

THE REFLEXIVE IN VENDĀ

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned hereby declare that the research in this assignment is my own original work which has not partly or in full been submitted to any other University in order to obtain a degree.

Signature:

Date:

ABSTRACT

This study explores the interpretation and syntax of construction that realize reflexivity in Tshivenda.

Chapter One: deals with the introduction of the study. The binding theory in its general principles and definitions will be analyzed.

Chapter Two: deals with the interpretation of reflexive di -verb constructions. In this chapter various verb types with di - will be given.

- (i) Mono-transitive verbs
- (ii) Di-transitive verbs.

Chapter Three: deals with the derived verb that is applicative, causative and passive. The appearing of di - verbs with derived verbs will be examined.

Chapter Four: deals with di - verbs followed by the reflexive emphazier $-\text{ne}$. The interpretation of prepositional phrases (PP) with the reflexive meaning will be considered and the applicability of binding theory to these phrases will be explored.

Chapter Five: deals with the findings, recommendations and conclusion of the study.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die interpretasie en sintaksis van die konstruksie wat die refleksief in Tshivenda moontlik maak.

Hoofstuk een bevat die inleiding van die studie. Veral die algemene beginsels en definisie van die bindingsteorie word bekyk.

Hoofstuk twee handel oor die interpretasie van konstruksies met die refleksiewe **ḍi**-werkwoord. In hierdie hoofstuk word verskeie werkwoord kategorieë met **ḍi**- handel waaronder enkeloorganklike en dubbeloorganklike werkwoorde.

Hoofstuk drie handel oor die afgeleide werkwoorde nl. die applikatief, kousatief en passief. Die voorkoms van die refleksiewe **ḍi**- met hierdie afgeleide werkwoorde word ondersoek.

Hoofstuk vier handel oor **ḍi**- werkwoorde gevolg deur die refleksiewe beklemtoner **-ne**. Die interpretasie van preposisionele frases met 'n refleksiewe betekenis word oorweeg en die toepasbaarheid van die bindingsteorie op hierdie frases word ondersoek.

Hoofstuk vyf handel oor die bevindinge, aanbevelings en konklusie van die studie.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim.....	1
1.2. Theoretical Framework.....	6
1.3. Organisations of study.....	11
1.4. Reflexives in Government-Binding Theory.....	13
1.4.1. Binding theory as a subsystem of principle in the GB Framework.....	13

CHAPTER 2: MONOTRANSITIVE VERBS

2.1. Verbs of grooming and bodily care.....	23
2.2. Verbs involving body.....	27
2.3. Verbs of ingesting.....	33
2.4. Verbs of contact.....	37
2.5. Verbs of touch.....	40
2.6. Verbs of killing.....	42
2.7. Psych verbs.....	45
2.8. Verbs of perception.....	50
2.9. Verbs of communication.....	53
2.10. Judgement verbs.....	57
2.11. Verbs of exerting force.....	60
2.12. Verbs of concealment.....	63
2.13. Verbs of putting.....	65

2.14. Verbs of removing.....	70
2.15. Verbs of sending and carrying.....	73
2.16. Verbs of change of possession.....	77
2.17. Verbs of change of state.....	79
2.18. Verbs of creation.....	81

CHAPTER 3: DERIVED VERBS

3.1. Applicative.....	87
3.1.1. With intransitive verbs.....	87
3.1.2. With monotransitive verbs.....	94
3.1.3. With ditransitive verbs.....	102
3.2. Causative.....	104
3.2.1. With intransitive verbs.....	104
3.2.2. With monotransitive verbs.....	107
3.2.3. With ditransitive verbs.....	112
3.3. The reflexive D_i with passive verbs.....	113
3.3.1. Monotransitive reflexive verbs with passive morpheme....	113
3.3.2. Ditransitive reflexive verbs with a passive morpheme.....	114
3.4. Passive reflexive verbs with the applied.....	117

CHAPTER 4: THE REFLIXIVE EMPHASIZER

4.1. D_i -verbs followed by the reflexive emphasizer $-\text{ne}$	118
4.2. Reflexivity (coreferentiality) prepositional phrase.....	121

4.3. Prepositional phrases followed by reflexive emphasizer	
[- η e].....	135
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....	140
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	147

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. AIM

The main concern of this study is to explore the interpretation and syntax of constructions that realise reflexivity in Tshivenda, within the general framework of the theory of government and binding. These constructions include –*di* verb constructions as well as clauses containing a prepositional phrase (PP) where the complement pronominal of the preposition P is obligatorily coreferential with the subject NP of that clause:

REFLEXIVE –DI- VERBS

1. U a *di*anzwa
(She washes herself)
2. O *di*hwaya
(He brushed himself)
3. U a *di*luka mavhudzi
(She is braiding herself hair)
4. Ndi a *di*sola
(I blame myself)

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

5. Vha amba ngavho
(They are talking about themselves/ them)
6. Vha dzhia dzhesi khavho
(They took jersey from themselves/ them)

The correct syntactic analysis of reflexive –*ɔi*- verb construction can only be determined once the full range of interpretation in different types of verbs have been considered. The following types of verbs will be considered.

MONO- TRANSITIVE VERBS

7. U a *ɔigera*
(He is shaving himself)
8. O *ɔitsinya liɔo*
(He pinched himself eye)
9. O *ɔirwa*
(He beat himself)

DI- TRANSITIVE VERBS

10. Mudededzi o *ɔihadzima bugu*.
(The teacher borrowed himself book)

11. Mutshudeni o $\dot{\text{q}}$ ivhudza phindulo.
(The student told himself answer)
12. Mme u $\dot{\text{q}}$ idzima vhuswa.
(The mother refuses herself food)

DERIVED VERBS

(a) Applied Verbs

13. Vha a $\dot{\text{q}}$ ishumela.
(They are working for themselves)
14. O $\dot{\text{q}}$ ishelela ma $\dot{\text{q}}$ i
(He poured water for herself)
15. Ndi a $\dot{\text{q}}$ irumela $\dot{\text{n}}$ wana.
(I send the child myself)

(b) Causative Verbs

16. Ndi a $\dot{\text{q}}$ iwisa.
(I cause myself to fall)
17. Vha a $\dot{\text{q}}$ ibonyisa ma $\dot{\text{q}}$ o.
(They are closing themselves eyes)

18. Ndi a $\text{d}\underset{\text{X}}{\text{i}}$ tambisa bola.
(I allow myself to play soccer)

The above examples will also be used with the reflexive emphasizer (- $\text{n}\underset{\text{X}}{\text{e}}$). The examples of applied verbs with just ‘on one’s own,’ independently, interpretation as well as causative verbs with ‘pretend’ interpretation will be considered.

PASSIVE VERBS

19. Hu – a – $\text{d}\underset{\text{X}}{\text{i}}$ funwa nga mutukana.
(There is being loved himself by boy)
20. Hu – a - $\text{d}\underset{\text{X}}{\text{i}}$ hadzinwa tshelede nga mudededzi.
(There is being lent the money for himself by the teacher)

PASSIVE REFLEXIVE VERBS WITH THE APPLIED EXTENTIONS

21. Hu $\text{d}\underset{\text{X}}{\text{i}}$ dzhenelwa $\text{n}\underset{\text{X}}{\text{d}}$ uni.
(There is being entered the house by oneself)

The main issue that will be addressed in this study is the problematic nature of the reflexivity in Tshivenda, syntactically as well as semantically. In order to address this problem a clear distinction will be made between:

- i. The morphological notion of reflexive as realised in reflexive – $\text{d}\underset{\text{X}}{\text{i}}$ - verbs and

- ii. The semantic notion of reflexivity which is concerned with a reflexive interpretation, not only in –di- verb constructions, but also in prepositional phrases [PP] i.e. where the pronominal complement of the prepositions **na-**, **nga-**, **kha** and the prepositions like element, the copulative morpheme in agent of passive, is interpreted as being coreferential with the Np subject of the sentence containing that PP.

Examples:

22. I tshimbila nayo.

(It walks with it)

23. Vha la khavho.

(They eat from themselves/ them)

24. Vha amba ngavho.

(They are talking about themselves/ them)

25. Vha bikelwa vhuswa ngavho.

(They are cooked food by themselves/ them)

The interpretation of reflexivity is related not only to apparent coreference between the subject and the object argument of a –di- verb, but also between the subject and the prepositional complement in a clause containing prepositional phrase [PP]. Therefore, it is noted that in the prepositional phrase, the argument pronominal can be interpreted with obligatory coreference or disjoint reference.

The study of Tshivenda reflexives will be conducted within the general framework of the Government- Binding (GB) theory of generative grammar, of which the main principles will be directly outlined below:

1.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory of Government and Binding has the following subsystems of principles:

- a. Government theory
- b. Case theory
- c. Theta theory
- d. Binding theory
- e. Bounding theory
- f. Control theory
- g. X-bar theory

Government theory

Government theory entails a sisterhood relation between the lexical head of a phrase/ projection and the categories that it subcategorizes.

Cook and Newson (1988:54) define government as

“A syntactic relations between a governor and an element that is governed.”

The relation of the government is defined in terms of a notion of c- command. C-command is defined as:

α C- command β iff every maximal projection dominating α dominate β

Thus government is defined as follows: α governs β iff

- a. α C- command β ; and
- b. α is an X^0 ; i.e; $\alpha \in \{N; V; p; A; INFL\}$; and
- c. every maximal projection dominating β dominate α

Cowper (1992:96) state that α governs β iff

- a. α is X^0 , for some x
- b. α c- command β
- c. α and β are in the same clause.

Haegeman (1994:135) state that:

“Government could be defined as a relationship of mutual c- command.”

Government of any lexical head is from left hand side to the right with exception of INFL where government occurs from right to the left hand side.

Case theory

Case theory is defined in terms of government. It assigns only to Nps, and it also includes small Pro. When a noun phrase is governed by any lexical head, we get

case. This shows that case theory is concerned with the assignment of (abstract) case to noun phrases.

Horrocks (1987:102) state that:

“Case theory deals with the principles of case assignment to constituents. Although; as noted earlier, case is an overt property only of pronominal NPs in English (of I/M’..), Chomsky assumes that all NPs with lexical content are assigned (abstract) case.

Cook and Newson (1988) define, case theory as something which is related to the traditional syntactic ideal of case, which saw the relationship between elements in a sentence as being shown by their morphology as well as by word order.

Certain elements are designated assigners, most notably the inflection on tensed verbs, verbs and prepositions.

Two different ways in which case requirement has been formulated in research are case filter which applies at the phonetic form (PF) level to exclude NPs which are not case marked and the visibility hypothesis which makes case marking follow theta-marking as a condition for theta-role assignment.

The most important principle is the case filter which states that any S-structure that contains an NP with lexical content but no case is ungrammatical.

Theta theory

Theta theory is related to what we call semantic roles. It indicates that there must be a relation between the constituents of a sentence. Such relationship is brought by the verb and such a verb must be related to sentential constituents.

It is a theory which deals with the organizations of thematic dependencies between lexical items in a structure. Lexical elements like verbs are associated with a number of thematic roles which correspond to the number of argument they assign. Lexical heads indirectly theta-mark their complements and indirectly theta mark their subject. The theta-roles which are assigned to complements are referred to as internal theta-roles, that is internal argument, whereas the theta-roles which are assigned to base-generated subjects are called external theta-roles, that is external arguments.

Sells (1985:36) states that the assignments of θ -roles to internal arguments is known as direct assignments, the external θ -roles is indirectly assigned. The process is mediated by VP, θ -roles are assigned at d- structure.

The main principle of θ -theory is the θ -criterion which requires each thematic role to be uniquely assigned i.e. each constituent denoting an argument is assigned just one θ -role and each θ -role is assigned to just one argument – denoting constituent. The arguments which are referential NPs are assigned θ -roles such as the following: agent, patient, theme, source, experiencer, beneficiary, location, instrument, malefactive, percept, goal, purpose and recipient.

Binding theory

Du plessis (1994:2) states that Binding theory is a subtheory which regulates the relation between anaphors (e.g. NP-trace), pronominals e.g. he, they, I) and R (referential) expressions (e.g chair, house, John) Wh= (Question word) traces and their antecedents in terms of notion of binding.

Binding theory is something that deals with the possible relations that obtained between pronominals (Pro) and anaphors (Np) with their antecedents.

Cook and Newson (1995:69) states that:

“The theory of binding is concerned with the relations, if any, of anaphors and pronominals to the antecedent.

Bounding theory

Bounding theory is concerned with the specification of constraints restriction as regard to the distance over which an argument may be moved in one step.

Bounding theory prevent the displacement of constituents across more than one barrier in a single movement.

Riemsdijk (1986:48) writer

“..... Subjacency provides such restrictions by requiring that each application of move α not operate too large a distance, though applications of move α may iterate, so the movement is a series of smaller hops.”

Bounding theory stipulates that:

An Np cannot be moved over more than one bounding category at a time (i.e. in one step).

Control theory

Control theory is concerned with establishing the antecedent (i.e controller) of a ‘big’ PRO, the phonetically empty category which characteristically appears as subject of infinitival clauses.

For the purpose of this study the Binding theory will be dealt with in more detail in section 1.4 below.

1.3. ORGANISATION OF STUDY

This study is concerned with the interpretation and syntax of constructions that exemplify reflexivity in Tshivenda. These will be discussed in this study under the following topics:

- a. Chapter 1 constitutes the introduction. The Binding theory in its general principles and definitions will be analysed,
- b. Chapter 2 deals with the interpretation of reflexive di- verb constructions.

In this chapter various verb types with di- will be considered.

- i. Mono- transitive verbs.
- ii. Di- transitive verbs.

In addition, the two tests of objecthood (i.e objectival agreement and passive construction) will be conducted to establish whether the syntactic status of NPs that appear after the verb are complements or adjuncts of the verb.

The summary and conclusion will be given at the end of each subheadings.

- c. Chapter 3 deals with the derived verb that is applicative, causative and passive. The appearing of di- verb with derived verbs will be examined.

The summary of the semantic interpretation of reflexive di- will be shown in the table. Finally the summary will be given in each headings.

Chapter 4 deals with Di- verbs followed by the reflexive emphasizer $-\text{ne}$. The interpretation of prepositional phrases (PP) with the reflexive meaning will be considered and the applicability of binding theory to these phrases will be explored. The summary will be given at the end of each subheadings.

Chapter 5 include the conclusion of chapter 2, 3 and 4.

1.4. REFLEXIVES IN GOVERNMENT- BINDING THEORY

Before discussing the application of Binding theory to reflexive NPs (e.g myself, ourself, himself, themselves) in English, Binding theory will be outlined with respect to its general principles and properties.

1.4.1. BINDING THEORY AS A SUBSYSTEM OF PRINCIPLE IN THE GB FRAMEWORK

Horrocks (1987:108) states that:

“Binding theory is concerned primarily with the conditions under which NPs are interpreted as co-referential with other NPs in the same sentence.”

The binding conditions determine the possible relationship between traces and their antecedents and the distribution of pronouns and anaphors.

Binding relation is indicated by co-subscripting. Binding theory is theory of A-binding, i.e the NPs that enter into a binding relation must occupy A-positions which include subject of S and complement of X^0 (where $X = N, V, P, A$), Non-A (A) positions include the position of complement and the Adjunct position such as in Question word constructions in which the Question word has moved to adjoin to the verb.

Binding theory deals with the possible relations that generalized between the pronominals, anaphors and referring expressions. Binding theory thus invokes a tripartite typology of categories, with conditions governing their distribution. The three categories referred to are:

- i. Anaphors which are elements such as reflexive and reciprocal pronouns and the empty categories NP-trace and PRO.
- ii. Pronouns which are lexical (non-anaphoric) pronouns
- iii. R (eferential) expressions which include names and variables (like trace of Question word).

Horrocks (1987:109) defined these categories as follows:

- i. Anaphors are NPs whose reference is necessarily determined sentence-internally and which cannot have independent reference. This means that an anaphor is a category that must have an antecedent. Examples of anaphors are reflexive and reciprocal pronouns.
- ii. Pronominals are NPs that lack specific lexical content and have only the features person, number and gender. They may either refer to individuals independently or co-refer to individuals already named in a given sentence. In other words a pronominal may have an antecedent.

- iii. R (eferential) expressions are noun phrases with lexical heads which potentially refer to something. R-expression are not Co-referential with other R-expressions in the same sentence.

Three principles of binding theory followed by several definitions of relevant structural relations will be given.

According to Haegman (1994:224)

The Binding principles are as follows:

- A: An anaphor is bound in its governing category (gc) which means that anaphor is co-indexed with antecedent.
- B: A pronominal must be free in its governing category. This shows that it has no antecedent within its governing category but it may have antecedent outside governing category.
- C: An R-expression (actual nouns) are free everywhere.

Cook and Newson (1995:69) states:

- A: An anaphor is bound in a local domain.
- B: A pronominal is free in a local domain.
- C: A referring expression is free.

Bound: α is bound by β if and only if α and β are co-indexed and β c-command α .

Free: α is free if and only if it is not bound.

C-command: α c-command β if the first maximal projection dominating α also dominates β , and α does not contain β .

The domain in which an anaphor must be bound and a pronominal free is the 'governing category' of the item in Question. In order to make this theory clear the following definition should be given.

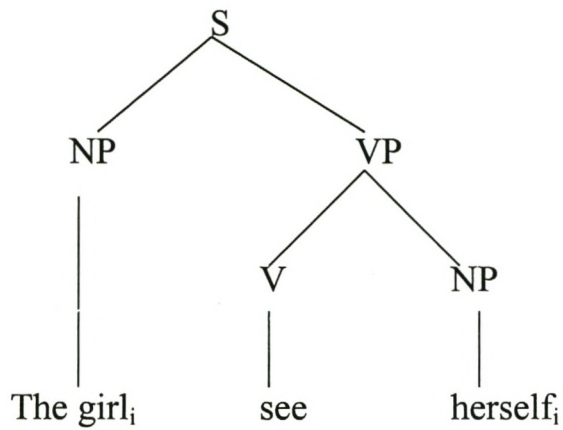
Governing category is the minimal S or Np that contains the governor of that element i.e the first NP or S that contains both the anaphor or pronominal and the governor is seen as the governing category.

According to Chomsky (1981:185)

α is the governing category for β if and only if α is the minimal category containing β , and a governor of β , where $\alpha = \text{Np}$ or S.

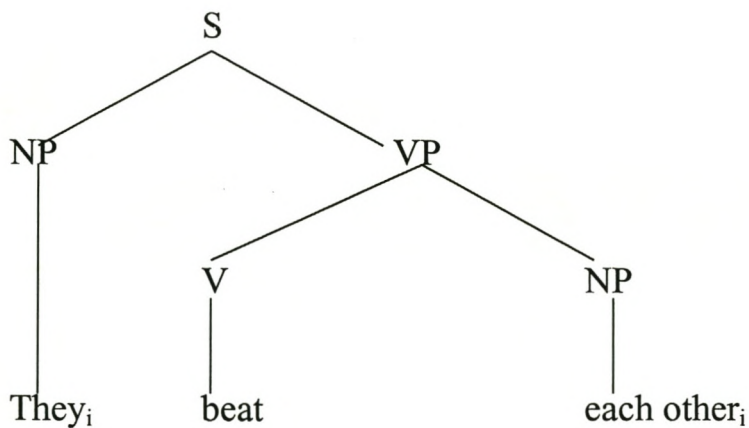
Examples: The girl sees herself.

26.



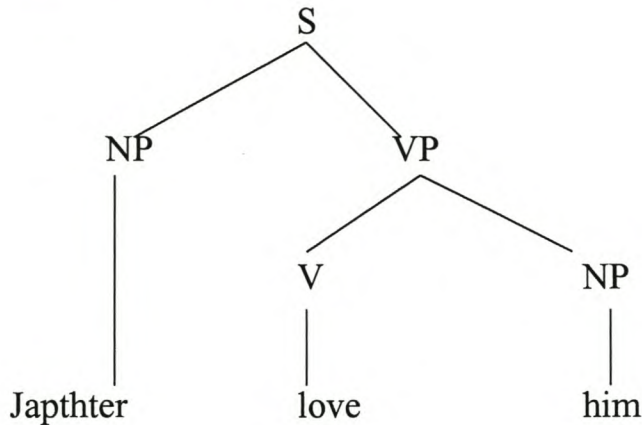
In this example the anaphor which is the reflexive 'herself' is bound in its governing category by its antecedent the subject Np. The governing category is S.

27. They beat each other.



The reciprocal pronoun which is an anaphor is bound by its antecedent which is the subject NP.

28. Japhter loves him.



The pronominal (him) is not bound in this example because there is no antecedent in its governing category which is S.

Chomsky (1981) revised the notion of governing category due to some problems encountered when the anaphors and the pronominals occur in the complement clause.

β is a governing category for α if and only if β is the minimal category containing α , a governor of α and a SUBJECT accessible to α .

Chomsky (1981) proposes that AGR is the SUBJECT in a finite clause, and NP of S is the SUBJECT of infinitival clause and NP of NP is the SUBJECT of an NP. Thus it is established that AGR is the governing category for a nominative subject and the subject is a governing category for any NP in its domain.

Accessibility is defined as follows:

*[Ys.....], where Y and S bear the same index.

α is accessible to β if and only if β is in the c-command domain of α and as assignment to β of index of α would not violate.

It is often referred to as i-within-i condition. Its incorporation guarantees that a SUBJECT will not be accessible to a given anaphor if that SUBJECT is co-indexed with a category properly containing the anaphor. The question of accessibility therefore prevents AGR (as it is always co-indexed with the subject) from being accessible to anything within the subject with which it is co-indexed.

This modification of the definition of the governing category allows long distance anaphor binding because an anaphor can be bound within an embedded clause.

Pro is the base-generated null-subject of non-finite clauses. Pro is similar to overt pronouns in that it may have an antecedent, but not within its own clause or Np. On the other hand, Pro resembles anaphors in lacking intrinsic referential content. Thus Pro is regarded as a pronominal anaphor. By virtue of this, Pro is subject to both principles A and B. If Pro has a governing category, it must then be both bound and free in that governing category, - this is a contradiction since free means not bound. Pro has no governing category and is therefore ungoverned. This property of Pro necessitated further modification of binding theory whereby governing category is changed to binding category. Thus changed to:

β is a binding category for α if and only if

β is the minimal category containing α and a SUBJECT accessible to α .

Principles A and B would then be stated in terms of the above definition.

- A. An anaphor is bound in its binding category.
- B. A Pronominal is free in its binding category.

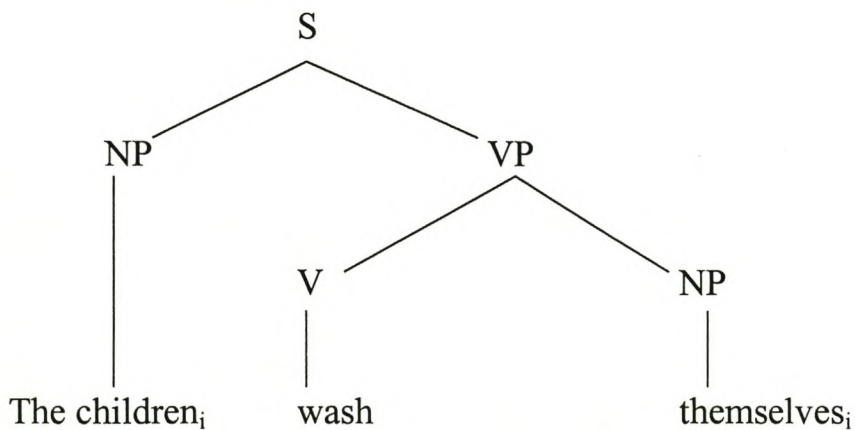
The definition of governing category is further extended to:

A root sentence is a governing category for a governed element.

The reflexive pronoun in English (e.g myself, himself, ourself etc) is regarded as an anaphor and it therefore falls under principle A which states that an anaphor is bound in its governing/ binding category.

Example:

29. The children wash themselves.



In this example the anaphor which is the pronoun ‘themselves’ is bound by its antecedent which is the subject NP in its governing/ binding category which is S. Thus it is clear that in English the reflexive pronoun is classified under principle A of the binding theory. Now the question is: how is the Tshivenda reflexive classified, is it classified in the same way? The aim of this study is to explore whether Venda reflexives can be analysed as anaphors.

This will be done using the last version of binding theory and it will also be considered especially whether this version applies to prepositional phrases (PPs) in which the prepositional complement Np is coreferential with the subject NP of the clause.

TYOLOGY OF NP CATEGORIES

Four types of categories are distinguished in terms of the binding theory, as shown in

Type of nominal	Overt category	Non-overt category
[+ anaphor, -Pro-nominal]	Reciprocals (= each other) Reflexives (= himself, etc)	NP- trace
[+ anaphor, + Pro- nominal]	-	PRO
[- anaphor, +Pro nominal]	Pronouns (e.g he, she etc)	Pro
[- anaphor, -pro- nominal]	Referential expressions (= nouns)	Variable

In the above typology/ classification we get four types of NP categories as distinguished in terms of the binding theory: These are:

- a. [+ anaphor – Pronominal]
- b. [+ anaphor + Pronominal]
- c. [- anaphor + Pronominal]
- d. [- anaphor + Pronominal]

This types of NP categories are also distinguished as to whether they have lexical content. There are those that are phonetically realised (= overt) and those that are phonetically empty (= non-overt).

CHAPTER TWO

2. MONOTRANSITIVE VERBS

Various categories of monotransitive verbs will be considered below. In each instance a definition of the specific category of verb will be given. Thereafter the verb will be forced to appear with the reflexive prefix –*ḡi* without any Np after the verb. In the next instance such reflexive verbs will appear with an Np after the verb. It will then be necessary to establish the syntactic status of these NPs, i.e. are they to be regarded as objects of the clause?

2.1. Verbs of grooming and bodily care

These verbs relate to taking care of or grooming the body, either the whole body or part of the body. They may also relate to wearing, putting on or taking off clothes:

30. (i) [-NP] U a *ḡiḡanzwa*.
(She washes herself)
- (ii) [+NP] U a *ḡiḡanzwa zwanda*.
(She is washing herself hands)
31. (i) [-NP] U a *ḡigera*.
(She is shaving herself)
- (ii) [+NP] U a *ḡigera ndebvu*.
(He is shaving himself beard)

32. (i) [-NP] O $\dot{\chi}$ ihwaya.
(He brushed himself)
- (ii) [+NP] O $\dot{\chi}$ ihwaya ma $\dot{\chi}$ o.
(He brushed himself teeth)
33. (i) [-NP] Vho $\dot{\chi}$ ivheula.
(They shaved themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vho $\dot{\chi}$ ivheula mahaha a milenzhe.
(They shaved themselves hair of legs)
34. (i) [-NP] U a $\dot{\chi}$ iluka.
(She is braiding herself)
- (ii) [+NP] U a $\dot{\chi}$ iluka mavhudzi.
(She is braiding herself hair)
35. (i) [-NP] Vha a $\dot{\chi}$ igama.
(They are combing themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vha a $\dot{\chi}$ igama mavhudzi.
(They are combing themselves hair)

All these verbs of grooming and bodily care accepted the reflexive prefix – $\dot{\chi}$ i- with a reflexive meaning. In the second place these reflexive verbs above may

also appear with an Np after the verb. These noun phrases above are all instances of body parts.

It will then be necessary to establish whether these NPs are complements or adjuncts of the verb. For this purpose the two tests of objecthood will be conducted.

(a) Objectival agreement

Is it possible for objectival agreement of the body part to appear with reflexive verb:

36. (i) Munna u a $\dot{\chi}$ igera [nde**b**vu]

With Agr O:

(ii) * Munna u a [dzi] $\dot{\chi}$ igera ndebvu.

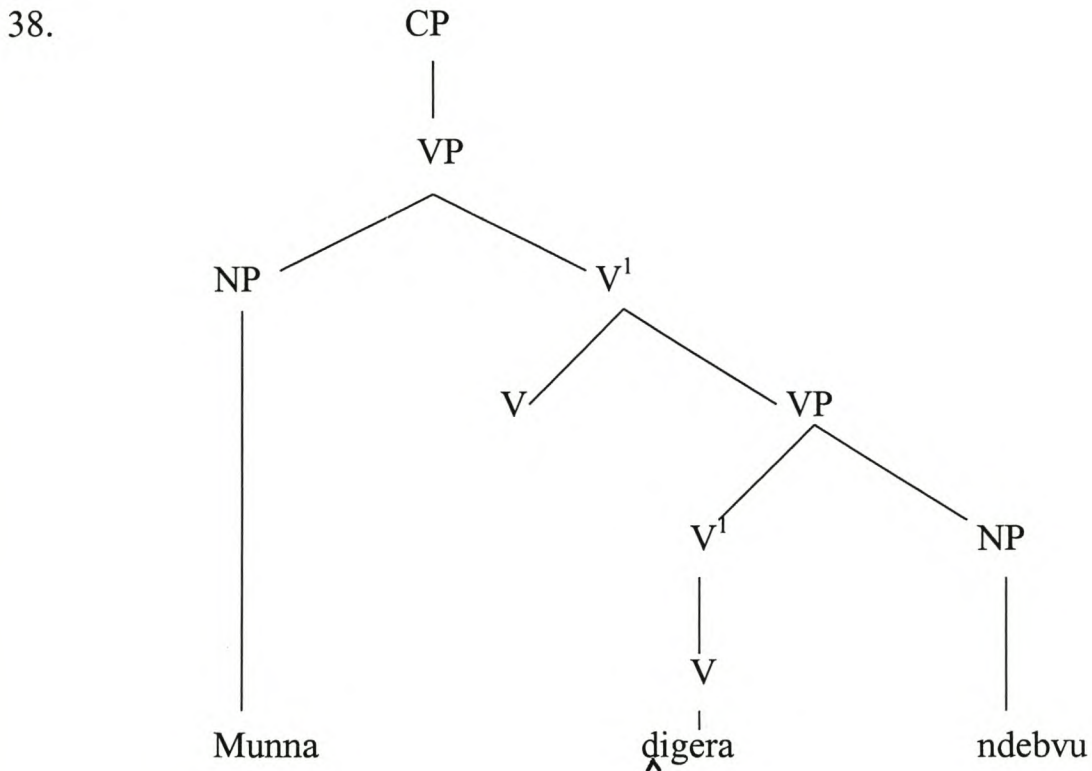
(b) Passive construction

In a passive construction the object of the verb may move to the empty subject position of a passive verb:

37. (i) [e] $\dot{\chi}$ iger -w-a [nde**b**vu]

(ii) * [Ndebvu_i] dzi a $\dot{\chi}$ iger-w-a [t_i]

This sentence is ungrammatical, therefore the reflexive verb has failed both tests, then the body part should be considered as an adjunct with the following structure:



It is noticeable that these verbs relate to taking care of or grooming the whole body. They can be found with either X self or with the appropriate body part as direct objects. This set of verbs shows the understood reflexive object alternation. When they are used intransitively, the action is understood to be directed at the subject.

These nouns that follows the $-di-$ verbs are not theme or patient (object) argument but they are just adjunct nouns because a noun which is an object of a passive verb can typically be moved to the subject position. Therefore these nouns do not have the syntactic status of an object.

2.2. Verbs involving body

These verbs relate to bodily processes i.e processes that are typically not under the control of the person that experiences them. They may also relate to emitting a substance from the body or taking some substance into the body. Some of them involve facial expressions that are associated with a particular emotion or with gesture or signs made with specific body parts:

39. (i) [-Np] Mmbwa i a χ isomba.
(The dog is wagging itself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mmbwa i a χ isomba mutshila.
(The dog is wagging itself tail)
40. (i) [-NP] O χ itsinya.
(He pinched himself)
- (ii) [+NP] O χ itsinya χ it χ o.
(He pinched himself eye)
41. (i) [-NP] U a χ ibvula.
(He is opening himself)
- (ii) [+NP] U a χ ibvula ma χ o.
(He is opening himself eyes)

42. (i) [-NP] Ndi a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{idzungudza}$.
(I am shaking myself)
- (ii) [+NP] Ndi a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{idzungudza } \underset{\lambda}{\text{t}}\text{hoho}$.
(I am shaking myself head)
43. (i) [-NP] U a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{ipeta}$.
(He is folding himself)
- (ii) [+NP] U a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{ipeta } \underset{\lambda}{\text{z}}\text{wan}\underset{\lambda}{\text{a}}$.
(He is folding himself hands)
44. (i) [-NP] O $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{i}\underset{\lambda}{\text{t}}\text{hukhula}$.
(She cut herself)
- (ii) [+NP] O $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{i}\underset{\lambda}{\text{t}}\text{hukhula } \text{munwe}$.
(She cut herself finger)
45. (i) [-NP] Vho $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{itshea}$.
(They cut themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vho $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{itshea } \text{minwe}$.
(They cut themselves fingers)
46. (i) [-NP] Vho $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{ikokodza}$.
(They pulled themselves)

- (ii) [+NP] Vho χ dikokodza musipha.
(They pulled themselves muscle)

47. (i) [-NP] O χ disea.
(He laughed himself)

- (ii) [+NP] O χ disea tshiseo.
(He laughed himself laughter)

These verbs relate to gestures or signs made with specific body parts. Most of these verbs are also found with reaction objects except for the verb 'sea' which typically take cognate object 'Tshiseo.' The subject of these verbs is a body part whose possessor experience the state. When they are used transitively the object is the experiencer of the state and therefore, understood as the possessor of the body part expressed.

These verb accepted the reflexive prefix $-\chi$ - with a reflexive meaning. They are also related to bodily processor in which most of the Nps that follow the verb are body parts except for the 'sea' which is followed by the Np 'tshiseo' which is a cognate object. It will be established whether the Nps are complements or adjuncts of the verb. The two tests of objecthood will be conducted for this purpose.

(a) Objectival agreement

48. (i) Mmbwa i a χ disomba mutshila.

With Agr O:

- (ii) * Mmbwa i a [mu] χ disomba mutshila.

49. (i) O $\dot{\lambda}$ isea tshiseo.

With Agr O:

(ii) * O [tshi] $\dot{\lambda}$ isea tshiseo.

(b) In a passive construction the object of the verb may move to the empty subject position of a passive verb.

50. (i) [e] i a $\dot{\lambda}$ isomb-w-a [mutshila]

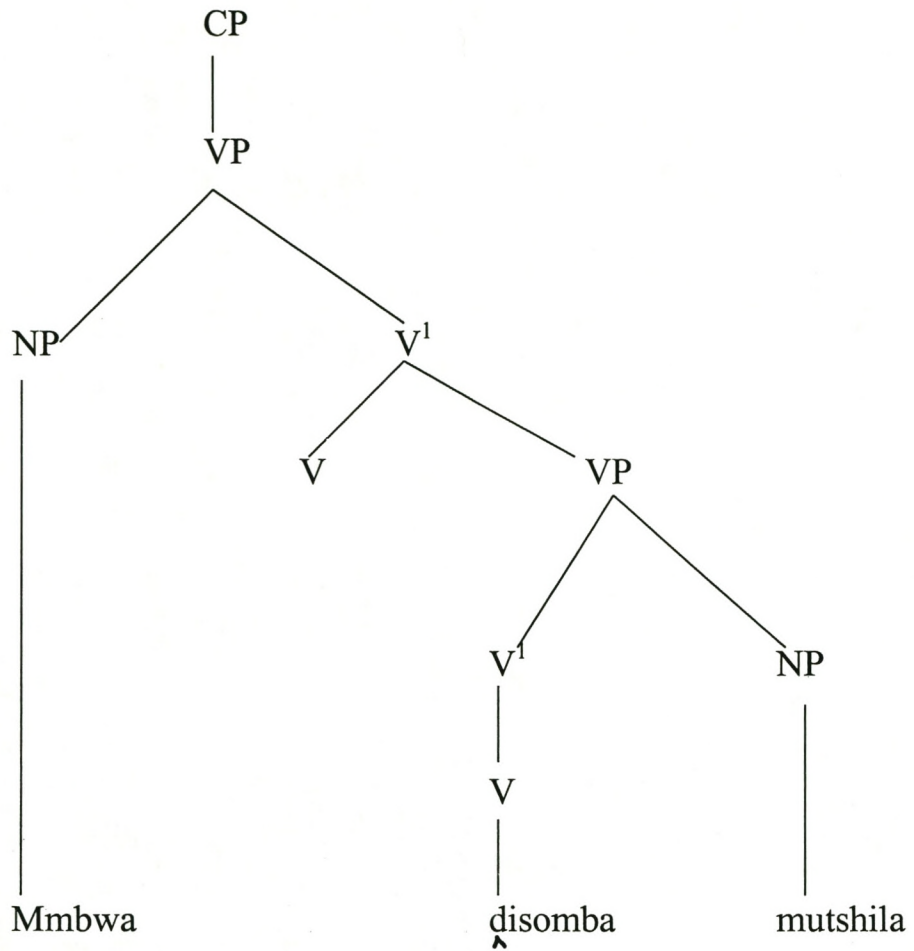
(ii) * [mutshila_i] u a $\dot{\lambda}$ isomb-w-a [ti]

51. (i) [e] $\dot{\lambda}$ ise-wa [tshiseo]

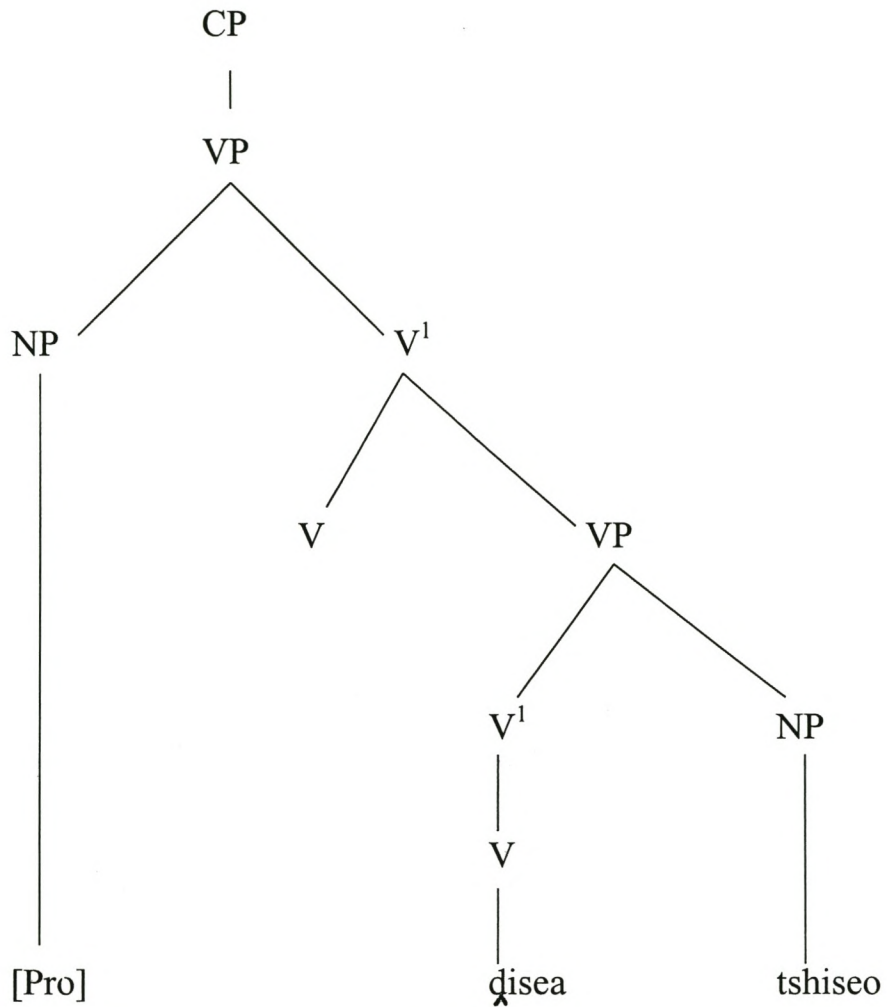
(ii) * [Tshiseo_i] tshi a $\dot{\lambda}$ ise-w-a [ti]

The body part or cognate objects should be considered as adjuncts as the reflexive verb has failed both tests: the objectival agreement and the passive construction. They may have the following structure:

52. Mmbwa i a disomba mutshila.



53. O disea tshiseo.



All these sentences are ungrammatical. This shows that the object that appear after the verb cannot work together with their objectival agreement. When the Np is moved to the subject position in passive, the sentence become ungrammatical and this indicates that the Np is not an object argument of the verb.

2.3. Verbs of ingesting

These verbs relate to the ingestion of food or drink e.g some of them involve a specification of the manner of ingesting or the complete consumption of something or eating a particular meal or feeding somebody:

54. (i) [-NP] Ndo $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{ishenga}$.
(I chewed myself)
- (ii) [+NP] Ndo $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{ishenga lulimi}$.
(I chewed myself tongue)
- (iii) [+NP] *Ndo $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{ishenga } \underset{\lambda}{\text{n}}\text{ama}$. (unacceptable)
(I chewed myself meat)
55. (i) [-NP] Vha khou $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{ikanzwa}$.
(They are feeding themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vha khou $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{ikanzwa tshi}\underset{\lambda}{\text{l}}\text{elo nga zwi}\underset{\lambda}{\text{l}}\text{iwa}$.
(They are feeding themselves tummy by food)
56. (i) [-NP] $\underset{\lambda}{\text{N}}\text{owa i khou } \underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{imila}$.
(The snake is swallowing itself)
- (ii) [+NP] $\underset{\lambda}{\text{N}}\text{owa i khou } \underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{imila mutshila}$.
(The snake is swallowing himself tail)

(iii) [+NP] U khou $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\dot{\text{m}}\text{i}\text{l}\text{a}$ munwe.
(He is swallowing himself finger)

57. (i) [-NP] I khou $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\dot{\text{l}}\text{a}$.
(It is eating itself)

(ii) [+NP] I khou $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\dot{\text{l}}\text{a}$ mathenga.
(It is eating itself feathers)

(iii) [+NP] Nwana u khou $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\dot{\text{l}}\text{a}$ munwe.
(The child is eating herself finger)

58. (i) [-NP] Phaiphi i khou $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{n}\text{w}\text{a}$.
(The pipe is drinking itself)

(ii) [+NP] Phaiphi i khou $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{n}\text{w}\text{a}$ ma $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}$.
(The pipe is drinking itself water)

(iii) [+NP] U khou $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{n}\text{w}\text{a}$ malofha.
(He is drinking himself blood)

The verbs of ingesting with the reflexive prefix $-\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}-$ are no longer related to the ingestion of the body parts.

With the verbs of ingesting, if the Np is a body part the reflexive verbs will accept it but if the Np is some food which needs to be ingested the reflexive verbs will not accept such an Np.

The two tests of objecthood will be conducted to establish whether these NPs are complements or adjuncts of the verb.

(a) Objectival agreement

59. (i) I khou $\underset{\lambda}{\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}i\text{l}a}}$ mathenga.

Agr O:

(ii) *I khou [a] $\underset{\lambda}{\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}i\text{l}a}}$ mathenga.

(b) Passive construction

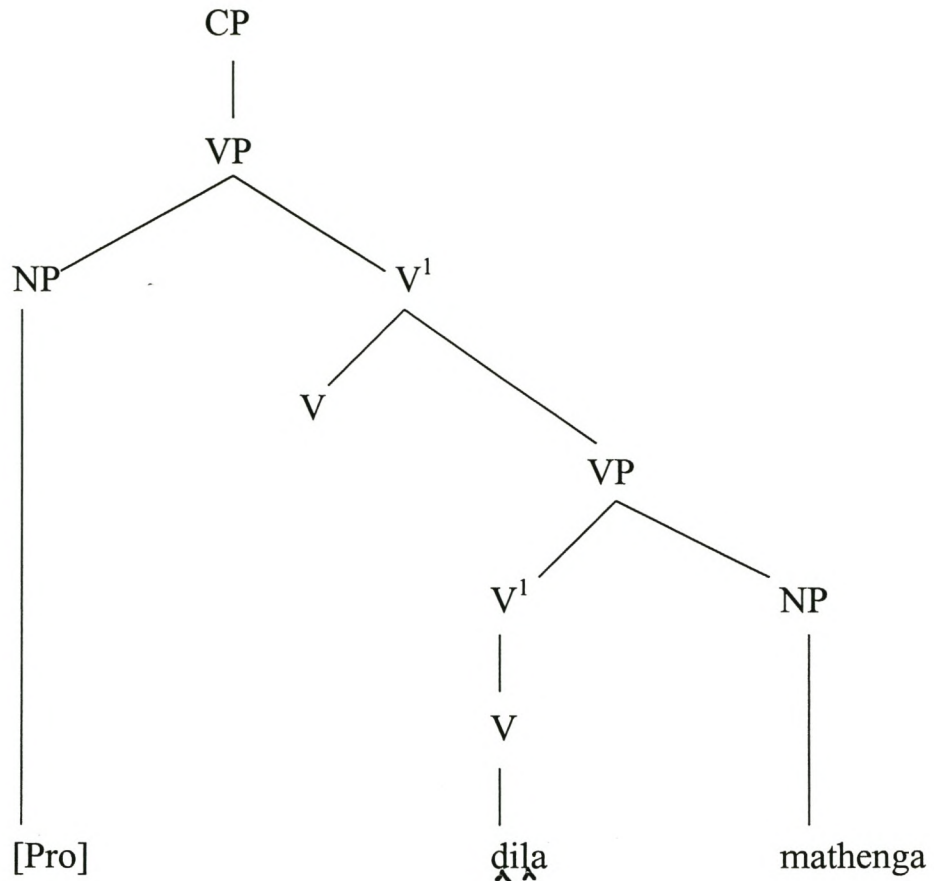
In a passive construction the object of the verb may move to the empty subject position of a passive verb:

60. (i) [e] $\underset{\lambda}{\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}i\text{l}i\text{w}a}}$ mathenga.

(ii) *[Mathenga_i] a khou $\underset{\lambda}{\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}i\text{l}i\text{w}a}}$ [t_i]

The body part should be considered as an adjunct with the following structure:

61.



All these sentence are unacceptable, which shows that the reflexive –di- should not be passivised and they cannot appear with object agreement.

The reflexive prefix –di- may occur with the object but not with the objectival concord. With the reflexive –di- morpheme there is no movement of Np from the object to the subject position.

2.4. Verbs of contact

These verbs describe moving one entity in order to bring it into contact with another entity. They may entail that this contact has an effect on the second entity.

62. (i) [-NP] Mutukana o $\dot{\text{q}}$ irwa.
(The boy beat himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mutukana o $\dot{\text{q}}$ irwa mulenzhe.
(The boy beat himself leg)
63. (i) [-NP] Musidzana o $\dot{\text{q}}$ iraha.
(The girl kicked herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musidzana o $\dot{\text{q}}$ iraha tshikunwe.
(The girl kicked herself toe)
64. (i) [-NP] Nwana o $\dot{\text{q}}$ i $\dot{\text{n}}$ waya.
(The child scratched herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Nwana o $\dot{\text{q}}$ i $\dot{\text{n}}$ waya tshifha $\dot{\text{t}}$ uwo.
(The child scratched herself face)
65. (i) [-NP] Munna o $\dot{\text{q}}$ iluma.
(The man bite himself)

- (ii) [+NP] Munna o χ iluma munwe.
(The man bite himself finger)

All these verbs of contact accepted the reflexive morpheme $-\chi$ with a reflexive meaning. All of them may also appear with an Np after the verb and all these noun phrases are body parts. These verbs do show the body parts possessor as ascension alternation and they allow unintentional as well as intentional action interpretation with body parts or reflexive objects.

It will be necessary to establish the syntactic status of these Nps i.e whether they will be regarded as objects of the clause. To prove this the two tests of objecthood will be conducted.

(a) Objectival agreement

66. (i) Nwana o χ inwaya [tshifha χ uwo]

With Agr O:

- (ii) *Nwana o [tshi] χ inwaya tshifha χ uwo.

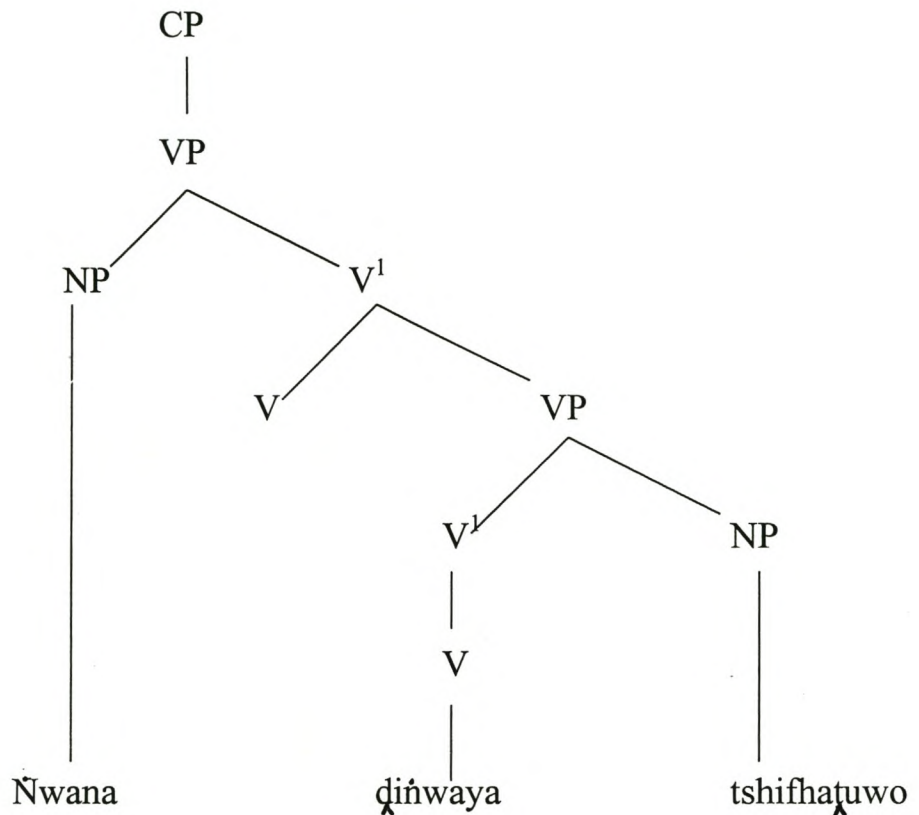
(b) Passive construction

67. (i) [e] χ inway-w-a- tshifha χ uwo.

- (ii) *[Tshifha χ uwo_i] tshi χ inway-w-a- [t_i]

These sentences have the following structure:

68.



This structure shows that there is no movement of Np from the object position to the subject position. These sentences are ungrammatical. It is then noticeable that the object argument of the reflexive prefix -di- cannot occur with the objectival agreement.

In Venda language it has been found that it is untenable to move the Np objects in the reflexive construction to the subject position. This shows us that the body parts should be considered as adjuncts.

2.5. Verbs of touch

These verbs are pure verbs of contact. They describe surface contact with no necessary implication that the contact came about through impact:

69. (i) [-NP] Vho $\dot{\chi}$ ifara.
(They touched themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vho $\dot{\chi}$ ifara mulenzhe.
(They touched themselves leg)
70. (i) [-NP] Musidzana o $\dot{\chi}$ imama.
(The girl kissed herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musidzana o $\dot{\chi}$ imama tshanda.
(The girl kissed herself hand)
71. (i) [-NP] Nwana o $\dot{\chi}$ itota.
(The child pinched himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Nwana o $\dot{\chi}$ itota tshanda.
(The child pinched himself hand)

The reflexive verbs above may appear with or without the Np after the verb. The noun phrases that appear after the verb, are all instances of body parts. These verbs allow intentional action interpretations with body part or reflexive objects.

The two tests of objecthood will be conducted to indicate whether these Nps are complements or adjuncts of the verb.

(a) Objectival agreement

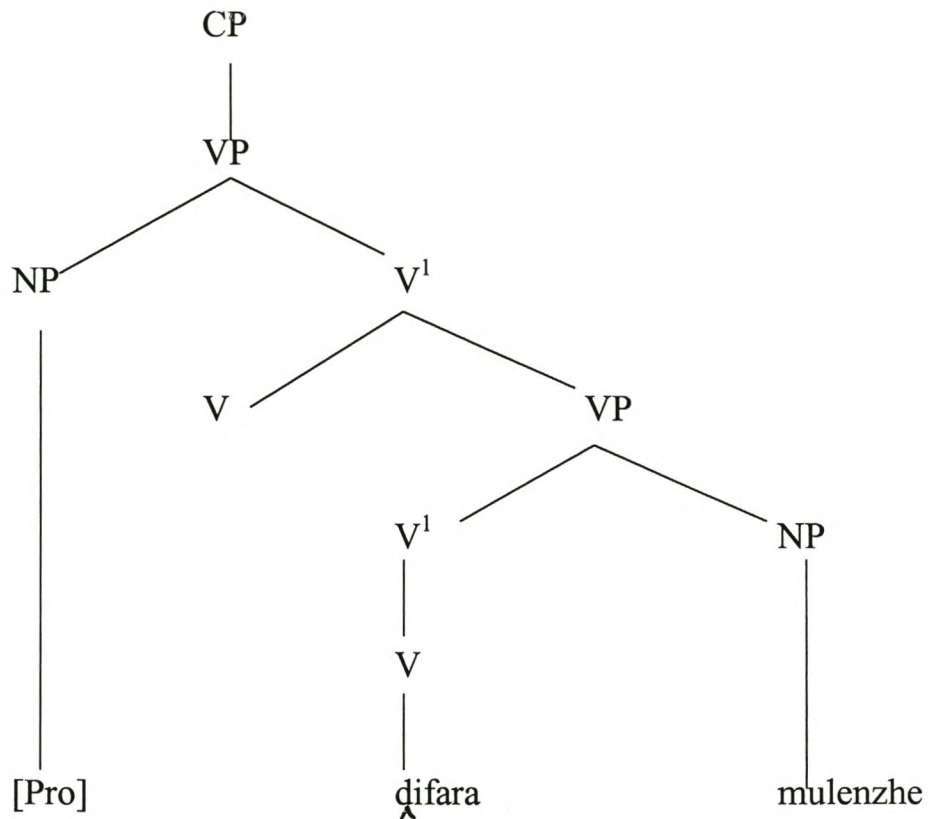
72. (i) Vho λ ɔifara mulenzhe.
With Agr O:
(ii) *Vho [u] λ ɔifara mulenzhe.

(b) Passive construction

73. (i) [e] λ ɔifar-w-a- [mulenzhe]
(ii) *[mulenzhe;_i] u λ ɔifar-w-a- [t;_i]

The reflexive verb has failed both tests; then the body part should be considered as an adjunct with the following structure:

74.



These verbs do not allow objectival agreement. The investigation in this study of reflexive construction shows that the sentence become ungrammatical during the passivation in which the Np object argument is moved to the subject position.

2.6. Verbs of killing

The verbs in this class describe killing and they may say something about the purpose or manner of killing. Other verbs relate to actions which can be ways of killing, i.e they have a means component: they need not entail that the action they denote results in death:

75. (i) [-NP] Musidzana o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dihunga}}$.
(The girl hung herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musidzana o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dihunga}}$ mukulo.
(The girl hung herself neck)
76. (i) [-NP] Munna o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{divhulaha}}$.
(The man killed himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Munna o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{divhulaha}}$ vhutshilo.
(The man killed himself life)
77. (i) [-NP] Mutukana o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dithuntsha}}$.
(The boy shot himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mutukana o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dithuntsha}}$ $\underset{\lambda}{\text{thoho}}$.
(The boy shot himself head)
78. (i) [-NP] Mukegulu o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dithavha}}$.
(The old lady stabbed herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mukegulu o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dithavha}}$ tshanda.
(The old lady stabbed herself hand)

All these killing verbs accept the reflexive prefix – $\underset{\lambda}{\text{di}}$ - with a reflexive meaning. All Nps that appear after the verb are body part except ‘vulaha’ that will not accept a body part. When this reflexive verb ‘ $\underset{\lambda}{\text{divhulaha}}$ ’ appear with the body

part it gives us two interpretation: the first one is that he makes his leg to be no longer working and the second has semantic expression which mean that he make his leg to be aching.

Some of these verbs are more likely than others to be found with resultative phrase such as **to death** e.g 'dihunga' 'dithavha' and some of these verbs are not exclusively verbs of killing, since they describe actions that have death as only one of their possible results. These include verbs such as 'dithuntsha' [shoot]. The other verbs in this class lexicalize something about purpose or manner of killing except the verb 'vhulaha' [kill]. The above killing verbs allow instrumental subjects that will make the action fulfilled.

The two tests that will establish whether the NPs are complements or adjuncts will be shown below:

(a) Objectival agreement

79. (i) Mutukana o dithuntsha thoho.
With Agr O:
(ii) *Mutukana o[i] dithuntsha thoho.

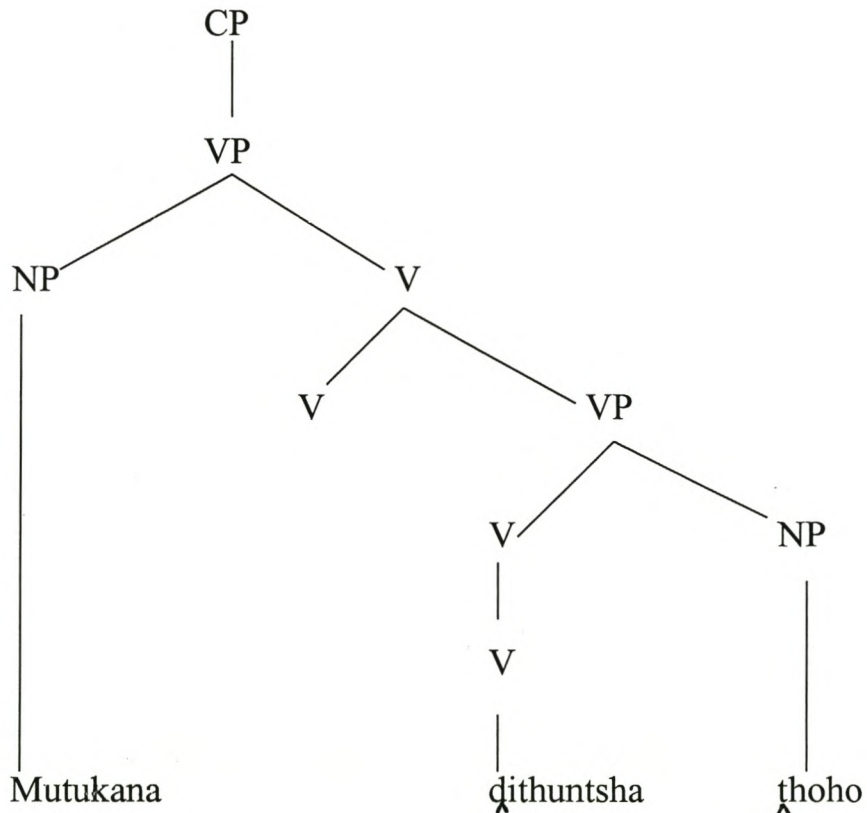
(b) Passive construction

80. (i) [e] dithuntsh-w-a [thoho]
(ii) *[Thoho_i] i dithuntsh-w-a [t_i]

Objectival agreement will not occur with the object argument in the reflexive construction and there will be no movement of Np object argument from object to the subject position.

This sentence will have the following structure:

81.



2.7. Psych Verbs

These verbs describe the bringing about of a change in psychological or emotional state. They are transitive verbs whose object is the experiencer of the emotion and whose subject is the cause of the change in psychological state:

82. (i) [-NP] Musidzana u a $\underset{\wedge}{\text{d}}\text{ifuna}$.
(The girl loves herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musidzana u a $\underset{\wedge}{\text{d}}\text{ifuna}$ muvhili.
(The girl loves herself body)
83. (i) [-NP] Vhafumakadzi vha a $\underset{\wedge}{\text{d}}\text{i}\underset{\wedge}{\text{t}}\text{honifha}$.
(The women respect themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vhafumakadzi vha $\underset{\wedge}{\text{d}}\text{i}\underset{\wedge}{\text{t}}\text{honifha}$ mivhili.
(The women respect themselves bodies)
84. (i) [-NP] Vhafunzi vha a $\underset{\wedge}{\text{d}}\text{ifulufhela}$.
(The pastors trust themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vhafunzi vha a $\underset{\wedge}{\text{d}}\text{ifulufhela}$ maipfi.
(The pastors trust themselves words)
85. (i) [-NP] Vho $\underset{\wedge}{\text{d}}\text{idina}$.
(They bother themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vho $\underset{\wedge}{\text{d}}\text{idina}$ mushumo.
(They bother themselves work)
86. (i) [-NP] Nwana o $\underset{\wedge}{\text{d}}\text{ikanuka}$.
(The child amazed himself)

- (ii) [+NP] Nwana o $\dot{\chi}$ ikanuka mushumo.
(The child amazed himself work)
87. (i) [-NP] Mukegulu o $\dot{\chi}$ isema.
(The old lady cursed herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mukegulu o $\dot{\chi}$ isema ma $\dot{\chi}$ amba.
(The old lady cursed herself abuse)

All Nps that appear after the reflexive prefix – $\dot{\chi}$ i- are body except with ‘**dina**’, ‘**kanuka**’, ‘**sema.**’ Verb ‘**sema**’ has a cognate object. These arguments have the semantic role of experiencer and the stimulus.

The two test of objecthood:

(a) Objectival agreement

One with body parts

88. (i) Musidzana u a $\dot{\chi}$ ifuna muvhili.

With Agr O:

- (ii) *Musidzana u a [u] $\dot{\chi}$ ifuna muvhili

With non- body part

89. (i) Nwana o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dikanuka}}$ [mushumo]

With Agr O:

(ii) * $\overset{\lambda}{\text{Nwana}}$ o [u] $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dikanuka}}$ mushumo.

(b) Passive Construction

One with body part

90. (i) [e] $\underset{\lambda}{\text{difun-w-a}}$ muvhili

(ii) *[muvhili] u $\underset{\lambda}{\text{difun-w-a}}$ [ti]

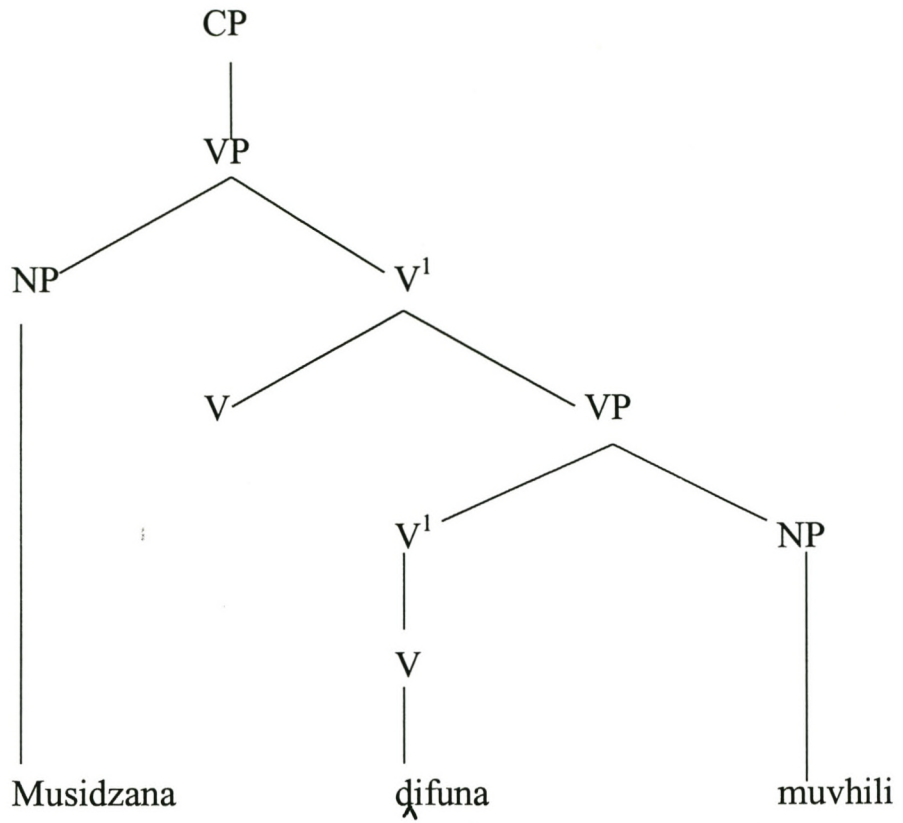
With non body part

91. (i) [e] $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dikanuk-w-a}}$ [mushumo]

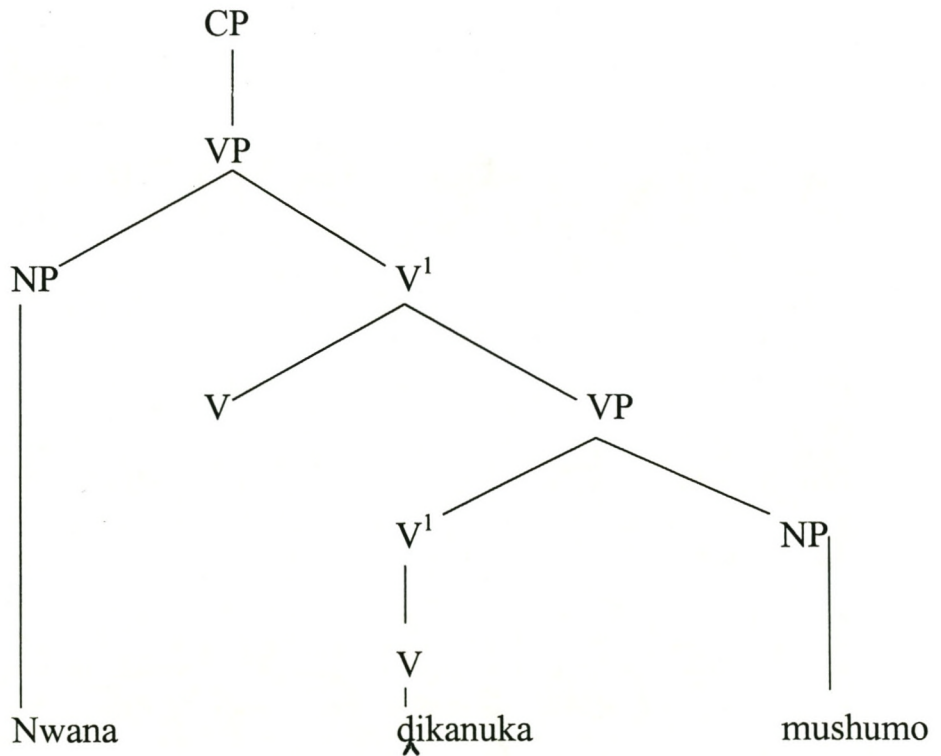
(ii) *[mushumo_i] u $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dikanuk-w-a}}$ [t_i]

These sentences are unacceptable. They will have the following structure:

92.



93.



2.8. Verbs of perception

Those verbs describe the actual perception of some entity. They take the perceiver as subject and what is perceived as direct object:

94. (i) [-NP] Munna o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{i}\dot{\text{t}}\text{o}\text{l}\text{a}$.
(The man inspected/ checked himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Munna o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{i}\dot{\text{t}}\text{o}\text{l}\text{a}$ vhulwadze.
(The man inspected/ checked himself illness)
95. (i) [-NP] Vhasidzana vha khou $\dot{\text{q}}\text{i}\text{v}\text{h}\text{o}\text{n}\text{a}$.
(The girls are seeing themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vhasidzana vha khou $\dot{\text{q}}\text{i}\text{v}\text{h}\text{o}\text{n}\text{a}$ mavhudzi.
(The girl are seeing themselves hair)
96. (i) [-NP] Nwana u khou $\dot{\text{q}}\text{i}\text{p}\text{f}\text{a}$.
(The child is feeling himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Nwana u khou $\dot{\text{q}}\text{i}\text{p}\text{f}\text{a}$ vhulwadze.
(The child is feeling himself illness)
97. (i) [-NP] Mutukana u a $\dot{\text{q}}\text{i}\text{t}\text{h}\text{e}\text{t}\text{s}\text{h}\text{e}\text{l}\text{e}\text{s}\text{a}$.
(The boy listen to himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mutukana u a $\dot{\text{q}}\text{i}\text{t}\text{h}\text{e}\text{t}\text{s}\text{h}\text{e}\text{l}\text{e}\text{s}\text{a}$ luimbo.
(The boy listen himself song)

98. (i) [-NP] Musadzi u a $\dot{\chi}$ ilavhelesa.
(The woman glances at herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musadzi u a $\dot{\chi}$ ilavhelesa zwiambaro
(The woman glances at herself clothes)

All Nps are body parts except with ‘thetshelesa’ and ‘lavhelesa.’

(a) Objectival agreement

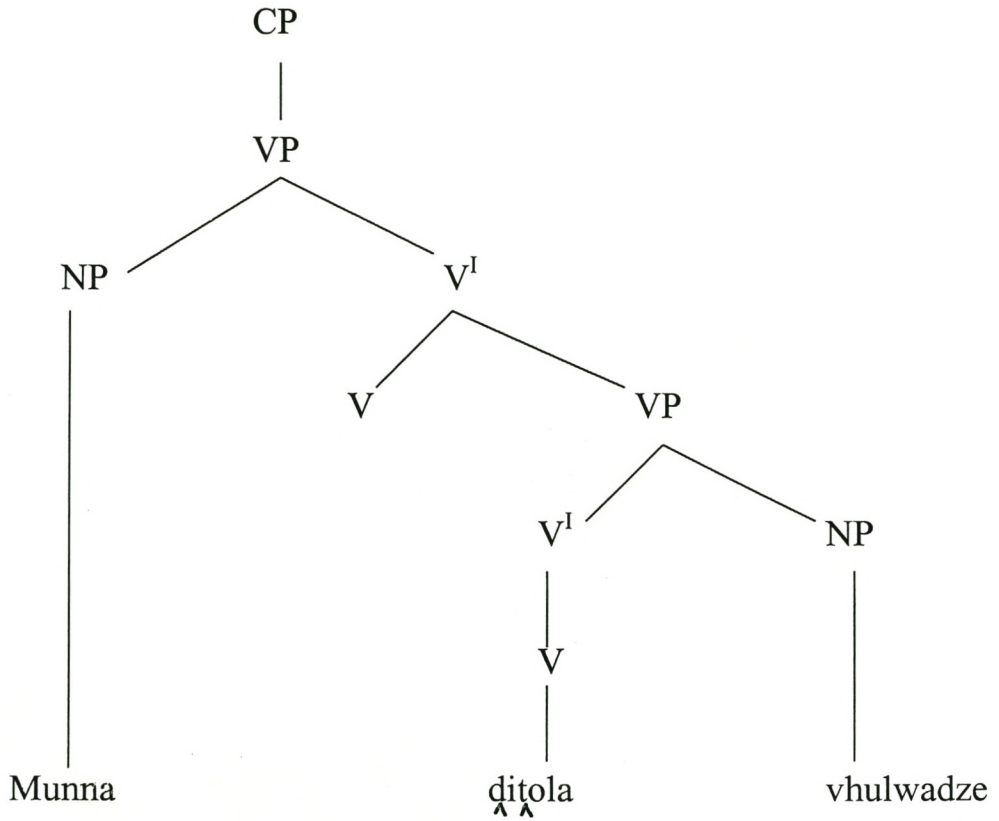
99. (i) Munna o $\dot{\chi}$ itola vhulwadze.
With Agr O:
(ii) *Munna o [vhu] $\dot{\chi}$ itola vhulwadze.
100. (i) Musadzi u a $\dot{\chi}$ ilavhelesa zwiambaro.
With Agr O:
(ii) *Musadzi u a [zwi] $\dot{\chi}$ ilavhelesa zwiambaro.

(b) Passive construction

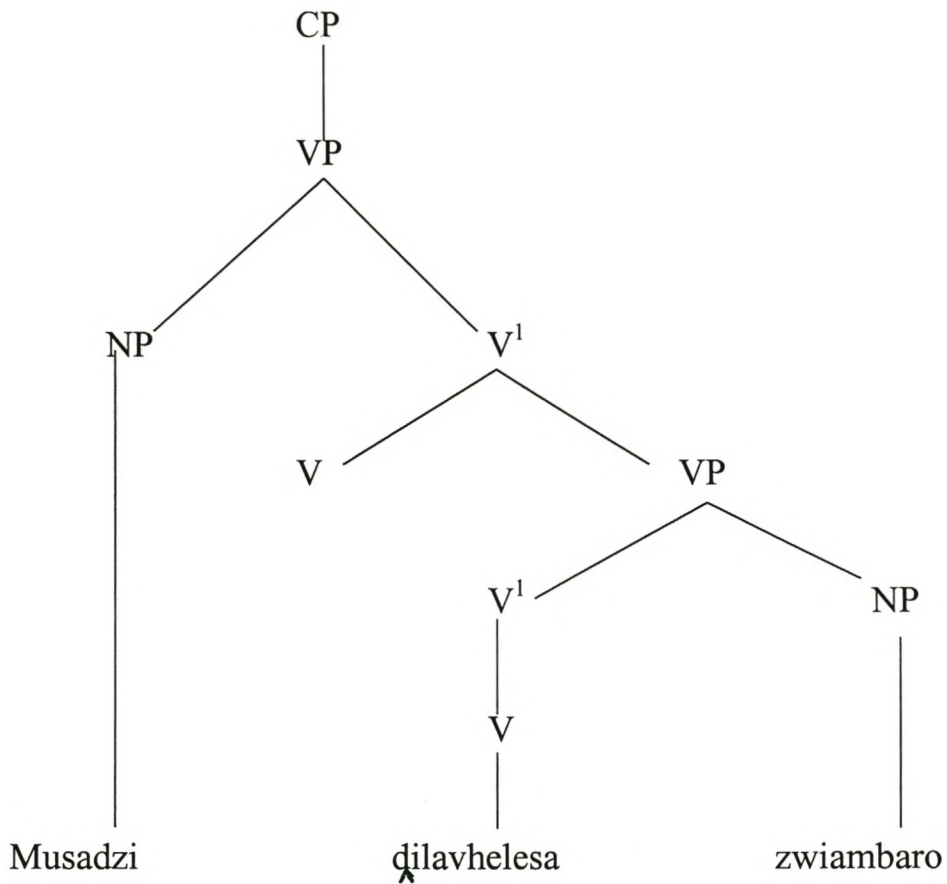
101. (i) [e] $\dot{\chi}$ itol-w-a vhulwadze.
(ii) *[vhulwadze_i] vhu $\dot{\chi}$ itol-w-a [t_i]
102. (i) [e] $\dot{\chi}$ ilavheles-w-a zwiambaro.
(ii) *[zwiambaro_i] zwi $\dot{\chi}$ ilavhes-w-a [t_i]

These sentences become ungrammatical when they occur with the object agreement and when they are passivised. This shows that the Np object argument is not allowed to move from its position to the subject position. Therefore these sentences would have the following structure:

103.



104.



2.9. Verbs of Communication

Amongst these verbs are verbs of type of communicated message. They differ with respect to the nature of the message and the way it is communicated. Other verbs are known as verbs of manner of speaking and verbs of instrument of communication. These verbs describe spoken interactions between two or more participants:

105. (i) [-NP] Mutukana o $\text{d}\text{i}\text{n}\text{w}\text{a}\text{l}\text{a}$.
 (The boy wrote himself)

- (ii) [+NP] Mutukana o χ ĩnwala dzina.
(The boy wrote himself name)
106. (i) [-NP] Musadzi o χ isola.
(The woman gossiped about herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musadzi o χ isola matshilele.
(The woman gossiped about lifestyle of herself)
107. (i) [-NP] Mueni u a χ iamba.
(The visitor talks (about) himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mueni u a χ iamba madzina.
(The visitor talks himself names)
108. (i) [-NP] Tshivhotshwa tsho χ ivhika.
(The prisoner reported himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Tshivhotshwa tsho χ ivhika mulandu.
(The prisoner reported himself case)
109. (i) [-Np] Mufumakadzi u khou χ ieletshedza.
(The woman is advising herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mufumakadzi u khou χ ieletshedza matshilele.
(The woman is advising herself lifestyle)

All these verbs of communication accept the reflexive prefix – di - with a reflexive meaning and these reflexive verbs also appear with an Np. These noun phrase are not instances of body parts. Verbs like ‘ u sola ’, ‘ eletshedza ’ ‘ vhika ’ are verbs of manner of speakings and ‘ amba ’, ‘ nwala ’ are verbs of transfer of a message.

To establish whether the NPs are complement or adjuncts of the verb the two tests of objecthood will be conducted:

(a) Objectival agreement

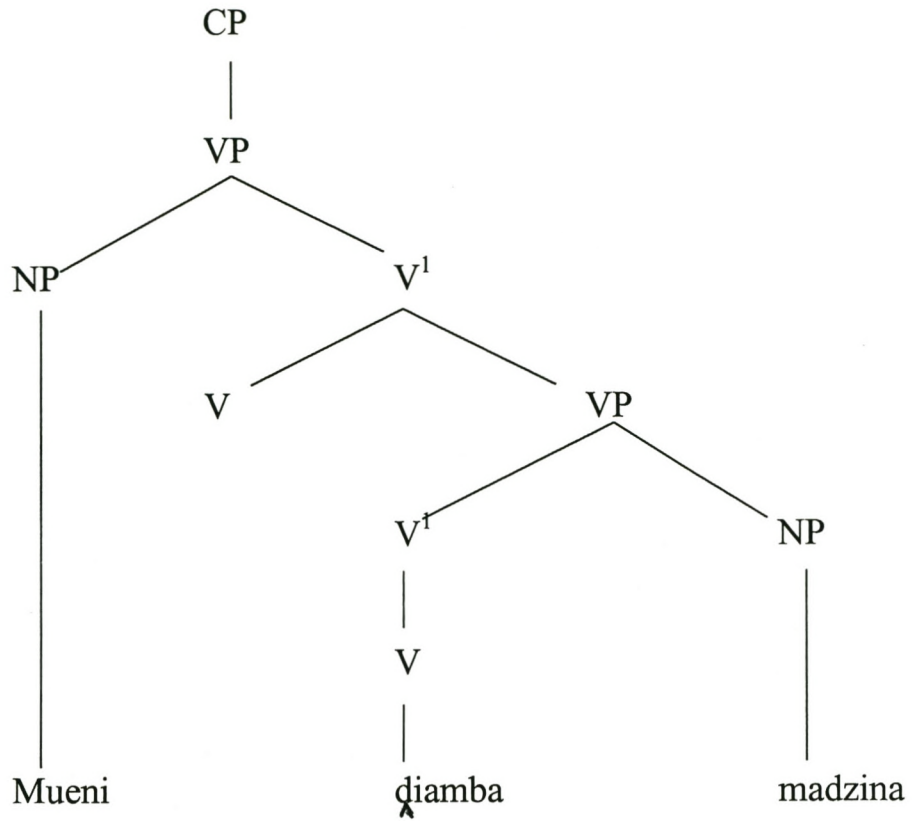
110. (i) Mueni u a diamba madzina.
(ii) *Mueni u a [a] diamba madzina.
111. (i) Tshivhotshwa tsho divhika mulandu.
(ii) *Tshivhotshwa tsho [u] divhika mulandu.

(b) Passive construction

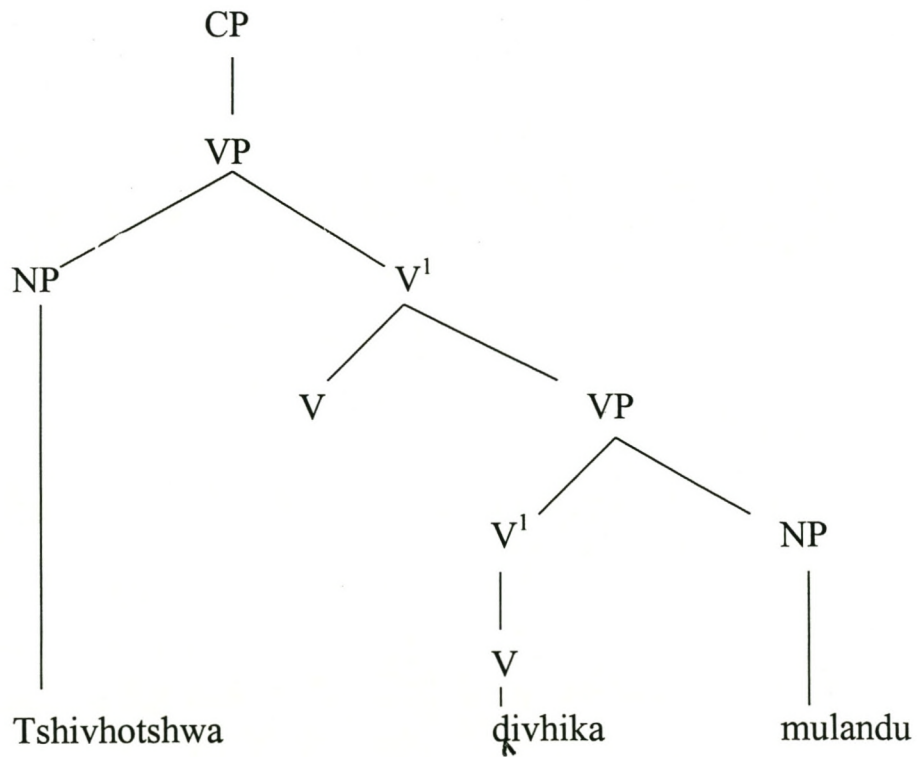
112. (i) [e] $\text{d}\text{iamb-w-a}$ madzina
(ii) *[Madzina] a a $\text{d}\text{iamb-w-a}$ [t_i]
113. (i) [e] $\text{d}\text{ivhik-w-a}$ mulandu.
(ii) *[Mulandu_i] u a $\text{d}\text{ivhik-w-a}$ [t_i]

These sentence will have the following structure:

114.



115.



These sentences are not accepted. This indicate that they must occur without objectival agreement and they must have no passivization.

2.10. Judgement verbs

These verbs relate to a judgement or opinion that someone may have in reaction to something:

116. (i) [-NP] Mutukana o dikhoḁa.
(The boy praised himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mutukana o dikhoḁa mutupo.
(The boy praised himself surname)
117. (i) [-NP] Vhafunzi vho difhaḁutshedza.
(The pastors blessed themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vhafunzi vho difhaḁutshedza pfunzo.
(The pastors blessed themselves teaching (preaching))
118. (i) [-NP] Musidzana o dihaḁula.
(The girl judged herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musidzana o dihaḁula mulandu.
(The girl judged herself case)

119. (i) [-NP] Mukalaha u a $\dot{\chi}$ isasaladza.
(The old man criticises himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mukalaha u a $\dot{\chi}$ isasaladza vhuvhi.
(The old man criticizes himself evil/ sins)

These judgement verbs allowed the reflexive $\dot{\chi}$ i- and these verbs may also be followed by an Np. These noun phrases are not body parts. Some of the verbs relate to a particular feeling that someone may have in reaction to something, and also relate to a judgement or opinion that someone may have in reaction to something.

It will then be necessary to establish whether these NPs are complement or adjuncts of the verb. For this purpose the two tests of objecthood will be conducted:

(a) Objectival agreement:

120. (i) Mutukana o $\dot{\chi}$ ikho $\dot{\chi}$ a mutupo.
(ii) *Mutukana o [u] $\dot{\chi}$ ikho $\dot{\chi}$ a mutupo.

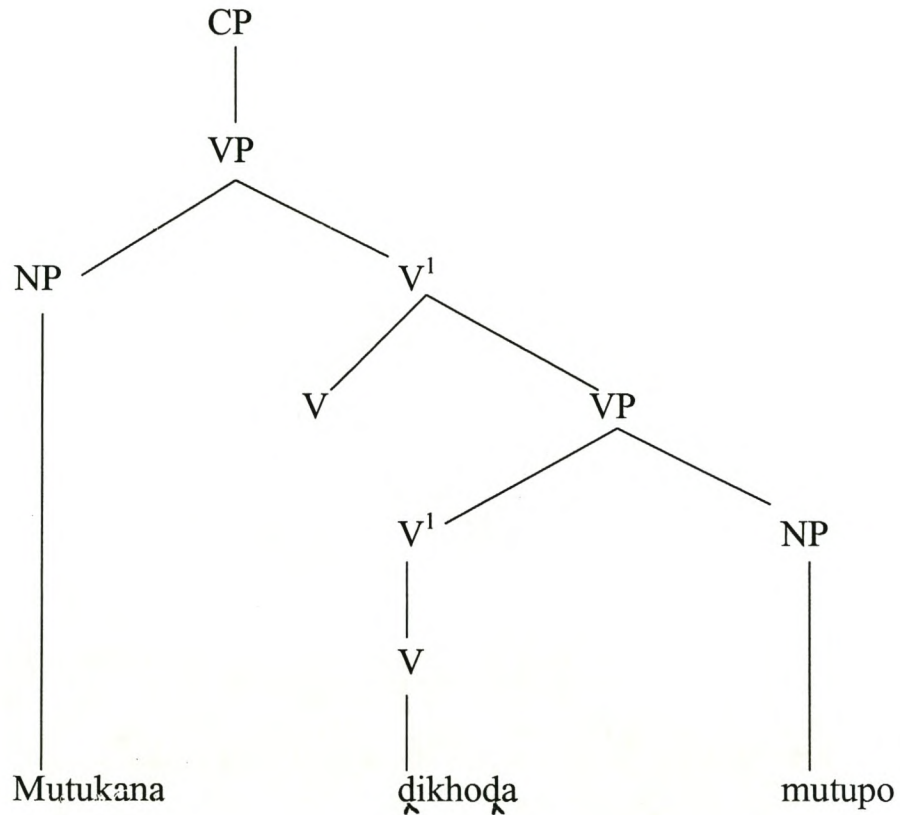
(b) Passive construction

121. (i) [e] $\dot{\chi}$ ikho $\dot{\chi}$ -w-a mutupo.
(ii) *[Mutupo]_i u $\dot{\chi}$ ikho $\dot{\chi}$ -w-a [t]_i

This sentence is not accepted.

The reflexive verb has failed both the objectival agreement and passive construction, then Np that appears after the verb is an adjunct with the following structure:

122.



It is not possible for the objectival agreement of object noun to appear with the reflexive verb. The movement of the object of verb from its position to the empty subject position of a passive verb makes the sentence unacceptable.

2.11. Verbs of exerting force

These relate to the exertion of a force on an entity. They differ from each other in meaning with respect to the type of force exerted:

123. (i) [-NP] Vhasadzi vho ḍikokodza.
(The women pulled themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vhasadzi vho ḍikokodza misipha.
(The women pulled themselves muscles)
124. (i) [-NP] Vhanna vho ḍikombetshedza.
(The man forced themselves)
- (ii) [+NP] Vhanna vho ḍikombetshedza zwiḷiwa.
(The man forced themselves food)
125. (i) [-NP] Nwana o ḍikhurumedza.
(The child pushed himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Nwana o ḍikhurumedza muvhili.
(The child pushed himself body)

All these verbs of exerting force accepted the reflexive prefix –ḍi- with a reflexive meaning and these reflexive may also appear with an Np after the verb. These NPs above are instances of body parts except the Np [zwiḷiwa] which is not a body part.

In order to establish whether NPs are complements or adjuncts of the verb the following tests of objecthood will be conducted:

(a) Objectival agreement

126. (i) Vhasadzi vho χ dikokodza misipha
(ii) *Vhasadzi vho [i] χ dikokodza misipha.
127. (i) Vhanna vho χ dikombetshedza zwi χ iwa.
(ii) *Vhanna vho [zwi] χ dikombetshedza zwi χ iwa.

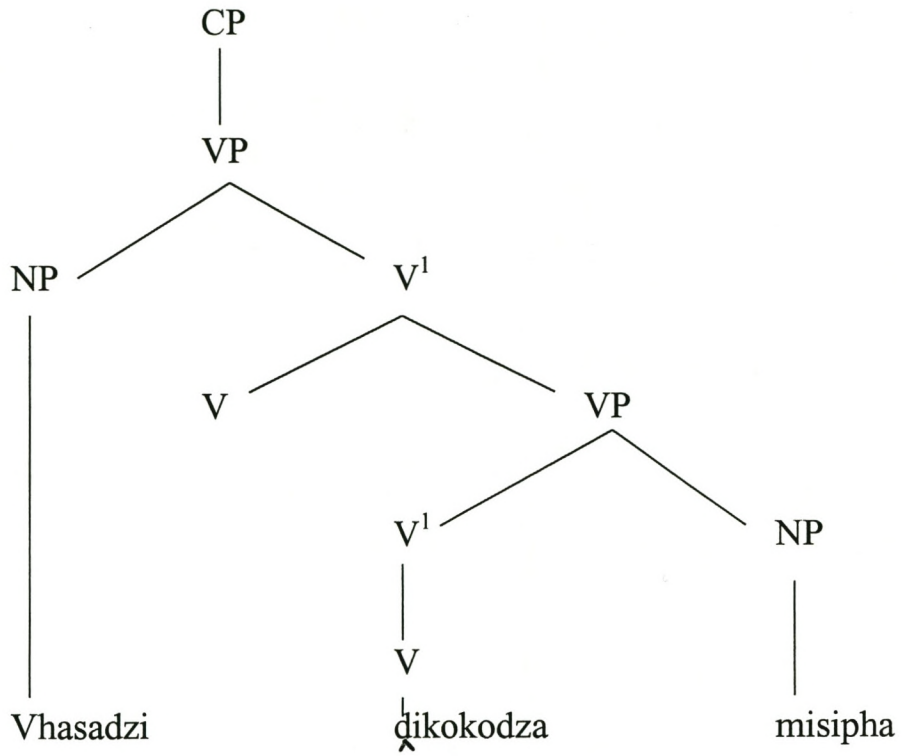
(b) Passive construction

128. (i) [e] χ dikokodz-w-a [misipha]
(ii) *[Misipha_i] o χ dikokodz-w-a [t_i]
129. (i) [e] χ dikombetshedz-w-a zwi χ iwa.
(ii) *[Zwi χ iwa_i] zwi χ dikombetshedz-w-a [t_i]

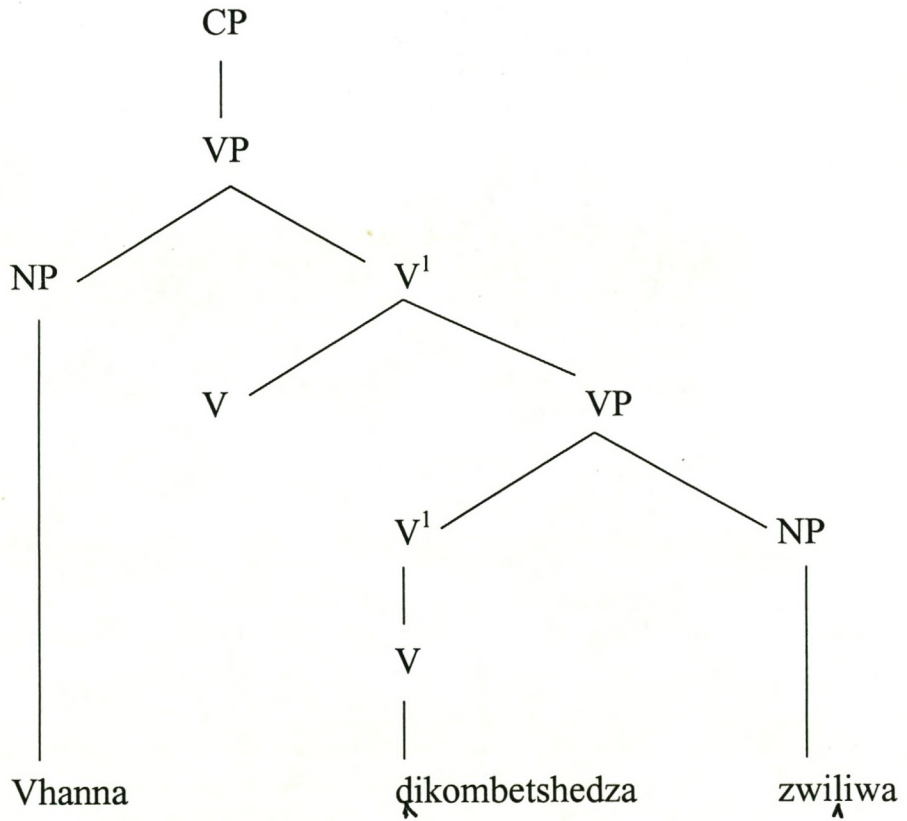
These sentences are not acceptable.

These sentences should have the following structure:

130.



131.



The reflexive verb failed both objectival agreement and passive construction tests. All of them lead the sentences to be unacceptable as their grammatical format are not allowed.

2.12. Verbs of concealment

This class includes verbs relating to keeping something out of view, i.e to hide something from somebody else:

132. (i) [-NP] Nwana o \dot{q} idzumba.
(The child hid himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Nwana o \dot{q} idzumba tshifha \dot{t} uwo.
(The child hid himself face)
133. (i) [-NP] Musidzana o \dot{q} itsira.
(The girl hid herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musidzana o \dot{q} itsira mulilo.
(The girl hid herself from fire)

All these verbs of concealment accepted the reflexive – \dot{q} i- with a reflexive meaning. The reflexive verbs may appear with or without the NPs after the verb. All these reflexive verbs are related to the keeping of something out of view. The NPs that appear after the reflexive verb are related to locative noun phrases. The reflexive verb [\dot{q} idzumba] may appear only with the Np of body part but the reflexive verb [\dot{q} itsira] may appear with or without Np

of body part e.g [ɖitsira] can appear with Np [mulilo] (not body part) or with Np [mulenzhe] which is a body part.

The two tests of objecthood will be shown to indicate whether the Nps are complements or adjuncts:

a. Objectival agreement

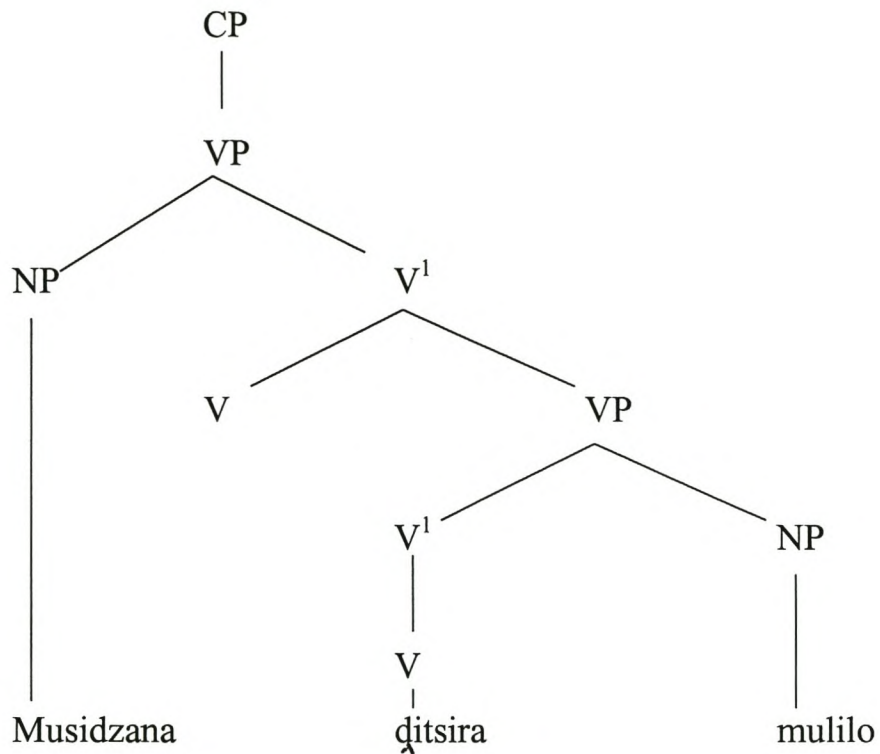
134. (i) Musidzana o ɖitsira mulilo.
(ii) *Musidzana o [u] ɖitsira mulilo.

b. Passive construction

135. (i) [e] ɖitsir-w-a [mulilo]
(ii) *[Mulilo_i] u ɖitsir-w-a [t_i]

These reflexive verb do not allow these two tests. Then they will have the following structure:

136.



It is noticeable that the reflexive verb cannot appear with the objectival agreement of their object arguments. When these reflexive verb sentences are passivised, they gave no interpretation.

2.13. Verbs of Putting

These verbs refer to putting an entity at some location, i.e any location or the particular spatial configuration that the placed entity ends up in with respect to the location or the manner in which the entity was put or the direction in which it was put or covering surfaces or putting things in containers. The location where something is put expressed via a locative phrase or a locative preposition:

137. (i) [-NP] Munna o ðivhea.
(The man put himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Munna o ðivhea tshanda.
(The man put himself hand)
138. (i) [-NP] Nwana o ðiswiela.
(The child swept herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Nwana o ðiswiela thumbu.
(The child swept herself stomach)
139. (i) [-NP] Musadzi u khou ðishela.
(The woman is pouring herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musadzi u khou ðishela maði.
(The woman is pouring herself water)
140. (i) [-NP] Mutukana u khou ðitakula.
(The boy is lifting himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mutukana u khou ðitakula milenzhe.
(The boy is lifting himself legs)
141. (i) [-NP] Musadzi o ðithopha.
(The woman seated herself (properly))

- (ii) [+NP] Musadzi o $\underset{\lambda}{\underset{\lambda}{\text{dithopha}}}$ milenzhe.
(The woman put herself legs on top of each other)
142. (i) [-NP] Nwana u khou $\underset{\lambda}{\underset{\lambda}{\text{difhulu}\lambda}$.
(The child is wiping herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Nwana u khou $\underset{\lambda}{\underset{\lambda}{\text{difhulu}\lambda}$ mitodzi.
(The child is wiping herself tears)
143. (i) [-NP] Musadzi o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{divhofha}}$.
(The woman tied herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musadzi o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{divhofha}}$ khundu.
(The woman tied herself figure)
144. (i) [-NP] Mutukana o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dikungulusa}}$.
(The boy rolled himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mutukana o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dikungulusa}}$ muvhili.
(The boy rolled himself body)
145. (i) [-NP] Musadzi o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dilaisa}}$.
(The woman loaded herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musadzi o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dilaisa}}$ nguvho.
(The woman loaded herself blanket)

Most of these reflexive constructions appear with or without a noun phrase after the verb. These noun phrases are mostly body parts e.g [tshanda], [thumbu], [milenzhe], etc except [maḏi], [nguvho] which are not body parts. They do not occur with source or goal phrase.

The syntactic status of these Nps should be established by conducting two test of objecthood:

(a) Objectival agreement:

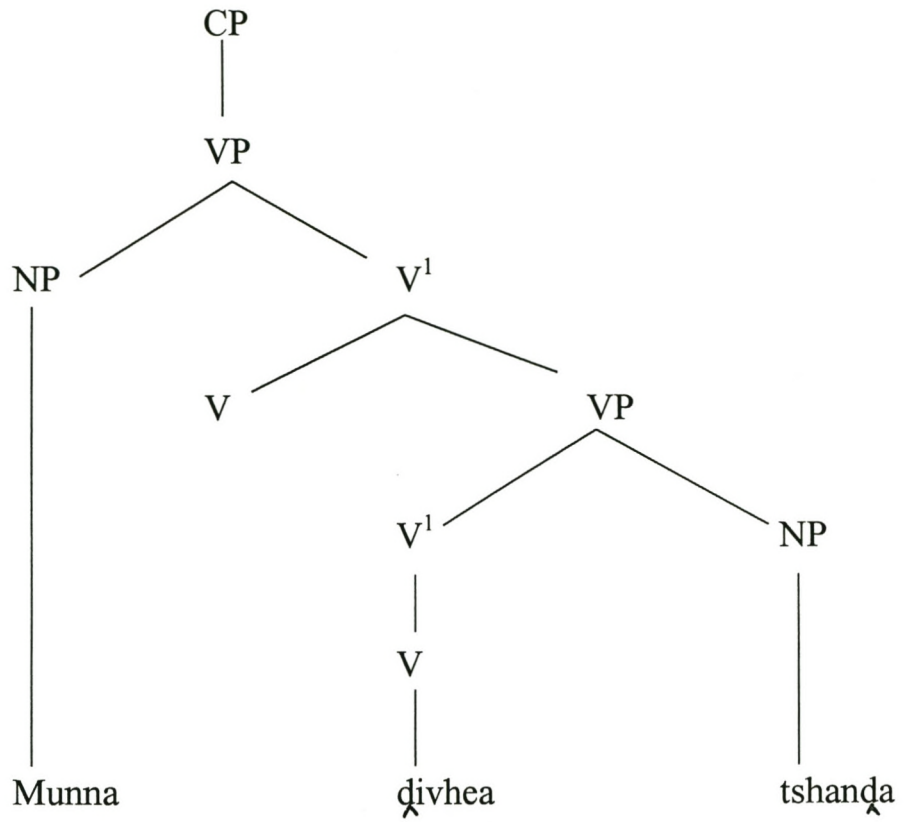
146. (i) Munna o ḏivhea [tshanda]
(ii) *Munna o [tshi] ḏivhea tshanda.
147. (i) Musadzi u khou ḏishela [maḏi]
(ii) *Musadzi u khou [a] ḏishela maḏi.

(b) Passive construction:

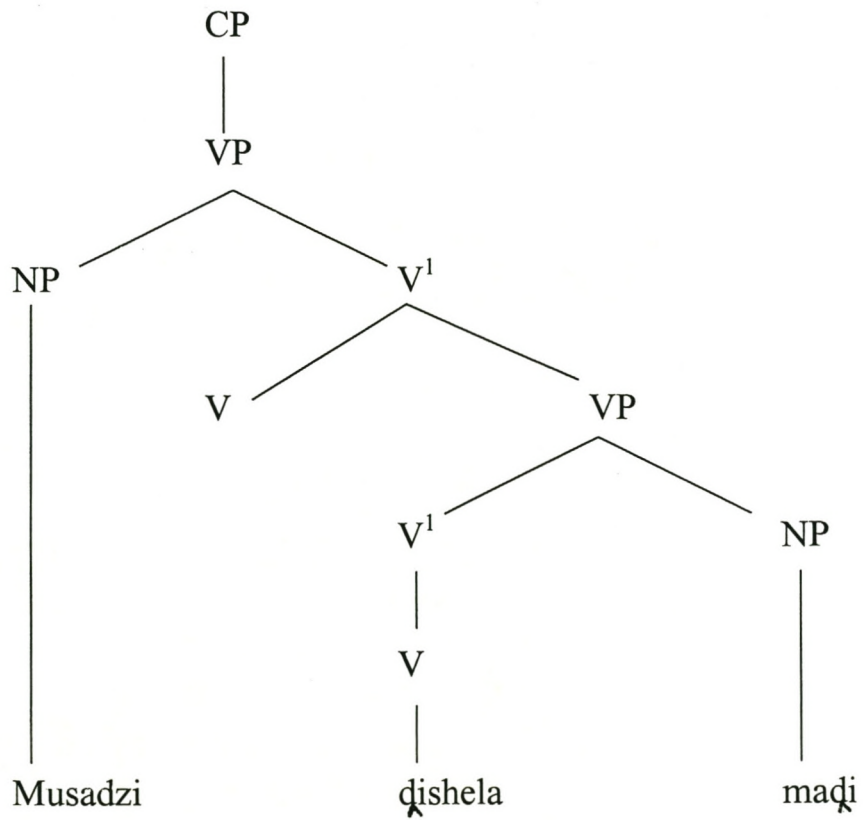
148. (i) [e] ḏivhe-w-a [tshanda]
(ii) *[Tshanda_i] tshi ḏivhe-w-a [t_i]
149. (i) [e] ḏishel-w-a [maḏi]
(ii) *[Maḏi_i] a khou ḏishel-w-a [t_i]

It is not possible for the reflexive construction to occur with the objectival agreement and passive construction with the reflexive prefix –ḏi-. Then the structure of the above sentences should be shown:

150.



151.



2.14. Verbs of removing

These verbs relate to the removal of an entity from a location, e.g from surface or containers or from someone's possession by for instance stealing it, or by depriving someone of a possession:

152. (i) [-NP] Musadzi o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{ithatha}$.
(The woman removed herself away)
- (ii) [+NP] Musadzi o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{ithatha}$ munna.
(The woman chased herself away from her husband)
153. (i) [-NP] Musidzana o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{ipandela}$.
(The girl chased herself away)
- (ii) [+NP] Musidzana o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{ipandela}$ munna.
(The girl chased herself away the husband)
154. (i) [-NP] Mutukana o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{ibvisa}$.
(The boy took himself out)
- (ii) [+NP] Mutukana o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{ibvisa}$ bodo.
(The boy took himself out the pot)
155. (i) [-NP] Nwana o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{iphumula}$.
(The child wiped herself)

- (ii) [+NP] Nwana o $\dot{\lambda}$ iphumula mishonga.
(The child wiped herself medicine)
156. (i) [-NP] Mutshudeni o $\dot{\lambda}$ ifhura.
(The student robbed himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mutshudeni o $\dot{\lambda}$ ifhura maraga.
(The student robbed himself marks)
157. (i) [-NP] Kholomo yo $\dot{\lambda}$ ivhofholola.
(The cow untied itself)
- (ii) [+NP] Kholomo yo $\dot{\lambda}$ ivhofholola dzhongo.
(The cow untied itself the yoke)
158. (i) [-NP] Musadzi u khou $\dot{\lambda}$ ihama.
(The woman is squeezing (breast) herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musadzi u khou $\dot{\lambda}$ ihama mikando.
(The woman is squeezing milk herself)

The reflexive verbs appear with and without Np. These noun phrases are not body parts. Most of these verbs in their basic meanings are probably not verbs of removing even though, they can be used as verbs of removing e.g [$\dot{\lambda}$ ifhura], [$\dot{\lambda}$ ivhofholola], [$\dot{\lambda}$ iphumula].

The two tests of objecthood that should show whether these Nps are complements or adjuncts of the verb will be conducted:

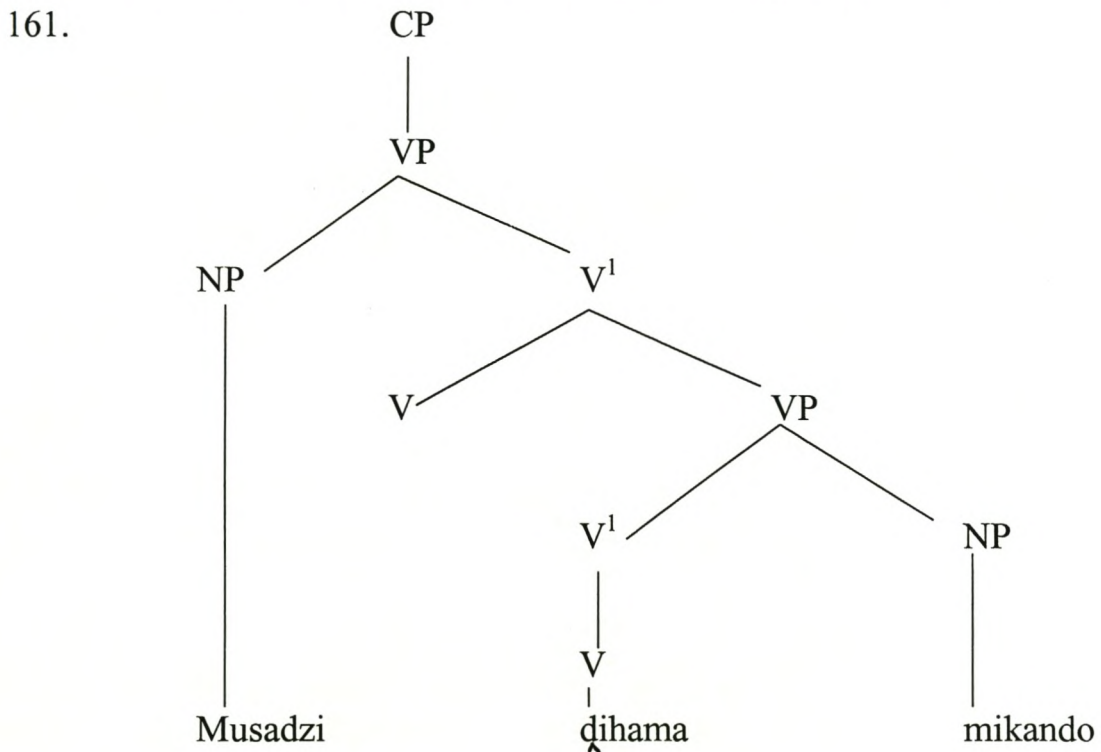
(a) Objectival agreement:

159. (i) Musadzi o $\dot{\chi}$ ihama [mikando]
 (ii) *Musadzi o [i] $\dot{\chi}$ ihama mikando.

(b) Passive construction:

160. (i) [e] $\dot{\chi}$ iham-w-a [mikando]
 (ii) *[Mikando_i] i $\dot{\chi}$ iham-w-a [t_i]

These two tests failed because these sentences are not acceptable, then the Nps should be considered as adjuncts with the following structure:



These Nps in reflexive construction failed the two tests that is objectival agreement and passive construction.

2.15. Verbs of sending and carrying

These verbs relate to causing an entity to change location. The entity may move unaccompanied by the agent or they may relate to the causation of accompanied motion or they specify something about the manner of motion, typically the vehicle or means used:

162. (i) [-NP] Munna o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{iruma}$.
(The man sent himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Munna o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{iruma zwiambaro}$.
(The man sent himself clothes)
163. (i) [-NP] Nwana o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{ihwala}$.
(The child carried herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Nwana o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{ihwala zwan\dot{a}}$.
(The child carried herself hands)
164. (i) [-NP] Mulwadze o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{iqisa}$.
(The patient brought himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mulwadze o $\dot{\text{q}}\text{iqisa milenzhe}$.
(The patient brought himself legs)

165. (i) [-NP] Munna o d̥ihoha.
(The man pulled himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Munna o d̥ihoha muvhili.
(The man pulled himself body)
166. (i) [-NP] N̄wana o d̥idzhia.
(The child took herself)
- (ii) [+NP] N̄wana o d̥idzhia tshinepe.
(The child took herself photo)

Some verbs of the reflexive sentence accept body parts such as [d̥id̥isa], [-hwala], [-hoha], and some do not accept body parts such as [d̥iruma], [d̥idzhia].

It will then be necessary to establish whether these Nps are complement or adjuncts of the verb. For this purpose the two tests of objecthood will be conducted:

(a) Objectival agreement:

With body parts

167. (i) N̄wana o d̥ihwala zwan̄da.
With Agr O:
- (ii) *N̄wana o [zwi] d̥ihwala zwan̄da.

Without body parts:

168. (i) Munna o $\dot{\text{q}}$ iruma [zwiambaro]

With Agr O:

(ii) *Munna o [zwi] $\dot{\text{q}}$ iruma zwiambaro.

(b) Passive construction:

With body parts:

169. (i) [e] $\dot{\text{q}}$ ihwal-w-a [zwan $\dot{\text{q}}$ a]

(ii) *[Zwan $\dot{\text{q}}$ a]_i zwi $\dot{\text{q}}$ ihwal-w-a [t_i]

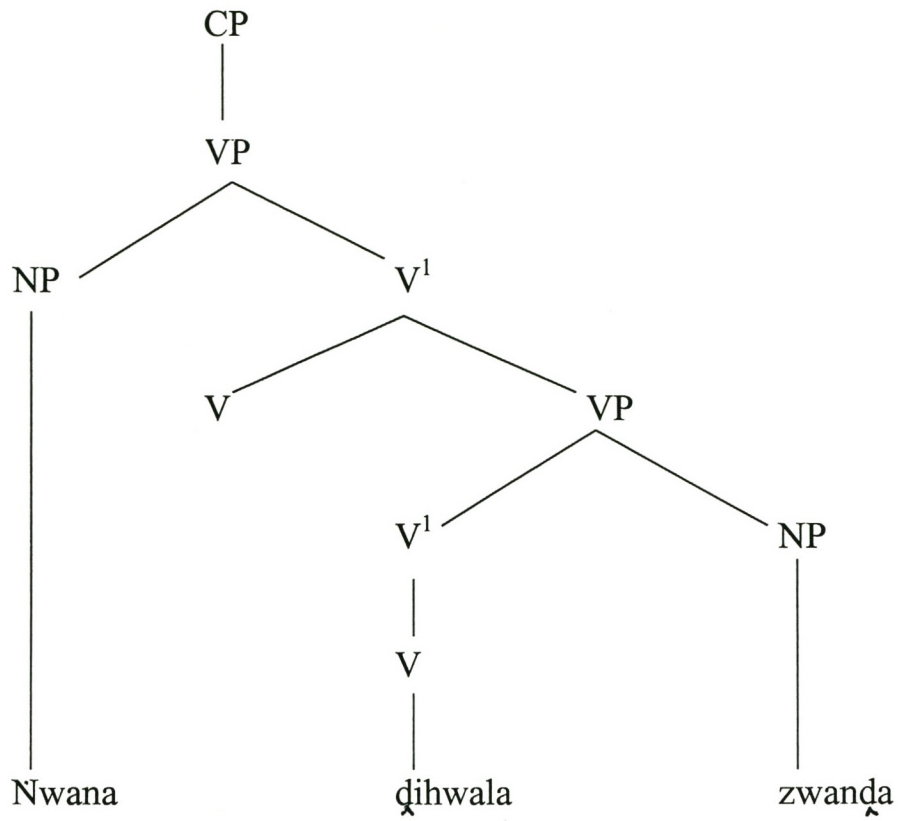
Without body parts:

170. (i) [e] $\dot{\text{q}}$ irum-w-a [zwiambaro]

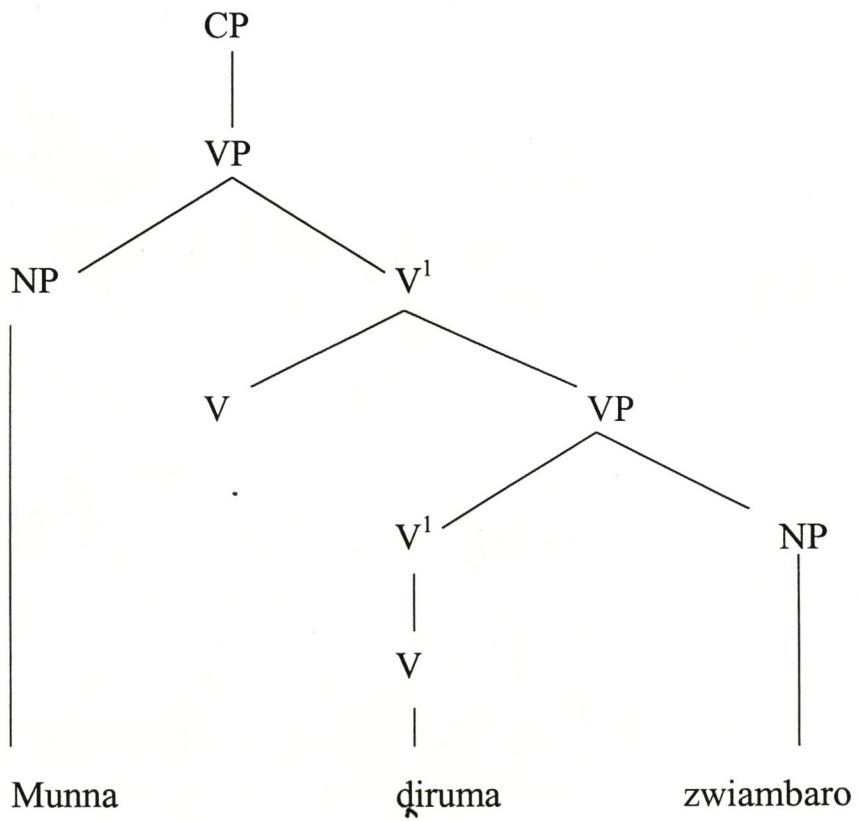
(ii) *[Zwiambaro]_i zwi $\dot{\text{q}}$ irum-w-a [t_i]

Both Nps should be considered as adjuncts and not direct objects with the following structure:

171.



172.



The reflexive construction do not accept the objectival agreement and passivization as these sentences become ungrammatical.

2.16. Verbs of change possession

These verbs relate to some change in possession. Many of these verbs display the dative alternation. In some cases something is given that somebody deserves, need, or is worthy of. Some of these verbs are verbs of obtaining in the basic sense or they may relate to exchanging one thing for another:

173. (i) [-NP] Mukalaha o $\dot{\chi}$ irenga.
(The old man bought himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mukalaha o $\dot{\chi}$ irenga v $\dot{\chi}$ utshilo.
(The old man bought himself life)
174. (i) [-NP] Mutshudeni o $\dot{\chi}$ iwana.
(The student found himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mutshudeni o $\dot{\chi}$ iwana v $\dot{\chi}$ utsilu.
(The student found himself stupidity)

These sentences have Nps that appear after the verbs. These Nps are not object arguments but they are adjuncts.

The two tests of objecthood will be conducted in order to indicate whether these Nps are complements or adjuncts of the verb:

(a) Objectival agreement

175. (i) Mukalaha o λ direnga [vhutshilo]

With Agr O:

(ii) *Mukalaha o [vhu] λ direnga vhutshilo

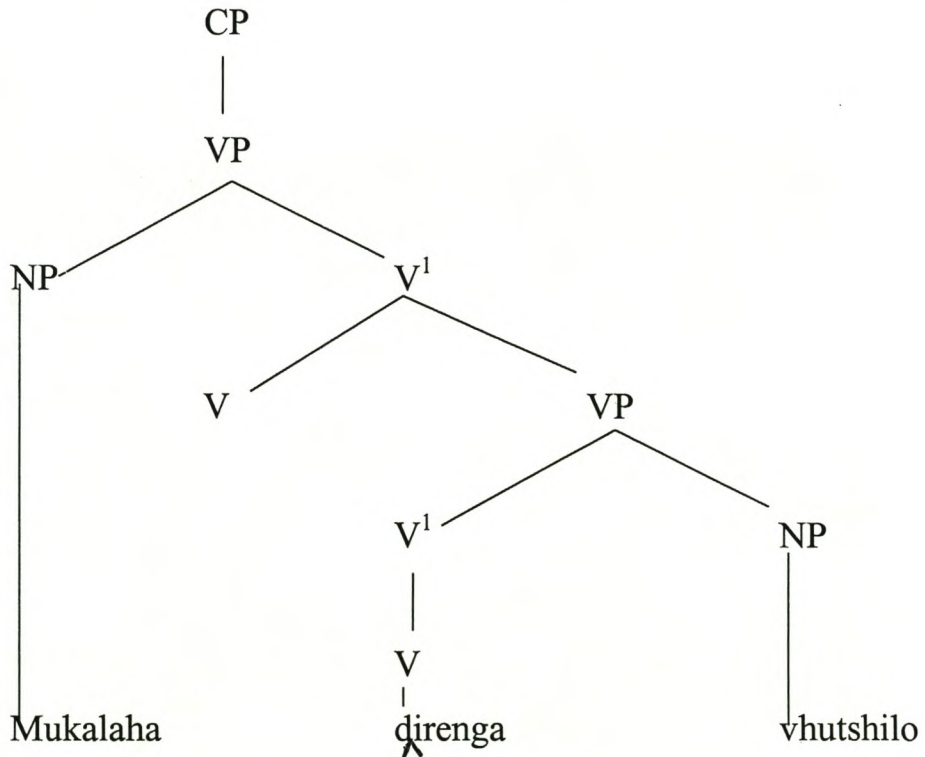
(b) Passive construction

176. (i) [e] λ direng-w-a [vhutshilo]

(ii) *[Vhutshilo_i] vhu λ direng-w-a [t_i]

These sentences are not acceptable in Tshivenda then they will have the following structure:

177.



2.17. Verbs of change of state

These verbs may refer to actions that bring about a change in the material integrity of some entity or they may change the shape of an entity that does not disrupt its material integrity. Other verbs describe different ways of cooking food or to changes of state that are caused externally:

178. (i) [-NP] Nwana o $\dot{\chi}$ ipwasha.
(The child broke himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Nwana o $\dot{\chi}$ ipwasha $\dot{\chi}$ hoho.
(The child broke himself head)
179. (i) [-NP] Munna o $\dot{\chi}$ ipeta.
(The man folded himself hands)
- (ii) [+NP] Munna o $\dot{\chi}$ ipeta zwan $\dot{\chi}$ a.
(The man folded himself)
180. (i) [-NP] Musidzana o $\dot{\chi}$ ifhisa.
(The girl burnt herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musidzana o $\dot{\chi}$ ifhisa n $\dot{\chi}$ evhe.
(The girl burnt herself ear)
181. (i) [-NP] Mukalaha o $\dot{\chi}$ ifhungudza.
(The old man shortened himself)

- (ii) [+NP] Mukalaha o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}\text{ifhungudza}}$ mavhudzi.
(The old man shortened himself hair)

182. (i) [-NP] Nwana o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}\text{ikombamisa}}$.
(The child bent himself)

- (ii) [+NP] Nwana o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}\text{ikombamisa}}$ mutsinga.
(The child bent himself neck)

All these verbs may appear with Nps after the verbs, and these Nps are all instances of body parts.

Two tests of objecthood to establish whether these Nps are complement or adjuncts of the verb:

(a) Objectival agreement

183. (i) Musidzana o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}\text{ifhisa}}$ $\underset{\lambda}{\text{n}\text{d}\text{evhe}}$.

With Agr O:

- (ii) *Musidzana o [i] $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}\text{ifhisa}}$ $\underset{\lambda}{\text{n}\text{d}\text{evhe}}$.

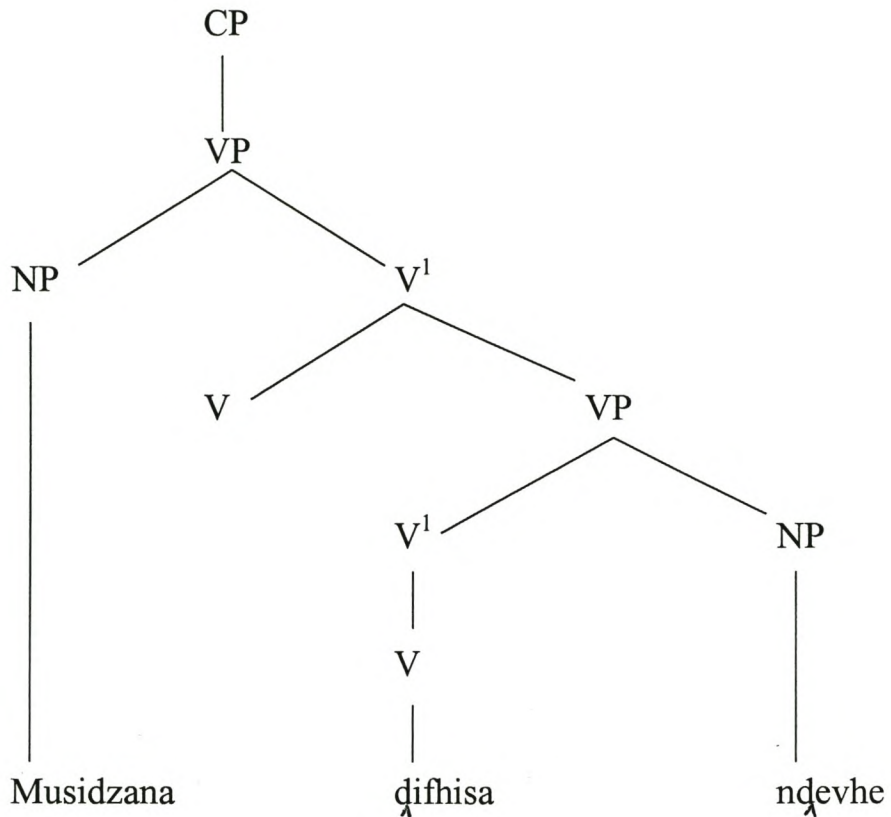
(b) Passive construction

184. (i) [e] $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}\text{ifhis-w-a}}$ [t_i]

- (ii) * $\underset{\lambda}{\text{N}\text{d}\text{evhe}_i}$ i $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}\text{ifhis-w-a}}$ [t_i]

This sentence will have the following structure:

185.



It is not possible for the objectival agreement and passive construction to appear with the reflexive verb.

2.18. Verbs of creation

These verbs are mostly transitive verbs taking as one argument an agent that creates or transform an entity, e.g the creation of a product through the transformation of raw materials or the preparing of food or changing the shape of an entity or describing a complete transformation or describing performances.

186. (i) [-NP] Nwana u khou \dot{q} ifha \dot{q} a.
(The child is building herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Nwana u khou \dot{q} ifha \dot{q} a muvhili.
(The child is building herself body)
187. (i) [-NP] Musadzi o \dot{q} irunga.
(The woman knit herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musadzi o dirunga tshan \dot{q} a.
(The woman knit herself hand)
188. (i) [-NP] Mutukana o \dot{q} ivhumba.
(The boy created himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Mutukana o \dot{q} ivhumba tshifha \dot{q} uwo.
(The boy created himself face)
189. (i) [-NP] Munna o \dot{q} isika.
(The man created himself)
- (ii) [+NP] Munna o \dot{q} isika n \dot{q} evhe.
(The man created himself ear)
190. (i) [-NP] Muroho wo \dot{q} ibika.
(The vegetable cooked itself)

- (ii) [+NP] Muroho wo $\dot{\chi}$ ibika ma $\dot{\chi}$ ari.
(The vegetable cooked itself leaves)
191. (i) [-NP] Musadzi o $\dot{\chi}$ iimba.
(The woman sung about herself)
- (ii) [+NP] Musadzi o $\dot{\chi}$ iimba luimbo.
(The woman sung herself song)

The Nps of these verbs are body parts except of [imba].

Two test of objecthood:

(a) Objectival agreement:

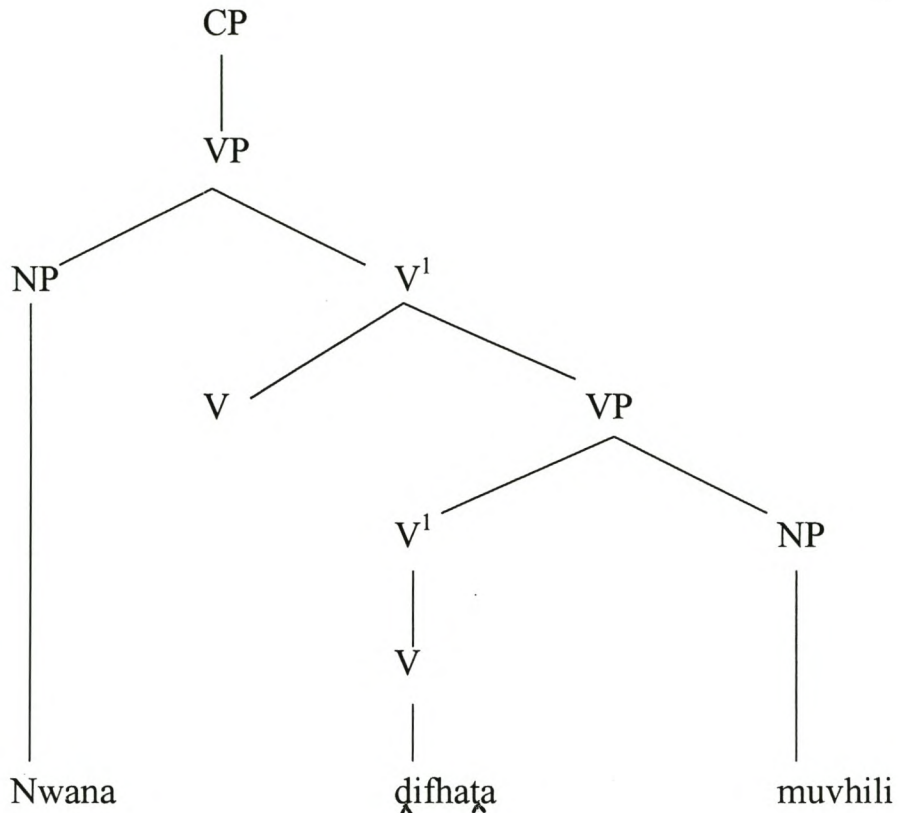
192. (i) Nwana u khou $\dot{\chi}$ ifha $\dot{\chi}$ a [muvhili]
With Agr O:
(ii) *Nwana u khou [u] $\dot{\chi}$ ifha $\dot{\chi}$ a muvhili.

(b) Passive construction:

193. (i) [e] $\dot{\chi}$ ifha $\dot{\chi}$ -w-a [muvhili]
(ii) *[Muvhili_i] u khou $\dot{\chi}$ ifha $\dot{\chi}$ -w-a [t_i]

These sentences are ungrammatical. They will have the following structure:

194.



Objectival agreement and passive construction cannot appear with the reflexive construction as they may leads sentences to be ungrammatical.

DINTRANSITIVE VERBS

The reflexive -ɖi- replaces the direct object e.g

195. Vhasadzi vha khou ŋea [vhana] [zwiɻiwa]

(The women are giving children food)

The indirect object [vhana] may disappear with the reflexive:

196. Vhasadzi vha khou ḏiŋea [zwiŋiwa]
(The women are giving themselves food)

Thus only the direct object [zwiŋiwa] remains behind. It is not possible to add another Np on a sentence with a reflexive verb except:

197. *Vhasadzi vha khou ḏiŋea zwiŋiwa vhathu.
(The women are giving themselves food for people)

Without and with reflexive di-

198. (i) Mudededzi o hadzima [bugu] [matshudeni]
(The teacher borrowed the students book)
- (ii) Mudededzi o ḏihadzima [bugu]
(The teacher borrowed himself book)
199. (i) Munna o fha [mutukana] [maŋegere]
(The man gave the boy sweets)
- (ii) Munna o ḏifha [maŋegere]
(The man gave himself sweets)
200. (i) Mukalaha u funza [vhana] [mbalo].
(The old man teaches children arithmetic)
- (ii) Mukalaha u ḏifunza [mbalo]
(The old man teaches himself arithmetic)

201. (i) Mutshudeni u vhudza [mudededzi] [phindulo]
(The student tells the teacher the answer)
- (ii) Mutshudeni u ðivhudza [phindulo].
(The student tells himself answer)
202. (i) Nwana u vhudzisa [mubebi] [tshuñwahaya].
(The child is asking the parent homework)
- (ii) Nwana u ðivhudzisa [tshuñwahaya]
(The child is asking himself homework)
203. (i) Mme u dzima [vhana] [vhuswa].
(Mother refuses children food)
- (ii) Mme u ðidzima [vhuswa]
(Mother refuses herself food)

It is noticeable that the reflexive morpheme –ði- appear with only one Np object and this Np object that remains behind is the direct object. Thus shows that the reflexive –ði- detransitivises the verb stem to which it is affixed. Then there is no other Np that can appear after the reflexive –ði- verb for the direct object e.g:

204. *Mudededzi u ðihadzima bugu mutshudeni.
(The teacher borrow himself book student)
205. *Munna u ðifha maļegere vhana.
(The man gives himself sweets children)

CHAPTER THREE

DERIVED VERBS

3.1. APPLICATIVE

3.1.1. With intransitive verbs

The applicative or applied form of the verb is a term which is used for a verbal affix in the derivation of verbs. The applicative affix allows the non-subject arguments, i.e. the internal arguments of the predicate to be increased by one argument. If the applicative suffix –el- is then added onto an intransitive verb, it will change this verb to a transitive verb. The intransitive verb with –el- will then have an external and internal argument. Traditionally, the semantic role of this internal argument has been given quite some attention. However, in the lexical entry for verbs in the lexicon, the predicate argument structure of each verb must be given, but not the specific semantic role like theme, benefactive, source. The reason for this is quite simply that semantic interpretation of sentences cannot be done at the lexical level. There are many other phenomena which must be taken into account and which are not available at the level of the lexicon. Such phenomena are i.a. the type of complement of the verb e.g. whether animate or inanimate and various discourse factors. The verb [-shum] in Venda may serve as an example. If the applicative –el- is added onto this verb becoming –shumel-, the argument which is dependent on the presence of this suffix may have different interpretations.

206. Mutukana uyu u shumela [khotsi]
(The boy is working for the father)

With an inanimate complement it may have the semantic role [purpose], e.g

207. Mutukana uyu u shumela [tshede]
(This boy works for money)

The difference between the above two sentences, is dependent on the type of complement, whether [animate] or [inanimate].

Another factor which distinguishes applied verbs from other verbs is that they may never be used without a complement, unless the applied verb assumed an idiosyncratic meaning e.g.

208. * Ndi a shumela.

The above sentence needs internal argument in order to make it meaningful. Taking all the above arguments into consideration, some attention will be focused on the cognitive elements such as theme or source because it has been found that there is a preponderance for certain semantic roles associated with the derivative affix –el-.

The semantic role which is most commonly found with the applied affix is [benefactive]. The benefactive reading may be interpreted in three different ways, depending mostly on discourse factors, e.g.

209. Ula mukalaha u humela [khosi]
(That old man is returning for the chief)

The first reading is a [benefit] leading, i.e he is returning for the benefit of the chief. The second reading is one of [replacement] or [substitution] i.e he is returning on behalf of/ instead of the chief. The third interpretation is malefactive, i.e he is returning to make trouble for the chief. The unifying concept for the semantic role of benefactive is that of an animate object noun phrase, which is concerned with the action of the verb. This benefactive applied object seems furthermore to be concerned mostly with human noun phrases e.g.

210. Ndi takalela niwana.
(I am happy for the child)

There are verbs which will allow only a [malefactive] reading with the applicative and not a benefit interpretation e.g.

211. Vhashumi vho vutshela minidzhere.
(The workers rise against the manager)

However, it is clear that nouns with the feature, [animate] dominate the benefactive reading. When the [animate] noun which appears with an applicative verb is replaced by an inanimate noun, the interpretation will be purpose, e.g.

212. Vha gidimela n̄wana.
(They are running for a child)

213. Vha gidimela tshelede.
(They are running for money)

In the first sentence, the internal argument is animate with a [benefactive] reading while the internal argument in the second sentence is inanimate with a reading of [purpose].

Some applicative verbs may give a reading of [cause] on the internal argument if it is an [inanimate] noun e.g.

214. Nwana u lilela mme a t̄uwaho.
(The child is crying for/ because of her mother who is going)

THE REFLEXIVE d̄i- WITH APPLIED INTRANSITIVE VERBS

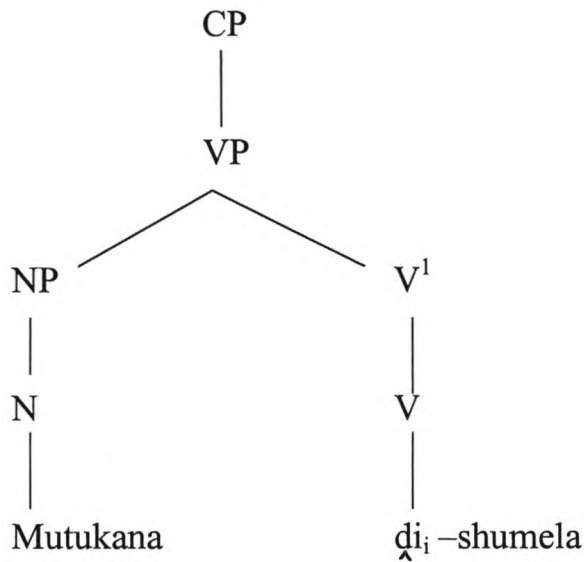
This subsection aims to establish whether the reflexive d̄i- can appear with applied intransitive verbs.

As all NPs must have a referential index, the reflexive d̄i- has to borrow index from its antecedent, e.g.

215. Mutukana u a [d̄ishumela]
(The boy is working for himself)

This sentence may have the following structure:

216.



In the sentence above, the reflexive ḍi- is coindexed with its antecedent [mutukana] where the reflexive ḍi- borrowed its index. In this case there is an issue of argument binding. Argument binding refers to the binding of arguments by arguments in the argument structure of the predicate. The reflexive prefix ḍi- reflects the internal argument which is bound by the external argument within the lexical structure of the verb.

When intransitive verbs appear with the applied affix $-\text{el-}$ thus obtaining an internal argument, $-\text{ḍi-}$ may be found with such verbs. In these cases the reflexive meaning of ḍi- can be interpreted in two ways:

In the first instance it can indicate that the action expressed by the predicate is carried out for, or on behalf of the subject, hence benefactive reading e.g.

217. Mutukana u khou ḍi shumela.

(The boy is working for himself) [Benefaction]

The second instance shows that the action expressed by the predicate is carried out purposefully, or without specific reason or cause or independently. The semantic interpretation found in this case is [-cause], [+independents] e.g.

218. Vho sokou \dot{q} iswikela.

(They were just arriving on their own) [-cause], [+independent]

The above meanings will be reflected in the following examples:

219. Ndi a \dot{q} ishavhela.

(I am just running without cause on my own) [-cause] [+independent]

220. Mukegulu u a \dot{q} itshimbilela.

(The old lady is walking for herself) [Benefactive]

(The old lady is just walking) [-cause], [+independent]

221. Vha a \dot{q} ihumela.

(They are just returning) [-cause], [+independent]

222. U khou \dot{q} iyela.

(He is going for himself) [Benefactive]

(He is just going) [-cause], [+independent]

223. Ndo \dot{q} idela.

(I came for myself) [Benefactive]

(I just came for myself) [-cause], [+independent]

224. Ndi a \dot{q} itakalela.
(I am just happy) [-cause], [+independent]
225. Ndo \dot{q} ishonela.
(I feel disappointed for myself) [Benefactive]
226. Vha a \dot{q} ipembelela.
(They are just dancing excitedly) [-cause], [+independent]
227. Vha a \dot{q} ibalela.
(He is unable to control/ take care of himself) [malefactive]
228. Vha a \dot{q} ilwela.
(They fight for themselves) [Benefactive]
229. Musadzi uyo o \dot{q} ifela.
(This woman had just died) [-cause], [+independent]
230. Musadzi uyu u a \dot{q} ibvafhela.
(This lady is just lazy) [-cause], [+independent]
231. I \dot{q} a kholomo yo \dot{q} inonela.
(That cow is just fleshy) [-cause], [+independent]
232. Nwana ula o \dot{q} ilugela.
(That child is just well behaved) [-cause], [+independent]

Conclusion

In some cases it seems as if the reflexive meaning of $\underset{\wedge}{d}i-$ has disappeared. All the facts assembled in the above sentence can be summarised in the following table:

Table:

Verbs	Benefactive	Malefactive	-Cause + independent
$\underset{\wedge}{d}ishavhela$	-	-	+
$\underset{\wedge}{d}itshimbilela$	+	-	+
$\underset{\wedge}{d}ihumela$	-	-	+
$\underset{\wedge}{d}iyela$	+	-	+
$\underset{\wedge}{d}idela$	+	-	+
$\underset{\wedge}{d}itakalela$	-	-	+
$\underset{\wedge}{d}ishonela$	+	-	-
$\underset{\wedge}{d}ipembelela$	-	-	+
$\underset{\wedge}{d}ibalela$	-	+	-
$\underset{\wedge}{d}ilwela$	+	-	-
$\underset{\wedge}{d}ifela$	-	-	+
$\underset{\wedge}{d}ibvafhela$	-	-	+
$\underset{\wedge}{d}inonela$	-	-	+
$\underset{\wedge}{d}ilugela$	-	-	+

3.1.2. With monotransitive verbs

The main aim of this section is to establish whether the reflexive $\underset{\wedge}{d}i-$ can appear with applied transitive verbs.

The reflexive prefix q̄i- may appear with different categories of applied transitive verbs such as verbs of putting, removing, obtaining, creation and transformation, psych verbs, verbs involving the body, cutting, killing, change of possession in which two alternative interpretations are conveyed. In the first instance, it may indicate that action expressed by the predicate is carried out for or on behalf of the subject, thus [BENEFACTIVE].

In the second instance, it may indicate that the action expressed by the predicate is carried without purpose or without any cause, which brings about the semantic meaning of [-CAUSE, + INDEPENDENT].

It is most interesting to find that when applied transitive verbs are used with reflexive prefix q̄i- , some of the verbs become ambiguous and convey both semantic interpretations, while others convey only one semantic interpretation, either the first or the second e.g.

Verbs of Putting

233. O q̄ishelēla maq̄i .

(He poured water on herself) [Benefactive]

234. Vho q̄ilimēla tsimu .

(They ploughed field for themselves) [Benefactive]

(They just ploughed the field) [-cause], [+independent]

Verbs of removing

235. U khou \dot{q} itswela zw \dot{q} il \dot{q} wa.
(He is stealing food for himself) [Benefactive]

Obtaining verbs

236. Vho \dot{q} irengela nguvho.
(They bought a blanket for themselves) [Benefactive]
237. Vha khou \dot{q} ihirela mulindi.
(They are hiring body-guard for themselves) [Benefactive]
238. O \dot{q} inangela musidzana.
(He selected a lady for himself) [Benefactive]
239. U khou \dot{q} ikela ma \dot{q} i.
(She is fetching water for herself) [Benefactive]
(She is just fetching water) [-cause], [+independent]

Verbs of creation and transformation

240. Ndo \dot{q} ivhumbela g \dot{q} oloi.
(I created a car for myself) [Benefactive]
241. Vho \dot{q} ifha \dot{q} tela nn \dot{q} u.
(They built a house for themselves) [Benefactive]

242. U khou ðivhasela mulilo.
(She is lighting a fire for herself) [Benefactive]
243. Vho ðikadzingela makumba.
(They fried eggs for themselves) [Benefactive]

Verbs with predicate complements

244. O ðipfela vhuṭungu.
(She felt ashamed for herself) [Benefactive]
245. Vho ðitendela mbilaelo/ thaidzo.
(They allowed themselves problems) [-cause], [+independent]

Psych verbs

246. Vha a ðikonḑelela vhubva.
(They tolerate themselves laziness) [Benefactive]
247. Vha a ðikumedzela pfunzo.
(They are dedicated for their education) [Benefactive]

Verbs involving body

248. Vho ðivhandela zwandḑa.
(They clapped hands for themselves) [Benefactive]
(They just clapped their hands) [-cause], [+independent]

249. Tsho ḡisombela mutshila.
(It wagged tail for itself) [-cause], [+independent]
250. Vho ḡipetela zwanda.
(They just folded their hands) [-cause], [+independent]

Verbs of cutting

251. Vho ḡiremela khuni.
(They cut wood for themselves) [Benefactive]

Killing verbs

252. O ḡishelela mushonga.
(She poisoned herself) [malefactive]
253. Vho ḡithuntshela musadzi.
(He shot himself for wife) [Benefactive]
- (He shot himself because of a wife) [cause]
(He shot his wife (accidentally) [malefactive]
(He shot himself to distress his wife) [purpose]
(He just shot his wife) [-cause], [+independent]
254. U khou ḡihungela tshelede.
(He is hanging himself because of money) [cause]
255. Mukalaha o ḡithavhela mbudzi.
(The old man slaughtered the goat for himself) [Benefactive]

Verbs of change of possession

256. O \dot{q} iengedzela ma \dot{q} uvha.

(He extended days for himself) [Benefactive]

(He just extended days) [-cause, +independent]

257. Vha khou \dot{q} inangela khosi.

(They are voting king for themselves) [Benefactive]

258. U khou \dot{q} iavhela digirii.

(He is awarding himself degree) [Benefactive]

259. O \dot{q} ibadelela lwendo.

(She paid journey for herself) [Benefactive]

260. Vha khou \dot{q} itendela beili.

(They are granting themselves a bail) [Benefactive]

Conclusion

The above discussion demonstrated the following properties:

When the reflexive \dot{q} i- appear with applicative verbs, some of them retain the reflexive meaning and they have semantic interpretation of [BENEFACTIVE]. Such verbs are [\dot{q} ishelela, \dot{q} itswela, \dot{q} irengela, \dot{q} ihirela, \dot{q} inangela, \dot{q} ivhumbela, \dot{q} ifha \dot{q} ela, \dot{q} ivhasela, \dot{q} ikadzingela, \dot{q} ipfela,

ḁikondḁelela, ḁikumedzela, ḁiremela, ḁithavhela, ḁiavhela, ḁilifhela, ḁibadelela, ḁitendela].

In some other sentence the meaning of reflexive ḁi- disappeared and the verb gets a new interpretation of [-CAUSE], [+INDEPENDENT]. Such verbs are [ḁitendela, ḁisombela, ḁipetela].

When this reflexive ḁi- is used with applicative affix –el- some of the verbs become ambiguous and convey both meanings namely [BENEFACTIVE] and [-CAUSE], [+INDEPENDENT]. Such verbs are [ḁilimela, ḁikela, ḁivhandela]. However, the verb [ḁithuntshela] allowed a variety of interpretations on the NP. The summary of this information would be shown in the following table:

TABLE

THE SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION OF REFLEXIVE ḁI

CATEGORIES	VERBS	+REFL	-REFIX
1. Verbs of putting	ḁishelela	+	-
	ḁilimela	+	+
2. Verbs of removing	ḁitswela	+	-
3. Obtaining verbs	ḁirengela	+	-
	ḁihirela	+	-
	ḁikela	+	+

4. Verbs of creation and transformation	ḁivhumbela	+	-
	ḁifhaḁela	+	-
	ḁivhasela	+	-
	ḁikadzingela	+	-
5. Verbs with predicate complements	ḁipfela	+	-
	ḁitendela	-	+
6. Psych verbs	ḁikonḁelela	+	-
	ḁikumedzela	+	-
7. Verbs of involving body	ḁivhandela	+	+
	ḁisombela	-	+
	ḁipetela	-	+
8. Verbs of cutting	ḁiremela	+	-
9. Killing verbs	ḁishelela	+	-
	ḁithuntshela	+	+
	ḁihungela	+	-
	ḁiḁhavela	+	-
10. Verbs of change of possession	ḁiengedzela	+	+
	ḁinangela	+	-
	ḁiavhela	+	-
	ḁilifhela	+	-
	ḁibadelela	+	-
	ḁitendela	+	-

3.1.3. With ditransitive verbs

It is theoretically possible for the reflexive [ɖi-] to appear with applied ditransitive verbs and two other internal argument NPs. With applied ditransitive verb, the reflexive meaning become suppressed due to the effect of applicative affix [-el-]. Then the new meaning that will take over with ditransitive verbs will be [-CAUSE], [INDEPENDENT] e.g.

261. Musadzi u ɖiɳetshela vhana maɳegere.
(The woman just gives sweets to the children)
262. Musiwalo u ɖihadzimela bere Mulaɳedzi.
(Musiwalo just borrows horse for/ on behalf of Mulaɳedzi)
263. Ndi ɖiɳwalisela vhana mulingo.
(I let the children write examination for myself)
264. Munna u ɖiimbisela khwairi luimbo.
(The man just make the choir sing a song himself)
265. Ndi a ɖirumela ɳwana poswo.
(I send the child myself for the post)
266. Mudededzi u a ɖitambisela matshudeni bola.
(The teacher just make the student play soccer himself)
267. Ndi ɖikolodela makhulu mafhi.
(I borrow milk for granny myself)

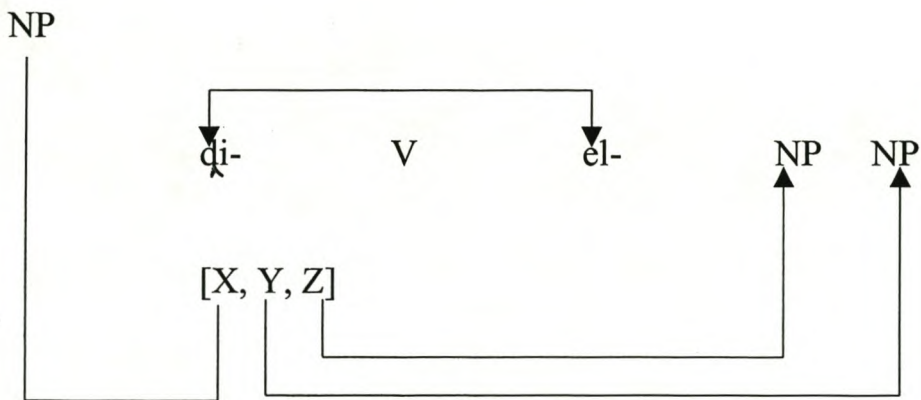
268. Munna u $\dot{\chi}$ ifhela mu $\dot{\chi}$ hannga musidzana.
 (The man just gives the girl to the boy)

269. Ndi $\dot{\chi}$ ishelela ma $\dot{\chi}$ o mushonga.
 (I just pour medicine on the eyes myself)

270. Vha $\dot{\chi}$ ibadelela mme tshikolodo.
 (They just pays credit for the mother)

The construction in the above sentences indicate the possibility of the appearance of the reflexive $\dot{\chi}$ i- in the position of the internal argument which is dependent on the applicative affix –el-. This can clearly be seen in the following structural representation showing the assignment of argument.

271.



In the above structure, all arguments are assigned. There reflexive $\dot{\chi}$ i- is dependent on the applicative affix –el- and has the semantic features of [-CAUSE], [+INDEPENDENT] in most cases, with **iwalis** the reflexive

attained a benefactive reading, while with **imbis**, **rum**, **kolod** the reflexive may be interpreted as a reflexive emphasizer.

3.2. CAUSATIVE

3.2.1 With intransitive verbs

As in the case of the applied verb, intransitive verbs can be made transitive by affixing the causative affix –is- to the intransitive verb: e.g.

272. Nanga i ɔo fhodza mulwadze.
(The doctor will heal the patient)

The intransitive verb –fhol- (heal) has been used with the causative affix –is- in order to make it –fhodz-. The purpose of causativisation is to introduce a special argument which is known as the causative agent. This argument is to be found in the subjects of sentences and is thus an external argument. It causes the action. e.g.

273. Ndi shumisa mme.
(I cause the mother to work)
274. Ndi wisa tombo.
(I cause the stone to fall)
275. Mudededzi u dzhenisa vhana.
(The teacher causes the children to enter)

In all of these sentences the ‘old’ external has been internalized. Thus in example (275), the new causative agent is [mudededzi], and external argument [vhana], now becomes an internal argument of the causative predicate. The external argument can be interpreted with different semantic roles, but always with the condition that this external argument causes the action or state: e.g

276. Mvula iyi i ḑo shavhisa vhathu.
(This rain will make people run)

277. Aya maḑi a ḑo lwadza vhathu.
(This water will make people ill)

This agent which introduced by the affix –is- can also be interpreted as a permissive agent in which the subject allows or permits the action to happen, e.g.

278. Musadzi u bvisa vhana.
(The woman let the children go out)

Sometimes the agent can also be an assistive agent in which the agent assists or helps in the action, e.g.

279. Ndi takulisa bogisi.
(I help to lift the box)

It has been found that the sentence may be interpreted with causative, permissive or assistive agent e.g.

280. Vha humisa matshudeni.
(They cause the students to return)
(They let the students return)
(They help the students to return)

THE REFLEXIVE $\underset{\wedge}{\text{di}}$ - WITH CAUSATIVE INTRANSITIVE

This sub-section aims to establish whether the reflexive $\underset{\wedge}{\text{di}}$ - can appear with causative intransitive verbs, e.g.

281. U khou $\underset{\wedge}{\text{dihonisa}}$.
(He pretend to be snoring)
282. Vho $\underset{\wedge}{\text{dinalisa}}$.
(They pretend to sulk)
283. Tsho $\underset{\wedge}{\text{difisa}}$.
(It behave like it is dead)
284. U a $\underset{\wedge}{\text{dilwadza}}$.
(She pretends to be ill)
285. Ndi a $\underset{\wedge}{\text{dililisa}}$.
(I pretend to be crying)

With these causative verbs, the cause reading has disappeared and we find only the pretend reading because these verbs above cannot be caused e.g. one cannot deliberately cause oneself to snore.

3.2.2. With monotransitive verbs

Introduction

The main aim of this section is to establish whether the reflexive [-di-] may occur with the causative monotransitive verbs, that is, monotransitive verb with the causative affix -is-.

The effect of the causative affix -is- on the predicate argument structure of predicates is to add a new external argument as subject to the sentence and to change the old external argument into an internal argument. This may have the result that transitive verbs become ditransitive verbs with two objects. In such cases the object which is dependent on the presence of the affix -is- is an indirect and is always adjacent to the verb.

286. Musidzana u limisa mme tsimu.

(The girl -plough- cause mother the field)

(The girl makes/ allows/ helps the mother plough the field)

In these sentences the external argument [musidzana] may be interpreted with the semantic role of either causative agent, permissive agent, or assistive agent. The 'old' external argument [mme] retains its semantic role in this new position as internal argument, i.e internal agent.

The reflexive di - may appear with different categories of causative transitive verbs in which three alternative interpretations are conveyed.

It may be interpreted with the semantic role of either:

[CAUSATIVE AGENT]

[PERMISSIVE AGENT]

[ASSISTIVE AGENT]

When the causative transitive verbs are used with reflexive prefix [di -], some verbs become ambiguous and convey three interpretations, other convey only one, and others two.

Verbs of exerting force

287. U a di khurumedza milenzhe.
(He is pushing himself legs) [CAUSATIVE]
288. U a di kokodzisa mavhudzi [CAUSATIVE]
(He is making hair pulled) [PERMISSIVE]

Verbs of putting

289. U a di hwalisa bakete.
(She is causing herself to carry the bucket) [CAUSATIVE]
(She is making herself to carry the bucket) [ASSISTIVE]
(She is allowing herself to carry the bucket) [PERMISSIVE]

290. Mutukana u ɔ̣iambadza zwienda.
(The boy is wearing the shoes himself) [ASSISTIVE]

291. Tsho ɔ̣idzhenisa tshanda.
(It is making hand enter) [CAUSATIVE]
[PERMISSIVE]

Psych verbs

292. U ɔ̣ifunisa muvhili [-CAUSATIVE]
(She is causing her body loved)
(She make her body loved) [PERMISSIVE]

293. Vha a ɔ̣itikedzisa mukulo.
(They are causing their neck supported) [CAUSATIVE]
(They let their neck supported) [PERMISSIVE]
(They make their neck supported) [ASSISTIVE]

Contact by impact

294. Vha a ɔ̣ithavhisa tshanda.
(They are causing their hand stabbed) [CAUSATIVE]
(They allow their hand stabbed) [PERMISSIVE]

295. Nwana u a ɔ̣imamisa munwe.
(The child is kissing his finger) [CAUSATIVE]
[ASSISTIVE]

Learn verbs

296. Ndi ðigudisa Tshiisimani.
(I am teaching myself English) [ASSISTIVE]

Verbs of gesture/ signs involving body parts

297. O ðishenganyisa maño.
(He is grinding himself teeth) [CAUSATIVE]
[PERMISSIVE]
298. Vha a ðibonyisa maño.
(They are closing themselves eyes) [CAUSATIVE]
(They allow their eyes closed) [PERMISSIVE]
(They make their eyes closed) [ASSISTIVE]
299. U ðinavhisa milenzhe.
(He is stretching himself legs) [CAUSATIVE]
(He allows his legs stretched) [PERMISSIVE]
(He makes his legs stretched) [ASSISTIVE]

Removing verbs

300. Vha a ðibvisa milenzhe [CAUSATIVE]
(They are getting their legs out) [ASSISTIVE]

301. U a ḏilamukisa v̱hutshilo.
 (He rescue his life) [ASSISTIVE]

Most of these verbs are interpreted with the meaning of [CAUSATIVE]

This information may be shown in the following table:

THE SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE REFLEXIVE DI-

Categories	Verbs	Causative	Permissive	Assistive
Verbs exerting Force	ḏikhurumedza	+	-	-
	ḏikokodzisa	+	+	-
Verbs of putting	ḏihwalisa	+	+	+
	ḏiambadza	-	-	+
Psych – verbs	ḏifunisa	+	+	-
	ḏitikedzisa	+	+	+
Contact by impact verbs	ḏithavhisa	+	+	-
	ḏilumisa	+	+	-
	ḏimamisa	+	-	+
Learn verbs	ḏigudisa	-	-	+
	ḏivhalisa	+	-	+
Verbs of Gestures/signs	ḏishenganyisa	+	+	-
	ḏibonyisa	+	+	+
	ḏinavhisa	+	+	+

Removing verbs	ḡibvisa	+	-	+
	ḡilamukisa	-	-	+

3.2.3. With ditransitive verbs

It is possible for the reflexive ḡi- to appear with causative ditransitive verbs and two other internal arguments NPs. The reflexive meaning can also be found on causative verbs with the Suffix –is-, e.g.

With a ditransitive verb, one find two internal arguments:

302. Vha hadzima musadzi tshelede.

In this sentence tshelede is the theme and[musadzi] is the recipient. One can then use the causative –is- on this verb the result will be three internal arguments where one may be represented by reflexive:

303. Ndi a ḡihadzimisa musadzi tshelede.

(I cause/ allow myself to lend money to the woman)

(I just lend money to the woman)

304. U ḡiimbisisa kereke luimbo.

(He cause/ allow the church to sing a song himself)

305. Ndi a ḡitambisa bola matshudeni.

(I cause/ allow students to play soccer myself)

(I just make the students play soccer)

306. Vha a ḍinwalisa vhana mulingo.
(They cause/ allow children to write examination themselves)
307. Ndi ḍikolodisa mme tshelede.
(I cause/ allow myself to borrow money to mother)

Conclusion

It has been found that the ditransitive reflexive with affix –is- destroy one internal argument that is the indirect object, and this indirect object always move to the position of external argument.

3.3. The reflexive ḍi with passive verbs

3.3.1. Monotransitive reflexive verbs with passive morpheme

Monotransitive verbs with the reflexive affix [-ḍi-] can appear in passive constructions. The subject position of the passive becomes empty and there is no internal argument available to occupy this empty subject position of the passive since the internal argument has disappeared from the syntax because of the reflexive affix [ḍi-]. As such pro with [hu] may be inserted into this empty subject position of the passive.

308. (i) [Pro_i] hu_i a –ḍi- bik-w—nga musidzana.
(ii) Hu –a- ḍibikwa nga musidzana.
(There is being cooked herself by the girl)

In the second sentence above, Pro with [hu] appears with the subject position of the passive.

309. (i) [Pro_i] hu_i a ɕi-fun-w- nga mutukana.

(ii) Hu –a- ɕifunwa nga mutukana.
(There is being loved himself by boy)

Pro and [hu] also appears in the subject position of the passive, in the second sentence. In conclusion it can be said that monotransitive verbs with the reflexive affix [ɕi-] can appear in passive construction. Only pro coindexed with [hu] may appear in the empty subject position of the passive.

3.3.2. Ditransitive reflexive verbs with a passive morpheme

Ditransitive verbs with the reflexive affix ɕi- can appear in passive constructions. The subject position of the passive becomes empty and pro with [hu] may be inserted into this empty subject position of the passive e.g.

310. (i) [Pro_i] hu_i a ɕi- hadzim-w- tshelede nga mudededzi.

(ii) Hu –a- ɕihadziŋwa tshelede nga mudededzi.
(There is being lent the money for himself by the teacher)

In the second example, pro with [hu] has been inserted into the empty subject position of the passive. The direct object **tshelede** (money) has a semantic reading of theme. It may not move to the empty subject position of the passive, e.g.

311. (i) [e] – $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{h}\dot{\text{a}}\text{d}\text{z}\text{i}\text{m}\text{-w}$ tshelede nga mudededzi.
(ii) *[Tshelede_i] i a $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{h}\dot{\text{a}}\text{d}\text{z}\text{i}\text{n}\text{w}\text{a}$ [t_i] nga mudededzi.

In the second example, the direct object [tshelede] move to the subject position of the passive and this lead the sentence being ungrammatical.

Other examples are as follows:

312. (i) Pro_i hu_i a $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{-}\dot{\text{n}}\text{e}\text{-w-}$ ma $\dot{\text{a}}\text{e}\text{g}\text{e}\text{r}\text{e}$ nga mme.
(ii) Hu –a $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\dot{\text{n}}\text{e}\text{w}\text{a}$ ma $\dot{\text{a}}\text{e}\text{g}\text{e}\text{r}\text{e}$ nga mme.
(There is being given herself sweets by mother)

[Hu] with pro has been inserted into the empty subject position of the passive. The direct object [ma $\dot{\text{a}}\text{e}\text{g}\text{e}\text{r}\text{e}$] sweets has a semantic role of Theme. The direct object may not move to the empty subject position of the passive as it may turn the sentence ungrammatical e.g.

313. (i) [e] – $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{-}\dot{\text{n}}\text{e}\text{-w-}$ ma $\dot{\text{a}}\text{e}\text{g}\text{e}\text{r}\text{e}$ nga mme.
(ii) *[Ma $\dot{\text{a}}\text{e}\text{g}\text{e}\text{r}\text{e}$] a $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\dot{\text{n}}\text{e}\text{w}\text{a}$ [t_i] nga mme.

314. (i) Pro_i hu_i a $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{-}\text{d}\text{z}\text{i}\text{m}\text{-w}$ zw $\dot{\text{i}}\dot{\text{l}}\text{i}\text{w}\text{a}$ nga musidzana.
(ii) Hu –a $\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{d}\text{z}\text{i}\text{n}\text{w-}$ zw $\dot{\text{i}}\dot{\text{l}}\text{i}\text{w}\text{a}$ nga musidzana.

The direct object [zw $\dot{\text{i}}\dot{\text{l}}\text{i}\text{w}\text{a}$] food has a semantic reading of Theme, and when it moves to the empty subject position it makes the sentence unacceptable in Tshivenda e.g.

315. (i) [e] $\underset{\lambda}{\text{đi-đidzim-w-}}$ [zwi $\underset{\lambda}{\text{liwa}}$] nga musidzana.
Movement of direct object.
- (ii) *Zwi $\underset{\lambda}{\text{liwa}}$ zwi a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{đidziŋwa}}$ [t_i] nga musidzana.

All sentences above, have an inanimate object. An animate object with reflexive verb will be considered in the following sentence:

316. (i) Pro_i hu_i a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{đi-fh-w-}}$ vhana nga munna.
- (ii) Hu –a- $\underset{\lambda}{\text{đifhiwa}}$ vhana nga munna.
(There is being given himself children by man)

The empty subject position of this sentence has been occupied by Pro [hu]. The direct object [vhana]children may not move to the empty subject position because it turns the sentence to be ungrammatical.

317. (i) Pro_i hu a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{đi-ŋe-w}}$ musidzana nga khotsi.
- (ii) Hu –a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{điŋewa}}$ musidzana nga khotsi.
(There is being given herself girl by the father)

318. (i) Pro_i hu_i a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{đi rum-w-}}$ mutukana nga mukalaha.
- (ii) Hu –a – $\underset{\lambda}{\text{điruŋwa}}$ mutukana nga mukalaha.
(There is being sent himself boy by old man)

It can be concluded by saying that the ditransitive verbs with the reflexive affix $\underset{\lambda}{\text{đi-}}$ can appear in passive construction NP object may not move to the subject position as it can lead the sentence to be ungrammatical due to the

reason that the direct objects do not have all the other syntactic features of such objects. Therefore the empty subject position of the passive can only be occupied by pro with [hu].

3.4. PASSIVE REFLEXIVE VERBS WITH THE APPLIED EXTENSION

It is possible for verbs with passive affix [-w] and applicative affix [-el] to occur with the reflexive [d̥i-] with an empty Pro and [hu] e.g.

319. Hu d̥idzhenelwa n̥duni.

(There is being entered the house by oneself)

320. Hu a d̥idzhen-el-w-a n̥duni nga musidzana.

(There is being entered the house by the girl herself)

In conclusion it can be said verbs with the reflexive [d̥i] can appear in passive construction. They may appear with an empty Pro and [hu].

CHAPTER FOUR

4. THE REFLEXIVE EMPHASIZER

4.1. Ḑi -verbs followed by the reflexive emphasizer $-\text{ḡe}$

The reflexive emphasizer in Venda is expressed by the absolute pronoun with $-\text{ḡe}$

Example:

321. Ndau yone iḡe .

(The lion itself)

322. Munna ene muḡe .

(The man himself)

When the reflexive emphasizer $[-\text{ḡe}]$ is attached with the absolute pronoun the verb itself obtains the meaning of reflexivity as if it is used with ḑi -. The presence of this form has the function of adding the feature $[+\text{emphatic}]$ to the NP with which it co-occurs rather than having a true voice relationship. It is because of this function that the $-\text{ḡe}$ form is referred to as the reflexive emphasizer. Example of sentences with ḑi -verbs followed by the reflexive emphasizer are as follows:

323. O ḑitshea munwe ene muḡe nga lufhanga.

(She herself cut herself with a knife on a finger)

324. Musidzana o ḍigera ene muḅe nga tshigero.
(The lady, herself has cut herself with a scissor)
325. Vhana vho ḍivhudzisa vhone vhaḅe.
(Children themselves have asked themselves)
326. Mbava yo ḍivusa yone iḅe musi yo wa.
(The thief, himself, rise himself when he fell)
327. O ḍithuntsha ene muḅe.
(He, himself, has shot himself)

In the above sentences the reflexive ḍi- are followed by the reflexive emphasizer and the interpretation associated with the reflexive emphasizer is exemplified in addition to the regular reflexive interpretation. This shows that the reflexive interpretation is repeated in the same sentences.

In the above examples there are two reflexives that is ene muḅe/ vhone vhaḅe and ḍi-. These examples show that the reflexive emphasizer adds emphasis on the NP with which it co-occurs. Thus, it gives an emphatic reflexive meaning in addition to the reflexive verb interpretation.

When the ḍi-verb appears without the reflexive emphasizer, the regular reflexive interpretation is found while the ḍi-verb is followed by the reflexive emphasizer. The reflexive emphasizer interpretation is exemplified in addition. This shows that there is no presence of more than one meaning coming from these two interpretation, due to the fact that an emphatic

reflexive interpretation does not occur where $\underset{\lambda}{\text{di}}$ -verb appears alone, and on the other hand a usual reflexive interpretation still occurs where $-\underset{\lambda}{\text{di}}$ -verb is followed by the reflexive emphasizer $-\underset{\lambda}{\text{ne}}$.

Thus either a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{di}}$ -verb appears alone (that is without the reflexive emphasizer). Superseding or yielding a regular reflexive interpretation, or the $\underset{\lambda}{\text{di}}$ -verb is followed by the reflexive emphasizer, yielding an emphatic reflexive meaning in addition to the reflexive verb interpretation.

The reflexive emphasizer $-\underset{\lambda}{\text{ne}}$ may occur after a verb without the reflexive clitic $\underset{\lambda}{\text{di}}$ - as in the following examples:

328. Ndi rema khuni nga $\underset{\lambda}{\text{nne}}$ $\underset{\lambda}{\text{mu}}$.

(I chop the wood by myself)

329. Vha $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dodza}}$ polishi nga vhone $\underset{\lambda}{\text{vha}}$.

(They smear polish by themselves)

330. Nwana o amba nga ene $\underset{\lambda}{\text{mu}}$ musi a tshi lwala.

(The child reports by himself when he is not feeling well)

There is no reflexive interpretation in those sentences (328-330) as these sentences have meaning 'on one's own' interpretation. This shows that if the reflexive emphasizer occurs after a verb without the reflexive clitic $\underset{\lambda}{\text{di}}$ - it does not have interpretation of reflexive. Thus the reflexive emphasizer $[-\underset{\lambda}{\text{ne}}]$ denoted the meaning of 'by oneself' rather than having semantic feature of reflexivity.

4.2. REFLEXIVITY (COREFERENTIALITY) PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

In this section reflexivity relations between the complement pronominal of P and NP subject in clauses containing prepositional phrases will be examined. Preposition such as na-, nga and kha will be considered.

In the reflexive verb constructions explored in the preceding sections, the reflexive morpheme [-di] was dealt with. In the prepositional phrases there is no similar reflexive morpheme: the reflexive interpretation is realised by coreference relations obtaining between a referential NP and a pronominal object –of-P.

Examples:

331. Vha amba ngavho.

(They are talking about themselves/ them)

332. U tshimbila nayo.

(He walks with it)

333. Vha la khavho.

(They eat from themselves/ them)

In these sentences the verb has a PP complement. The argument pronominal within PP can be interpreted as coreferential or disjoint in reference with a

preceding NP argument. This pronominal element corresponds to the absolute pronoun without its final morpheme [-ne]. In the above sentences the PP's contain the preposition which are generally referred to as the instrumental [nga-], associative [na-] and the locative [kha-]. These prepositions have a clitic which agrees with the object of the prepositions and in certain cases have to exhibit such a clitic as in sentences above.

There are different ways in which these prepositions can be used.

(i) The nominal element can be used with the noun it modifies

334. (a) Mudededzi u a funza ngavho vhakegulu.

(The teacher is teaching about them (old ladies))

(b) Mutukana u tshimbila natsho tshigidi.

(The boy walks with it (gun))

(c) Tshiqoni tshi kavha khawo muri.

(The bird stands on it (tree))

(d) Vhaeni vha tshimbila ngayo goloi.

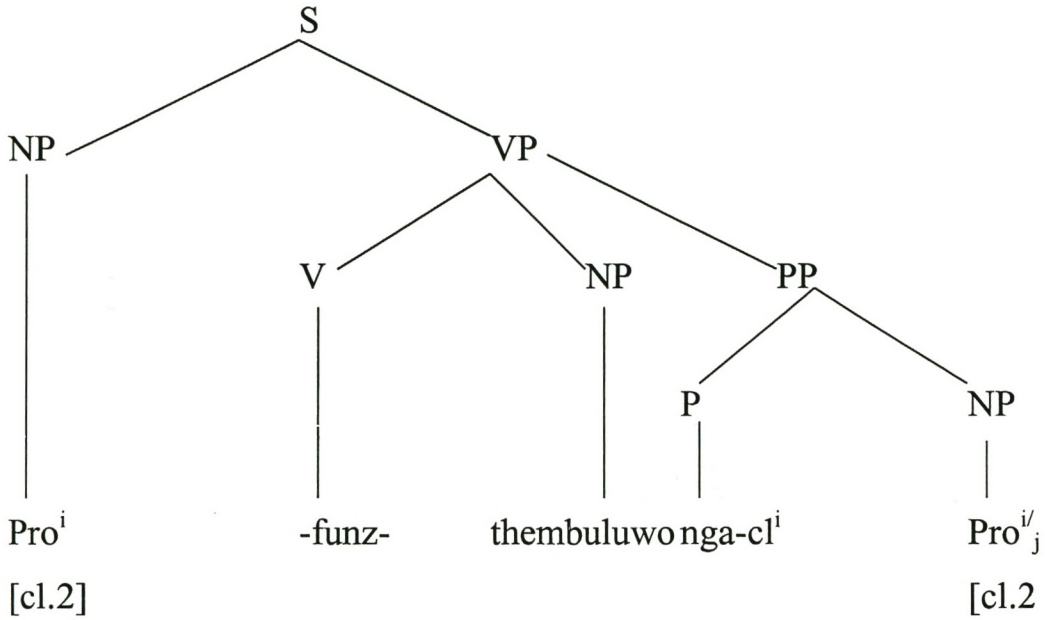
(The visitors are travelling by it (car))

(ii) The pronominal element can be omitted and thus the preposition is attached to the noun.

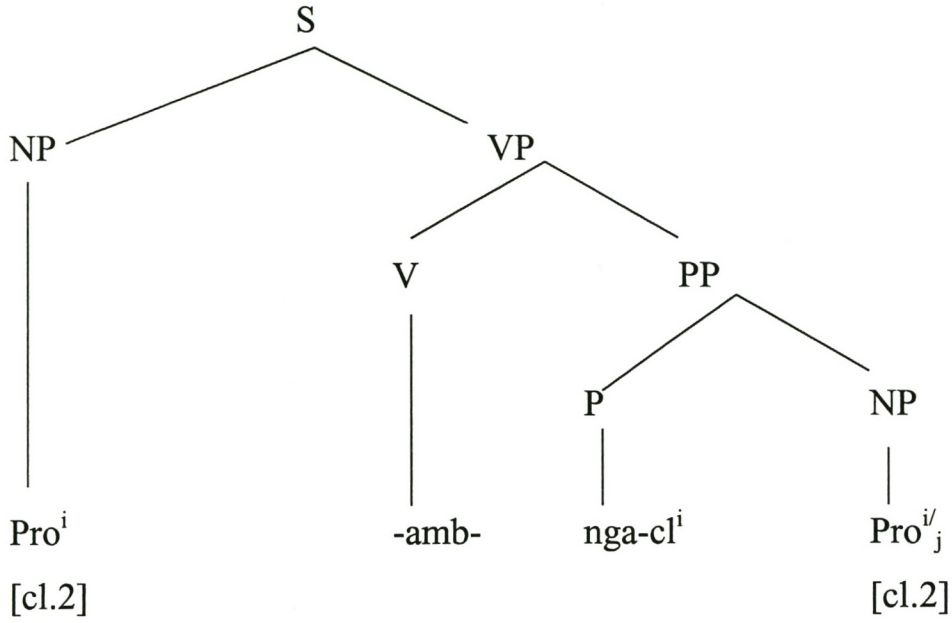
335. (a) Mudededzi u a funza **nga vhakegulu**.
(The teacher is teaching about the old ladies)
- (b) Mutukana u tshimbila **na tshigidi**.
(The boy walks with the gun)
- (c) Tshiṅoni tshi kavha **kha muri**.
(The bird stands on a tree)
- (d) Vhaeni vha tshimbila **nga goloji**.
(The visitors are travelling by a car)
- (iii) The noun which follows the preposition, can be omitted.
336. (a) Mudededzi u a funza ngavho.
(The teacher is teaching about them)
- (b) Mutukana u tshimbila natsho.
(The boy walks with it)
- (c) Tshiṅoni tshi kavha khawo.
(The bird stands on it)
- (d) Vhaeni vha tshimbila ngayo.
(The visitors are travelling with it)

It is when the NP is omitted that the prepositional phrase can exemplify a reflexive interpretation, that is, it can be interpreted as coreferential with the NP subject.

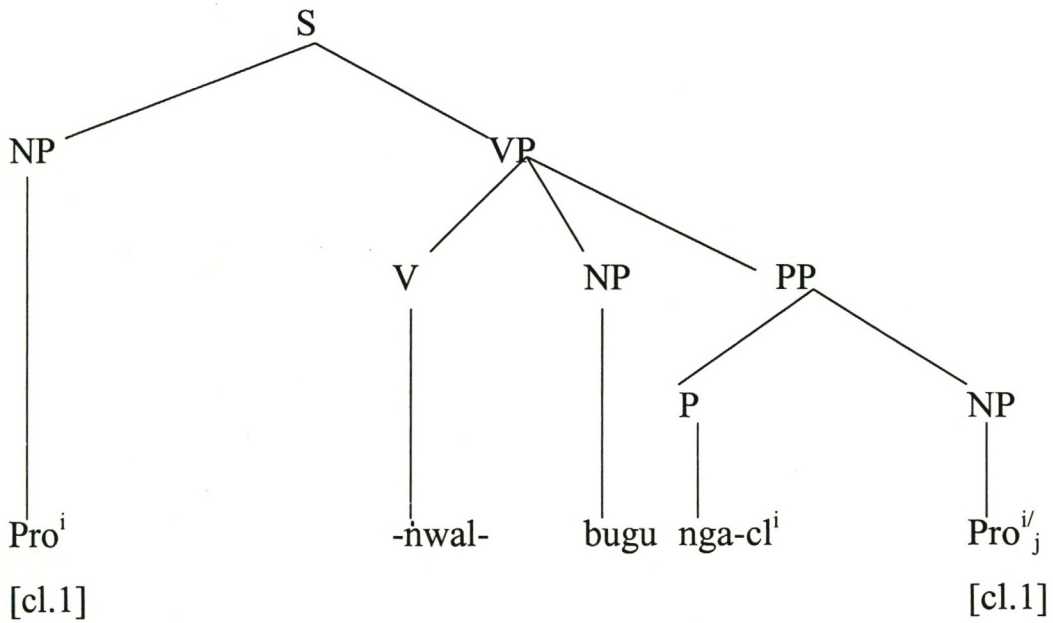
337. Vha funza thembuluwo ngavho.



338. Vha amba ngavho.



339. U ñwala bugu ngae



As illustrated in the above structures, coreference and disjoint reference is possible between the pronominal complement of the preposition [nga-] and NP subject of the clause. As indicated in the structures, object pro and the subject NP are coindexed. In the above sentences there is grammatical feature identity (coreference) between the NP subject and the pronominal which occurs as the prepositional complement. The notion of coreferentiality in this discussion refers not merely to grammatical feature identity but to the interpretation of this pronominal as anaphoric i.e., as having reflexive interpretation in relation to the argument occurring as NP subject. Thus in the instance of coreference the reflexive interpretation can be interpreted as follows:

340. (a) Vha funza thembuluwo ngavho.
(They are teaching salvation about themselves)
- (b) Vha amba ngavho.
(They talk about themselves)
- (c) U ñwala bugu ngae.
(He is writing a book about himself)

Structures of the above sentences have exemplify disjoint reference between the pronominal complement of the preposition [nga-] and the NP subject. This reference occurs if the object Pro is not coindexed with the subject NP, i.e. they do not refer to the same person or thing. In this instance a reflexive interpretation is excluded. When having this reference the above sentences can be interpreted as follows:

341. Vha funza thembuluwo ngavho.
 (They are teaching salvation about them)

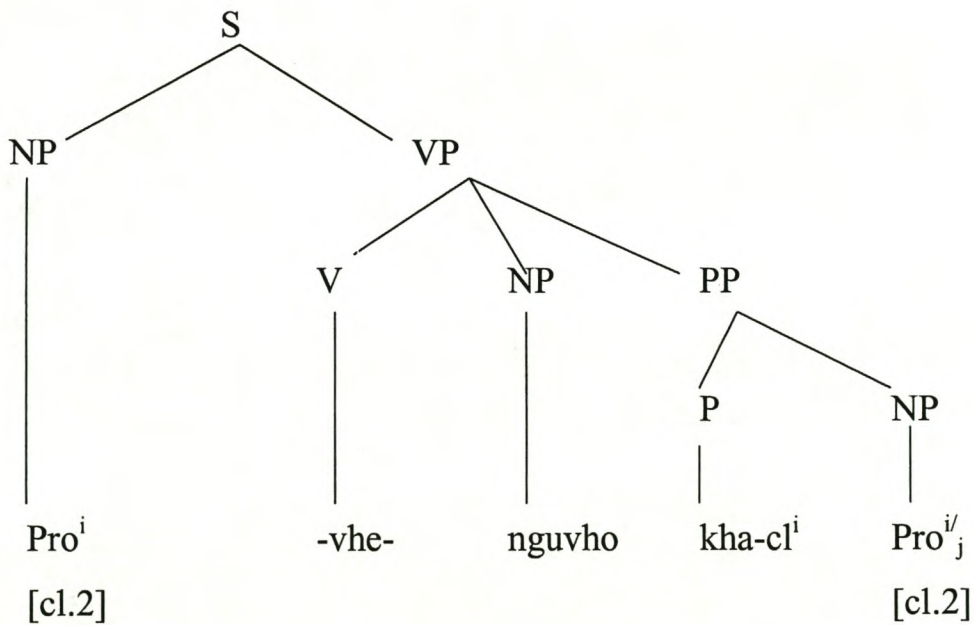
342. Vha amba ngavho.
 (They talk about themselves)

343. U n̄wala bugu ngae.
 (He is writing a book about him)

Therefore, it is notified that in these sentences coreference as well as disjoint reference is possible depending on the interpretation.

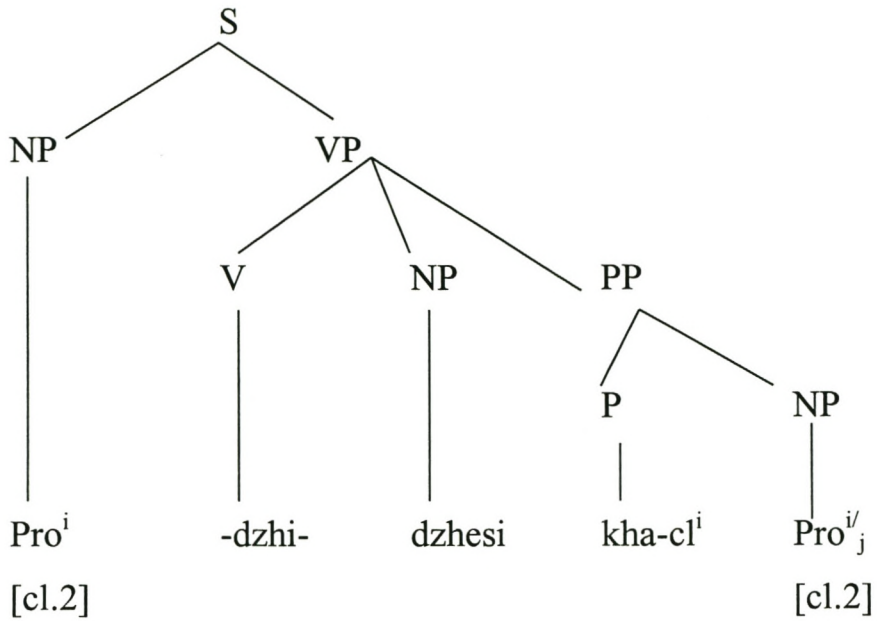
The following sentences with their respective structures should be notified:

344. Vha vhea nguvho khavho.
 (They put blanket at/ with themselves)

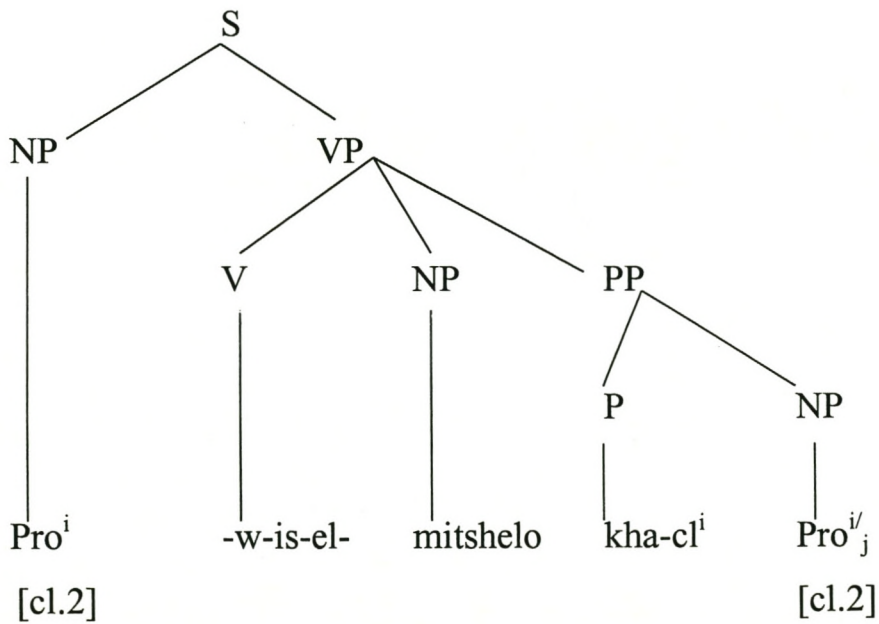


345. Vha dzhia dzhesi khavho.

(They took jersey from themselves)



346. Vha wisela mitshelo khavho.



In the above sentences coreference and the disjoint reference is possible. In the above structures coreference occurs when the object pro is coindexed with the subject NP thus indicating that they refer to one and the same person or thing. In this instance the reflexive interpretation is exemplified. Consider the following examples:

347. Vha vhea nguvho khavho.
(They put blanket at/ with themselves)
348. Vha dzhia dzhesi khavho.
(They took jersey from themselves)
349. Vha wisela mitshelo khavho.
(They let the fruits fall on themselves)

The object pro and the subject NP in the above structures may also disjoint in the reference depending on the interpretation.

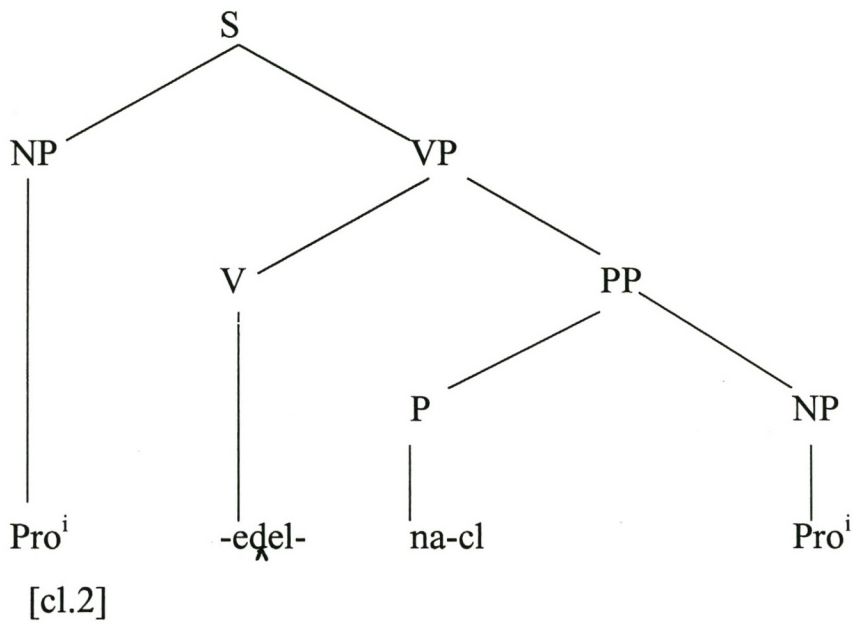
Examples:

350. Vha vhea nguvho khavho.
(They put blanket at/ with them)
351. Vha dzhia dzhesi khavho.
(They took jersey from them)
352. Vha wisela mitshelo khavho.
(They let the fruits fall on them)

The disjoint reference that obtains between the Np subject and the pronominal complement of P should be considered in the following examples as well as their respective structures:

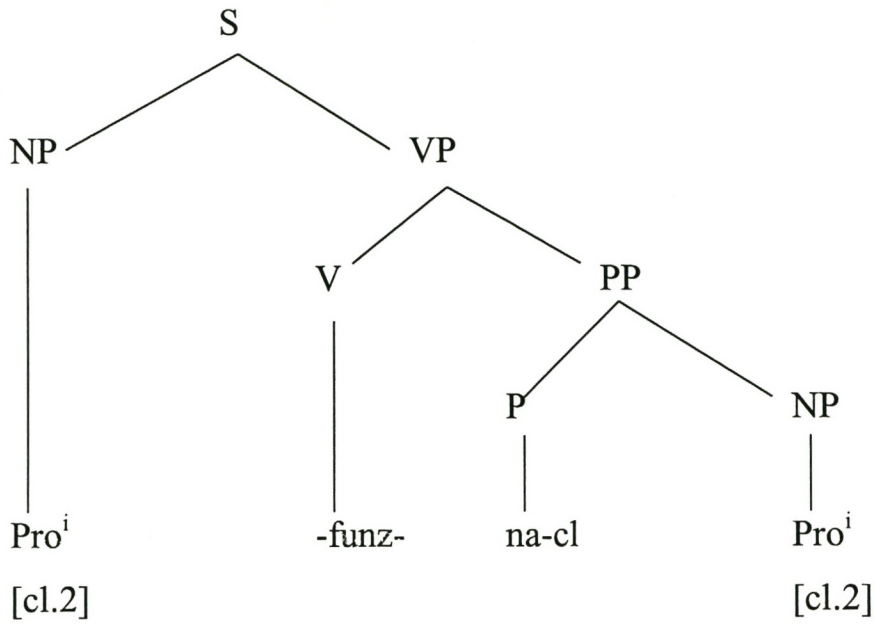
353. Vha eḁela navho.

(They sleep with them)



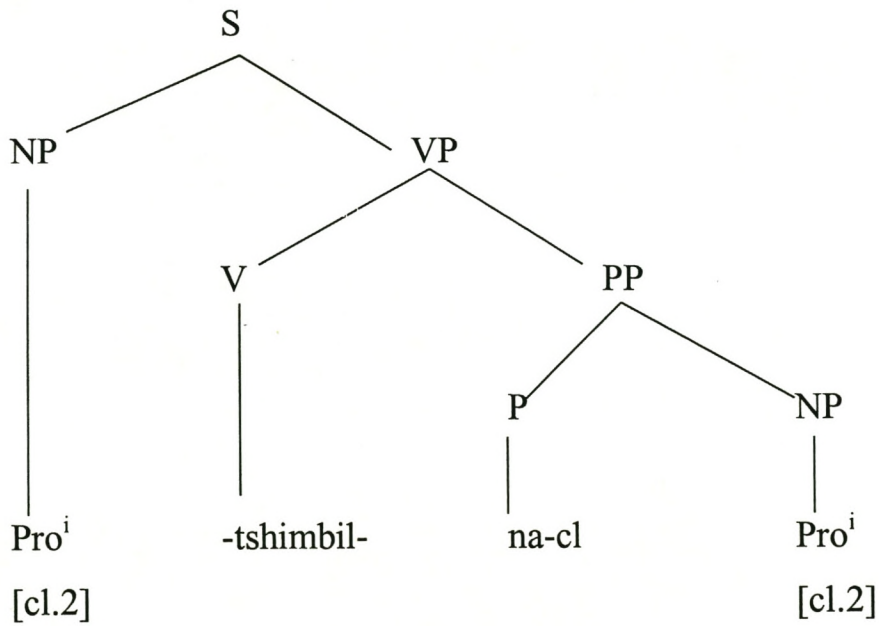
354. Vha funza navho.

(They teach with them)



355. Vha tshimbila navho.

(They walk with them)

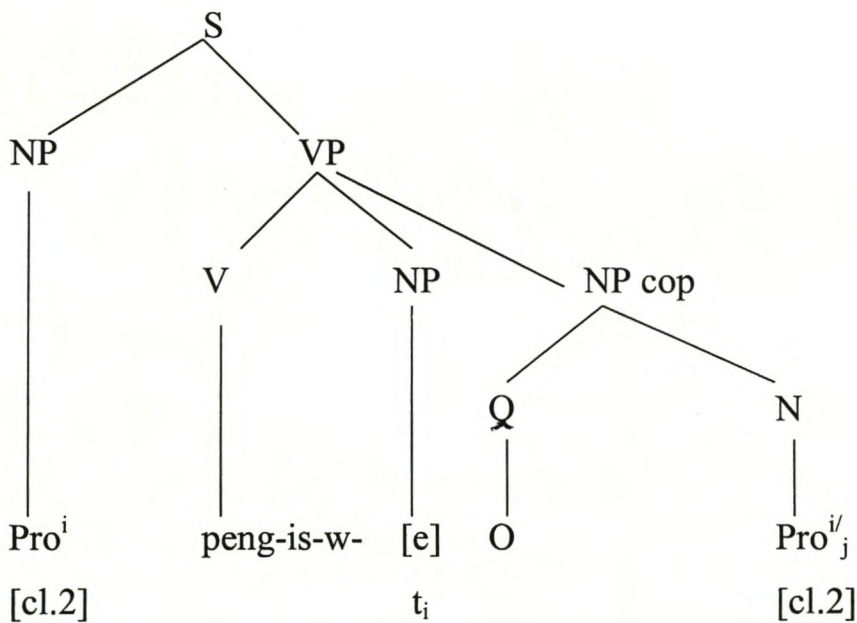


In the above sentences the prepositional phrase is headed by the associative *na-* in which the nominal element of this preposition is disjoint in reference with the NP subject. This shows that the subject NP and P object *pro* are not coindexed, due to the fact that semantically it does not make sense to do something with (i.e. in association with) oneself.

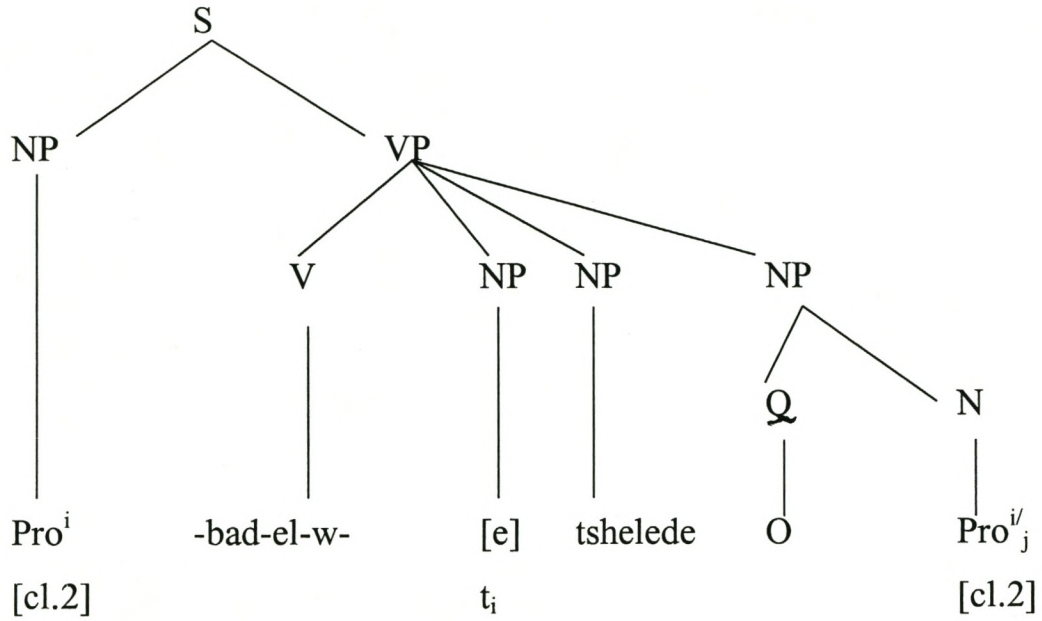
It is for this reason that a reflexive interpretation is not possible in the prepositional phrase containing the associative [*na-*] and the nominal element.

Consider the following examples which exemplify the pronominal as complement of the preposition with passive verbs:

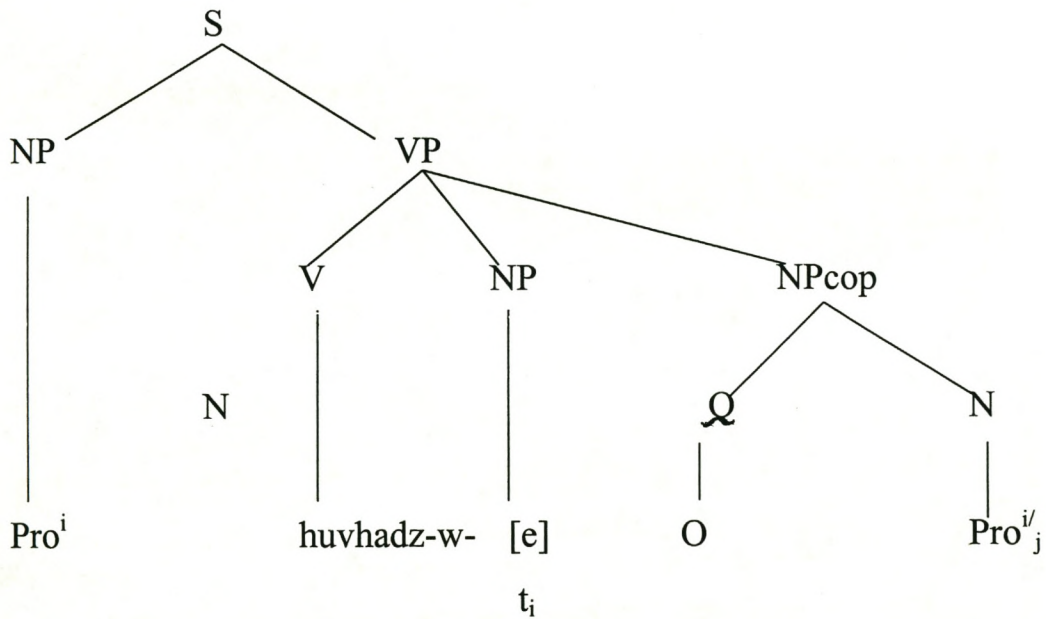
356. *Vha pengiswa ngavho*



357. Vha badelelwa lwendo ngavho.



358. Vha huvhadzwa ngavho.



In the above sentences the nga- phrase denotes the agent of passive. The pronominal complement of nga- is coindexed with the NP subject. This means that the reflexive interpretation is exemplified.

Examples:

359. Vha pengiswa ngavho.

(They are made mad by themselves)

360. Vha badelelwa tshelede ngavho.

(They are paid (tour, journey) by themselves)

361. Vha huvhadzwa ngavho.

(They are made injured by themselves)

Disjoint reference occurs when nga- NP is interpreted as not referring to the same person or thing as the subject of the clause. In this instance the above examples can be interpreted as follows:

362. Vha pengiswa ngavho.

(They are made mad by them)

363. Vha badelelwa lwendo ngavho.

(They are paid tour by them)

364. Vha huvhadzwa ngavho.

(They are injured by them)

Therefore this discussion convinced that the prepositional phrase may exemplify coreference or disjoint reference depending on the interpretation.

4.3. PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES FOLLOWED BY REFLEXIVE EMPHASIZER [- η e-]

In this discussion, the prepositional phrase can be followed by the reflexive emphasizer [- η e]. Examples:

365. (a) Vha funza thembuluwo ngavho.
(They are teaching salvation about themselves/ them)
- (b) Vha funza thembuluwo ngavho vhone vha η e.
(They, themselves, are teaching salvation about themselves)
- (c) Vhone vha η e vha funza thembuluwo ngavho.
(They, themselves, are teaching salvation about themselves)
366. (a) Vha amba ngavho.
(They talk about themselves/ them)
- (b) Vha amba ngavho vhone vha η e.
(They, themselves, talk about themselves)
- (c) Vhone vha η e vha amba ngavho.
(They, themselves, talk about themselves)

367. (a) Vha vhea nguvho khavho.
(They put blanket at/ with themselves at/ with them)
- (b) Vha vhea nguvho khavho vhone vha_xe.
(They, themselves, put blanket at/ with themselves)
- (c) Vhone vha_xe vha vhea nguvho khavho.
(They, themselves, put blanket at/ with themselves)
368. (a) Vha dzhia dzhesi khavho.
(They took jersey from themselves/ them)
- (b) Vha dzhia dzhesi khavho vhone vha_xe.
(They, themselves took jersey from themselves)
- (c) Vhone vha_xe vha dzhia dzhesi khavho.
(They, themselves, took jersey from themselves)
369. (a) Vha pengiswa ngavho.
(They are made mad by themselves/ them)
- (b) Vha pengiswa ngavho vhone vha_xe.
(They, themselves are made mad by themselves)
- (c) Vhone vha_xe vha pengiswa ngavho.
(They, themselves, are made mad by themselves)

370. (a) Vha badelelwa lwendo ngavho.
(They are paid tour by themselves/ them)
- (b) Vha badelelwa lwendo nga vhone vha_{ne}.
(They, themselves are paid tour by themselves)
- (c) Vhone vha_{ne} vha badelelwa lwendo ngavho.
(They, themselves are paid tour by themselves)

When these sentences are used without the reflexives emphasizer [-_{ne}] they have an ambiguous interpretation of either reflexive that is coreferential or non-reflexive that is disjoint reference interpretation. But when the reflexive emphasizer appear in these sentences that ambiguity disappears, only obligatory coreference relations obtain between the prepositional complement and the NP subject of the clause. This is due to the fact that reflexive emphasizer [-_{ne}] is a nominal modifier which strictly modifies an NP bearing, the θ -role of Agent: either subject NP or nga-, i.e. passive agent. It cannot modify an NP in any other position.

Examples:

371. *Vhanna vha vhalala gurann_{da} yone i_{ne}.
(The men are reading newspaper itself)
372. *Musidzana u renga kholomo dzone dzi_{ne}.
(The girl is buying the cattles themselves)

The above sentences are considered as ungrammatical as the presence of [- χ ne] indicates that the action is directed to the subject argument itself not to the object argument in order to show that the reflexive interpretation is emphasized. As it is the case with the [d χ i-] verbs the reflexive emphaser which clearly modifies the subject argument, gives an emphatic reflexive meaning in addition to the regular reflexive interpretation.

It is also noticeable that reflexive emphaser [- χ ne] occurs specifically with an NP which bears θ -role of agent:

373. Khuhu dzo d χ irengelwa nga vhanna vhone vha χ ne.

(Chickens are being bought by men themselves)

374. Tshelede yo d χ ibanngelwa nga vhashumi vhone vha χ ne.

(The money is being banked by workers themselves)

In the above sentences, the reflexive emphaser [- χ ne] occurs with the NPs [vhanna] and [vhashumi] which are the agents of the sentences. The reflexive emphaser [- χ ne] cannot be used with NPs bearing the θ -role of experiencer.

Examples:

375. * Ndi a shona n χ ne mu χ ne.

(I am ashamed myself)

376. *Munna u a ofha ene mu χ ne.

(The man is afraid himself)

377. *Tshikadzi tshi funa mbevha tshone tshi_χne.
(The cat likes a rat itself)

378. *Muthannga u a penga ene mu_χne.
(The boy is mad himself)

The above sentences are ungrammatical because reflexive [-_χne] does not occur with NP argument which is characterized as being aware of something, that is, an NP that bears the θ -role of experiencer.

In the instance of the prepositional phrase consisting of the associative [-na] and the pronominal complement only disjoint reference is exemplified (the subject performs the action together with another person) when there is no reflexive emphasizer [-_χne] the subject **self** is doing the action. Furthermore the reflexive emphasizer modifies subject Np as reflected in the following examples:

379. (a) Vha lala navho.
(They sleep with them)

(b) Vha lala navho vhone vha_χne.
(They sleep with them, themselves)

380. (a) Vha tshimbila navho.
(They walk with them)

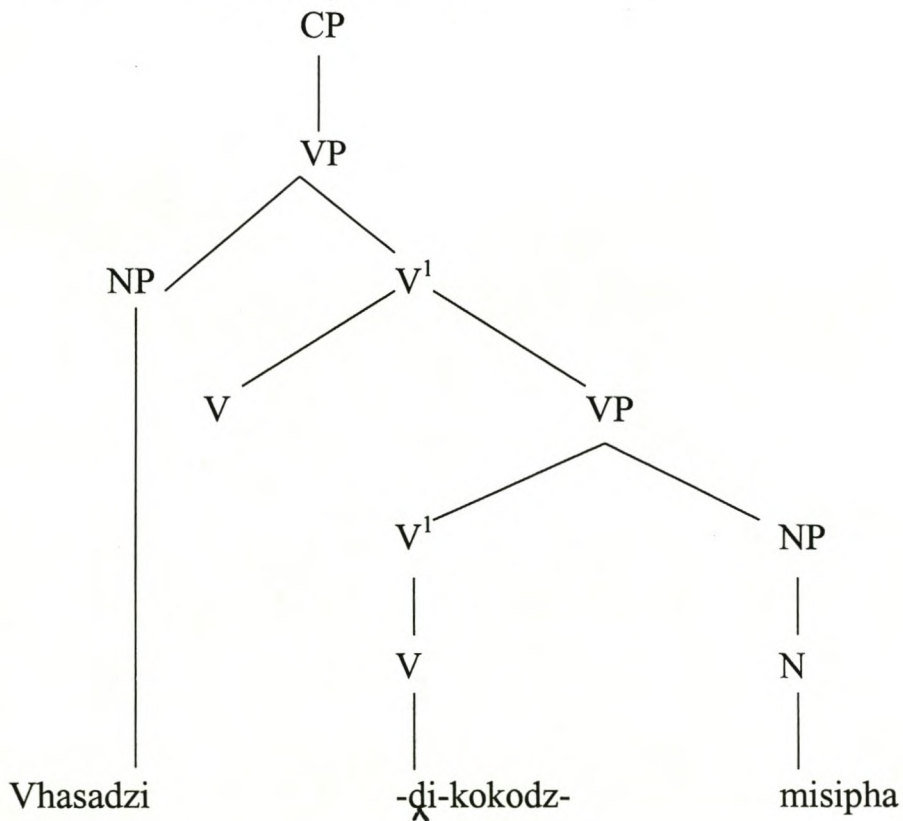
(b) Vha tshimbila navho vhone vha_χne.
(They walk with them, themselves)

CHAPTER FIVE

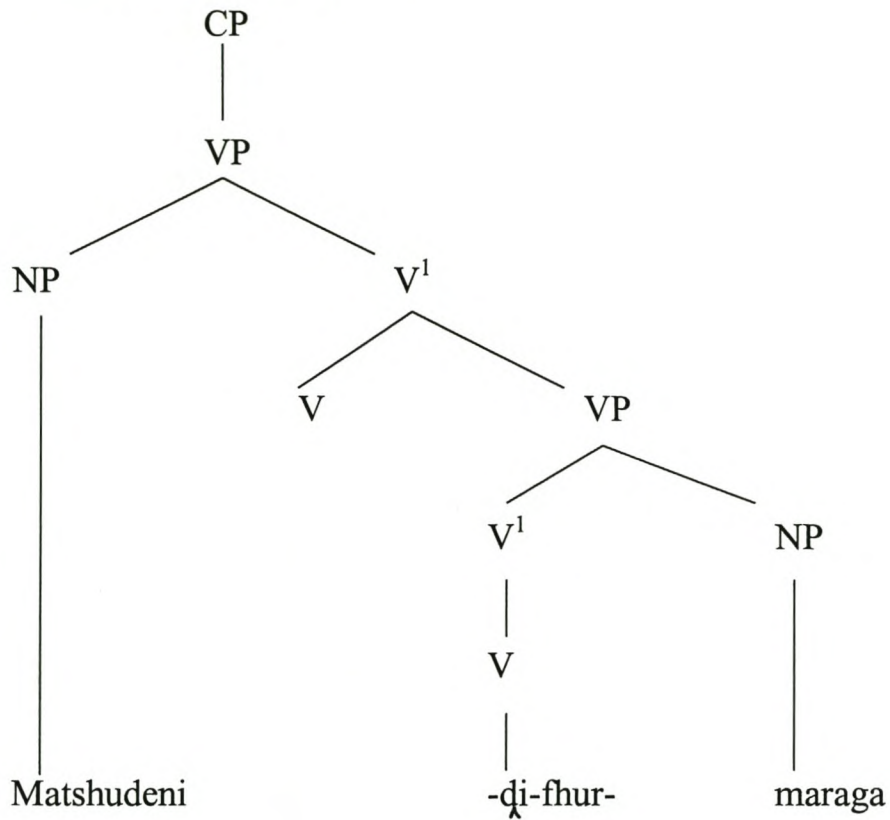
5. CONCLUSION

The applicability of Binding theory to the χ - verb construction has been considered. It is noticeable that the monotransitive and ditransitive verbs accepted the reflexive χ - and these verbs may also be followed by NPs. Most of those NPs are instances of body parts and they regarded as the adjuncts of the reflexive verb as they failed both objectival agreement and passive construction tests. Then, those nouns do not have the syntactic status of an object and their sentences would have the following structure:

381. Vhasadzi vha χ dikokodza misipha.



382. Matshudeni o $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{ifhura maraga.}$

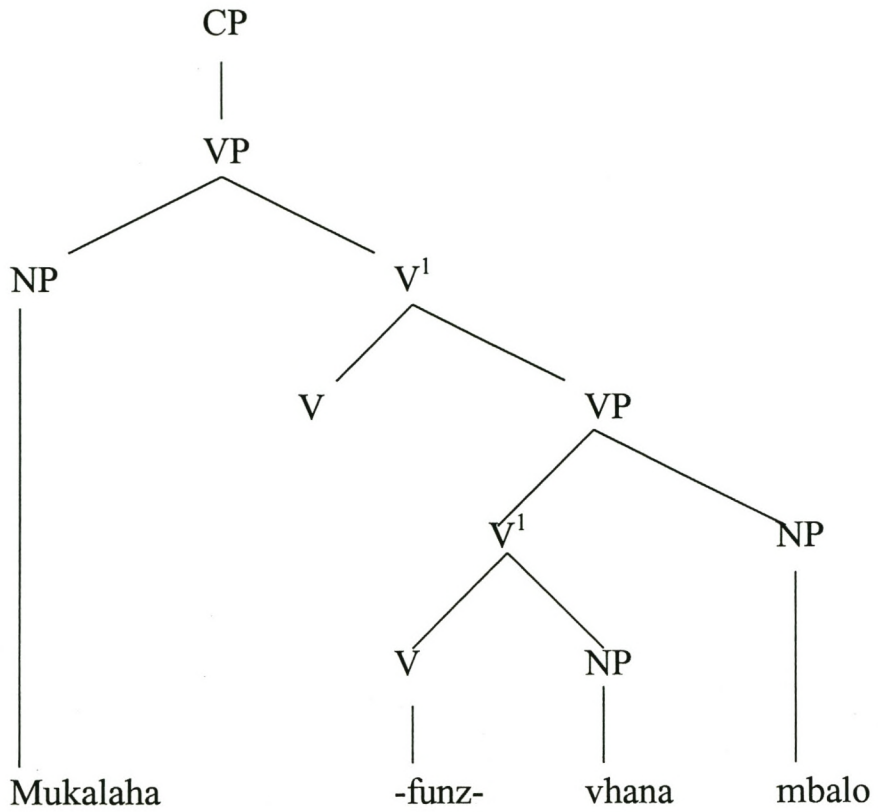


It is also noticeable that the reflexive morpheme $-\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{i-}$ appear with only one object and this NP object that remains behind is the direct object. This shows that the reflexive $-\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{i-}$ detransitivises the verb stem in that a single object verb with $\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{i-}$ cannot be followed by an overt noun object, and a double-object verb with $-\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{i-}$ can be followed by only one noun object. Then, there is no other NP that can appear after the reflexive $-\underset{\lambda}{\text{d}}\text{i-}$ verb except for the direct object. The reflexive construction therefore has the features [+R (eflexive), -transitive].

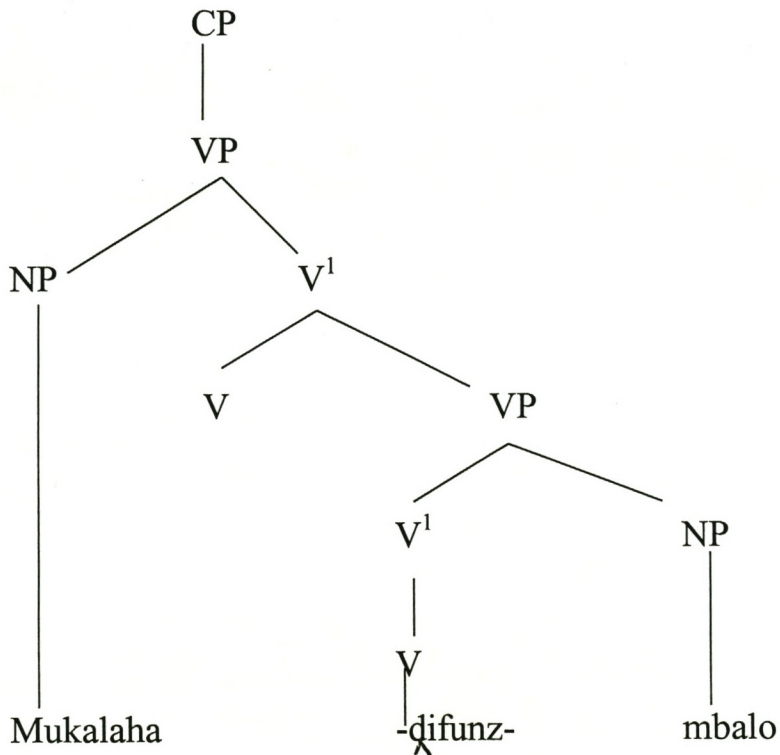
383. (a) Mukalaha u funza vhana mbalo.
(The old man teaches children arithmetic)

- (b) Mukalaha u difunza mbalo.
 (The old man teaches himself arithmetic)

384. (a)



(b)



In the above examples, the first structure has double objects following the verb but in the second example the first NP after the verb is eliminated because of detransitivisation and its θ -role of beneficiary is linked to the reflexive $-\text{di}$ -.

It can be concluded that there is no NP type anaphor in Tshivenda because when the verb is detransitivised there is no object position associated with the verb. The θ -role which is assigned to the argument NP is linked to the reflexive construction. Following William's (1989) proposal the Binding principles may then be stated to hold between theta-roles, not NPs in structural positions.

In some cases it is noticeable that when the applied intransitive verbs appears with the reflexive di -, the reflexive meaning of di - has disappeared, and when the applied transitive verbs are used with the reflexive prefix $-\text{di}$ -, some of the verbs become ambiguous:

385. U khou di kela ma di

(She is fetching water for herself) [Benefactive]

(She is just fetching water) [-cause, + independent]

The reflexive di - with causative intransitive made the cause reading to disappear and only pretend reading is found and with the causative transitive, some verbs become ambiguous and convey three interpretations, other convey only one, and others two. Example:

386. U a $\dot{\chi}$ ikokodzisa mavhudzi [CAUSATIVE], [PERMISSIVE]
(He is making hair pulled)
387. U a $\dot{\chi}$ ihwalisa bakete.
(She is causing herself to carry the bucket) [CAUSATIVE]
(She is making herself to carry the bucket) [ASSISTIVE]
(She is allowing herself to carry the bucket) [PERMISSIVE]

The ditransitive reflexive construction with affix –is- destroy one internal argument, which is the indirect object. Example:

388. Vha a $\dot{\chi}$ inwalisa vhana mulingo.
(They cause/ allow children to write examination themselves)

It is also noticeable that the transitives with the reflexive affix [- $\dot{\chi}$ i-] can appear with passive construction and the empty subject position of the passive can only be occupied by Pro with [hu].

It is therefore clear that when the applied affix is used with the reflexive – $\dot{\chi}$ i- ‘on one’s own’, ‘independently’, ‘just’ interpretation has been expressed. The reflexive emphasizer [- $\dot{\chi}$ ne] can be used with some of the applied verbs with these interpretations. When the ‘on one’s own’ interpretation is used with the reflexive emphasizer [- $\dot{\chi}$ ne] the emphatic interpretation is found, that is, the presence of [- $\dot{\chi}$ ne] emphasises the exclusion of any other party realised by the combination of the reflexive – $\dot{\chi}$ i- verb with the applied suffix –el-

389. U a $\dot{\chi}$ divhetshela zwiambaro ene mune.
(He keeps clothes by herself/ on his own)

390. Vha $\dot{\chi}$ dibikela vhuswa vhone vha $\dot{\chi}$ e.
(They cook porridge by themselves/ on their own)

The ‘just alone’, ‘independently’ interpretations cannot be used with the reflexive emphasizer [- $\dot{\chi}$ e] due to the fact that there is no reflexive that will be emphasized by [- $\dot{\chi}$ e], since the subject NP cannot be emphasized by [- $\dot{\chi}$ e] possibly due to semantic considerations.

When - $\dot{\chi}$ i- is used with some causative verbs the ‘pretend’ interpretation is found.

391. U a $\dot{\chi}$ dihonisa.
(He pretend to be snoring)

Causative verbs with the ‘pretend’ interpretations cannot be followed by the reflexive emphasizer [- $\dot{\chi}$ e] because the reflexive definitiser seems to co-occur with an external agent argument. Then, it is noted that thematic role of agent typically denotes ‘deliberate performer of an action. Therefore, if there is no reflexive interpretation the reflexive definitiser [- $\dot{\chi}$ e] cannot be used as it actually adds emphasis to an NP argument bearing an agent θ -role.

The prepositional phrase may exemplify coreference or disjoint reference depending on the interpretation. When these prepositional phrases can be followed by the reflexive emphasizer [- $\dot{\chi}$ e], this ambiguity disappears, only

obligatory coreference relations obtain between the prepositional complement and the NP subject of the clause. The sentences become ungrammatical if the reflexive [- μ e] does not appear with NP argument which is characterized as being aware of something, that is, an NP that bears the θ -role of experiencer.

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