS LOC-7right

           (The vehicle turns to the right)

     b.   Movha wu-jikela **entshungwini**

           3vehicle 3SC-turn-APL-PRS LOC-3crowd

           (The vehicle turns towards the crowd)

Sometimes the internal NP argument may be interpreted ambiguously. It may have the interpretation of **benefactive** but it may also have another interpretation, **location** for instance:

11.   a.   Wansati u-wela **n'wana**

           1woman 1SC-fall-APL-PRS 1child

           (The woman falls on/ for the child)

With a [-animate] NP only a **location** reading is possible:

     b.   Wansati u-wela **matsavu**

1woman 1SC-fall-APL-PRS 6vegetables

(The woman falls on the vegetables)

The interrogative *yini* together with the applied intransitive verb will also give rise to an ambiguous interpretation which may be **cause** or **purpose**:

12.   Wanuna u-chivirikela yini?

1man 1SC-work-APL-PRS why?

(Why does the man work hard?) or

1man 1SC-work-APL-PRS what?

(The man works hard for what?)

So far, the applicative has been dealt with within the framework of intransitive verbs. This kind of semantic interpretation is also possible with transitive verbs. The extra internal argument, viz. the indirect argument can also be interpreted in different ways thus having a number of semantic roles dependent on the nature of the verb and the various discourse factors.

The applied with transitive verbs

As in the case of intransitive verbs, the effect of the affix {-el-} on the predicate argument structure of verbs is to add one extra internal argument to the predicate. When this argument is added onto monotransitive verbs, ditransitive verbs will be the result. This extra internal argument can be interpreted in different ways:

It may be interpreted as **beneficiary** as in the following instance where the argument has a [+animate] feature:

13.   Madu u-hlantswela **kokwani** swambalo

1PN 1SC-wash-APL-PRS 1granny 8clothes

(Madu washes clothes for granny)

Various inanimate nouns may also be **beneficiaries** provided they have an additional feature of [+human control]:

14.　Feme yi-akela **xikolo** holo
　　9firm 9SC-build-APL-PRS 7school 9hall
　　(The firm builds a hall for the school)

A **malefactive** reading is also possible if the action of the predicate is to the disadvantage of the internal argument:

15.　Mudyondzisi u-xavela **vadyondzi** sambhoko
　　1teacher 1SC-buy-APL-PRS 2learners 9shambok
　　(The teacher buys a shambok for the learners)

A semantic role of **recipient** may also appear with certain applicative verbs:

16.　Tatana u-rhumela **manana** mali
　　1father 1SC-send-APL-PRS 1mother 9money
　　(Father sends money to mother)

Other possible interpretations are **purpose** and **cause**.

17.　Xibebe xi-rhwalela **mali** tinhundzu
　　7van 7SC-carry-APL-PRS 9money 10goods
　　(The van carries the goods for money)

18.　Vatirhi va-voyamisela **yini** rimhandze?
　　2worker 2SC-slant-CAUS-APL-PRS what 5pole
　　(Why do the workers cause the pole to slant?)

A reading of **direction** and **purpose** is also possible with [+animate] and [-animate] arguments respectively:

19.   a.   Wanuna u-tlhelela **wansati**

                1man 1SC-go-APL-PRS 1woman

                (The man goes back to the woman)

        b.   Mudyondzi u-tlhelela **xikambelo**

                1learner 1SC-go-APL-PRS 7examination

                (The learner goes back for the examination)

It is possible to use the applicative affix in a reduplicated form on the verb. It is then theoretically possible that each of the occurrences of the affix will add an internal argument on the predicate. In this way it is possible for intransitive verbs which have no internal arguments to receive two internal arguments and thus to make intransitive verbs ditransitive verbs:

20.   a.   Manana u-tirhela **n'wana**

                1mother 1SC-work-APL-PRS 1child

                (Mother is working for the child)

        b.   Manana u-tirhela **tibuku**

                1mother 1SC-work-APL-PRS 10books

                (Mother is working for books)

The applicative may be reduplicated as follows:

        c.   Manana u-tirhelela **tibuku n'wana**

                1mother 1SC-work-APL-APL-PRS 10books 1child

                (Mother is working for books for her child)

Other combinations of semantic roles are also possible, such as **cause + benefactive**; **benefactive + purpose**; **cause +purpose**; **purpose + purpose**; etc. All these roles will be considered with **give** verbs.

The applicative with ditransitive verbs

If the applicative is added to a ditransitive verb stem, it will change such a verb into a tritransitive verb, e.g.

21.　　a.　　Thicara u-nyika **vadyondzi switoloveto** >
　　　　　　　1teacher 1SC-give-PRS 2students 8exercises
　　　　　　　(The teacher gives students exercises)

　　　　b.　　Xolwe yi-nyikela **thicara vadyondzi switoloveto**
　　　　　　　9prefect 9SC-give-APL-PRS 1teacher 2students 8exercises
　　　　　　　(The prefect gives exercises to the students on behalf of the
　　　　　　　teacher)

The presence of {-el-} gives the interpretation of **benefactive** to the first internal argument *thicara*. This argument depends on the appearance of {-el-}.

The affixation of the applicative {-el-} on ditransitive verbs may change the interpretation in the process and retain only two internal arguments. The change in interpretation may be **benefactive/ recipient + theme** as in the following example:

　　　　c.　　Xolwe yi-nyikela **thicara switoloveto**
　　　　　　　9prefect 9SC-give-APL-PRS 1teacher 8exercises
　　　　　　　(The prefect gives exercises on behalf of the teacher)

The interrogative yini may appear with the applied ditransitive verbs as an interrogative NP. The following interpretations may be found:

Cause + benefactive/ recipient + theme

22.   Thicara u-lombela **yini vadyondzi tibuku**?

        1teacher 1SC-lend-APL-PRS what 2learners 10books

        (Why does the teacher lend books to the learners?)

Cause + theme

In this combination of roles, the presence of {-el-} is responsible for the presence of yini and it gives an interpretation of **cause** while the other argument mali may be interpreted as **theme**.

23.   Sello u-lombela **yini mali**?

        1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-PRS what 9money

        (Why is Sello borrowing the money?)

Ditransitive verbs with two applicative affixes may not appear with three internal arguments:

24.   *Mufana u-nyikelela **thicara vadyondzi switoloveto**

        1boy 1SC-give-APL-APL-PRS 1teacher 2learners 8exercises

        (The boy gives learners the teacher exercises)

However, if one of the internal arguments is replaced by an interrogative yini, it becomes possible for the transitive verb with two applicative suffixes to appear with three internal arguments one of which is yini:

25.   Vatswari va-rhumelela **yini vana mali**?

2parents 2SC-send-APL-APL-PRS what 2children 9money

(Why are parents sending the money to the children?)

4.3.2   Locative argument

Locative phrases may appear as internal arguments of predicates with the applicative affix {-el-}. These internal arguments are dependent on the applicative affix and may appear in various ways with the suffix {-ini} or with the prefix {eka-}. The affixing of the applicative affects the interpretation of the locative internal argument as in the following pair of example sentences:

26.   a.   Bazi ri-ta-tlhela **eka Malamulele**

5bus 5SC-FUT-return-LOC-1PN

(The bus will return from Malamulele)

b.   Bazi ri-ta-tlhelela **eka Malamulele**

5bus 5SC-FUT-return-APL LOC-1PN

(The bus will return back to Malamulele)

In sentence a. the locative NP is interpreted as **source**. Once the applicative is added to the verb as in b., the interpretation of **direction** is found.

Some verbs, such as *wa* (fall), give rise to the interpretation of **source** with non-applicative verbs. The use of the applicative with such verbs, however, brings about the interpretation of either **direction** or **location**:

27.   a.   Xidakwa xi-wa **ensinyeni**

7drunkard 7SC-fall-PRS LOC-3tree

(The drunkard falls from the tree) = **source**

     b.   Xidakwa xi-wela **ensinyeni**

          7drunkard 7SC-fall-APL-PRS LOC-3tree

          (The drunkard falls onto/ towards the tree) = **Direction**

          (The drunkard falls at the tree) = **Location**

At times there is no shift in the interpretation of the verb with or without the applicative. Consider the following examples which both have a reading of **source**:

28.   a.   Vayeni va-suka **eka Xikundu**

          2visitors 2SC-leave-PRS LOC-1PN

          (The visitors come from the Xikundu village)

     b.   Vayeni va-sukela **eka Xikundu**

          2visitors 2SC-leave-APL-PRS LOC-1PN

          (The visitors depart from the Xikundu village)

It may sometimes be possible that the locative internal argument NP may be ambiguous in its interpretation. It may retain the interpretation of either **benefactive** or **location** with the applicative affix {-el-} but will have the interpretation of **location** without the applicative affix:

29.   a.   Yinhla u-tirha **eka Mbetse**

          1PN 1SC-work-PRS LOC-1PN

          (Yinhla works for/ at Mbetse's place)

     b.   Yinhla u-tirhela **eka Mbetse**

          1PN 1SC-work-APL-PRS LOC-1PN

          (Yinhla works at Mbetse's place)

Some intransitive verbs such as *ta* (come) and *va* (become) cannot appear with the applicative when the internal argument NP is a locative:

30.   a.   Xipikitere xi-ta **exikolweni**

            7inspector 7SC-come-PRS LOC-7school

            (The inspector is coming to the school)

    b.   *Xipikitere xi-tela **exikolweni**

            7inspector 7SC-come-APL-PRS LOC-7school

            (The inspector is coming to the school)

    c.   Mufana u-va **ehansi**

            1boy 1SC-become-PRS LOC-16down

            (The boy becomes down)

    d.   *Mufana u-vela **ehansi**

            1boy 1SC-become-APL-PRS LOC-16down

            (The boy becomes down)

A reduplication of the applicative affix is also possible with a different interpretation to each internal argument. The occurrence of a double applicative requires the presence of NP and NPLoc. The first applied affix {-el-} with NP will give rise to the interpretation of **benefactive** while the other applicative affix with the locative NP will be associated with the semantic role of **location**.

31.   Rivoni ri-voningelela **wanuna emunyameni**

        11light 11SC-brighten-APL-APL-PRS 1man LOC-3darkness

        (The light brightens for the man only in the dark)

In most cases the appearance of the applicative affixes {-el-el-} with intransitive verbs will not give a new semantic role to the internal argument NPLoc. Various interpretations such as **benefactive, purpose** and **direction** are possible:

32. a. Swakudya swi-helelele **vakhandli va nhlonge enkosini**

  8food 8SC-finish-APL-APL-PFT 2mourners LOC-3funeral

  (The food got finished for the people at the funeral)

  b. Dani u-pfukelele **xinkwa ebekarini**

  1PN 1SC-wake-APL-APL-PFT 7bread LOC-9bakery

  (Dani woke up for the bread at the bakery)

  c. Va-vuyelela **mali ebankini**

  2SC-return-APL-APL-PRS 6money LOC-9bank

  (They are returning (for the money) to the bank)

The following interpretations are also possible as is evident in each appropriate example:

Cause + Source

33. Mudyondzisi u-vuyelela **yini exikolweni**?

  1teacher 1SC-return-APL-APL-PRS what LOC-7school

  (Why is the teacher returning from school?)

Cause + Direction

34. Thicara u-tlhelelela **yini exikolweni?**

  1teacher 1SC-return-APL-APL-PRS what LOC-7school

  (Why does the teacher return back to school?)

Cause + Location

35.   N'wana u-tsakelela **yini eka hahani**?
      1child 1SC-happy-APL-APL-PRS what LOC-1aunt
      (Why is the child only happy at her aunt's?)

From the foregoing examples, we can conclude that it is possible for an applicative to appear in a reduplicated form on a verb with NP and NPLoc where the NPLoc will not be regarded as a locative complement. In such cases an **intensive meaning** results. On the other hand, the appearance of the applicative affixes on the intransitive verb with one internal argument NP brings an ambiguous interpretation of either **benefactive or intensive meaning** or **purpose or intensive meaning**. Also, the interpretation of **source** or **direction** results when the verb of motion *vuyelela* is used with the interrogative *yini*. The interpretation of **cause** results when the occurrence of the interrogative *yini* is next to the applied intransitive verb.

The applied transitive verbs with NP and NPLoc

All transitive verbs may take the affix {-el-}. The internal argument which is dependent on the applicative may be an NP locative. Transitive verbs such as *-chela* (pour) without an applicative affix {-el-} may appear with NPLoc and give an interpretation of **location**. When they appear with the applicative {-el-} they may give an interpretation of **direction**:

36.   a.   Mutluti u-pela nambu **exidziveni**
            1sailor 1SC-cross-PRS 3sea LOC-7deep end
            (The sailor crosses the sea in/ at the deep end)

      b.   Mutluti u-pelela nambu **exidziveni**
            1sailor 1SC-cross-APL-PRS 3sea LOC-7deep end

(The sailor crosses the sea towards the deep end)

It is also possible for transitive verbs such as *koka* (pull) to appear with NPLoc and give an interpretation of **source** and with an applicative affix {-el-} an interpretation of **direction**.

37.　　a.　　Mutlangi u-koka ntambu **evaneni**

　　　　　　1player 1SC-pull-PRS 9string LOC-2children

　　　　　　(The player is pulling the string from the children)

　　　　b.　　Mutlangi u-kokela ntambu **evaneni**

　　　　　　1player 1SC-pull-APL-PRS 9string LOC-2children

　　　　　　(The player is pulling the string towards the children)

Transitive verbs such as *hoxa* (throw) with or without the applicative {-el-} may appear with NPLoc and give an ambiguous interpretation of **location** or **direction**:

38.　　Maria u-hoxa bolo **eka mufana**

　　　　1PN 1SC-throw-PRS 9ball LOC-1boy

　　　　(Maria is throwing the ball at/ towards the boy)

An ambiguous interpretation of either **location, benefactive** or **direction** is possible when the applied affix is attached to transitive verbs such as *rhurhela* (accommodate) below:

39.　　Wansati u-rhurhela vafambi **eka hahani**

　　　　1woman 1SC-accommodate-APL-PRS 2travellers LOC-1aunt

　　　　(The woman accommodates travellers at/ for/ to aunt's place)

Other possible interpretations of the locative with an applicative verb are:

location or **benefactive**

40.   a.   Wansati u-rhunga makhethenisi **eka kokwana**

1woman 1SC-sew-PRS 6curtains LOC-1granny

(The woman sews curtains at granny's place)

b.   Wansati u-rhungela makhethenisi **eka kokwana**

1woman 1SC-sew-APL-PRS 6curtains LOC-granny

(The woman is sewing curtains at/ for granny's)

location/ recipient or **benefactive**

41.   a.   Holobye u-xava fanichara **exikolweni**

1minister 1SC-buy-PRS 9furniture LOC-7school

(The minister buys furniture at school)

b.   Holobye u-xavela fanichara **exikolweni**

1minister 1SC-buy-APL-PRS 9furniture LOC-7school

(The minister is buying furniture at/ to/ for the school)

location or **exclusive location**

42.   a.   Thirasiti yi-avanyisa ndzhaka **evaneni**

9trust 9SC-divide-CAUS-PRS 9heritage LOC-2children

(The trust is dividing the heritage at the children's)

b.   Thirasiti yi-avanyisela rifuwo **evaneni**

9trust 9SC-divide-CAUS-APL-PRS 9heritage LOC-2children

(The trust is dividing the heritage (only) at the children's)

It is clear that the applied affix {-el-} has an effect on the semantic interpretation of the locative argument and that the NPLoc is wholly dependent on the applicative {-el-}.

It is also possible for transitive verbs with double applicatives to appear with three internal arguments where one of the arguments is a locative NP. Double applicative affixes may have the following semantic interpretations:

Benefactive + theme + location

43.   Musweki u-xekelela **vana xinkwa exitangeni**
       1cook 1SC-slice-APL-APL-PRS 2children 7bread LOC-7kitchen
       (The cook is slicing the bread for the children in the kitchen)

In this example the first NP is dependent on the applicative and is assigned the semantic role of **benefactive** while the second NP is dependent on the verb itself and is assigned the role of **theme**. The third internal argument expresses **location**.

Benefactive + theme + source/ direction

44.   Jimmy u-kokelela **muakelani movha egarajini**
       1PN 1SC-tow-APL-APL-PRS 1neighbour 3car LOC-9garage
       (Jimmy is towing a car for a neighbour from/ to the garage)

Benefactive + theme + direction

Sometimes two applicatives may appear with a locative NP which is not dependent on either the applicative or the verb but it may have the interpretation of **direction**, e.g.

45. Mfenhe yi-chayelela **murimisi teretere egarajini**

    9monkey 9SC-drive-APL-APL-PRS 1farmer 9tractor LOC-9garage

    (The monkey is driving a tractor for the farmer to the garage)

The presence of the interrogative *yini* with double applicatives in the place of one of the internal arguments may bring the reading of **cause** and it is dependent on the applicative. The locative NP may give the interpretation of **location** but it is not dependent on the applicative or the verb:

Cause + theme + location

46. Musweki u-xekelela **yini xinkwa exitangeni**?

    1cook 1SC-xek-APL-APL-PRS what 7bread LOC-9kitchen

    (Why is the cook slicing bread in the kitchen?)

Cause + theme + source/ direction

47. Mfenhe yi-kokelela **yini movha egarajini?**

    9monkey 9SC-tow-APL-APL-PRS what 3car LOC-9garage

    (Why is the monkey towing the car from/ to the garage?)

The applicative {-el-} on ditransitive verbs with NP locative

The presence of {-el-} brings a change in the meaning within the locative NP's. Consider the following examples:

48. a. Thabo u-lomba **tatana movha eBudget**

    1PN 1SC-lend-PRS 1father 3car LOC-9Budget

    (Thabo lends a car to father at Budget)

    b.   Thabo u-lombela **tatana movha eBudget**

           1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-PRS 1father 3car LOC-9Budget

           (Thabo is borrowing a car for/ to father (only) at/

           from Budget)

Without the applicative {-el-} the arguments in a. above are interpreted as **recipient + theme + location**. The affixation of the applicative onto ditransitive verbs will bring a new interpretation to the locative NP's. In b. above the first NP may be interpreted ambiguously as either **benefactive** or **recipient** and the second NP as **theme**. The locative NP may be ambiguously interpreted as either **location** or **exclusive location**.

Ditransitive verbs with two applicative affixes may apppear with three internal arguments one of which may be a locative argument. The interpretation of the arguments remains the same as above:

48.   Thabo u-lombelela **tatana movha eBudget**

        1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-APL-PRS 1father 3car LOC-9Budget

        (Thabo is borrowing the car for/ to father only from/at Budget)

It is also possible for four internal arguments to appear with the ditransitive verb. This happens when the interrogative yini appears with ditransitive verbs with two applicatives.

These arguments may have the following interpretations in exactly the same sequence that appears in example 49 below:

Cause + benefactive/ recipient + theme + location/ exclusive location/ source

49.   Thabo u-lombelela **yini tatana movha eBudget**?

1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-APL-PRS what 1father 3car LOC-9Budget

(Why is Thabo borrowing the car for/to father (only) at/from Budget?)

In the example below two applicatives may appear on ditransitive verbs. One of the applicatives is responsible for the first locative NP. The second locative NP is an adjunct and not an argument:

50.   Thabo u-lombelela **tatana movha eBudget edorobeni**

         1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-APL-PRS 1father 3car LOC-9Budget LOC-5town

         (Thabo is borrowing the car for/ to father (only) at/ from Budget in town)

4.3.3   The applicative with the infinitive clause

The applied intransitive verbs with an infinitive

In its most general occurrence, the infinitive may be the head of an NP, i.e. a clause dominated by an NP node, which is referred to as a **nominal infinitive**. Generally intransitive verbs do not allow infinitives if the verb has no applicative affix {-el-}. The sentences below are proof of this:

51.   a.   *Butana u rila **ku mama**

                1PN 1SC-cry-PRS 15suck

                (Butana cries to suck)

         b.   *Tuva ri haha **ku tumbela**

                5dove 5SC-fly-PRS 15hide

                (The dove flies to hide)

If the applicative affix {-el-} is added onto the intransitive verb, it makes this verb transitive. The applied intransitive verb may appear with the infinitive {ku-} as a complement as in the following examples:

52.   a.   Butana u-rilela **ku mama**

                1PN 1SC-cry-APL-PRS 15suck

                (Butana is crying for sucking)

    b.   Tuva ri-hahela **ku tumbela**

                5dove 5SC-fly-APL-PRS 15hide

                (The dove flies to hide)

When the intransitive verb is a motion verb such as *tsutsuma* (run) the main clause may take an infinitive clause, but only on condition that the verb with the infinitive is also a verb of motion. Such verbs accept infinitives when they appear with or without applicatives:

53.   a.   Va-tsutsuma **ku ya entirhweni**

                2SC-run-PRS 15go LOC-3work

                (They run to go to work)

    b.   Va-tsutsumela **ku ya entirhweni**

                2SC-run-APL-PRS 15go LOC-3work

                (They run to go to work)

When the verb of the main clause is a motion verb, and the verb of the infinitive is not a motion verb, such sentences are not acceptable unless the verb of the main clause has the applicative {-el-}:

54.   a.   *Wisani u-tsutsumile **ku byala swiluva**

                1PN 1SC-run-PFT 15plant 8flowers

                (Wisani ran to plant flowers)

b.　　Wisani u-tsutsumerile **ku byala swiluva**

1PN 1SC-run-APL-PFT 15plant 8flowers

(Wisani ran to plant flowers)

There are intransitive verbs which may appear with a sentential subject pronoun which takes the form of the existential morpheme. This morpheme has reference to something mentioned in the discourse. Such verbs may take the infinitive. In the case where such verbs occur with an applied affix {-el-} the sentence is disallowed:

55.　a.　　Swi tolovelekile **ku yimbelela ekerekeni**

8SC-common-NEUT-PFT 15sing LOC-9church

(It is common practice to sing in church)

b.　　*Swi tolovelekerile **ku yimbelela ekerekeni**

8SC-common-NEUT-APL-PFT 15sing LOC-9church

(It is common practice to sing in church)

The infinitives may appear with weather verbs such as *hisa* (hot) without any referential argument. Such verbs with the applicative {-el-} are disallowed:

56.　a.　　Ka hisa **ku tshama ehandle**

16SC-hot-PRS 15sit 16outside

(It is hot to sit outside)

b.　　*Ka hisela **ku tshama ehandle**

16SC-hot-APL-PRS 15sit 16outside

(It is hot for to sit outside)

The applied transitive verbs with an infinitive

It is possible for transitive verbs without the applicative to appear with a nominal infinitive:

57.   a.   Muongori u-tiva **ku xaniseka ka vavabyi**

               1nurse 1SC-know-PRS 15suffer-STV 15POSS-2the sick

               (The nurse knows the suffering of the sick)

    b.   Khwayere yi-rhandza **ku yimbelela**

               9choir 9SC-like-PRS 15sing

               (The choir likes singing/ to sing)

However, transitive verbs with the applicative {-el-} may not be followed by nominal infinitives with the features of nouns such as nominal modifiers, object markers, movement with passives and clausal infinitives, or by anything that cannot bear the benefactive theta role:

    c.   *Muongori u-tivela **ku xaniseka ka vavabyi**

               1nurse 1SC-know-APL-PRS 15suffer-STV 15POSS-2the sick

               (*The nurse knows for the suffering of the sick)

    d.   *Khwayere yi-rhandzela **ku yimbelela**

               9choir 9SC-like-APL-PRS 15sing

               (*The choir likes for singing/ to sing)

It is only on concrete verbs that {-el-} allows a clausal infinitive to appear with it:

58.   Mudyondzi u-dyondzela **ku pasa xikambelo**

        1student 1SC-study-APL-PRS 15pass 7exam

        (The student is studying to pass the exam)

Such infinitival clauses are dependent on the applied affix {-el-} and have a reading of **purpose**. Some transitive verbs such as *tiva* (know) and *vona* (see) with inanimate objects may not appear with an infinitival clause and remain grammatical, as in the examples below:

59.   a.   *Ndhuna yi-tiva timhaka **ku ti vulavula ehosini**

         9headman 9SC-know-PRS 10news 15-10OM-tell LOC-9king

         (The headman knows the news to tell them to the king)

   b.   *Mufambi u-vona movha **ku ya eKapa**

         1traveller 1SC-see-PRS 3car 15go LOC-Cape Town

         (The traveller sees a car to go to Cape Town)

However, some non-applied concrete transitive verbs such as *teka* (take) with a [+animate] or a [-animate] object, and *aka* (build) with inanimate objects may appear with the infinitive, e.g.

60.   a.   Wansati u-teka xihloka **ku ya tsema tihunyi**

         1woman 1SC-take-PRS 7axe 15go chop 10wood

         (The woman takes an axe to go and chop wood)

   b.   Mufambisi u-teka muleteri **ku ya dyondzisa swichudeni**

         1director 1SC-take-PRS 1lecturer 15go teach-CAUS 8students

         (The Director takes a lecturer to go and teach students)

   c.   Muhlolo u-aka yindlu **ku kuma mali**

         1PN 1SC-build-PRS 9house 15get 9money

         (Muhlolo builds a house to get money)

Applied transitive verbs with objects may appear with nominal infinitives and with clausal infinitives. In such a case two internal arguments may be found:

61.　a.　Mutshama-xitulu u-vikela **huvo ku lova ka matsalani**

　　　　1chairperson 1SC-inform-APL-PRS 9court 15death 15POSS-1secretary

　　　　(The chairperson informs the court (about) the death of the secretary)

　　b.　Xichudeni xi-hlayela **tibuku ku pasa xikambelo**

　　　　7student 7SC-read-APL-PRS 10books 15pass 7exam

　　　　(The student reads books to pass the exams)

In example a. the first internal argument is dependent on the appearance of {-el-} and gives the interpretation of **benefactive**. The second internal argument is dependent on the verb and may be interpreted as **theme**. In b. the appearance of an infinitival clause is dependent on the applicative {-el-} and it gives the interpretation of **purpose**. The first internal argument is dependent on the verb and has the interpretation of **theme**.

Topicalised constructions are characterised by verbs with the applicative {-el-}. Such verbs may appear with infinitives as their complements. In addition, a coreferential object marker occurs with the NP object in the TOPIC position by the process of coindexation in the morphology of the applied transitive verbs. Chomsky (1981) as quoted by du Plessis et al. (1995) proposes the following rule for topicalized construction:

　　S > TOPIC S

　　[Topic NP] [s NP[VP OM-V-el-PRO] [s[s NP INF VP]]]

62.　**Huvo**, va-**yi**-vikela ku-lova ka matsalani

　　9court, 2SC-9OM-inform-APL-PRS 15death 15POSS-1secretary

　　(The court, they inform them about the death of the secretary)

In the example above, the object marker is dependent on the appearance of {-el-} and it gives the interpretation of **benefactive** while the infinitive may be dependent on the verb and it gives the interpretation of **theme**.

The topicalized NP constructions may appear with a clausal infinitive, e.g.

63.   Tibuku$_i$, va-ti$_i$-hlayela ku-pasa xikambelo

        10books, 2SC-10OM-read-APL-PRS 15pass 7exam

        (Books, they read them to pass exams)

In the example above the object marker is coindexed with its antecedent. The appearance of {-el-} makes the infinitive dependent on it, thus the interpretation of **purpose** is found. The object marker is dependent on the verb and it gives the interpretation of **theme**. In general, there is no difference in the interpretation of sentences with or without the topicalized NP.

The applied ditransitive verbs with an infinitive

Ditransitive verbs **without an applicative** may appear with an infinitival clause. In such a case the infinitival clause is an adjunct and not an argument. Consider the example below:

64.   Rhulani u-nyika Minki mali **ku xava maxuka**

        1PN 1SC-give-PRS 1PN 9money 15buy 6blankets

        (Rhulani gives Minki money to buy blankets)

In this example the first NP Minki is interpreted as **recipient** while the second NP *mali* is interpreted as **theme**. The infinitival clause has an interpretation of **purpose**.

When a ditransitive verb incorporates the applied affix {-el-}, it enables them to appear with another extra internal argument. In such a case the infinitival clause may be the fourth internal argument which is dependent on the presence of {-el-} and gives the semantic role of **purpose**:

65.   Rhulani u-nyikela **Popiki Minki mali ku xava maxuka**
      1PN 1SC-give-APL-PRS 1PN 1PN 9money 15buy 6blankets
      (Rhulani gives the money for Popiki to Minki to buy blankets)

The first NP Popiki may have the reading of **source** while the second NP Minki is interpreted ambiguously as either **benefactive** or **recipient**. The third NP mali is read as **theme** while the fourth *ku xava maxuka* is now dependent on the appearance of {-el-} and gives an interpretation of **purpose**.

Ditransitive verbs with the applicative {-el-} may also appear with the locative NP and an infinitival clause. Such ditransitive verbs may have four internal arguments. If a locative NP appears with ditransitive verbs, then the infinitive will be an adjunct and not an argument. Consider the following example:

66.   Rhulani u-nyikela **Minki mali evhengeleni ku xava maxuka**
      1PN 1SC-give-APL-PRS 1PN 9money LOC-5shop 15buy 6blankets
      (Rhulani gives money for/to Minki only in the shop to buy blankets)

The locative NP in this example gives the semantic interpretation of either **location** or **exclusive location**. The infinitival clause itself gives a reading of **purpose**.

4.3.4   The applicative with the `leswaku'-clause

With the intransitive verb

It is uncommon for the intransitive verb to appear with a **leswaku**-clause (`so that') with a short present indicative tense in the main clause, e.g.

67.   **Short form**:

    a.   *Magezi **u**-nyenyela **leswaku a ta kuma malekere**

        1PN 1SC-whine-PRS so that 1SC-FUT-get 6sweets

        (Magezi whines so that he may get sweets)

    Long form:

    b.   Magezi **wa**-nyenyela **leswaku a ta kuma malekere**

        1PN 1SC-whine-PRS so that 1SC-FUT-get 6sweets

        (Magezi is whining so that he can get sweets)

However, there are some intransitive verbs in both the short and long form of the present (even the future and perfect) tenses in the main clause which regularly take **leswaku**-clauses:

68.   **Short form**:

    a.   Mutirhi **u**-n'unun'uta **leswaku a-tlakusiwa**

        1worker 1SC-grumble-PRS that 1SC-promote-PASS-PRS

        (The worker grumbles that she be promoted)

    Long form:

    b.   Mutirhi **wa**-n'unun'uta **leswaku a-tlakusiwa**

        1worker 1SC-grumble-PRS that 1SC-promote-PASS-PRS

        (The worker grumbles so that she be promoted)

Intransitive verbs with the applicative affix {-el-} may regularly appear with the **leswaku** -clauses as in the following examples:

69.   Magezi u-nyenyelela **leswaku a ta kuma malekere**

      1PN 1SC-whine-APL-PRS so that 1SC-FUT-get 6sweets

      (Magezi is whining so that he may get sweets)

In this example the applicative affix {-el-} determines the selection of the mood in INFL(ection) of the embedded clause. When intransitive verbs do not select **leswaku**-clauses, the presence of {-el-} makes up for this deficiency to give a reading of **purpose**.

The applied transitive verbs with the `leswaku'-clause

The **leswaku**-clause can appear as a sentential complement of non-applied transitive verbs such as *lava* (want) and *ala* (refuse) as in the following examples:

70.   a.   Kokwana u-lava **leswaku Sasi a tekiwa**

          1granny 1SC-want-PRS that 1PN 1SC-marry-PASS-PRS

          (Granny wants Sasi to get married)

      b.   Maphorisa ya-ala **leswaku vafana va yiva**

          6police 6SC-refuse-PRS that 2boys 2SC-steal-PRS

          (The police refuse that boys should steal)

Transitive verbs with the applicative may also appear with the complementizer **leswaku**-clause. In such cases, the appearance of the **leswaku**-clauses is dependent on the applicative affix {-el-} and it gives a reading of **purpose**. Although traditionally {-el-} introduces an argument that bears the benefactive theta role, it can introduce various theta roles.

71.   a.   Murimi u-byalela **leswaku a tshovela**

        1farmer 1SC-sow-APL-PRS so that 1SC-may reap-PRS

        (The farmer sows so that he may reap)

However, in some instances applied transitive verbs such as *lavela* (want for) and *alela* (refuse for) do not allow clauses with the complementizer **leswaku**. Consider the examples below:

    b.   *Murimi u-lavela **leswaku a tshovela**

        1farmer 1SC-want-APL-PRS so that 1SC-may reap-PRS

        (The farmer wants that he may reap)

    c.   *Manana u-alela **leswaku n'wana a ya exikolweni**

        1mother 1SC-refuse-APL-PRS so that 1child 1SC-go-PRS LOC-7school)

        (Mother refuses so that the child may go to school)

The transitive verbs that we have dealt with above were without an object. When the object is included, the transitive verb, with or without the applicative, may appear with the **leswaku**-clause. Where the applied is not included, the transitive verb subcategorizes for an NP object and the **leswaku**-clause becomes an adjunct, e.g.

72.   Mufana u-khoma huku **leswaku yi ta dlayiwa**

        1boy 1SC-catch-PRS 9chicken so that 9SC-FUT-slaughter-PASS

        (The boy catches a chicken so that it can be slaughtered)

With the applied {-el-} on transitive verbs such as *aka* (build), the complementizer **leswaku**-clause will have a reading of **purpose** because the clause depends on the applied affix, e.g.

73. a. Xiturumani u-akela huku **leswaku yi ta fuwiwa**

　　　　1PN 1SC-build-APL-PRS 9chicken so that 9SC-FUT-breed-PASS

　　　　(Xiturumani is building for the chicken so that it may be bred)

Topicalization constructions are characterised by the applicative {-el-} and it may appear with a clause with **leswaku**. In addition, a coreferential object marker co-occurs with the NP in the TOPIC position as it occurs in the morphology of the applied transitive verb. The following structure of topicalization construction with the complementizer **leswaku**-clause may be found:

Consider the following constructions, with the complementizer **leswaku**-clause, where they are of the general form:

　　　b. Huku mufana u-yi-khomela **leswaku yi ta dlayiwa**

　　　　9chicken 1boy 1SC-9OM-catch-APL-PRS so that 9SC-FUT-slaughter-PASS

　　　　(The chicken, the boy catches it so that it may be slaughtered)

　　　c. Huku va-yi-akela **leswaku yi ta fuwiwa**

　　　　9chicken 2SC-9OM-build-APL-PRS so that 9SC-FUT-bred-PASS

　　　　(The chicken, they build for it so that it may be bred)

The applied ditransitive verb with the complementizer leswaku

Ditransitive verbs without the applicative may appear with the complementizer **leswaku**-clause. In such a case, the **leswaku**-clause has a reading of **purpose**. Consider the following example:

74. Tatana u-lomba **mufana muchini leswaku a tsemeta byanyi**

　　　1father 1SC-lend-PRS 1boy 3mower so that 1SC-mow-PRS 5lawn

　　　(Father lends the boy a mower so that he can mow the lawn)

The ditransitive verb with the applicative {-el-} may allow the complementizer **leswaku**-clause to appear with it. As a result such verbs may appear with three internal arguments, i.e. [...NP NP **leswaku**-clause]. The first NP may be ambiguously interpreted as either **benefactive** or **recipient** and the second NP may be interpreted as **theme**. The **leswaku-**clause is dependent on the occurrence of {-el-} and as in the absence of the applicative, this clause will be interpreted as **purpose**:

75. Tatana u-lombela **mufana muchini leswaku a tsemeta byanyi**
     1father 1SC-borrow-APL-PRS 1boy 3machine so that 1SC-mow-PRS 5lawn
     (Father borrows the mower for the boy so that he may mow the lawn)

Topicalized NP arguments which are characterized by the applicative {-el-} may appear with the complementizer **leswaku**-clause. An object marker which occurs in the morphology of applied ditransitive verbs will be coindexed with the NP object in the TOPIC position. One of the object NP's may be in the TOPIC position and be associated with its object marker.

The structure of topicalized NP's with the complementizer **leswaku**-clause may be represented as follows:

     [Topic NP sNP VP OM-V-el pro NP s sNP INFL VP

OR/ AND

     Topic NP sNP VP OM-V-el NP INFL VP

The following are examples of topicalized constructions:

76.   a.   Mufana tatana u-n'wi-lombela muchini leswaku a tsemeta

byanyi

1boy 1father 1SC-1OM-borrow-APL-PRS 3machine so that 1SC-

mow-PRS 5lawn

(The boy, father borrows a mower for him so that he can mow the

lawn)

        b.   **Muchini** tatana u-**wu**-lombela mufana leswaku a tsemeta byanyi

3machine 1father 1SC-3OM-borrow-APL-PRS 1boy so that 1SC-

mow-PRS 5lawn

(The mower, father borrows it so that the boy can mow the lawn)

In a. the object marker with the first NP is assigned a semantic role of either **benefactive** or **recipient**. The **leswaku**-clause is assigned a semantic role of **purpose** and it is dependent on the appearance of {-el-}. In b. the object marker with the second NP is assigned the semantic role of **theme**.

4.3.5 The applicative with the reflexive

The reflexive refers to a construction where the subject and the object of a sentence relate to the same entity. The reflexive does not have an inherent referential index of its own. Thus it conforms to the general definition of an anaphor. Since all nouns must have a referential index, the reflexive has to borrow its index from its antecedent.

In Xitsonga the reflexive is morphologically represented by the morpheme {ti-} which is prefixed to the stem of the verb, e.g.

77.   Ximanga xa **ti**xixima

       7cat 7SC-RFL-respect-PRS

       (A cat respects itself)

Syntactically, as a prefix of the verb, it has the same distribution as the object marker, i.e. they always occupy the same position in a sentence.

The possibility of using the reflexive {ti-} on the verb is dependent on the semantic features of the verb. Certain verbs such as the intransitive verbs, cannot appear with the reflexive, e.g.

78. a.   *Wanuna wa tietlela
           1man 1SC-RFL-sleep-PRS
           (The man sleeps himself)

     b.   *Mudyondzi wa titlhariha
           1learner 1SC-RFL-brilliant
           (*The learner brilliant himself)

However, when intransitive verbs appear with the applied {-el-}, thus becoming transitive and obtaining an internal argument, they may allow the reflexive to appear with them. In such cases it seems as if the reflexive meaning of {ti-} has disappeared:

79. a.   Wanuna wa-tietlelela
           1man 1SC-RFL-sleep-APL-PRS
           (The man just sleeps)

     b.   Mudyondzi wa-titlharihela
           1learner 1SC-RFL-brilliant-APL-PRS
           (The learner just becomes brilliant (for herself))

In both of these cases the semantic interpretation of [-cause] and [-dependent] is found.

When the reflexive {ti-} is affixed to the stem of a ditransitive verb, it becomes dependent on argument binding and is semantically interpreted as **recipient**. The other internal argument such as *livhi* (leave) below is assigned the semantic role of **theme**. Consider the example below:

80.   Vatirhi va tinyika livhi
        2workers 2SC-RFL-give-PRS 9leave
        (The workers give themselves leave)

The reflexive may also have the role of **theme** and **purpose** in the primary object:

81.   Wanuna u tivangela milandzu
        1man 1SC-RFL-create-APL-PRS 4debts
        (The man creates debts for himself)

Usually the semantic role of **benefactive** is found with the reflexive, e.g.

82.   Ximanga xi tidlayela kondlo
        7cat 7SC-RFL-kill-APL-PRS 5mouse
        (The cat kills a mouse for itself)

When the meaning of the reflexive is suppressed, the semantic features [-cause, -dependent] take over as in the following examples:

83.   Mudyondzi u tihlayela xipele
        1learner 1SC-RFL-read-APL-PRS 7reader
        (The learner is just reading the reader on his own)

Sometimes the interpretation may be ambiguous with the role of **beneficiary** and -cause, -dependent as in the examples below:

84.   a.   Nghala yi tidlayele nhutlwa

                9lion 9SC-RFL-kill-APL-PFT 9giraffe

                (The lion killed a giraffe for itself)

                (The lion just killed the giraffe)

                (The lion killed the giraffe on its own)

        b.   Nhwanyana u tiyimbelelela risimu

                1girl 1SC-RFL-sing-APL-PRS 11song

                (The girl is singing a song for herself)

                (The girl is just singing a song for no purpose)

                (The girl is singing a song on her own)

The interpretation of **benefactive** may be assigned to the reflexive argument. The subject argument i.e. **agent** will bind the reflexive argument, viz. the **benefactive**. On the other hand, the presence of {-el-} may add a new meaning to the reflexive argument, viz. [-cause], [-dependent].

From the discussion above it is clear that the reflexive {ti-} may appear with ditransitive verbs with and without an applicative affix. When used without the applicative, the reflexive takes the semantic role of **recipient** while the other argument is assigned the role of **theme**.

When the applicative is included, it adds another internal argument, viz. a locative NP. This locative NP will be dependent on {-el-} and it exemplifies an ambiguous interpretation of either **location** or **exclusive location**. The reflexive will also be dependent on the appearance of {-el-} and it is associated with an interpretation of either **benefactive** or **recipient**. Consider the example below:

85.   Bavuri u tilombela mali ebangini

        1PN 1SC-RFL-borrow-APL-PRS 9money LOC-9bank

        (Bavuri borrows money for/ to himself only from/ at the bank)

In this example, the reflexive argument is present because of the appearance of {-el-} on the verb. The applied affix {-el-} will give an ambiguous interpretation of either **benefactive** or **recipient** to the reflexive argument. The external argument will then bind the internal argument, i.e. **agent** and either **beneficiary** or **recipient** will then be bound by argument binding. The locative NP may be dependent on the applicative and may give an ambiguous interpretation of either **location** or **exclusive location**. The other internal argument may be interpreted as **theme**.

4.4   The applicative with the different types of verbs

From each of the different types of verbs which have been treated, viz. (**give** verbs, **contribute** verbs, verbs of **future having,** verbs of **providing**, **equip** verbs, verbs of **obtaining** and verbs of **exchange**) a few verbs will be selected and put in the applicative. Then, in each case, the interpretation of the new argument will be given.

4.4.1   Give verbs   (-nyika)

<u>With NP internal argument</u>

The PAS of **give** verbs is such that they cannot appear with intransitive verbs nor with monotransitive verbs. As a result the applicative will be considered within the framework of ditransitive verbs only. Consider the examples below:

86.   a.   Xambhulela xi-nyikela **nsinya vahlaleri ndzhuti**

                7umbrella 7SC-give-APL-PRS 3tree 2spectators 3shade

(The umbrella gives spectators shade on behalf of the tree)

b.   Hahani u-hakelela **manana vana namuneti**

1aunt 1SC-pay-APL-PRS 1mother 2children 9cooldrink

(Aunt pays for the cooldrink for the children on behalf of mother)

In these examples above, the addition of the applicative {-el-} to the verb stem has changed the PAS of the verb by increasing the number of internal arguments by one, making the ditransitive verb a tritransitive verb.

In sentence a. the new argument is *nsinya* (tree). This argument takes its syntactic position immediately after the verb, being dependent on the affix {-el-}. *Nsinya* has the semantic feature [-animate] which may semantically be interpreted as **substitution** because the umbrella performs the said action of providing shade to the spectators on behalf of the tree.

In sentence b. the affixing of the applicative {-el-} has also changed the PAS of the verb, increasing the number of internal arguments to three. The new argument in this sentence is *manana* and, like *nsinya* in a., takes its syntactic position adjacent to the verb because of its dependence on the applicative affix.

Semantically this [+animate] argument may also be interpreted as **substitution** because *hahani* pays on behalf of *manana*.

The affixation of the applicative {-el-} on ditransitive verbs may change the PAS by retaining only two internal arguments. The change in the semantic interpretation may then be **benefactive/ recipient + theme** as in the example below:

87.   Munghana u-lombela **Tshameleni buku**

1friend 1SC-borrow-APL-PRS 1PN 9book

(The friend borrows a book for Tshameleni)

When the interrogative *yini* appears as an argument with the applied ditransitive verbs, the semantic interpretations of **cause + benefactive/ recipient + theme** may be found:

88.   a.   Thicara u-lombela **yini vadyondzi tibuku**?
      1teacher 1SC-lend-APL-PRS what 2 learners 10books
      (Why is the teacher lending the books to the learners?)

      b.   Wanuna u-hakelela **yini xigangu swambalo**?
      1man 1SC-pay-APL-PRS what 7girlfriend 8clothes
      (Why is the man paying for the clothes for the girlfriend?)

      c.   Murisi u-nyikela **yini timbuti nyama**?
      1shepherd 1SC-give-APL-PRS what 10goats 9meat
      (Why is the shephered giving meat to the goats?)

At times the interrogative *yini* may appear with the applied ditransitive verbs. In such a case ditransitive verbs have undergone argument reduction and may incorporate two internal arguments. The interpretations of **cause + theme** are possible:

89.   a.   Thicara u-lombela **yini tibuku**?
      1teacher 1SC-borrow-APL-PRS what 10books
      (Why is the teacher borrowing books?)

      b.   Va-hakelela **yini rhente**?
      2SC-pay-APL-PRS what 9rent
      (Why do they pay rent?)

In these examples the presence of {-el-} is responsible for the interrogative *yini* and it may be interpreted as **cause** while the other internal argument may be interpreted as **theme**.

Ditransitive verbs with two applicative affixes may not appear with three internal NP arguments without being starred:

90.   *Hlamalani u-lombelela **vadyondzi thicara tibuku**

        1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-APL-PRS 2learners 1teacher 10books

        (Hlamalani is borrowing the books for the learners the teacher)

Transitive verbs with a reduplicated applicative affix may appear with three internal arguments without the locative where one of the arguments is dependent on the first applicative and the other argument is dependent on the second applicative while the third argument is dependent on the verb itself. However, some of such sentences may be ungrammatical:

91.   *Ndzawulo yi-nyikelela **vana mali rifumo**

        9department 9SC-give-APL-APL-PRS 2children 9money 5heritage

        (The department is dividing the heritage for the children for money)

A sentence construction with three internal arguments is however allowed when one of the internal arguments is replaced by the interrogative NP *yini*. In this case a reading of **cause** will result which is dependent on one of the affixes {-el-} as an interrogative NP and the second NP is dependent on the second affix {-el-} while the third NP is dependent on the verb itself. The latter two internal arguments will be interpreted as **benefactive** and **theme** respectively:

92.   a.   Muaki u-hakelelela **yini vatirhi rhente**?

                1builder 1SC-pay-APL-APL-PRS what 2workers 9rent

                (Why does the builder pay rent for the workers?)

b. Muaki u-lombelela **yini vatirhi switirho**?

1builder 1SC-borrow-APL-APL-PRS what 2workers 8tools

(Why is the builder borrowing the workers the tools?)

The applicative {-el-} on ditransitive verbs with the locative argument

When the applicative {-el-} is not included in the verb stem, the interpretation of **recipient + theme + location** is found with the three internal arguments. Consider the following sentences:

93. a. Musweki u-nyika **vaendzi swakudya ehandle** >

1cook 1SC-give-PRS 2visitors 8food LOC-16outside

(The cook gives food to the visitors outside)

b. Musweki u-nyikela **vaendzi swakudya ehandle**

1cook 1SC-give-APL-PRS 2visitors 8food LOC-16outside

(The cook gives the food for/ to the visitors **only** outside)

94. a. Popi u-lomba **Dudu rhoko eka Edgars Hire** >

1PN 1SC-borrow-PRS 1PN 9dress LOC-9Edgars Hire

(Popi is borrowing a dress for/ to Dudu at Edgars Hire)

b. Popi u-lombela **Dudu rhoko eka Edgars Hire**

1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-PRS 1PN 9dress LOC-9Edgars Hire

(Popi is borrowing a dress for/ to Dudu **only** at/from Edgars Hire)

95. a. Khangi u-hakela **Ponani xikweleti ePerlmodes** >

1PN 1SC-pay-PRS 1PN 7debt LOC-9Perlmodes

(Khangi is paying a debt for/ to Ponani at Perlmodes)

b.   Khangi u-hakelela **Ponani xikweleti ePerlmodes**

1PN 1SC-pay-APL-PRS 1PN 7debt LOC-9Perlmodes

(Khangi is paying a debt for/ to Ponani **only** at Perlmodes)

When the applicative {-el-} is affixed to ditransitive verbs, it brings about a new interpretation to the locative NPs. In 93a. the first NP such as *vaendzi* (visitors) may be interpreted ambiguously as either **benefactive** or **recipient**. The second NP such as *swakudya* (food) has the role of **theme** while the locative NP like *ehandle* (outside) may be ambiguously interpreted as either **location** or **exclusive location**.

It is possible for two applicative affixes to appear with three internal arguments where one of them is a locative NP. In such occurrences the first NP will be dependent on the applicative, while the second NP will be dependent on the verb. The locative NP will also be dependent on the applicative. Consider the following examples:

96.   Musweki u-nyikelela **vaendzi swakudya ehandle**

1cook 1SC-give-APL-APL-PRS 2visitors 8food LOC-16outside

(The cook gives the food for/ to the visitors **only** outside)

97.   Popi u-lombelela **Dudu rhoko eka Edgars Hire**

1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-APL-PRS 1PN 9dress LOC-9Edgars Hire

(Popi is borrowing a dress for/ to Dudu **only** at/ from Edgars Hire)

98.   Khangi u-hakelelela **Ponani xikweleti ePerlmodes**   >

1PN 1SC-pay-APL-APL-PRS 1PN 7debt LOC-9Perlmodes

(Khangi is paying a debt for/ to Ponani **only** at Perlmodes)

In these examples above the internal arguments may be interpreted as **benefactive/ recipient + theme + location/ exclusive location/ source**. The two applicatives give intensive meaning to the verb.

Furthermore, it is possible for four internal arguments to appear with a verb that has two applicative affixes. In this case the fourth argument is the interrogative *yini*. These arguments may be interpreted as **cause + benefactive/ recipient + theme + location/ exclusive location/ source** in the sequence, e.g. *yini vaendzi swakudya ehandle*. In this case two arguments are dependent on the verb and the other two on each appearance of the applicative. The following examples are appropriate:

99. a. Musweki u-nyikelela **yini vaendzi swakudya ehandle**?
          1cook   1SC-give-APL-APL-PRS   what   2visitors   8food   LOC-16outside
          (Why is the cook giving the food for/ to the visitors **only** outside?)

     b. Popi u-lombelela **yini Dudu rhoko eka Edgars Hire**?
          1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-APL-PRS what 1PN 9dress LOC-9Edgars Hire
          (Why is Popi borrowing a dress for/ to Dudu **only** at/ from Edgars Hire?)

100.   Khangi u-hakelelela **yini Ponani xikweleti ePerlmodes**?
          1PN 1SC-pay-APL-APL-PRS what 1PN 7debt LOC-9Perlmodes
          (Why is Khangi paying a debt for/ to Ponani **only** at Perlmodes?)

It is clear now that ditransitive verbs with the applicative {-el-} may appear with three internal arguments. The applicative {-el-} may also be duplicated so that the

first applicative is associated with the first NP while the second one is associated with the locative NP. The interrogative *yini* may also appear with ditransitive verbs with the reduplicated affix {-el-}. In this way four internal arguments are allowed.

<u>The applicative {-el-} on ditransitive verbs with the infinitive clause</u>

Ditransitive verbs without the applicative may appear with an infinitival clause which normally occupies the position at the end of the sentence. In such a case, the infinitival clause is not an argument but an adjunct. Consider all the sentences numbered a. below:

101.   a.   Matironi u-nyika madokodela mali **ku xava mirhi**   >
               1matron 1SC-give-PRS 2doctors 9money 15buy 4medicines
               (The matron gives money to the doctors to buy medicines)

       b.   Matironi u-nyikela madokodela mali **ku xava mirhi**
               1matron 1SC-give-APL-PRS 2doctors 9money 15buy 4medicines
               (The matron gives money to the doctors in order to buy medicines)

102.   a.   Popi u-lomba Dudu rhoko **ku ambala enkhubyeni**>
               1PN 1SC-lend-PRS 1PN 9dress 15wear LOC-3function
               (Popi lends a dress to Dudu to wear at the function)

       b.   Popi u-lombela Dudu rhoko **ku ambala** enkhubyeni
               1PN 1SC-lend-APL-PRS 1PN 9dress 15wear LOC-3function
               (Popi borrows a dress for/ to Dudu to wear at the function)

103.   a.   Khangi u-hakela Ponani muholo **ku pfala xikweleti**>
               1PN 1SC-pay-PRS 1PN 3salary 15close 7debt
               (Khangi is paying the salary to Ponani to pay up her debt)

b.   Khangi u-hakelela Ponani muholo **ku pfala xikweleti**

1PN 1SC-pay-APL-PRS 1PN 3salary 15close 7debt

(Khangi is paying a salary for/ to Ponani in order to pay up her debt)

In all the sentences where the ditransitive verb is used without the applicative, i.e. all the sentences numbered a. above, the first NP has the interpretation of **recipient** while the second NP is interpreted as **theme**. The infinitival clause has the semantic interpretation of **purpose**.

The affixing of the applicative {-el-} on ditransitive verbs in the sentences numbered b. above enables the ditransitive verbs to appear with another extra internal argument. In such a case, the infinitival clause is the third internal argument and is dependent on the presence of {-el-}. This clause then has a reading of **purpose**. The first NP may be interpreted ambiguously as either **benefactive** or **recipient** while the second NP has a reading of **theme**.

Ditransitive verbs with the applicative {-el-} may also appear with a locative NP and an infinitival clause. As a result, such ditransitive verbs may have four internal arguments.

However, if a locative NP appears with ditransitive verbs, then the infinitive will be an adjunct and not an argument, hence there will only be three internal arguments. Consider the following examples (cf. also example 66):

104.   a.   Matironi u-nyikela madokodela mali ekhemisini **ku xava mirhi**>

1matron 1SC-give-APL-PRS 2doctors 9money LOC-9chemist

15buy 4medicines

(The matron gives money for/ to the doctors **only** in the chemist in order to buy medicines)

b. Popi u-lombela Dudu rhoko eka Baloyi **ku ambala** enkhubyeni

1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-PRS 1PN 9dress LOC-Baloyi 15wear LOC-3function

(Popi borrows a dress for/ to Dudu at the Baloyi's in order to wear at the function)

c. Khangi u-hakelela Ponani muholo eka Perlmodes **ku pfala**
xikweleti

1PN 1SC-pay-APL-PRS 1PN 3salary LOC-9Perlmodes 15close 7debt

(Khangi is paying a salary for/ to Ponani at the Perlmodes in order to pay up her debt)

In the examples a. and c. above the locative NP is not optional and therefore not an adjunct. It may be interpreted ambiguously as either **location** or **exclusive location** or **source**. Sentence b. is exceptional in its interpretation of **source** and the infinitival clause is thus an adjunct and not an argument. The infinitival clause then gives a reading of **purpose.**

The applicative {-el-} with the `leswaku'-clause

Ditransitive **give** verbs with or without the applicative affix may appear with three internal arguments one of which is the **leswaku**-clause, i.e. [{-el-} NP NP *leswaku*]. The **leswaku**-clause normally occupies the position at the end of the sentence as in the following examples:

105. a. Va nyika mufana nhonga **leswaku a dlaya nyoka**>
2SC-give-PRS 1boy 9stick so that 1SC-kill-PRS 9snake
(I give a stick to the boy so that he can kill a snake)

b. Va-nyikela mufana nhonga **leswaku a dlaya nyoka**

2SC-give-APL-PRS 1boy 9stick so that 1SC-kill-PRS 9snake

(I give a stick for/ to the boy so that he may kill a snake)

106. a. Sasi u-lomba Mimi wachi **leswaku a ambala evokweni**

1PN 1SC-lend-PRS 1PN 9watch so that 1SC-wear-PRS LOC-5wrist

(Sasi lends a watch to Mimi so that she may wear it on her wrist)

b. Sasi u-lombela Mimi wachi **leswaku a vona nkarhi**

1PN 1SC-borrow-APL-PRS 1PN 9watch so that 1SC-see-PRS 3time

(Sasi borrows a watch for/ lends a watch to Mimi so that she may see the time)

107. a. Muthori u-hakela mutirhi mali **leswaku a xava swiambalo**

1employer 1SC-pay-PRS 1worker 9money so that 1SC-buy-PRS 8clothes

(The employer pays the worker money so that she may buy clothes)

b. Muthori u-hakelela mutirhi mali **leswaku a xava swiambalo**

1employer 1SC-pay-APL-PRS 1worker 9money so that 1SC-buy-PRS 8clothes

(The employer pays money for/ to the worker so that she may buy clothes)

The first NP is interpreted ambiguously as either **beneficiary** or **recipient** while the second NP has the interpretation of **theme**. In both cases whether the verb has the applicative or not, the **leswaku**-clause is interpreted as **purpose**.

Topicalized NP's are characterized by the applicative {-el-} and they may appear with the **leswaku**-clause. An object marker which occurs in the morphology of applied ditransitive verbs will be coindexed with the NP object in the TOPIC position. One of the object NPs may be in the TOPIC position and be associated with its object marker. Consider the following representation:

[TopicNP s[NP vpOM-V-el pro NP s[sNP INFL VP]]]

OR

[TopicNP s[NP vpOM-V-el NP pro s[sNP INFL VP]]]

The topicalized constructions will be as follows:

108.   a.   **Mufana** va-**n'wi**-nyikela nhonga leswaku a-dlaya nyoka   >

                 1boy 2SC-1OM-give-APL-PRS 9stick so that 1SC-kill-PRS 9snake

                 (The boy they give a stick for/ to him so that he may kill a snake)

      b.   **Nhonga** va-**yi**-nyikela mufana leswaku a-dlaya nyoka

                 9stick 2SC-9OM-give-APL-PRS 1boy so that 1SC-kill-PRS 9snake

                 (The stick they give it for/ to the boy so that he may kill a snake)

109.   a.   **Mimi**, Sasi u-**n'wi**-lombela wachi leswaku a-vona nkarhi

                 1PN 1PN 1SC-1OM-lend-APL-PRS 9watch so that 1SC-see-PRS 3time

                 (Mimi, Sasi lends a watch to her so that she may see the time)

      b.   **Wachi**, Sasi u-**yi**-lombela Mimi leswaku a-vona nkarhi

                 9watch 1PN 1SC-9OM-lend-APL-PRS 1PN so that 1SC-see-PRS 3time

                 (The watch, Sasi lends it for/ to Mimi so that she may see time)

110. a. **Mutirhi**, muthori u-**n'wi**-hakelela mali leswaku a-xava

swiambalo

1worker 1employer 1SC-1OM-pay-APL-PRS 9money so that 1SC-
buy-PRS 8clothes

(The worker, the employer pays her money that she may buy
clothes)

b. **Mali** muthori u-**yi**-hakelela mutirhi leswaku a-xava swiambalo

9money 1employer 1SC-9OM-pay-APL-PRS 1worker so that 1SC-
buy-PRS 8clothes

(Money, the employer pays for/ to the worker so that she may buy
clothes)

In the sentences numbered a. in examples 108 to 110, the object marker with the
first NP is assigned a semantic role of either **benefactive** or **recipient**. The
leswaku-clause is dependent on the appearance of the applied {-el-} and is
assigned a semantic role of **purpose**. In the sentences numbered b. the object
marker with the second NP is assigned the semantic role **theme**. In each case
the topic lays emphasis.

The applied affix {-el-} with the reflexive {ti-}

In Xitsonga the reflexive {ti-} appears as a prefix of the verb. With ditransitive
verbs the reflexive is dependent on argument binding as in a. below:

111. a. **Mutirhi** u-**ti**nyika livhi

1worker 1SC-RFL-give-PRS 9leave

(The worker gives himself leave)

b. **Magezi** u-**ti**hakele R10

1PN 1SC-RFL-pay-PFT R10

(Magezi paid himself R10)

c. **Muchayeri** u-**ti**lombe movha wa muthori

1driver 1SC-RFL-lend-PFT 3car POSS-1employer

(The driver has lent himself the employer's car)

The reflexive on ditransitive verbs without the applicative usually causes the first NP to be interpreted as **recipient/ benefactive** as in the examples above. The other internal argument such as *livhi/ R10/ movha wa muthori* is assigned the semantic role of **theme**.

The reflexive can appear with the applied affix on a ditransitive verb. The presence of the applicative affix adds another internal argument, i.e. a locative NP. In such cases both the locative NP and the reflexive will be dependent on the appearance of {-el-} and will have ambiguous semantic interpretations. The NP which the reflexive refers to will be interpreted as either **benefactive** or **recipient** while the locative NP will be interpreted as **location** or **exclusive location**. The following examples support this finding:

112. a. **Mutirhi** u-**ti**nyikela livhi **eku sunguleni ka lembe**

1worker 1SC-RFL-give-APL-PRS 9leave LOC-15beginning POSS-5year

(The worker gives leave to/for himself **only** at the beginning of the year)

b. **Magezi** u-**ti**hakelela R10 **emintlangwini**

1PN 1SC-RFL-pay-APL-PRS R10 LOC-4games

(Magezi pays R10 for himself **only** in the games)

c. **Muchayeri** u-**ti**lombela movha **entirhweni**

1driver 1SC-RFL-borrow-APL-PRS 3car LOC-3work

(The driver borrows for himself a car **only** at work)

The presence of {-el-} with a reflexive may add a new meaning to the reflexive argument. In cases like these, the meaning of the reflexive is frequently suppressed so that the features [-cause], [-dependent] take over, e.g.

113.   **Mufana** u **ti**lombela bolo

      1boy 1SC-RFL-borrow-APL-PRS 9ball

      (The boy just borrows a ball for himself)

      (The boy just borrows a ball on his own)

The basic interpretation of this sentence is that the subject performs the said action without purpose or cause. This example sentence may be interpreted ambiguously in that it also means that the boy borrows a ball **on his own**.

4.4.2   Contribute verbs (-hlenga)

Contribute verbs are basically monotransitive verbs with the PAS [x (y, loc.z)] as exemplified in the following sentence:

114.   Boyi u-hlenga **mali exikolweni**

      1PN 1SC-contribute-PRS 9money LOC-7school

      (Boyi contributes money (only) to/ at the school)

The basic interpretation of the internal arguments of contribute verbs when used without the applicative affix is **theme** for the first internal NP, e.g. *mali* and **location/ exclusive location** for the locative NP, e.g. *exikolweni*. However, **contribute** verbs can also appear with the applicative {-el-}.

The applicative {-el-} with NP internal argument

When the applicative {-el-} is added to the contribute verb stem, it changes its PAS and makes it a ditransitive stem, e.g.

115. a.   Boyi u-hlenga **mali** exikolweni   >
              1PN 1SC-contribute-PRS 9money LOC-7school
              (Boyi contributes money to/ at the school)

      b.   Boyi u-hlengela **vana mali** exikolweni
              1PN 1SC-contribute-APL-PRS 2children 9money LOC-7school
              (Boyi contributes money for the children (only) to/ at the school)

In 115b. the applicative {-el-} has assigned an extra internal argument *vana* to the position of the secondary object. This secondary object is always adjacent to the verb as it is dependent on the affix {-el-}. The new argument with the feature [+animate] may be interpreted as **beneficiary** because only animate beings may benefit from some event depicted in the verb. A semantic reading of **replacement** or **substitution** is also possible because *Boyi* is contributing on behalf of the children.

The new argument may also have the feature [-animate] as in the following example:

116. Boyi u-hlengela **muako mali** exikolweni
      1PN 1SC-contribute-APL-PRS 3building 9money LOC-7school
      (Boyi contributes money for the building (only) to/ at the school)

The semantic reading of **purpose** appears with this new argument. The second argument is still interpreted as **theme** while the locative NP retains the **location/ exclusive location** role.

However, inanimate nouns may also be **beneficiaries** if they have an additional feature of [+human control] like *kereke* (church) in the following example:

117.   Boyi u-hlengela **kereke mali** exikolweni

      1PN 1SC-contribute-APL-PRS 9church 9money LOC-7school

      (Boyi contributes money for the church only at/ to the school)

In most cases a semantic role of either **benefactive** or **recipient** may be assigned:

118.   Va-avela **swipanu switsutsumi** erivaleni

      2SC-distribute-APL-PRS 8teams 8athletes LOC-11field

      (They distribute athletes to/ for/ among the teams in the field)

The interrogative *yini* in the position of the secondary object which is dependent on the applicative affix gives an interpretation of **cause**:

119.   a.   Boyi u-hlengela **yini mali** exikolweni?

          1PN 1SC-contribute-APL-PRS what 9money LOC-7school

          (Why does Boyi contribute money to/ for the school?)

      b.   Va-avela **yini switsutsumi** erivaleni?

          2SC-distribute-APL-PRS what 8athletes LOC-11field

          (Why do they distribute athletes in the field?)

With the interrogative *yini* it is also possible to have three internal arguments with the semantic interpretation of **cause + benefactive/ recipient + theme**. Consider the following examples:

120.   a.   Boyi u-hlengela **yini vana mali** exikolweni?

1PN 1SC-contribute-APL-PRS what 2children 9money LOC-7school

(Why does Boyi contribute money to/ for the children at the school?)

b.   Va-avela **yini swipanu switsutsumi** erivaleni?
2SC-distribute-APL-PRS what 8teams 8athletes LOC-11field
(Why are they distributing the athletes for/to the teams in the field?)

It is possible to use the applicative affix in a reduplicated form for **intensity**:

121. a.   Boyi u-hlengelela **yini mali** exikolweni?
1PN 1SC-contribute-APL-APL-PRS what 9money LOC-7school
(Why does Boyi keep on contributing money to/ at the school?)

b.   Va-avelela **swipanu switsutsumi** erivaleni
2SC-distribute-APL-APL-PRS 8teams 8athletes LOC-11field
(They continually distribute athletes to the teams in the field)

As is clear from the examples above, when the **contribute verbs** appear without the applicative affix, the secondary internal argument is not necessary. In fact its presence results in the starred form of the sentence. The situation is different when the applicative is included in the verb stem. The dependence of the secondary internal argument on the applicative makes its presence absolutely necessary.

The applicative with the locative argument

The locative argument normally appears at the end of the sentence. Locative phrases may appear as internal arguments of predicates with the applicative

{-el-}, e.g.

122.   Va-avela swipanu **erivaleni**
       2SC-distribute-APL-PRS 8teams LOC-11field
       (They distribute teams in the field)

The applicative with the infinitive clause

The infinitive clause can also appear with contribute verbs which incorporate the applicative {-el-}. Syntactically the infinitive succeeds the verb, occupying the position of the secondary object, e.g.

123.   Vaxavisi va-hlengela **ku xava** mihandzu emapurasini
       2sellers 2SC-contribute-APL-PRS 15buy 4fruit LOC-6farms
       (The sellers contribute to buy fruit from the farms)

The thematic role of the new argument is **purpose** because the reason for contributing is to buy fruit.

The applicative with the `leswaku'-clause

It is also possible to use the **leswaku**-clause as a complement of the contribute verb as in the following example:

124.   Vaxavisi va-hlengela **leswaku va-xava mihandzu emakete**
       2sellers 2SC-contribute-APL-PRS so that 2SC-buy-PRS 4fruit LOC-3market
       (The sellers contribute so that they buy fruit from the market)

This clause also has a semantic interpretation of **purpose** because this clause provides the reason for the sellers' contribution.

<u>The reflexive with {-el-}</u>

Contribute verbs which are in the applied form may also appear with the reflexive prefix {ti-} before the verb. In this instance the reflexive {ti-} reflects the internal argument which is bound by the external argument within the lexical structure of the verb, thus:

125.   **Vaaki** va-**ti**hlengela mali enhlengeletanwini
          2residents 2SC-RFL-contribute-APL-PRS 9money LOC-9meeting
          (The residents contribute money for themselves at the meeting)

The reflexive takes the semantic role of **recipient** because the contribution is not made for anybody else but the subject. The semantic interpretation of **benefactive** is also appropriate here.

4.4.3 Verbs of future having (-tshembisa)

<u>With NP internal argument</u>

Verbs of future having are also ditransitive. The affixation of the applicative {-el-} changes its PAS by making it tritransitive, e.g.

126.   Ndhuna yi-tshembiserile **hosi** mutirhi ntlakuso
          9induna 9SC-promise-CAUS-APL-PFT 9king 1worker 3increment
          (The induna promised the worker an increment on behalf of the king)

The new internal argument is positioned immediately after the verb. It takes the semantic role of **substitution** because the induna made a promise on behalf of the king. The interpretation of **source** is also possible here because the increment must come from the king. *Hosi* (king) in the example above is an example of the NP internal argument.

<u>With the locative argument</u>

The locative argument may be used with the verbs of future having which incorporate the applicative. Syntactically this argument appears at the end of the sentence, e.g.

127.   Ndhuna yi-tshembiserile hosi mutirhi ntlakuso **exigaywini**
       9induna 9SC-promise-CAUS-APL-PFT 9king 1worker 3increment LOC-7mill
       (The induna promised the worker an increment at the mill on
       behalf of the king)

The locative argument is assigned the thematic role of **location** as it is the place in which the action expressed by the predicate is situated.

<u>With the infinitive clause</u>

The infinitive clause may also be used with verbs of future having. Syntactically it occupies the position of the primary object which is the position immediately after the secondary object, e.g.

128.   Ndhuna yi-tshembisela hosi mutirhi **ku tlakusiwa** exigaywini
       9induna 9SC-promise-CAUS-APL-PRS 9king 1worker 15promote-PASS-PRS LOC-7mill
       (The induna promises the worker an increment at the mill on behalf of the king)

In this instance the infinitive may be interpreted as **theme** because it indicates a change of state in the position of the worker.

<u>The `**leswaku**'-clause</u>

The `**leswaku**'-clause may appear with **verbs of future having**. It occupies the position at the end of the sentence where it serves as a dependent subordinate clause, e.g.

129.   Ndhuna yi-tshembisela hosi mutirhi ntlakuso **leswaku a-tsaka**

9induna 9SC-promise-CAUS-APL-PRS 9king 1worker 3increment so that 1SC-happy-PRS

(The induna promises the worker an increment on behalf of the king so that he can be happy)

Semantically this clause may be interpreted as **purpose**. The reason why the worker is promised an increment is because they want him to be happy.

The reflexive with {-el-}

The reflexive morpheme {ti-} may be used with verbs of future having. This morpheme is prefixed before the verb stem, e.g.

130.   Ndhuna yi-**ti**tshembisela mutirhi ntlakuso

9induna 9SC-RFL-promise-CAUS-APL-PRS 1worker 3increment

(The induna promises for himself the worker an increment)

The inclusion of the reflexive here affects the PAS of the verb. Whereas in the previous examples three NP arguments were included, viz. *hosi*, *mutirhi* and *ntlakuso*, in this last example we have only two, viz. *mutirhi* and *ntlakuso*. This means that the reflexive {ti-} virtually replaces the secondary object *hosi*]

The semantic interpretation of [-purpose] is read because the action expressed by the predicate is perfomed without any specific aim.

4.4.4 Verbs of providing (-humesa)

<u>With NP internal argument</u>

Like **contribute** verbs, verbs of providing assign two internal arguments, one of which is an NPLoc. as in the following example:

131. Mulanguteri u-humesela **vabohiwa** yunifomo ekhotsweni
     1warder 1SC-issue-APL-PRS 2prisoners 9uniform LOC-5prison
     (The warder issues a uniform for the prisoners in prison)

The new NP internal argument is *vabohiwa* and appears next to the verb due to its dependence on the applicative {-el-}. The semantic role of this argument is **recipient**.

<u>With the locative argument</u>

Verbs of **providing** are basically characterised by the inclusion of the NPLoc. at the end of a sentence, e.g.

132. Mulanguteri u-humesela vabohiwa yunifomo **ejele**
     1warder 1SC-issue-APL-PRS 2prisoners 9uniform LOC-5prison
     (The warder issues a uniform for the prisoners in jail)

The locative argument can be semantically interpreted as **location**. It can also be interpreted as **source**.

<u>With the infinitive clause</u>

The infinitive clause can also appear with verbs of **providing**. The infinitive clause follows immediately after the verb occupying the syntactic position of the secondary object, e.g.

133.   Mulanguteri u-humesela **ku ambala** yunifomo ejele
         1warder 1SC-issue-APL-PRS 15dress 9uniform LOC-5prison
         (The warder issues uniform to dress in jail)

The semantic interpretation of the infinitive clause is **purpose** or **reason**. The uniform is issued out for the purpose of dressing.

<u>With the `**leswaku**'-clause</u>

The `**leswaku**'-clause may be used in the same sentences as with verbs of **providing**. The verb of providing appears in the matrix clause whereas the `**leswaku**'-clause is a dependent subordinate clause, e.g.

134.   Mulanguteri u-humesela vabohiwa yunifomo ejele **leswaku va-ta-tirha**
         1warder 1SC-issue-APL-PRS 2prisoners 9uniform LOC-5prison so that 2SC-FUT-work
         (The warder issues a uniform to the prisoners in jail so that they can work)

The semantic interpretation of the **leswaku**-clause is **purpose**.

<u>The reflexive with {-el-}</u>

The reflexive morpheme may also appear with verbs of providing. Its inclusion in the verb affects the PAS of the predicate because the secondary object *vabohiwa* (prisoners) cannot be used with it. Consider the example below:

135. a.   **Mulanguteri** u-**ti**humesela yunifomo ejele

     1warder 1SC-RFL-issue-APL-PRS 9uniform LOC-5prison

     (The warder issues a uniform for himself in jail)

and NOT

b.   *Mulanguteri u-tihumesela **vabohiwa** yunifomo ejele

       1warder   1SC-RFL-issue-APL-PRS   2prisoners   9uniform   LOC-5prison

       (*The warder issues for himself a uniform for the prisoners in jail)

In example a. the secondary object is encapsulated in the reflexive {ti-} which may be interpreted as the **recipient** because the uniform is issued to the warder himself.

4.4.5   Equip verbs (-hloma)

In paragraph 2.2.3.4.2 equip verbs were defined as those verbs whose meaning seems to specify something about what is provided rather than about the actual type of act of providing. They are characterised by the **hi-**argument which appears at the end of the sentence preceded by the primary object internal argument. When the applicative is affixed to the verb stem, an extra internal argument is added, viz. the secondary object. This new argument appears adjacent to the verb, e.g.

136.   Dyondzo yi-hlomisela **mfumo** vana hi vutlhari

       9education   9SC-equip-CAUS-APL-PRS   3government   2children   with   14wisdom

       (Education equips children with wisdom for the government)

The new NP internal argument may be semantically interpreted as the **beneficiary** as it is in the government's interest that children are equipped with knowledge.

<u>With the locative argument</u>

The locative argument may be added to a sentence with an **equip** verb. This argument appears at the end of a sentence, succeeding the **hi-** phrase, e.g.

137. Dyondzo yi-hlomisela mfumo vana hi vutlhari **exikolweni**
      9education 9SC-equip-CAUS-APL-PRS 3government 2children with 14wisdom LOC-7school
      (Education equips for the government children with wisdom at school)

The locative argument may be interpreted as **location** because it is at the school where the action of equipping is performed.

<u>With the infinitive clause</u>

The infinitive clause may be used with equip verbs. Syntactically the clause appears at the end of a sentence and may be interpreted as **purpose**, e.g.

138. Dyondzo yi-hlomisela vana **ku fuma**
      9education 9SC-equip-CAUS-APL-PRS 2children 15rule
      (Education equips children to rule)

<u>The `**leswaku**'-clause</u>

Equip verbs may appear with the `leswaku'-clause which is subordinated to the matrix clause, e.g.

139.   Dyondzo yi-hlomisela mfumo vana hi vutlhari **leswaku va-ta fuma**

9education   9SC-equip-CAUS-APL-PRS   3government   2children   with 14wisdom sothat 2SC-FUT-rule

(Education equips children with wisdom for the government so that they can rule)

The semantic reading of this clause is **purpose**.

The reflexive with {-el-}

The reflexive prefix {ti-} may appear with equip verbs which incorporate the applicative {-el-}. In this instance the reflexive {ti-} reflects the internal argument within the lexical structure of the verb, thus:

140.   **Mfumo** wu-**ti**hlomisela vana hi vutlhari

3government 3SC-RFL-equip-CAUS-APL-PRS 2children with 14wisdom

(The government equips for itself children with wisdom)

The reflexive bears the semantic role of **beneficiary** because it is the government that will benefit from the education of the children.

4.4.6   Verbs of obtaining

4.4.6.1   Get verbs (-kuma)

Get verbs basically take one internal argument, viz. the primary object. Once the applicative {-el-} is affixed to these verbs, they become ditransitive, e.g.

141.   Mutluti u-xavela **jaha** xikwekwetsu

1sailor 1SC-buy-APL-PRS 1boy 7boat

(The sailor buys a boat for the boy)

The new argument *jaha* is an secondary object and accordingly takes its position between the verb and the primary object.

The semantic role which is found with the new internal argument is **benefactive**.

4.4.6.2   **Obtain verbs** (-amukela)

Obtain verbs, like get verbs, incorporate one internal argument which is succeeded by the NPLoc. syntactically. The affixation of the applicative {-el-} changes its PAS by increasing the number of internal arguments by one, e.g.

142.   Mathicara va-hlengeletela **xipikitere** vatswari exikolweni
      2teachers 2SC-gather-APL-PRS 7inspector 2parents LOC-7school
      (Teachers gather for the inspector parents at school)

The new argument *xipikitere* is a secondary object and is syntactically positioned adjacent to the verb. Semantically it may be interpreted as **benefactive**.

<u>With the locative argument</u>

The locative argument is normally positioned at the end of the sentence, e.g.

143.   Mathicara va-hlengeletela xipikitere vatswari **exikolweni**
      2teachers 2SC-gather-APL-PRS 7inspector 2parents LOC-7school
      (Teachers gather for the inspector parents at school)

The locative argument may semantically be interpreted as **location**.

<u>With the infinitive clause</u>

Obtain verbs do occur with the infinitive clause as follows:

144.   Mathicara va-hlengeletela **ku dyondzisa** vana exikolweni

2teachers 2SC-gather-APL-PRS 15learn-CAUS 2children LOC-7school

(Teachers gather children at school to teach)

The semantic reading of the infinitive is **purpose**.

With the \`**leswaku**'-clause

This is a subordinate clause which occurs as follows with **obtain** verbs:

145.   Mathicara va-hlengeletela xipikitere vatswari **leswaku xi-bula na vona**

2teachers 2SC-gather-APL-PRS 7inspector 2parents so that 7SC-discuss with 2them

(Teachers gather parents for the inspector so that s/he discusses with them)

The \`**leswaku**'-clause cannot follow immediately after the verb with the applicative {-el-}. It takes its position at the end of a sentence after the direct and secondary object arguments. The thematic role of this clause is **purpose** or **reason** because the reason why the teachers gather parents at school is that the inspector must address them.

The reflexive with {-el-}

The reflexive prefix {ti-} can only appear with the verb which incorporates the applicative {-el-} if such a verb is transitive.

It is morphologically prefixed to the verb stem. Syntactically its presence does not affect the PAS of the verb, e.g.

146. a.   Mathicara va-**ti**hlengele**tel**a vatswari exikolweni

2teachers 2SC-RFL-gather-APL-PRS 2parents LOC-7school

(Teachers gather themselves parents at school)

but

b.   *Mathicara va-tihlengeleta vatswari exikolweni

2teachers 2SC-RFL-gather- PRS 2parents LOC-7school

(Teachers gather themselves parents at school)

Semantically the feature [-purpose] is usually expressed.

4.4.7   **Verbs of exchange** (-cincisa)

Verbs of exchange are transitive and appear with a prepositional phrase with **hi-** as head. These verbs can also incorporate the applicative {-el-} as in the example below:

147. Vhengele ri-cinciserile **muxavi** rhoko hi hembe

5shop 5SC-exchange-CAUS-APL-PFT 1buyer 9dress with 9shirt

(The shop exchanged for the buyer, the dress with a shirt)

The inclusion of the applicative {-el-} in the verb stem results in the addition of one more NP internal argument, viz. *muxavi* (buyer), which is the secondary object. This argument syntactically comes after the verb. It is assigned the thematic role **recipient**.

<u>With the locative argument</u>

The locative argument can be added to a sentence whose verb incorporates the applicative {-el-}. This locative argument appears at the end of the sentence as in the following example:

148.   Muxavisi u-cincisela muxavi rhoko hi hembe **evhengeleni**

       1seller 1SC-exchange-CAUS-APL-PRS 1buyer 9dress with 9shirt LOC-5shop

       (The seller exchanges with the buyer the dress for a shirt at the shop)

The semantic interpretation of the locative argument is **location** because it is the place in which the action expressed by the predicate is situated.

<u>With the infinitive clause</u>

The infinitive clause can be used with an applicative verb. It syntactically occupies the position of the secondary object adjacent to the verb, e.g.

149.   Mufana u-cincisela **ku dya** xinkwa hi yoyo

       1boy 1SC-exchange-CAUS-APL-PRS 15eat 7bread with 9yoyo)

       (The boy exchanges a yoyo (for) to eat bread)

The infinitive clause is interpreted semantically as **purpose** because the reason why the boy exchanges his yoyo is because he wants bread to eat.

<u>With the `leswaku'-clause</u>

The `**leswaku'**-clause may be used with verbs of **exchange** which incorporate the applicative. This clause occurs as a dependent clause outside the matrix clause, e.g.

150. Mufana u-cincisela munghana xinkwa hi yoyo **leswaku a-ta-dya**

1boy 1SC-exchange-CAUS-APL-PRS 1friend 7bread with 9yoyo so that 1SC-FUT-eat

(The boy exchanges with a friend a yoyo for bread so that he can eat)

The `**leswaku'**-clause appears as an adjunct in a construction and may be interpreted as **purpose**.

<u>The reflexive with {-el-}</u>

Exchange verbs may also incorporate the reflexive {ti-} which is prefixed to the verb stem. The inclusion of the reflexive prefix does not affect the PAS of the verb, e.g.

151. Mufana u-ticincisela xinkwa hi yoyo

1boy 1SC-RFL-exchange-CAUS-APL-PRS 7bread with 9yoyo

(The boy exchanges for himself a yoyo for bread)

This sentence may be read with the meaning of "just", meaning that the boy performs an action without any specific purpose. Therefore the feature [-purpose] is discernible.

As indicated earlier in par. 4.1, the affix {-el-} is only one of the two types of valency increasing affixes that are recognized. The other one is the causative affix {-is-}.

4.5   The causative affix {-is-}

The causative affix is a suffix morpheme which is used to extend the verbal root or stem and which is attached between the root and the terminating or final vowel. According to Baumbach (1987:202) the causative morpheme {-is-}

indicates that the subject of the verb does not perform the action indicated by the verb itself, but causes another agent to perform it, e.g.

152.   a.   **N'wana** u-mama vele   >
                1child 1SC-suck-PRS 5breast
                (The child sucks a breast)

        b.   **Wansati** u-mam**is**a n'wana vele
                1woman 1SC-suck-CAUS-PRS 1child 5breast
                (The woman breastfeeds the child)

In example 152a the subject *n'wana* performs the action expressed by the verb. But in example 152b, where the verb stem incorporates the causative {-is-}, instead of the new subject *wansati* performing the action expressed by the verb, it causes the other agent, *n'wana* (child) to perform the action. The external argument is the head of the argument structure which may be schematically represented as follows:
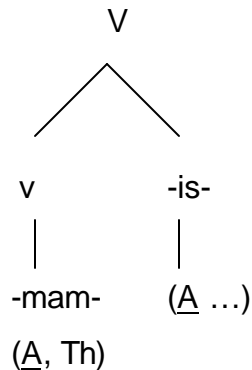
```
                        V
                       / \
                      /   \
                     v     -is-
                     |      |
                   -mam-   (A …)
                   (A, Th)
```

Figure 12: The {-is-} head structure

In this structure, the NP *wansati* is the causative agent and the `new' external argument of the whole structure. The NP *n'wana* is the `old' external argument or

the agent of the verb *mama* which has now become an internal argument of the extended stem *mam-is-a.* The NP *vele* is also an internal **theme** argument.

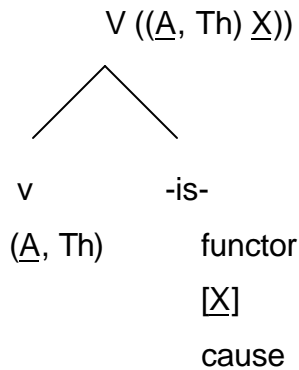The relation between a head and a non-head with the causative verb can be schematized as follows:

V ((<u>A</u>, Th) <u>X</u>))

v   -is-

(<u>A</u>, Th)   functor

[<u>X</u>]

cause

Figure 13: The {-is-} as functor

In the representation above, the arguments of the non-head, i.e. the agent and the theme arguments, are taken over as arguments of the whole structure because the causative affix {-is-} is a functor. Also, the [<u>x</u>] argument of {-is-} becomes an argument of the whole because {-is-} is the head with regard to argument structure. This [<u>x</u>] argument is the causative agent which becomes the new external argument of the derived causative verb. The old external argument [<u>A</u>] in turn becomes an internal argument.

Alsina (1992:51) shares the same view by making the following observation about the argument structure of causatives:

> Morphologically derived causatives are composed of a morpheme and a base verb. It is generally accepted that the causative morpheme is a two-place predicate expressing a relation between a causer and a caused event. This has suggested to some researchers that morphological causatives have essentially the same syntactic representation at D-

structure as English periphrastic causatives involving verbs like *make* or *cause*, which are also semantically two-place predicates.

Sitoe (2001:186) draws a distinction between `verbs of causation' (i.e. inherently causative verbs) and `causative verbs' (formed with causative morphology, which Alsina (1992) refers to as `morphologically derived causatives'). Examples of the former in Xitsonga could be *khavisa* (decorate), *fokisa* (spy) and *hunisa* (ignore). The causative affix {-is-} can be said to be fossilised in the verbs of causation because when it is deleted from the stem, the stem results in a starred form, cf. **khava, *foka,* and **huna* respectively. On the other hand causative verbs still maintain meaningful stems when the affix {-is-} is removed, cf. *dyisa* (cause to eat) > *dya* (eat), *mamisa* (cause to suck) > *mama* (suck), etc.

Baumbach (1987:203) further identifies some variant forms of the fossilised causative suffix in Xitsonga, which are /-x-/, /-s-/, /-nyis-/ and /-ek-/ as in the following examples:

153. a. -mbindzimu**x**a (cause to tumble down)   < -mbindzimuka
     b. -hume**s**a (cause to come/go out)   < -huma
     c. -ava**nyis**a (cause to divide)   < -ava
     d. -hay**ek**a (cause to hang/suspend)   < *-haya

Like the applicative, the causative is a valency increasing affix and can occur with one-place (intransitive), two-place (monotransitive) and three-place (ditransitive) verbs. The effect of the process of causativization on the predicate argument structure of the verb is that it introduces a special argument which is known as the causative agent which is found in the subject position of sentences and is thus an external argument.

4.5.1   The causative with intransitive verbs

By adding the causative affix {-is-} to intransitive verb stems such as *phya* (evaporate) and *baleka* (run away), they are turned into transitive stems as in the examples below:

154.   a.   **Mati** ya-phya   >

            6water 6SC-evaporate-PRS

            (Water evaporates)

        b.   **Dyambu** ri-phyisa mati

            5sun 5SC-evaporate-CAUS-PRS 6water

            (The sun causes water to evaporate)

        c.   **Khamba** ri-balekile   >

            5thief 5SC-escape-PFT

            (The thief escaped)

        d.   **Maphorisa** ya-balekise khamba

            6police 6SC-escape-CAUS-PFT 5thief

            (The police caused/helped/allowed the thief to escape)

In examples 154b and 154d the `old' external arguments, *mati* and *khamba* have been internalized. The `new' causative agents are respectively *dyambu* and *maphorisa* which are external arguments. Also, as is evident from these examples, the external argument may bear the semantic feature [+/- animate], the only condition being that it must cause the action or state expressed by the verb.

To a very large extent, contextual factors influence the semantic interpretation of the new external argument which may have a reading of **causative, [3]assistive** or **permissive** agent. For example the following readings are possible with example 154d:

1. The police caused the thief to escape.
2. The police helped the thief to escape.
3. The police allowed the thief to escape.

4.5.2 The causative with monotransitive verbs

Since the effect of the causative affix {-is-} on the predicate argument structure of the verb is to add a new external argument as subject of the sentence and to change the `old' external argument into an internal argument, monotransitive verbs become ditransitive verbs with two internal arguments. Consider the following examples:

155. a. **Wansati** u-khomise **wanuna vele**

   1woman 1SC-hold-CAUS-PFT 1man 5breast

   (The woman caused the man to hold the breast)

   b. **Wanuna** u-kumise **wansati n'wana**

   1man 1SC-get-CAUS-PFT 1woman 1child

   (The man caused the woman to get a child)

Again, each of the examples above has three possible semantic interpretations of *causative*, *permissive* or *assistive*. Syntactically, the object which is dependent on the presence of the affix {-is-} is the secondary object and is always adjacent

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[3] Baumbach (1987:202) points out that in some instances "the semantic value of `assistive' need not be of physically helping (e.g. to build, sweep, etc.) …but it may also be in the sense of taking over a chore which might have prevented the performer from executing another task. For example, looking after a baby while its mother is sweeping or cooking".

to the verb unless its object marker is incorporated in the predicate as in the following example:

156. a.   **Wansati** u-n'wi-khomise **vele wanuna**

        1woman 1SC-1OM-hold-CAUS-PFT 5breast 1man

        (The woman caused him to hold the breast, the man)

    b.   **Wanuna** u-n'wi-kumise **n'wana wansati**

        1man 1SC-1OM-get-CAUS-PFT 1child 1woman

        (The man caused her to get a child, the woman)

4.5.3   The causative with ditransitive verbs

When it is attached to ditransitive verb stems, the causative affix adds the third internal argument to the predicate, e.g.

157. a.   **Rirhandzu** ri-khomise **wansati wanuna vele**

        5love 5SC-hold-CAUS-PFT 1woman 1man 5breast

        (Love caused the woman to let the man to hold her breast)

    b.   **Viagra** yi-kumise **wanuna wansati n'wana**

        9Viagra 9SC-get-CAUS-PFT 1man 1woman 1child

        (Viagra made the man to cause the woman to get a child)

Although sentences such as these are perfectly possible syntactically, and theoretically grammatical, conceptually they are very difficult to interpret. As a result they are often regarded as `unacceptable'.

Although it is generally agreed that the causative morpheme is a two-place predicate expressing a relation between a causer and a caused event, Alsina (1992) asserts that in certain languages the causative morpheme is a three-place

predicate involving a patient in addition to a causer and a caused event. He cites Chichewa (a Bantu language spoken in Malawi and neighbouring countries in South Central Africa) as an example with judgements made by Sam Mchombo and examples from Alsina and Mchombo (1990). He argues that when the base verb is transitive, the causee may be expressed as an oblique phrase introduced by *kwá* as in example 158a below:

158. a.   Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu kwa kadzidzi.
            9porcupine 9SC-PST-cook-CAUS-FV 6pumpkins to 1owl
            (The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl)

     b.   Nungu i-na-phik-its-a kadzidzi maungu.
            9porcupine 9SC-PST-cook-CAUS-FV 1owl 6pumpkins
            (The porcupine made the owl cook the pumpkins)

Alsina (op.cit.) maintains that many other Bantu languages like Shona, Swahili and Kinyarwanda allow this type of alternation and can allow the causee to be omitted. Therefore the oblique causee in 158a can be omitted resulting in a construction such as 159 below:

159.   Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu
            9porcupine 9SC-PST-cook-CAUS-FV 6pumpkins
            (The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked)

On the other hand, (citing Machobane (1990) and Alsina and Moshi (1990) respectively) Alsina (op.cit.) asserts that Bantu languages like Sesotho and Kichaga can only express the causee of transitive verbs as an object and do not alllow it to be omitted. This argument is accompanied by examples 160a and 160b below:

160. a.   Chatsalira a-ku-nam-its-a (*kwa) mwana.

      1PN 1SC-PRS-lie-CAUS-FV to 1child

      (Chatsalira is making the child lie (tell lies))

   b.   * Chatsalira a-ku-nam-its-a.

      1PN 1SC-PRS-lie-CAUS-FV

      (Chatsalira is making someone lie (tell lies))

We shall now examine the effect of the causative on verbs of change of possession.

4.5.4   The causative {-is-} with verbs of change of possession

4.5.4.1   Give verbs

All the verbs that belong to this class are two-place predicates which display the predicate argument structure [x (y,z)] as in the following examples:

161. a.   **Manana** u-nyika **vaendzi swakudya**

      1mother 1SC-give-PRS 2visitors 8food

      (Mother gives visitors food)

   b.   **Tibuku** ti-nyika **tafula ntirho**

      10books 10SC-give-PRS 5table 3work

      (Books give the table work)

When {-is-} is added to the basic stem, the following examples result:

162. a.   Manana u-nyikisa **vaendzi** swakudya

      1mother 1SC-give-CAUS-PRS 2visitors 8food

      (Mother causes the visitors to be given food)

b.   Tibuku ti-nyikisa **tafula** ntirho

10books 10SC-give-CAUS-PRS 5table 3work

(Books cause the table to be given work)

In example 162 *manana* and *tibuku* are the [x] external arguments which perfom the action expressed by the predicate, whilst *vaendzi* and *swakudya* in example a. and *tafula* and *ntirho* in example b. are the [x,y] internal arguments respectively, with the secondary object argument taking its place adjacent to the verb whilst the primary object comes last. In example 163 {-is-} has been added to the verb stem. What is the effect of this morphological change?

Syntactically each argument retains the same position in example 162 which it holds in example 162. There is therefore no syntactic variation. Semantically however, *manana* and *tibuku* have ceased to perform the action of `giving'. Instead, they cause someone or something else to perform the action. These implied prepositional phrases are expressed in example 163 as follows:

163.   a.   Manana u-nyikisa vaendzi swakudya **hi vasweki**

1mother 1SC-give-CAUS-PRS 2visitors 8food by 2cooks

(Mother causes the visitors to be given food by the cooks)

b.   Tibuku ti-nyikisa tafula ntirho **hi vadyondzi**

10books 10SC-give-CAUS-PRS 5table 3work by 2learners

(Books cause the table to be given work by the learners)

Vasweki and *vadyondzi* in example 163 are the oblique phrases introduced by *hi-* and correspond with the Chichewa example 160a above. These sentences can also be rendered as example 164 below with the oblique now appearing as a secondary object adjacent to the verb:

164.   a.   Manana u-nyikisa **vasweki** vaendzi swakudya

1mother 1SC-give-CAUS-PRS 2cooks 2visitors 8food

(Mother causes the cooks to give food to the visitors)

b.   Tibuku ti-nyikisa **vadyondzi** tafula ntirho

10books 10SC-give-CAUS-PRS 2learners 5table 3work

(Books cause learners to give work to the table)

On the other hand the causative {-is-} can bring about the introduction of a new external argument like *nhlangano* in the example below, which occupies the subject position in a sentence, e.g.

165.   a.   **Manana** u-nyika vaendzi swakudya

1mother 1SC-give-PRS 2visitors 8food

(Mother gives visitors food)

b.   **Nhlangano** wu-nyikisa **manana** vaendzi swakudya

9union 9SC-give-CAUS-PRS 1mother 2visitors 8food

(The union makes mother to give food to the visitors)

In this instance (165b) the old external argument *manana* becomes an internal argument adjacent to the verb. In 165a *manana* bears the **agent** role. *Vaendzi* can be interpreted as **recipient** while *swakudya* has a **theme** role. In example 165b however, the new external argument *nhlangano* comes in with the role of **agent** and may be interpreted as *permissive*, *assistive* or *causative* agent because of its being under human control and its volition. *Manana* still has a reading of **agent** as it still performs the action of `giving'. *Vaendzi* retains the interpretation of **recipient** or **beneficiary** while *swakudya* has a **theme** role. When the subject argument has a [-animate] feature, it has a reading of **cause** like *tibuku* in example 164b.

4.5.4.2 **Contribute verbs**

Contribute verbs display the argument structure [x (y, loc.z)]. As with **give** verbs, when the causative {-is-} is added to the base stem of contribute verbs, a new external argument is introduced to the subject position while the old external argument takes the position of an internal argument as in the example below:

166.　a.　　**Mukhalabye** u-hlenga mali exikolweni

　　　　　　1old man 1SC-contribute-PRS 9money LOC-7school

　　　　　　(The old man contributes money to/at school)

　　　b.　　**Mudyondzisi** u-hlengisa **mukhalabye** mali exikolweni

　　　　　　1teacher　1SC-contribute-CAUS-PRS　1old　man　9money　LOC-7school

　　　　　　(The teacher makes the old man to contribute money to school)

　　　c.　　**Vusiwana** byi-hlengisa **mukhalabye** mali exikolweni

　　　　　　14poverty　14SC-contribute-CAUS-PRS　1old　man　9money　LOC-7school

　　　　　　(Poverty causes the old man to contribute money to school)

In 166a *mukhalabye* bears the **agent** role. *Mali* can be interpreted as **theme** while *exikolweni* has a **location** role. In 166b however, the new external argument *mudyondzisi* comes in with the role of **agent** and may be interpreted as *permissive*, *assistive* or *causative* agent. *Mukhalabye* still has a reading of **agent** as in 166a because it still performs the action of `contributing'. *Exikolweni* retains the interpretation of **location**. When the external argument has a [-animate] feature, it may only bear the role of **cause** as in 166c.

4.5.4.3   Verbs of future having

Verbs of *future having* have the same predicate argument structure as **give** verbs, viz. [x (y,z)], e.g.

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

        b.   **Muahluri** u-tshembisisa **wanuna jaha nyiko**
              1judge 1SC-promise-CAUS-CAUS-PRS 1man 1boy 9gift
              (The judge makes the man to promise the boy a gift)

In example 167b the old external argument *wanuna* becomes an internal argument adjacent to the verb. In example 167a *wanuna* bears the **agent** role. *Jaha* can be interpreted as **recipient** while *nyiko* has a **theme** role. In example 167b however, the new external argument *Muahluri* comes in with the role of **agent** and may be interpreted as *permissive*, *assistive* or *causative* **agent**. *Wanuna* still has a reading of **agent** as it still performs the action of `promising'. *Jaha* retains the interpretation of **recipient** while *nyiko* has a **theme** role.

4.5.4.4   Verbs of fulfilling

Verbs of *fulfilling* have the predicate argument structure [x (y, loc.z)] as in the examples below:

168.   a.   **Mulanguteri** u-humesa **tiyunifomo ejele**
              1warder 1SC-issue-CAUS-PRS 10uniforms LOC-5jail
              (The warder issues uniforms in jail)

        b.   **Holobye** u-humesisa **mulanguteri** tiyunifomo ejele
              1minister 1SC-issue-CAUS-CAUS-PRS 1warder 10uniforms LOC-

5jail

(The minister makes the warder to issue uniforms in jail)

In example 168a *Mulanguteri* has the **agent** role. *Tiyunifomo* can be interpreted as **theme** while *ejele* has a **location** role. In example 168b however, the new external argument *Holobye* comes in with the role of **agent** and may be interpreted as *permissive*, *assistive* or *causative* agent. *Mulanguteri* still has a reading of **agent** as in example 168a because it still performs the action of `issuing' expressed by the verb. *Ejele* retains the interpretation of **location**. When the external argument has a [-animate] feature, it may only bear the role of **cause** as in the following example:

169. a. **Muchini** wu-humesile thikithi evupakelweni

3machine 3SC-issue-CAUS-PFT 5ticket LOC-9parking area

(The machine issued a ticket at the parking area)

b. **Mali** yi-humesisile **muchini** thikithi evupakelweni

9money 9SC-issue-CAUS-CAUS-PFT 3machine 5ticket LOC-9parking area

(Money caused the machine to issue a ticket at the parking area)

4.5.4.5 Equip verbs

Verbs of *equipping* are two-place predicates with the argument structure [x̲ (y, hi z)]. When {-is-} is affixed to the base verb, a new external NP argument is introduced while the old external argument becomes a secondary internal NP argument, eg.

170. a. **Mudyondzisi** u-hakerile **vadyondzi hi timaraka**

1teacher 1SC-reward-PFT 2students with 10marks

(The teacher rewarded the students with marks)

b. **Xikolo** xi-hakerisile **mudyondzisi vadyondzi hi timaraka**

7school 7SC-reward-CAUS-PFT 1teacher 2students with 10marks

(The school made the teacher to reward the students with marks)

c. **Ntsetso** wu-hakerisile **mudyondzisi vadyondzi hi timaraka**

3pity 3SC-reward-CAUS-PFT 1teacher 2students with 10marks

(Pity made the teacher to reward the students with marks)

In example 170a *mudyondzisi* as external argument bears the **agent** role. In example 170b the old external argument *mudyondzisi* becomes an internal argument adjacent to the verb. *Vadyondzi* can be interpreted as **recipient/ beneficiary** while *timaraka* has a **theme** role. In example 170b however, the new external argument *xikolo* takes the subject position with the role of **agent** and may be interpreted as *permissive*, *assistive* or *causative* agent because of its being under human control and its volition. *Mudyondzisi* still has a reading of **agent** as it still performs the action of `rewarding'. *Vadyondzi* retains the interpretation of **recipient/beneficiary** while *timaraka* bears the **theme** role. When the subject argument has a [-animate] feature like *ntsetso* in example 170c, it has a reading of **cause**.

4.5.4.6   Get verbs

Get verbs are two-place predicates and display the simple argument structure [x (y)]. When {-is-} is affixed to the base verb, it brings in a new external argument and adds one more internal argument by turning the old external argument into an internal one. Consider the examples below:

171. a. **Mutluti** u-ta-xava **xikwekwetsu**

1sailor 1SC-FUT-buy 7boat

(The sailor will buy a boat)

b. **Khamphani** yi-ta-xavisa **mutluti** xikwekwetsu

9company 9SC-FUT-buy-CAUS 1sailor 7boat

(The company will make the sailor to buy a boat)

c. **Vukwele** byi-ta-xavisa **mutluti** xikwekwetsu

14jealousy 14SC-FUT-buy-CAUS 1sailor 7boat

(Jealousy will make the sailor to buy a boat)

In example 171a *mutluti* as external argument bears the **agent** role. In example 171b the old external argument *mutluti* becomes an internal argument adjacent to the verb while *xikwekwetsu* has a **theme** role. In example 171b however, the new external argument *khamphani* takes the subject position with the role of **agent** and may be interpreted as *permissive*, *assistive* or *causative* agent because of its being under human control and its volition. *Mutluti* still has a reading of **agent** as it still performs the action of `buying'. *Xikwekwetsu* retains the interpretation of the **theme** role. When the subject argument has a [-animate] feature like *vukwele* in example 171c, it has a reading of **cause**.

4.5.4.7   Obtain verbs

Obtain verbs have the predicate argument structure [x̲ (y, loc.z)] as in the following examples:

172. a.   **Makhamba** ya-vutlile **xipachi eka wansati**

6thugs 6SC-snatch-PFT 7purse LOC-1woman

(The thugs snatched a purse from the woman)

b.   **Bra Biza** u-vutlisile **makhamba** xipachi eka wansati

1PN 1SC-snatch-CAUS-PFT 6thugs 7purse LOC-1woman

(Bra Biza made the thugs to snatch a purse from the woman)

c. **Ndlala** yi-vutlisile **makhamba** xipachi eka wansati

9hunger 9SC-snatch-CAUS-PFT 6thugs 7purse LOC-1woman

(Hunger made the thugs to snatch a purse from the woman)

In example 172a *makhamba* has the **agent** role. *Xipachi* can be interpreted as **theme** while *eka wansati* has a **location** role. In example 172b however, the new external argument *Bra Biza* comes in with the role of **agent** and may be interpreted as *permissive*, *assistive* or *causative* agent. *Makhamba* still has a reading of **agent** as in example 172a because it still performs the action of `snatching' expressed by the verb. *Eka wansati* retains the interpretation of **location**. When the external argument has a [-animate] feature like *ndlala* (hunger) in example 172c, it is interpreted as **cause**.

4.5.4.8   Verbs of exchange

Like verbs of *equipping*, verbs of *exchange* are two-place predicates and have the argument structure [x (y, hi z)]. When {-is-} is affixed to the base verb, a new external NP argument is introduced while the old external argument becomes a secondary internal NP argument, eg.

173. a.   **Wanuna** u-sivile wachi hi thayi

1man 1SC-substitute-PFT 9watch with 9tie

(The man substituted a tie for a watch)

b.   **Nomaqala** u-sivisile **wanuna** wachi hi thayi

1PN 1SC-substitute-CAUS-PFT 1man 9watch with 9tie

(Nomaqala made the man to substitute a tie for a watch)

c.   **Hangara** yi-sivile wachi hi thayi

9hanger 9SC-substitute-PFT 9watch with 9tie

(The hanger substituted a tie for a watch)

In all cases where the external argument has the [+animate] feature like *wanuna* in example 173a, and *Nomaqala* which takes up the subject position as the new external argument in example 173b, such an argument will be interpreted as **agent**. A reading of **source** and **recipient** is also possible because of the action of `giving' and that of `receiving' in return. Where the argument has a [-animate] feature as in example 173c, it will be interpreted as **cause**. The old external argument *wanuna* in example 173a becomes an internal argument in example 173b.

4.6   Conclusion

This chapter focussed on the Xitsonga verbal affixes with special reference to the valency increasing affixes, viz. the applicative suffix {-el-} and the causative suffix {-is-}. The concluding remarks on each affix will be presented separately in paragraphs 4.6.1 and 4.6.2 respectively.

4.6.1   The applicative affix {-el-}

In an applicative derivation, the applicative is expressed by the verbal affix {-el-} which is used to extend the verb stem. Morphologically the applicative is used as a verbal suffix and is affixed between the root and the terminating vowel of a verb stem which may be an intransitive, monotransitive or ditransitive stem.

Syntactically, the applicative affix has an effect on the PAS of verbs. When it is incorporated in the verb stem, it allows the internal arguments to be increased by one more argument, thus turning intransitive stems into monotransitive stems, monotransitive stems into ditransitive stems or ditransitive stems into tritransitive stems.

This applicative suffix {-el-} bears an external argument which becomes the external argument of the whole. The arguments of the non-head verbal stem, including its external argument, become internal arguments of the whole.

Furthermore, the {-el-} argument is realised as accusative. Because the head has no external argument and because it does not control the external argument of the stem, the external argument of the non-head becomes the external argument of the whole as the stem will be head with regard to external argument.

Another characteristic of the applicative is that the applicative verb usually appears with a complement. These predicates may not undergo argument reduction unless the applied verb assumes an idiosyncratic meaning.

The applicative affix can be reduplicated in the verb stem. Often, when reduplication occurs, the meaning of the verb becomes idiomatic.

Word Syntax studies have focussed on thematic relations or argument structures for which verbs subcategorize. The argument structure of a predicate is a list of its theta roles like **agent, theme, experiencer, goal,** etc. One of these arguments is distinguished as the external argument or theta-role. As in the case of Syntax, the external argument is the head of the argument structure. Thus, the head of a word derived by affixation determines the external argument of the word.

Examples of the applicative with the different types of arguments were analysed. Some of the observations that were made are that, for instance, the NP internal argument may have a [+ or -animate] feature. The presence or absence of these features affect the semantic interpretation of these arguments. Generally an argument with a [+animate] feature will have a semantic interpretation of **benefactive**, which is most commonly found with the applied suffix. With a [-animate] feature it may have a semantic reading of **purpose**.

The interrogative *yini* together with the applied intransitive verb will also give rise to an ambiguous interpretation which may be **cause** or **purpose.**

Locative phrases may appear as internal arguments of predicates with the applicative affix {-el-}. These internal arguments are dependent on the applicative affix and may appear in various ways with the suffix *-ini* or with the prefix {eka}. The affixing of the applicative also affects the interpretation of the locative internal argument in various ways.

A reduplication of the applicative affix is also possible with a different interpretation to each internal argument. The occurrence of a double applicative requires the presence of NP and NPLoc. The first applied affix {-el-} with NP will give rise to the interpretation of **benefactive** while the other applicative affix with the locative NP will be associated with the semantic role of **location**.

In most cases the appearance of the applicative affixes {-el-el-} with intransitive verbs will not give a new semantic role to the internal argument NPLoc. Various interpretations such as **benefactive, purpose** and **direction** are possible.

It is clear that the applied affix {-el-} has an effect on the semantic interpretation of the locative argument and that the NPLoc is wholly dependent on the applicative {-el-}.

It is also possible for transitive verbs with double applicatives to appear with three internal arguments where one of the arguments is a locative NP. Double applicative affixes may have the semantic interpretation of **benefactive + theme + location.**

It is also possible for four internal arguments to appear with the ditransitive verb. This happens when the interrogative *yini* appears with ditransitive verbs with two

applicatives. These arguments may have the following interpretations respectively: **Cause + benefactive/ recipient + theme + location/ exclusive location/ source.**

The applicative was also discussed with the different types of verbs, i.e. from each of the different types of verbs which have been treated (viz. **give** verbs, **contribute** verbs, verbs of **future having,** verbs of **providing**, **equip** verbs, verbs of **obtaining,** and verbs of **exchange**). A few verbs were selected and applicativized. Then, in each case, the interpretation of the new argument was given.

The causative affix {-is-} also fell under the focus of this chapter and the findings on its nature and behaviour are presented in paragraph 4.6.2 below.

4.6.2   The causative affix {-is-}

The discussion of the causative {-is-} has highlighted its morphological, syntactic and semantic structure. This affix is very productive in Xitsonga and can appear with intransitive , mono-transitive and ditransitive verb stems. It can also be found with the various types of verbs of change of possession.

Morphologically it is affixed between the root and the terminating vowel of a verb, resulting in an extended stem. It was also revealed that a distiction is drawn between `inherently causative verbs' and morphologically derived causative verbs. In the former, {-is-} appears as a fossilized part of the verb stem whereas in the latter it is morphologically attached between the root and the terminating vowel.

Syntactically the causative affix has an influence on the predicate argument structure of the verb because it always increases the number of internal arguments by one. What it does is that it introduces a new external argument,

turning the old one into an internal argument. The new external argument occupies the subject position while the old one is juxtapositioned after the verb. It was also noted that despite the fact that it is generally agreed that the causative affix is a two-place predicate expressing a relation between a causer and a caused event, in certain languages like Chichewa it is a three-place predicate involving a patient in addition to a causer and a caused event.

Semantically the new external argument is generally interpreted as **agent** and can have [+animate] or [-animate] features. A further reading of *causative, assistive* or *permissive* **agent** is also possible with NP arguments that have a [+animate/ +human control] feature and is dictated by discourse factors. The NP arguments with a [-animate] feature always have a reading of **cause** as they lack "will" or "volition". The old external argument in its new position as a secondary internal NP argument still has an **agent** or **source** role. It may also be interpreted as **beneficiary/ recipient** depending on context while the primary object NP argument may have a reading of **theme** or **patient**.