

**NOMINAL INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES
OF TSHIVENDA**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the four nominal inflectional categories which are identified in morphology, i.e. case, noun class, agreement and number in Tshivenda. This study also examines Determiner Phrase, enclitics and definiteness with regard to Tshivenda noun phrases.

Chapter one is the introduction of this study. It states the aim of the study which is, firstly, to establish whether case, noun class, agreement and number occur in Tshivenda, and secondly, to examine the form, syntactic distribution and semantics of these categories in Tshivenda. This chapter also gives the morphological assumptions of the model of lexeme-morpheme base morphology by Beard (1995) and Aronoff (1994). The theory of lexical semantics of Pustejovsky (1996) and the Minimalist program of Chomsky (1995) are also discussed.

Chapter two examines the Determiner Phrase in Tshivenda. It concentrates on the structure of the DP in Tshivenda. Attention has been given to the functional categories within the DP such as DET and Agr as well as the various nominal modifiers within the DP.

Chapter three explores Case in Tshivenda. In Tshivenda there are seven cases, i.e. nominative, accusative, instrumental, locative, genitive, dative and vocative. This chapter concentrates on the assignment of these cases and their grammatical functions.

Chapter four explores the noun class in Tshivenda. It examines the form and the contribution of the meaning of the noun class prefixes. The morphological structure of the Tshivenda noun is taken as the framework for this analysis. It has been found that Tshivenda has seventeen noun

classes which are still active in this language. These noun class prefixes have 24 different semantic features which contribute to the meaning of the noun.

Chapter five discusses agreement and number in Tshivenda. In the case of agreement it has been found that it is both dependent and independent of noun class. Subjectival and objectival agreement appear as two functional categories within the inflection phrase. Specific attention has also been given to existential agreement, sentential pronouns, the infinitive as well as problems with agreement with coordinated NPs. Certain cases have also been highlighted where no agreement appears. Lastly, it has been shown that number is not an inflectional category in Tshivenda, but it is a semantic category.

Chapter six is concerned with definiteness in the interpretation of the noun in Tshivenda. In the first place, it has been shown in which cases a noun phrase may be interpreted as definite or indefinite. Secondly, the contribution of the nominal modifiers with regard to the definiteness of the noun phrase has been investigated. Lastly, it has been shown that proper names have to be interpreted as definite.

Chapter seven investigated the three enclitics in Tshivenda, i.e. **de**, **shu** and **who**. Their meaning and distribution have been explored with regard to their presence on nouns, nominal modifiers and verbs. The distribution of these three enclitics is dependent on their meaning. The enclitic **de** which refers to quantifiers may not appear on verbs. Enclitics which are interrogative in nature such as **de** and **shu** may not appear with interrogative nominal modifiers.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die vier nominale infleksie kategorieë wat in die morfologie geïdentifiseer is nl. naamval, naamwoordklas, klasooreenstemming en getal in Tshivenda. Hierdie studie gee ook aandag aan Bepalersfrase, enklitieke en bepaaldheid m.b.t. die Tshivenda naamwoordgroepe.

Hoofstuk een is die inleiding tot die studie. Dit gee die doelstellings van die studie: eerstens moet vasgestel word of naamval, naamwoordklas, klasooreenstemming en getal in Tshivenda voorkom, en tweedens moet die vorm, sintaktiese distribusie en semantiek van hierdie kategorieë in Tshivenda bepaal word. Hierdie hoofstuk gee ook aandag aan die morfologiese aannames van die lekseem-morfeem morfologie van Beard (1995) en Aronoff (1994). Die teorie van leksikale semantiek van Pustejovsky (1996) word ook bespreek sowel as die Minimalistiese program in sintaksis van Chomsky (1995).

Hoofstuk twee ondersoek die Bepalersfrase in Tshivenda. Dit konsentreer veral op die struktuur van die Bepalersfrase in Tshivenda. Aandag is veral gegee aan die funksionele kategorieë binne die Bepalersfrase soos die bepaler en klasooreenstemming asook die verskillende nominale bepalers in die Bepalersfrase.

Hoofstuk drie handel oor die naamval in Tshivenda. Sewe naamvalle is in Tshivenda onderskei nl. nominatief, akkusatief, instrument, lokatief, genitief, datief en vokatief. Hierdie hoofstuk konsentreer op die toekenning van hierdie naamvalle en hulle grammatikale funksies.

Hoofstuk vier ondersoek die naamwoordklas in Tshivenda. Dit gee veral aandag aan die vorm van die naamwoordprefikse sowel as die bydrae van hierdie prefikse tot die betekenis van die naamwoord in Tshivenda. Hierdie analise is gedoen binne 'n raamwerk van die morfologiese struktuur van die naamwoord. Daar is gevind dat Tshivenda nog sewentien naamwoordklasse het wat aktief in die taal is. Daarby kon 24 verskillende betekeniskenmerke van hierdie naamwoordprefikse bepaal word.

Hoofstuk vyf bespreek klasooreenstemming en getal in Tshivenda. In die geval van klasooreenstemming is gevind dat dit beide afhanklik en onafhanklik van naamwoordklas is. Klasooreenstemming ten opsigte van die onderwerp en voorwerp is twee funksionele kategorieë binne die infleksiefrase. Verder is spesiale aandag gegee aan eksistensie, sinsvoornaamwoorde, die infinitief sowel as neweskikkende naamwoordgroepe. Daar is ook gevalle aangedui waarin geen klasooreenstemming voorkom. Getal is 'n semantiese kategorie in Tshivenda maar nie 'n infleksie kategorie nie.

Hoofstuk ses handel oor bepaaldheid ten opsigte van die interpretasie van die naamwoord in Tshivenda. In die eerste plek is aangedui in welke gevalle naamwoordgroepe bepaald of onbepaald geïnterpreteer kan word, en tweedens is aandag gegee aan die bydrae van nominale bepalers ten opsigte van die bepaaldheid van die naamwoordgroep. Laastens is gewys op die voorkoms van bepaaldheid by eiename.

Hoofstuk sewe het die drie enklitieke in Tshivenda ondersoek nl. **de**, **shu** en **vho**. Hul betekenis en distribusie is nagegaan ten opsigte van hul voorkoms by naamwoorde, nominale bepalers asook werkwoorde. Die distribusie van hierdie drie enklitieke is duidelik afhanklik van hul betekenis.

So kan **de** wat verwys na kwantifiseerders bv. nie saam met werkwoorde optree nie. Enklitieke wat interprogatief van aard is soos **de** en **shu** kan ook dus nie saam met interrogetiewe nominale bepalers voorkom nie.

MANWELEDZO

Ngudo iyi i sedzulusa khategori dza inifilekisheni dza dzina (nominal inflectional categories) nna dzine dza wanala kha mofolodzhi dzine dza vha kheisi, kilasi ya dzina, pfano na nomboro kha Tshivenda. Ngudo iyi i sedzulusa na (Determiner Phrase), thunwa na (definiteness) kha mafurase a madzina a Tshivenda.

Ndima ya u thoma ndi marangaphanda a ngudo iyi. I sumbedza ndivho ya ngudo ine ndivho khulwane ya vha, tsha u thoma u sumbedza arali kheisi, kilasi ya dzina, pfano na nomboro zwi tshi wanala kha Tshivenda, tsha vhuvhili u sedzulusa tshivhumbeo, vhuimo fhungoni na thalutshedzo dza khathegori idzi kha Tshivenda. Hei ngudo i nea na mihumbulo ya (Model of lexeme-morpheme base morphology) nga Beard (1995) na Aronoff (1994). Theori ya thalutshedzo dza maipfi ya Pustejovsky (1996) na (Minimalist Program) ya Chomsky (1995) zwo rera.

Ndima ya vhuvhili i sedzulusa (DP) kha Tshivenda. I sumbedzesa tshivhumbeo tsha (DP) kha Tshivenda. Ho sedzwa na khathegori dza fakishinala dzi re nga ngomu kha (DP) sa (DET) na pfano na manwe-vho mashanduli a dzina a re ngomu kha (DP).

Ndima ya vhuraru i sedzulusa kheisi kha Tshivenda. Kha Tshivenda hu na kheisi thanu na mmbili, dzine dza vha (nominative, accusative, instrumental, locative, genitive, dative, vocative). Ndima hei i sumbedza nga maanda kuavhelwe kwa kheisi idzi na mishumo yadzo ya girama.

Ndima ya vhuṅa i sedzulusa kilasi ya dzina kha Tshivenda. I sedzulusa tshivhumbeo na zwine thalutshedzo ya thangi dza madzina ya disa. Tshivhumbeo tsha mofolodzhi tsha dzina tshi dzhiwa sa thikho ya tsenguluso iyi. Zwo waniwa uri Tshivenda tshi na kilasi dza madzina dza

fumi na mmbili dzine dza kha \dot{q} i shumesa kha luambo. Hedzi thangi dza madzina dzi na \dot{t} halutshedzo dzo fhambanaho dza mahumi mavhili na \dot{n} na dzine dza engedza kha \dot{t} halutshedzo ya dzina.

Ndima ya **vhut**anu i rera nga pfano na nomboro kha Tshivenda. Nga ha pfano zwo waniwa uri i a ima nga yothe ya dovha ya \dot{d} itika nga kilasi ya dzina. Pfano ya \dot{n} efhungo na tshiitwa zwi vhonala zwi khathegori dza fakishinala (functional categories) dzi re ngomu ha \dot{l} ifurase \dot{l} a inifilekisheni. Ho dovha ha sedzwa na (existential agreement), maimela mafhungoni, dzina \dot{l} iiti na thaidzo dza pfano kha mafurase a dzina a no khou shumisana. Ho dovha ha sumbedzwa nga vhupfufhi hune pfano i sa bvelele. Tsha u fhedzisela ho sumbedzwa uri nomboro a si khathegori ya inifilekisheni kha Tshivenda, fhedzi ndi khathegori ya \dot{t} halutshedzo.

Ndima ya **vhut**anu na **vhuthi**hi i sedzulusa (definiteness) kha \dot{t} halutshedzo ya dzina kha Tshivenda. Tsha u thoma ho sumbedzwa hune \dot{l} ifurase \dot{l} a dzina \dot{l} a nga \dot{t} alutshedzwa sa (definite) kana (indefinite). Tsha \dot{v} huvhili thikhedzo ya mashanduli a madzina (nominal modifiers) kha (definiteness) ya \dot{l} ifurase \dot{l} a dzina yo sedzuluswa. Tsha u fhedza zwo sumbedzwa uri madzina vhukuma a fanela u \dot{t} alutshedzwa sa (definite).

Ndima ya **vhut**anu na **vhuvh**ili i sedzulusa \dot{t} hu \dot{n} wa tharu kha Tshivenda dzine dza vha **de**, **shu** na **vho**. \dot{t} halutshedzo yadzo na hune dza shuma hone zwo sedzwa u ya nga \dot{v} huhone hadzo kha madzina, mashanduli a madzina na maiti.

Hune **thunwa** idzi tharu dza wanala hone ho **ditika** nga **thalutshedzo** yadzo.
Thunwa de ine ya amba nga ha (quantifiers) i nga si bvelele kha maiti.
Thunwa dzine dza vha mbudziso nga mvelo sa **de** na **shu** dzi nga si
bvelele kha mashanduli a madzina a mbudziso.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. AIM

This study on nominal inflection will examine the four nominal inflectional categories which are identified in morphology, i.e. case, noun class, agreement and number. A central aim of this study is, firstly, to establish whether these categories occur in Tshivenda, and secondly, to examine the form, syntactic distribution and semantics of these categories in Tshivenda. The research on Tshivenda morphology will be based on the morphological assumptions of the model of lexeme-morpheme base morphology of i.a. Beard (1995) and Aronoff (1994). With regard to semantics the theory of lexical semantics of i.a. Pustejovsky (1996) will be invoked and the minimalist program will appear in syntactic structures.

Case is a nominal inflectional category which is controlled by syntax. The basic assumption as regards case is concerned with the feature of abstract case of noun phrases. Case is marked by free adpositions in Tshivenda, i.e. it is not realized morphologically. The underlying assumption of case theory is that noun phrases with phonetic content are required to bear case. There are two different ways the case requirement has been formulated in recent research. One is the form of a case filter which applies at the phonetic form (PF) level to exclude NP's which are not case-marked (i.e. assigned case). The other is in the form of what is known as the visibility hypothesis which makes case-marking follow from theta-marking as a condition for theta role assignment. For a noun phrase argument to be visible for theta marking, which is obligatory by the Theta Criterion, the noun phrase has to have case.

A further aim of the study is to establish whether the case filter is applicable to Tshivenda with regard to all overt nouns and what elements may serve as

case assigners in Tshivenda. Thus, the questions examined concern, the role of agreement in case assignment, whether prepositions play a role in case assignment and what the role is of morphemes such as the locative morpheme in case assignment in Tshivenda. The process of case licensing in the African languages is largely unexplored and various issues in this regard will be addressed in the study. In addition to the above-mentioned questions, the study will investigate issues relating to ditransitive verbs, empty pronouns, subject inversion, and tense with respect to their role in the assignment of case in Tshivenda.

The second nominal inflectional category is concerned with noun class. The term noun class (Corbett 1991) is also known as inflectional class (Aronoff 1993) or Grammatical gender (Halle 1990). The term noun class refers to arbitrary lexical subclasses of noun which provide the basis for agreement. All nouns in Tshivenda are specified for a certain noun class and these nouns may in general be recognized through prefixes. There are various unsolved problems, which arise from the assumption above of which the following are the most pertinent with regard to this research:

Certain noun classes, such as class 1a, do not exhibit an overt noun class prefix. On the other hand, there are noun class prefixes which have to appear with a nominal suffix e.g. **khali** (clay pot) but: **tshi – kal – ana** or **ku-kal-ana** (small clay pot). In some cases two noun class prefixes may appear together with one nominal root e.g. **thoho** (head) but: **li-di-toho** (big useless head). These examples concern some issues related to the form and distribution of the noun class morphemes, but various other issues, which relate to the semantics of these prefixes will be explored in the study. There are clear indications that certain noun class prefixes have a certain fixed reference such as class 1 and 2, which refer to humans only, or class 20 with reference to diminutive beings, or class 21 with an augmentative meaning. However, the issue of the morphological and semantic relationship of these

noun class prefixes has not as yet been addressed in Tshivenda. The research in this regard will focus only on the contribution of the noun class prefix to the meaning of a noun and it will not relate to the semantics of nouns in general in Tshivenda.

A third major area of research with regard to noun class that will be addressed in the study relates to the issue of the dual role of this category. Noun class may refer to either nominal inflectional derivation or nominal functional derivation e.g. class 14 **vhu** – may also refer to a functional derivation: **mu – thu** (person): **vhu – thu** (humanness).

The third nominal inflectional category in Tshivenda is agreement. The agreement features of the non-nominal classes such as verbs are purely morphological though they operate in syntax. Noun class features, on the other hand, are lexical with nouns. Thus, noun class and agreement are independent grammatical categories rather than one category. In Tshivenda noun class determines agreement. It should then be possible for agreement to be marked in syntax without a lexical head from which it may copy features. Agreement interprets lexical categories for syntactic morphology, hence it is a derived inflectional category. The study aims to establish whether these assumptions are correct as there are various agreement morphemes which do not exhibit this relationship. In the second place the study will establish which possible agreement categories may appear in Tshivenda, such as subjectival, objectival, prepositional agreement and agreement with various nominal modifiers.

The fourth nominal inflectional category is number, whose common functions are singular, dual and plural. Number is referential only among nouns for only nouns referentially distinguish individuals and aggregations. However, it is not clear whether number should be regarded as a nominal inflectional category in Tshivenda and this issue needs to be considered in detail.

The issue of DP, definiteness and the influence of enclitics on Tshivenda nouns will also receive attention.

1.2 METHOD AND ORGANIZATION

The above-mentioned four nominal inflectional categories will be investigated for Tshivenda. A method will be developed to collect data for each of these categories from Tshivenda. This body of data for the various categories will be verified with consultants with regard to the form and meaning. A range of diagnostics will be employed to interpret the data in order to establish whether the various hypotheses mentioned above can be maintained or whether they need refinement or modification.

The dissertation will be organized in such a way that attention will firstly be focused on the place of the noun in a phrase. For this purpose the place of the noun in a determiner phrase (DP) will be established to fit in with a movement in syntax to replace the noun phrase (NP). Chapters 3,4 and 5 will then focus on the inflectional categories of case, noun class, agreement and number. In chapter 6, an extension on the semantics of the noun will be presented with focus on the issue of definiteness. This issue is especially pertinent to Tshivenda because of the absence of any article such as “the” or “a” in English. Lastly, chapter 7 will try to establish what the influence of enclitics on nouns or other categories may be, especially the way in which such enclitics add to the interpretation of the noun.

The dissertation will be organized in the following chapters:

Chapter one will present the aim and method of the study, a review of the morphological and lexical semantic theory assumed, and consider the descriptive findings on nominal inflection in Tshivenda.

Chapter two will present the structure of the determiner phrase in Tshivenda.

Chapter three will examine the issue of case.

Chapter four will explore the category noun class.

Chapter five will explore agreement and number in Tshivenda.

Chapter six will examine the issue of definiteness in Tshivenda.

Chapter seven will analyse enclitics in Tshivenda.

Chapter eight will present the findings and conclusions of the study.

1.3 THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

This study is based on theoretical assumptions of the model of lexeme-morpheme base morphology, theory of lexical semantics as well as minimalism.

1.3.1 Lexeme-morpheme base morphology (Beard 1995)

Morphology bridges the levels of meaning and sound. Lexemes, morphemes, stems, and roots are the fundamental objects of morphology; while the most salient operations are derivation, conversion, transposition, compounding, affixation, revowelling, reduplication, contraction and metathesis. Expressive derivational categories include diminution, augmentation, pejorativity, affection, and functional categories such as subjective, objective, instrumental, locational.

The major class of lexical items, i.e. nouns, verbs and adjectives consist of phonological, grammatical and semantic representations. In other words, a word consists of sounds, grammatical feature e.g. (+ Noun) and a certain meaning.

This major class of lexical items constitute open classes because new words can be formed from other existing words.

Lexeme-morpheme base morphology distinguishes lexemes from morphemes. Lexemes are found in the lexicon and they have phonological, grammatical and semantic representations and constitute open classes. Bound grammatical morphemes are morphological spelling operations, they change phonological form of lexemes.

In bound morphology there are two processes i.e. derivation and morphological spelling.

The domains of derivational operations are the lexicon (lexical derivation) and syntax (inflectional derivation) and it applies to the grammatical representation of a lexeme only. Morphological spelling does not determine the grammatical representation of lexemes, but only modifies their phonological representation.

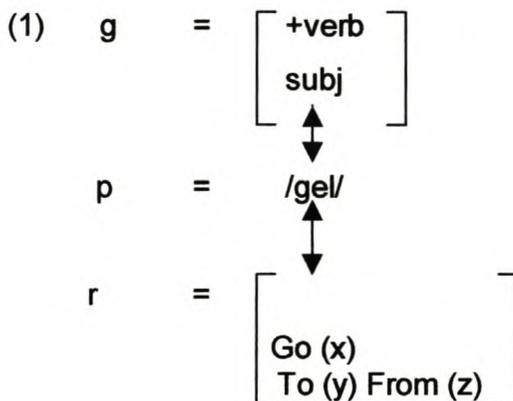
For this theory of morphology the following things must be carefully distinguished:

1. The only minimal grammatical elements of languages are lexemes.
2. A lexeme is a set of three things:
 - a. p = Phonological representation
 - b. g = Grammatical representation
 - c. r = Semantic representation

3. A lexeme allows only four types of operations:

- a. a lexical operation which modifies g in the lexicon.
- b. an inflectional operation which modifies g in the syntax
- c. a spelling operation which modifies p of any lexeme.
- d. a semantic operation is a modification of r

The lexical entry for the Turkish verb gel – “come” is as follows:

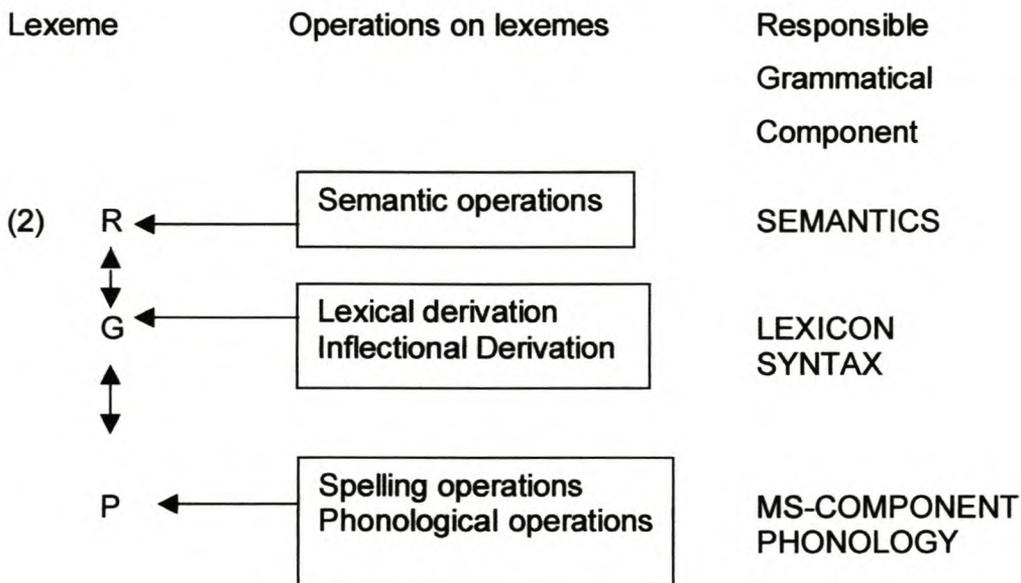


The stem or root (gel -) which is p, is a purely phonological phenomenon, and morphological spelling operations upon it are purely phonological. Spelling operations never modify grammatical (g) or semantic (r) representations.

Derivational rules operate on grammatical categories (g). They have no access to phonology and thus they cannot effect phonological changes. (G) includes morpholexical categories of the lexicon such as [+ verb] or [+ Noun] and the morphosyntactic inflectional categories of syntax such as [+ present], [+ indicative].

Spelling operations are responsible for bound morphemes such as affixes, prosodic variations, revowelling schemes or any other phonological modification of the stem allowed by both morphotactics and phonotactics.

Derivational and spelling operations are organized as follows:

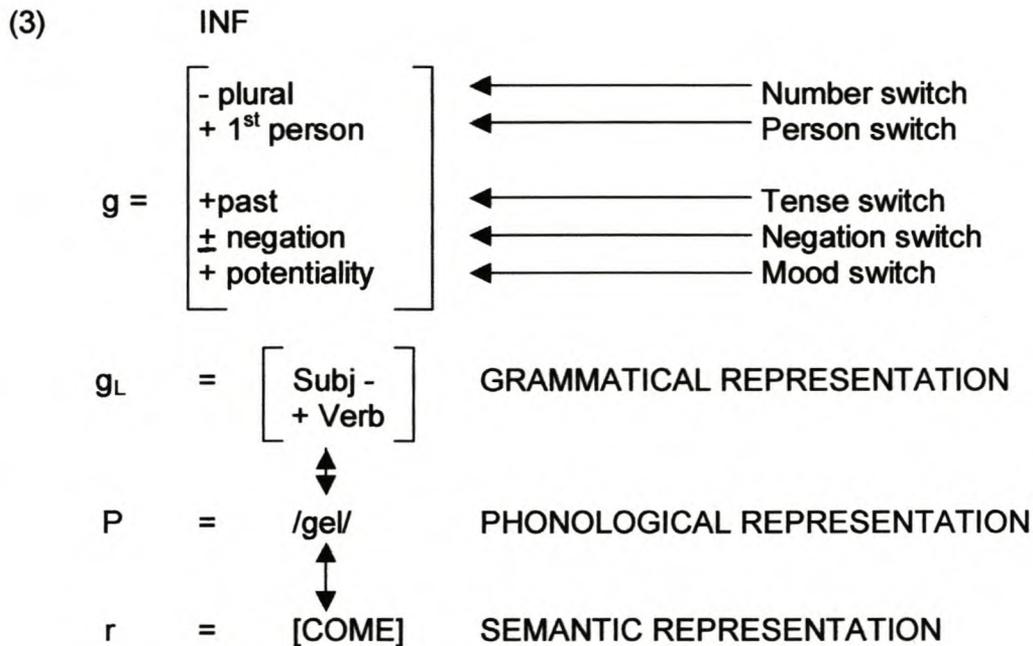


A grammatical morpheme expresses only certain grammatical categories – lexical and syntactic categories paradigmatically.

Inflectional derivation rules operate on features relevant only to syntax, such as person and case etc. Inflectional (I -) derivation operates on the functional categories (G_I) in phrase structure. Thus the grammar contains two different types of grammatical functions: [G_L] = inherent morpholexical categories, and [G_I] = morphosyntactic inflectional categories.

Inflectional categories are usually found outside lexical categories. In the example below the Turkish lexical base *gel* – “come”, is raised to *Infl* in accord with current Government and Binding (GB) syntactic principles. This example shows *Infl* bearing the five agreement features i.e. number, person, tense, negation and mood required to explain the grammatical functions involved in the expression “I could come” and “I could not come”. Each

have been set by an inflectional “switch” that sets the syntactic values of these features in language – specific ways:



Each of these features on the right above has a switch which can be switched on. If the switch is on the syntactic values of these features will appear. When the spelling operations begin to apply, the first operation can only modify the phonological base, in this case /gel/, for that is the only phonological representation available, responding to each feature or set of features that serve as conditions on its operations.

The order of affixes depends upon that of the features in the stem and in Infl. The possibility of ordered grammatical features is a universal parameter. However, fusional affixation ignores feature order, and the ordering of some agglutinative affixes with respect to each other is arbitrary. The actual order of features is a variable of the parameter set by individual languages.

In order to interpret the accumulated G – features, the Ms- component will have to contain a spelling mechanism capable of carrying out the following steps in approximately the order given:

- (4) a. Reading the conditions on operations
 1. identify the class of the input lexeme
 2. open the set of rules pertinent to that class
 3. identify any relevant P – or R – features
 4. read the first set of relevant features into memory

- b. Execution
 5. locate the stem (P-features) of the lexeme
 6. execute the modification on the lexical stem conditioned by the grammatical features in memory
 7. erase memory
 8. advance to the next feature and restart the process

The spelling mechanism of the Ms – component must access all three levels of lexical representations i.e. grammatical, phonological and semantic representations as well as the complex symbols of syntactic projections. However, the spelling mechanism operates only at the phonological level, P.

Nominal inflectional categories

Word formation versus inflection:

- (5) a. Lexical (L -) derivation accounts for the grammatical relations of word formation and is carried out in lexicon.
- b. Inflectional (I -) derivation accounts for the grammatical relations of inflection and is carried out in syntax.

The affixational and other means of marking both L – and I – derivation occur in the morphological spelling (MS -) component, a single, integrated module operating over both types of morphological categories after lexical and syntactic rules have operated but before the operation of phonological rules.

Distinguishing inflectional from lexical categories:

- (6) a. Word formation may change the syntactic class of the base; inflection may not.
- b. Word formation markers attach to the base; inflectional markers attach outside derivational markers.
- c. Word formation is marginally productive; inflection is completely productive.
- d. Word formation is subject to semantic idiomatization; inflectional morphology is grammatically consistent.

These tests are unreliable. (b) becomes a reliable test of inflectional morphology if it is modified to something like (b').

- (7) b'. Word formation marking appears close to the base; inflectional marking is outside word formation marking when it is syntactically engaged.

This test can be referred to as the PERIPHERAL AFFIX TEST.

The split morphology hypothesis:

The lexicalist hypothesis implies the total isolation of inflection from word formation. This position has been characterized as THE SPLIT MORPHOLOGY HYPOTHESIS. According to Beard (1995:101), Perlmutter (1988: 95) defined the split morphology hypothesis as below:

- (8)
- a. Derivational morphology is in the lexicon .
 - b. Stems are listed in the lexicon. Consequently suppletive stems are listed in the lexicon.
 - c. Irregular and closed-class inflected forms are listed in the lexicon. Consequently, suppletive inflected forms are listed in the lexicon.
 - d. Regular, productive inflection is extra lexical.

Split morphology must be restricted to derivation.

The Free Analog Test:

Any category marked by a free morpheme must be a syntactic hence inflectional category. This hypothesis FREE ANALOGY TEST, provides a test of I – derivation which distinguishes it from L – derivation as reliably as (b¹). Those grammatical categories marked by free morphemes in syntactic positions in the more isolating languages must be controlled by syntax, since only syntax assigns structure.

The Nominal categories:

(a) Case

Case is a nominal category which is controlled by syntax and has nothing to do with the lexicon. It expresses relations between nouns, and nouns and verbs in a phrase. In the African languages, it is marked by free adpositions and is not expressed by simple affixation.

b. Noun class

All nouns in the African languages belong to a certain noun class and these noun classes are recognized through prefixes which are also known as noun class prefixes. Tshivenda noun classes are as follows:

	<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Form</u>
(9)	1/2	mu/vha
	1a/2a	∅ , vho
	3/4	mu,mi
	5/6	ji, ma
	7/8	tshi, zwi
	9/10	n,dzin
	11	lu
	14	vhu
	15	u
	16	fha
	17	ku
	18	mu
	20	ku
	21	di

There are twenty noun classes in Tshivenda language.

c. Agreement

Agreement features of the non-nominal classes are purely morphological, though they operate in syntax. According to Beard (1995:106), Zaliznjak (1964) distinguishes Agreement as an independent category. In the African languages Agreement is determined by noun class. Agreement is not an inherent category. It is a derived category, determined by a combination of factors including noun class, number and gender. An agreement is an inflectional category rather than a lexical category. It is a derived inflectional category.

d. Number

Number is a grammatical category generally taken to be inflectional. It is always marked by a bound morpheme. Number can be reflected in Agreement. The common functions of number are Singular, Dual and Plural.

The types of lexical derivations

There are four different types of I-derivations found among the languages of the world. They are as follows:

1. Feature value switches

This is a simple SWITCH, or TOGGLE, which resets the + or other values of grammatical features. It operates in both syntax and the lexicon, determining the values on the features of the I – categories as well as the values of inherent lexical features.

1.1 Feature value switches and Gender

Languages generally have a rule which derives Feminine correlates from unmarked masculine nouns. MARKED masculines whose Gender cannot be changed, are lexically subcategorized as [- feminine, + masculine] to distinguish them from UNMARKED masculines which bear the features [+ feminine, + masculine]. The unmarked form is the default form which is used in situations where the category but not the functional distinction is relevant.

1.2 Feature value switches and locatives

These are divided into three classes, i.e. old locative class nouns (**fhasi**, **kule**, **murahu**), those with locative affix – **ni** (e.g. **thavhani**) and place names (e.g. **Tshivhasa**). The above locative nouns are the heads of a

maximal projection locative noun phrase [NP_{LOC}] in syntax. The feature value switch is [\pm locative]

[- locative]	[+ locative]
mulambo (river)	mulamboni (at the river)

2. Expressive Derivations

This derivation reflects at least five functions universally, i.e. Diminutive, Augmentative, Pejorative, Affectionate, and Honorific. These derivations do not change the meaning or lexical class of the lexemes over which they operate.

3. Transposition

In this type of derivation there is a change of lexical class only or lexical class plus grammatical function. This means that converting the adjective dry into a verb consists in assigning it to a verb class and providing it with transitivity features.

In Tshivenda the following types of transposition occur:

A \rightarrow V, N \rightarrow V, V \rightarrow V.

The lexicon may transpose any member of any major lexical class (N,V,A) to any other major lexical class by providing it only with the lexical G – features of the target class and neutralizing (but not deleting) the inherent G – features of the base.

1.3.2 Lexical semantics (Pustejovsky 1996)

Lexical semantics is the study of the meaning of the various categories of a language e.g. nouns, verbs and adjectives. In this study of word's meaning two issues had received some attention, i.e.

- (a) The creative use of words in novel contexts, e.g. the word newspaper may refer to two things, i.e. the paper that one could read or to the producer of the paper. This brings one to a point that the meaning of a word depends on the specific context in which it appears.
- (b) The combination of lexical items. This concerns the specification of words which may combine with each other, e.g. **reda** (collect fire wood) will appear always with **khuni** (firewood).

Two assumptions to be taken into account in the study of lexical semantics are:

- (a) Lexical semantics needs syntactic structure.
- (b) The meaning of words should reflect the deeper conceptual structures in the cognitive system, and the domain it operates in.

Three principles which should guide the study of lexical semantics are:

- (a) The notion of semantic well-formedness should be formulated to arrive at a theory of possible word meaning.
- (b) Thematic roles are not enough information for semantic decomposition.
- (c) Lexical semantics must study all the lexical categories which appear in syntactic structures in order to characterise the semantics of a language.

Some classes of lexical relations are as follows:

(a) Synonymy

This is a relation between words that denote the same meaning,

e.g. **tshitu^utulo** (knife sharpener)
 tshiolodzo (knife sharpener)

(b) Antonymy

This is a word relation where two words oppose each other in meaning,

e.g. **fhasi** (down)
 n^utha (up)

(c) Hyponymy and lexical inheritance

Hyponymy is a word relation where one word is found within the other e.g. **khavhishi** (cabbage) is the hyponymy of the word **muroho** (vegetable). The word **khavhishi** (cabbage) belongs to a set of vegetables.

Among the verbs one can find two verbs being hyponyms e.g. **dodela** (walk slowly) and **hwenya** (walk fast). Both these verbs are hyponyms of the verb **tshimbila** (walk).

(d) Meronymy

This is the relation of parts to the whole, e.g. **hona** (snore) and **edela** (sleep). Snoring is a part of sleeping. A person cannot snore unless he is sleeping.

(e) Entailment and presupposition

This is a word relation where an expression A semantically entails an expression B if and only if every situation that makes A true, makes B true. On the other hand, A semantically presupposes B if and only if both (a) in all situations where A is true, B is true, and (b) in all situations where A is false, B is true.

Entailment can be found in the following sentence:

- (10) Vhengani o vhulaha Vele
(Vhengani killed Vele)

In this sentence the verb **vhulaha** (kill) entails **fa** (die) because if one kills something that thing dies.

Presupposition presupposes an event associated with the verb e.g.

- (11) Vhengani u lingedza u fhedza mushumo
(Vhengani tries to finish the work)

In this sentence there is presupposition because **Vhengani** tries to do the action in the complement, whether it succeeds or not.

(f) Polysemy

This is a word relation where one word has more than one meaning and those meanings are closely related, e.g. **thoho** (head). This word **thoho** (head) may mean part of the body or a leader at the work place.

(g) Homonymy

This is a word relation where two words have the same form but different meanings, e.g.:

- (12) **thoho** (head)
 [^]
thoho (monkey)
 [^]

The semantic type system

There are four levels of representations, i.e. argument structure, event structure, qualia structure and lexical inheritance structure. These four levels are connected for the compositional interpretation of words in context. Included in this generative operations are semantic transformations like type coercion, selective binding and co-composition.

By defining the functional behaviour of lexical items at different levels of representation it would make it possible to arrive at characterization of the lexicon as an active and integral component in the composition of sentence meanings.

Argument structure

A lexical item ∞ can be defined as a structure, consisting of the following four components:

$$(13) \quad \infty = \langle A, \mathcal{E}, \mathcal{Q}, \mathcal{I} \rangle$$

A is the argument structure

\mathcal{E} is the specification of the event type

\mathcal{Q} provides the binding of these two parameters in the qualia structure

I is an embedding transformation, placing ∞ within a type lattice, determining what information is inheritable from the global lexical structure.

The argument structure for a word can be seen as a minimal specification of its lexical semantics. By itself, it is certainly inadequate for capturing the semantic characterization of a lexical item, but is a necessary component.

Four types of arguments for lexical items, here illustrated for verbs:

True arguments

These are syntactically realized parameters of the lexical item. The lexical semantics for the following verb can be represented with argument structure specifications as below:

(14) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-lal} \\ \text{ARGSTR} = [\text{ARG1} = \text{animate, individual}] \end{array} \right]$

The verb – **lal** – (sleep) assigns one argument only and this argument has the above two features because only animate beings are able to sleep.

The argument structure of nouns depends on the number of different senses which a specific noun may have. Examples are given below:

(15) a. **tshidula** (frog) : [ARG1 = animal]

b. **thavha** (mountain) : $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ARG1} = \text{Phys object} \\ \text{ARG2} = \text{descriptive} \end{array} \right]$

c. **vothi** (door) :

ARG1 = Phys object
ARG 2 = aperture

Default arguments

These are the parameters that participate in the logical expressions in the qualia, but which are not necessarily expressed syntactically, e.g.

(16) Ndo vha_xda nd_xou nga **thanda**
(I carved an elephant out of wood)

In (16) above the noun **thanda** (wood) is optional. It is in the sentence for its logical well-formedness, but may be left unexpressed in the surface syntax.

Shadow arguments

These are parameters that are semantically incorporated into the lexical item. They can be expressed only by operations of subtyping or discourse specification.

(17) Ndo d_xitshea munwe [nga lufhanga]
(I cut my finger with the knife)

In (17) above shadow argument appears in brackets. It refers to semantic content that is not necessarily expressed in syntax.

True adjuncts

These are parameters which modify the logical expression but are part of the situational interpretation, and are not tied to any particular lexical item's semantic representation.

- (18) Muya u a vhudzula [nduni]
(The wind blows in the house)

In (18) above **nduni** (in the house) is a true adjunct.

Event structure

Events can be subclassified into at least three sorts by Pustejovsky (1996): PROCESSES, STATES, and TRANSITIONS. Activities are now processes while accomplishments and achievements are collapsed to transitions.

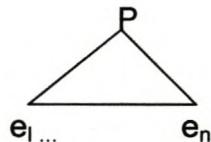
A state (s) is a single event which is evaluated relative to no other event e.g. **lwala** (be sick), **funa** (love), **ḍivha** (know).

Structural representation :

$$\begin{array}{c} S \\ | \\ e \end{array}$$

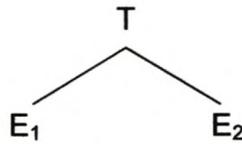
A process (P) is a sequence of events identifying the same semantic expression e.g. **gidima** (run), **sukumedza** (push).

Structural representation:



A transition (T) is an event identifying a semantic expression, which is evaluated relative to its opposition e.g. **fha** (give), **vula** (open), **f̣hata** (build), **thutha** (destroy).

Structural representation:



As in the case of argument structure, it is possible to give a listing of an event structure represented as a listing of event variables:

$$\begin{aligned}
 (19) \quad & [\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG}_1, \text{ARG}_2, \dots, \text{ARG}_n] \\
 & [\text{EVENTSTR} = \text{EVENT}_1, \text{EVENT}_2, \dots, \text{EVENT}_n]
 \end{aligned}$$

For instance, the verb **f^hata** (build) is typically analyzed as involving a development process and a resulting state.

$$(20) \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{fhat} - (\text{build}) \\ \text{EVENTSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} E_1 = \text{Process} \\ E_2 = \text{State} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The verb **fhelekedza** (accompany) permits either telic events, TRANSITIONS, or PROCESSES:

$$(21) \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{fhelekedz} - (\text{accompany}) \\ \text{EVENTSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} E_1 = T_i \\ E_2 = T_i \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The verb like **humbula** (think) will have one event:

$$[E_i = \text{state}]$$

Qualia structure

Qualia structure specifies four essential aspects of a word's meaning (or qualia) i.e. constitutive, formal, telic and agentive.

- Constitutive : the relation between an object and its constituent parts;
- Formal : that which distinguishes it within a larger domain;
- Telic : its purpose and function;
- Agentive : factors involved in its origin or "bringing it about".

There are two general points that should be made concerning qualia roles, i.e. every category expresses a qualia structure and not all lexical items carry a value for each qualia role.

Qualia structure and nouns.

(22) **Vothi** (door)

FORMAL	=	Property
CONSTITUTIVE	=	Phys. obj.
TELIC	=	Open/close
AGENTIVE	=	Create

(23) **Ndimo** (plot)

FORMAL	=	Property
CONSTITUTIVE	=	Phys. obj.

It is clear in the above examples that not every noun may carry a value for each qualia role.

Lexical conceptual paradigm (lcp):

According to Pustejovsky and Anick (1988) Lexical conceptual paradigm (lcp) relates to the ability of a lexical item to cluster multiple senses. Nouns such as **gurannda** (newspaper) appear in many semantically distinct contexts, able to function sometimes as an organization, a physical object or the information contained in the articles within the newspaper.

The lcp allows these to be treated not as distinct senses, but as logical expressions of different aspects to the meta-entry for newspaper.

Lexical conceptual paradigms illustrate very clearly that syntactic information is inheritable between lexical items. The class of process/result nominals such as meger, joint venture, consolidation are ambiguous between a process interpretation (the act of merging) versus the resulting entity or state (the merger which results). This is a property of the whole paradigm indicating that the alternation can be captured by an lcp.

The statement above suggests that there are actually three senses available to a lexical item associated with an lcp constructed from two base types. The noun **Khonthirakha** (construction) can have three senses.

- (24) a. **Khonthirakha** ya nndu yo fhedzwa.
(The house's construction was finished)
- b. **Khonthirakha** yo netisa.
(The construction was tedious)
- c. **Khonthirakha** yo ima tshitaratani tshi tevhelaho.
(The construction is standing on the next street)

These three sentences make reference to the process, and the result of the process, respectively.

Lexical inheritance structure

Semantic concepts are organized hierarchically into levels from specific to generic, e.g. in nouns and verbs there is a relative small number of generic concepts: for nouns ± 26 and for verbs ± 15 . Each of these generic concepts is treated as the unique beginner of a separate hierarchy.

For nouns e.g. :

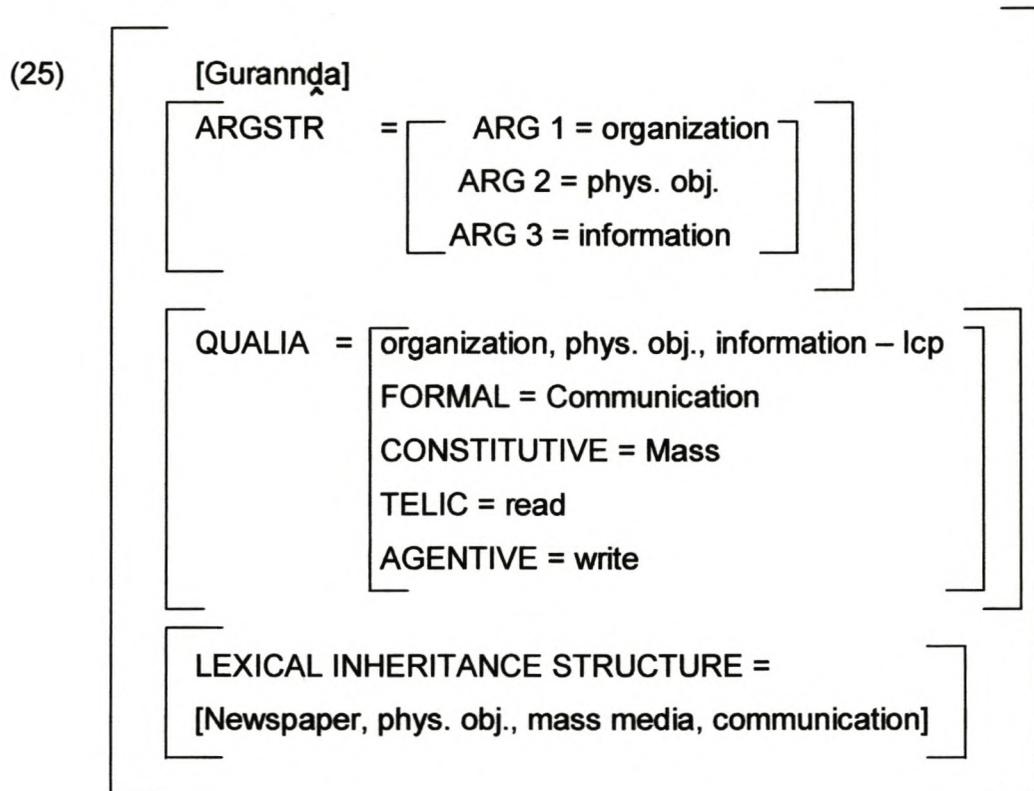
waini (wine) (liquid, intoxicating, food)

nngwe (tiger) (carnivore, wild animal, vertebrate, animal)

The interaction of semantic levels

The four levels of representation i.e. argument, event, qualia and inheritance structure are integrated to construct one system for lexical semantic representations:

e.g. noun **gurannḁa** (newspaper)



The semantics of nominals

Lexical items may inherit from multiple parents. A lexical item inherits information according to the qualia structure it carries. Such unification may be illustrated as follows within a structure of a lexical item such as **zwiliwa** (food):

- Inheritance relation:
- Food is a phys. object.
- Qualia structure
- Telic: activity of **eating**
- Formal : phys. obj.
- Agentive: make.

$$(26) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Zwiliwa} \\ \text{ARGSTR} \\ \\ \text{QUALIA} \end{array} \right] = \left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{ARG 1} = x : \text{phys. obj}] \\ \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Formal} = x \\ \text{Telic} = \text{eat} (e,y,x) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Thus, there is a constraint here which is based on the qualia structure i.e. the phys. obj. must be edible.

Another example is concerned with artifacts. An artifact has a default argument (D – ARG) which is human.

$$(27) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Artifact} \\ \text{ARGSTR} \\ \\ \text{QUALIA} \end{array} \right] = \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ARG1} = x : \text{top} \\ \text{D- ARG1} = y : \text{human} \end{array} \right] \\ \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Formal} = x \\ \text{Telic} = \text{make} (e,y,x) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The argument and the qualia relation are types which must be unified and the resulting lexical representation is then a unified type:

$$(28) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Lufhanga (knife)} \\ \text{ARGSTR} \\ \\ \text{QUALIA} \end{array} \right] = \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ARG1} = x : \text{artifact – tool} \\ \text{D- ARG1} = y : \text{phys obj.} \end{array} \right] \\ \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Formal} = x \\ \text{Telic} = \text{cut} (e,x,y) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

In this structure the nature of this object **lufhanga** (knife) is restricted to be both an artifact and a tool and thus a unified type has been created: artifact – tool. The agentive value is not indicated above.

1.3.3 Minimalism (Ouhalla 1999)

Three levels of syntactic representation were postulated i.e. Deep Structure (DS), Surface Structure (SS) and Logical Form (LF), in addition to Phonological Form (PF). LF relates to the conceptual-intentional system and PF to the articulatory- perceptual system. Both LF and PF are external interface levels. DS is a kind of internal interface level which links syntax to the lexicon. Projection principle and θ -criterion apply at DS level whereas the various modules like Binding theory, Case theory are said to apply in SS level.

The minimalist program (MP) does away with DS and SS and relies solely on the interface levels LF and PF which are necessary by what Chomsky calls virtual conceptual necessity. MP takes language to consist of the lexicon and a computational system (CS). CS selects items from the lexicon and constructs derivations. Each derivation determines a structural description (SD). SD includes a pair of representations, LF and PF, which must satisfy the interface conditions which apply to each one of them. The computation of a derivation proceeds in a deterministic way selecting freely from the lexicon at any stage. Spell-out may be applied at any point in the derivation and this can have the consequence of creating a new dimension for the derivation which leads to the interface level PF :

The derivation is said to converge at PF, if the ultimate representation reached at PF satisfies the interface conditions of PF. If not the derivation is said to crash at PF. At the point of spell-out, the computation continues towards LF with the condition that it no longer has access to the lexicon. After spell-out no new lexical items can be inserted. DS and SS disappear.

Generalised Transformation and Move

Derivation selects items from the lexicon up to spell-out. Each item is assigned a representation consistent with x – bar theory. A selected lexical item assigned an x –bar structure is a kind of small phrase marker. Generalised Transformation assembles the small phrase markers of selected lexical items together in the form of a (larger) phrase marker. GT is said to extend SDs.

Besides GT, computation also uses Move α . While GT deals with the introduction of newly selected items into the derivation, Move α deals with items already in the phrase marker and moves them to another position in the phrase marker. In most of its applications, Move α is essentially a substitution operation. It selects an item, targets a category in the phrase marker and substitutes the selected item into the spec position of the targeted category leaving a trace behind. It also extends its target, basically by adding a specifier to it.

LF interface conditions

X – bar theoretic relations

The structure in (29) below is the core structure defined by x –bar theory.

$$(29) \quad [x^p \text{ } ^{YP} [x^l \text{ } ^{X ZP}]]$$

This structure shows two crucial relations of locality. One is the spec-head relation holding between YP and X . The other is the head-complement relation holding between X and ZP .

The spec-head relation underlies agreement in \emptyset -features and case. But it was concluded that this involves subject agreement as well as object agreement. T plays a role in determining the nominative case assigned to the subject of finite clauses. It enters into spec-head relation with the subject as a result of head-movement and adjunction to Agrs. This process results in the derivation of the complex head with Agrs determining agreement in \emptyset -features and T agreement in nominative case. The same will apply to (structural) accusative case. Movement of the verb and its adjunction to Agro creates the complex head structure where Agro determines agreement in \emptyset -features and V determines accusative case.

The spec-head relation between the subject and the complex [Agrs [T] Agrs] obtains subsequent to movement of the subject to Spec, Agrsp, and raising of T to Agrs. The two processes derive the configuration [AgrsP^{DP} Nom [Agr^s [Agrs T Agrs]]]. On the other hand, the spec-head relation between the direct object and [Agro [V] Agro] obtains subsequent to movement of the direct object to Spec, Agrop and raising of V to Agro. The derived configuration has the form [Agrop^{DP} Acc [Agr^o [Agro^V Agro]]].

There is also head-head relationship defined by head-adjunction. The head-head and spec-head relation define the domains for inflectional morphology. The spec-head relation deals with the relationship between an inflectional category and a verb within the head-head adjunction structures derived by raising, as well as with the relationship between an inflected verb and an agreeing subject or object within the spec-head relation.

The licensing of pro can also be subsumed under the spec-head relation.

Domains

Adjunction to a category leads to the derivation of a category with two segments.

A category α is said to dominate another category β if every segment of α dominates β . A category α is said to contain another category β if a segment of α dominates β . The domain of a head category α is said to include all the categories contained by all segments of all projections of α .

A moved head does not have a domain in its landing site. Only the chain that includes the raised head has domains.

Shortest move

Shortest Move condition (SMC) requires that a moved category cannot cross over another c-commanding category of the same type. There are legitimate derivations which appear to violate SMC, including the derivation of simple sentences. The DP direct object moves across a c-commanding DP specifier. Spec, Agr_{OP} and Spec, VP are equidistant, Spec, VP is technically not closer to the DP direct object than Spec, Agr_{OP}. As a result, movement of the DP direct object to Spec, Agr_{OP} does not constitute a violation of SMC. Spec, Agr_{OP} becomes equidistant in relation to the direct object only if the verb moves to Agr_O. The verb moves out of VP, and as a result the direct object can move to Spec, Agr_{OP} without violating SMC. If the main verb does not move out of VP, the movement of the direct object to Spec, Agr_{OP} will give rise to a violation of SMC.

Form Chain and Minimal Link Condition

Form chain does not involve movement steps, the notion 'shortest move' and the SMC it incorporates are restated as 'minimal link' and Minimal Link Condition (MLC). MLC can be understood to mean that given two convergent derivations with the same number of steps, the one that involves shorter links is favoured over the one that involves longer links.

Copy Theory of Movement, and Binding

Copy theory of movement

Where movement occurs it leaves a trace behind, where trace is construed as an independent category with its own properties. The nature of antecedent determines the properties of traces, whether the antecedent is an A – antecedent or an A¹ – antecedent.

Because movement of a category leaves a copy of the moved category behind with properties identical to the antecedent, Chomsky (1993) refers to it as the 'copy theory of movement'.

Reconstruction

This is a process whereby an overtly moved wh-phrase is returned to its original position at LF for reasons having to do with interpretation.

Idioms

Idioms were said to be inserted as a single lexical unit at DS. According to Ouhalla (1999), Chomsky (1993) suggests that the idiomatic interpretation is

actually determined at LF, and the elements which determine the idiomatic interpretation must be adjacent to LF.

This suggestion faces a problem with situations where a member of the idiomatic expression is overtly displaced by movement.

A – chains

The situation with A-chains is not clear as it is with A⁰-chains. If the theory of movement does not extend to A – chains, the object position is occupied by a trace. If, on the other hand, the theory extends to A – chains the object position is filled with a copy of the moved DP. At PF, the lower copy of the moved DP is deleted.

Binding theory

The reconstruction cases involving an r-expression and a pronoun show that BC C also applies at LF. This is a welcome result in a system which assumes LF to be the only level of syntactic representation, with the consequence that binding conditions are LF interface conditions.

There are contexts where BC A must be concluded to apply at a pre – LF level, presumably S.S.

The wh-operator binds both the subject variable and the object variable an instance which is sometimes called unselective binding. The process which moves the wh – morpheme/operator out of wh – in – situ can be called Cliticisation_{LF}. Cliticisation_{LF} has the effect of moving the self morpheme of a reflexive anaphor to the I associated with the antecedent of the anaphor. Cliticisation_{LF} distinguishes between cases of BC A and cases of BC_s B & C by reducing the former to movement.

According to the analysis outlined above, Binding theory applies at the interpretive level of LF, which is what is expected in the context of MP.

Quantifier scope interaction: Hornstein (1995)

In the P&P framework in sentences which include a quantifier phrase, the quantifier phrase is raised and left adjoined to IP by QR, leaving a trace behind which translates as a variable bound by the raised quantifier phrase.

Checking Theory and language variation

Checking features and feature checking

Chomsky (1993) suggests that verbs are inflected for features in the lexicon and inserted into derivations already inflected rather than in their base form. The features carried by the verb are then checked against features encoded in inflectional categories. Feature checking takes place in the configuration [$\bar{\mathbf{I}}^{\circ}$ [V]] derived by head-adjunction. If the features of [V] and [$\bar{\mathbf{I}}$] are compatible, [$\bar{\mathbf{I}}$] disappears and [V] proceeds to PF, eventually to be spelled out as a single phonological word. If the features are not compatible, [$\bar{\mathbf{I}}$] survives into PF and the derivation crashes at PF. PF rules are supposed to 'see' only inflected [V]. This idea has the result that main verbs ultimately move to I if not overtly, then covertly. If the verb does not check its features overtly, it must do so covertly. Otherwise the derivation will crash at LF. The inflectional categories Agro, Agrs and T have features which correspond to features encoded in the verb in the lexicon. Chomsky refers to these features as V – features. The verb moves to Agro, T and Agrs in order to have its morphological features checked. This can occur prior to spell-out (covertly) or after spell-out (covertly).

The inflectional categories *Agr_o*, *T* and *Agr_s* also have the function of checking NP- features of the DP that moves to their spec. This particular checking occurs under the spec-head configuration and ensures that 'DP and V are properly paired'.

The verb checks its \emptyset -features in the head-adjunction structure derived by V- raising to *Agr_s*. The DP subject checks its features in the spec-head configuration derived by movement of the subject to Spec, *Agr_sP*. Only two sets of \emptyset - features survive at PF and LF i.e. those associated with the verb and DP subject. *Agr_s* is said to play only a mediating role. This is also true of *T* which checks the tense feature of the verb under head-adjunction and the nominative Case feature of DP under the spec-head relation. The checking domains is the head adjunction structure [x [y] x] and the spec-head structure [xp^{spec}[x^f x]]. The morphological features checked are called L – features. Chomsky suggests that the adjoined position in the structure [XP^[VP] XP] is also an L – related position, and therefore may enter into a checking relation with the head X of XP.

Economy principles

There is a principle called Procrastinate. The idea underlying this principle is that (covert) LF operations are less costly than overt operations. The bottom line of this analysis is the old idea that categories move only if they have to, that is, movement as last resort. Covert V – raising is necessary and therefore obligatory. Auxiliary verbs in English raise overtly, contrary to main verbs.

Another principle is Greed. According to this principle a category moves for the sole purpose of satisfying its own requirements (greed), not those of another category.

Overt V-raising

Overt V-raising in French is due to the French A_{grs} which is strong. The strong V – features of A_{grs} must be checked by spell-out in French, if not checked will not have eliminated when the derivation reaches PF and this will result in crashing at PF. Procrastinate does not apply in French because the movement here is crucial for convergence. French non-finite main verbs can undergo overt 'short movement' to a position immediately above VP, identified as A_{gr}o.

VSO

Welsh (Celtic) is a strict VSO language which does not allow the SVO order in neutral finite sentences. Standard Arabic (Semitic) allows both the VSO and SVO orders in neutral finite sentences. Chomsky suggests that strict VSO nature is caused by NP-features of A_{grs} that are weak. As a result, the subject is barred from moving overtly to Spec, A_{grs}P by Procrastinate. The verb raises overtly to A_{grs}, implying that the V-features of A_{grs} are strong.

The V- features of [[T] A_{grs}] are invariably strong in standard Arabic with the consequence that the verb raises overtly to A_{grs}. With V in A_{grs}, failure of the subject to move to Spec, A_{grs}P results in the derivation of the VSO order, and movement of the subject to Spec, A_{grs}P results in the derivation of the SVO order. According to Ouhalla (1999), Mohammad's analysis includes the idea that Spec, A_{grs}P is filled with an expletive subject in the VSO order.

Wh – in – situ.

Japanese leaves the wh – phrase in – situ and appears to disallow overt movement of the wh- phrase. Colloquial French allows both the movement option and the in-situ option.

Wh-phrases are standardly assumed to move to Spec, CP. Chomsky (1993) takes the view that wh-movement to Spec, CP is also motivated by feature – checking considerations. The feature involved is [Q], encoded in both C and the Wh- phrase. The domain of checking of the [Q] – feature is the Spec-head configuration $[CP^{spec} [C' [Q] \dots]$ where spec could include an adjoining wh – phrase. According to this understanding, Spec, CP must include at least one wh – phrase to check the [Q] feature of C, if not in overt syntax then in covert syntax. All wh – phrases in a given sentence must be in Spec, CP at LF to check their [Q] – feature. [Q] – feature of C is strong in English, thereby forcing overt movement of (at least one) wh – phrase to Spec, CP. In Japanese it is weak, thereby barring movement of a wh – phrase to Spec, CP by procrastinate.

Chomsky suggests that the [Q] – feature of C is strong in all languages. This implies that all languages involve overt movement of a form of wh – phrase to Spec, CP. Chomsky was proven right by expletive wh – questions found in Hungarian where the [Q] – feature of C is strong.

Verb second

Chomsky (1993) suggests that feature checking in the head-adjunction domain created by raising of I to C is probably what underlies the verb second phenomenon. The verb second domain involves an additional projection with properties similar to those of CP.

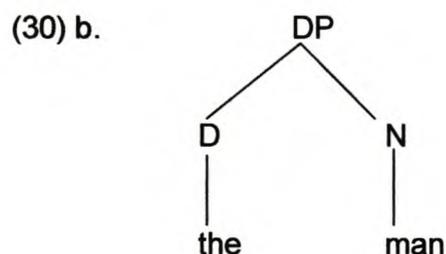
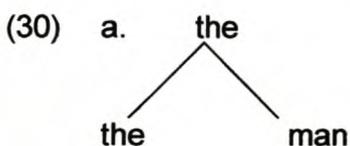
According to Ouhalla (1999), Chomsky (1993) suggests that 'Raising of I to C may automatically make the relevant feature of C strong (the V – second phenomenon). This suggestion appears to make movement of an operator to Spec, CP dependent on I – raising to C instead of the other round. I – raising to C makes the operator feature of C strong, thereby triggering overt movement of an operator to Spec, CP. This suggestion is consistent with the view that the operator feature of C is universally strong.

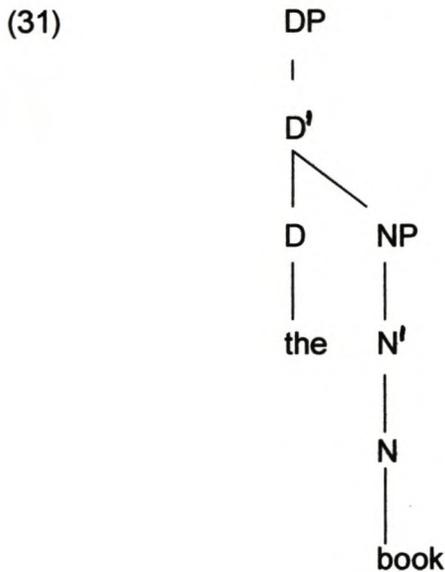
Bare phrase structure and antisymmetry

Bare Phrase (BP) structure

The operation select selects items from the lexicon and merged into phrase markers by the operation merge. It takes two objects, α and β , and merges them to form $\{\alpha\{\alpha, \beta\}\}$. In the latter, α is said to project in the sense that the newly formed object has exactly the identity of α . The new object has the features of the lexical item that projects i.e. the head.

If one takes α to be determiner **the** and β the noun **man**, merge derives the new object {the {the man }} with the bare structure roughly in (30a). (30b) is an alternative presentation of (30a) which includes categorial labels. (31) is the structure assigned to the man by X – bar theory:





(30a & b) differ from (31) in many ways, among them the fact that it does not include the minimal, intermediate and maximal projections of the lexical item. X – bar theory determines the projections of lexical items in a somewhat absolute way. A lexical item x has the projections specified in the schema $XP \rightarrow (YP) X'$ and $X' \rightarrow X (ZP)$. X -bar schema yield the structure $[XP (YP) [X' X (ZP)]]$ for X , irrespective of whether X has a complement or a specifier.

Some empirical issues

Unergatives

In the context of BPs, VPs with an unaccusative verb are derived in exactly the same way as VPs with a transitive verb, except that they lack an external argument in Spec, VP. The argument of the verb should be merged into Spec, VP rather than into the direct object position. However, there is no way the argument could be merged directly into Spec, VP. BPs is unable to make a distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs.

According to Ouhalla (1999), Chomsky (1995) solves the problem by adopting the conclusion reached in Hale and Keyser (1993) that all verbs, including Unergatives, have an internal argument.

Clitics

Another empirical issue that arises from BPs theory relates to the idea that a given category can be both minimal and maximal. According to Ouhalla (1999), Chomsky (1995) shows that Clitics are good examples of such categories. Clitics have the conflicting properties of both heads and maximal projections. They can function as DP arguments and can move long-distance. At the same time, they have properties of heads insofar as they appear to adjoin to a head and that their movement is blocked by head categories such as Neg and 'if'. The fact that they move long distance seems to suggest that they move as XPs. Because of this cliticisation can be regarded as an instance of XP – movement.

Order

BPs and X – bar theory do not fix the order of heads in relation to their complement. In the Principles and Parameters (P & P) framework, the order is fixed in terms of an associated Head parameter.

Chomsky (1995) takes the view that there is no clear evidence that order plays a role at LF or in the computation to LF. He suggests that order is fixed at PF by certain mechanisms which apply to the out put of spell-out. Among these mechanisms is the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) suggested in kayne (1994) in the context of Antisymmetry theory.

Antisymmetry

Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA)

This aspect of X – bar theory makes order parameters such as the Head parameter possible and necessary. The complement of a head cannot be a simple category. An XP cannot have more than one head, and it cannot dominate two maximal projections.

Adjunction to a maximal projection

Kayne concludes that subjects are structurally represented as adjuncts. Specifiers are also regarded as adjuncts. Only one adjunct per maximal projection is allowed.

Adjunction to a head

Head adjunction structures are involved in head contexts as well as cliticisation. Single adjunction to a head is allowed in the theory of Antisymmetry.

Order

Languages such as German are said to select the head – last value for V and I. This results in a structure where V is ordered to the right of O in VP and I is ordered to the right of VP.

Kayne considers that all languages are subject-initial and head-initial as far as underlying representations are concerned. Surface variation in order is the result of movement operations applying in the mapping onto surface representations.

Taking S – H to be the subject of the sentence and the verb, all languages are SVO underlyingly. The VSO order is derived by movement of the verb to a position above S.

Taking H – C to be the verb and its object, all languages are VO underlyingly. The OV order is derived by movement of the direct object to a position above the verb.

Taking H to be comp and C to be IP, all languages have the order [C [IP]] underlyingly. Kayne suggests that the surface order [[IP] C] is derived from an underlying structure with the order [C [IP]].

Taking H – C to be the preposition and its object, all languages have the order PO underlyingly. Post positional phrases with the order OP found in some languages are derived by movement of the object of the preposition to a position above the preposition. Kayne suggests that the position occupied by the moved object could be the (adjoined) spec position of an AgrP above PP. P may either remain in situ or adjoin to Agr.

Right – adjunction

Right – adjunction is inconsistent with the LCA. Right – adjoined categories asymmetrically c –command the categories inside the projection adjoined to in much the same way that left – adjoined categories do. Unlike left – adjoined categories, right – adjoined categories follow in linear order the categories inside the projection adjoined to.

Among the right-adjunction structures derived by movement is the one associated with Heavy NP shift. The other right – adjunction structure derived by movement is Extra – position.

CHAPTER TWO

DETERMINER PHRASE

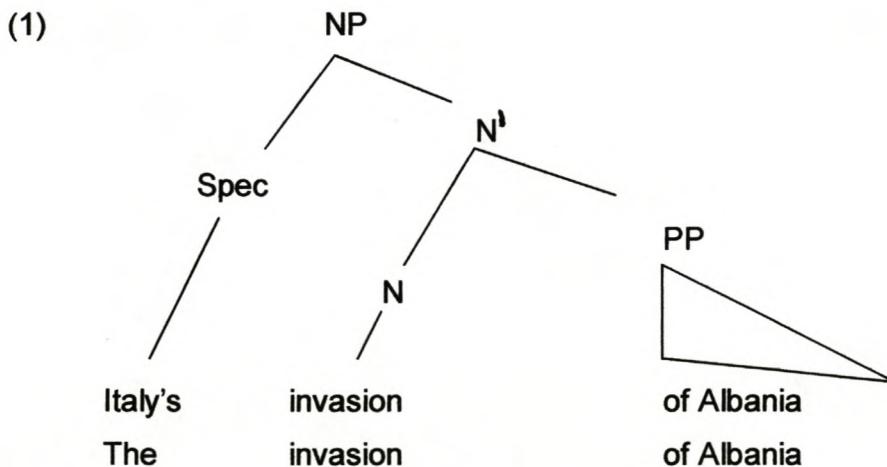
2.1 AIM

The aim of this chapter is to examine the nature and internal structure of Tshivenda DP. The nominal modifiers that appear with nouns will be explored. The basic positions of the nouns and nominal modifiers and their final landing sites will be investigated. The functional categories that are found within the DP will be considered.

2.2. OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE DETERMINER PHRASE

2.2.1. Haegeman (1997)

It was proposed that NPs have the structure in (1) below:



In the above structure the determiner the is treated on a par with a GENITIVE phrase, Italy's. This raises the following problems: First, determiners belong to a closed class, suggesting that determiners are functional, rather than lexical, elements. GENITIVE NPs are open class elements, they are the projections of Ns. Secondly, determiners are typically one-word elements which one would tend to assimilate to heads, and GENITIVE associates with a projection (NP). Determiners are associated with heads because in some languages they are realised as affixes:

(2)	Swedish:	Flicka	-n
		girl	det
		'the girl'	

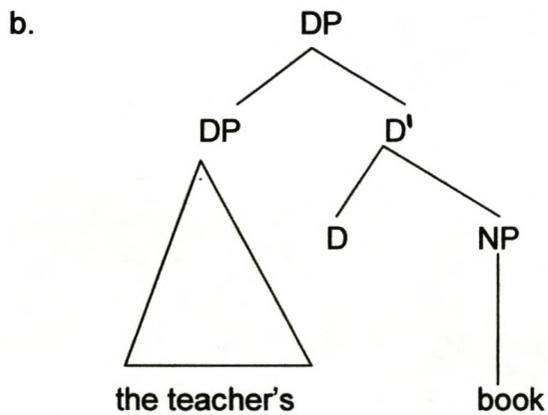
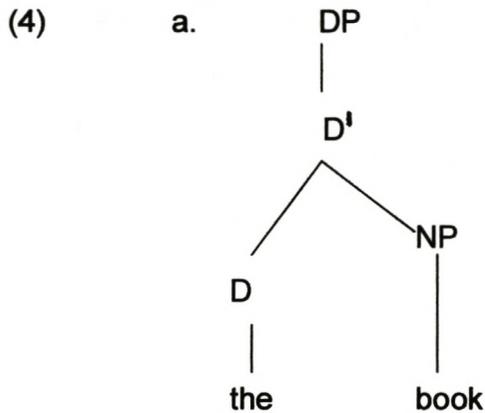
The French determiner (**le, les**) may be incorporated by a preposition and this process suggests that Det is a head.

(3)	a.	à	la	fille	
		to	the	girl	
	b.	*à + le garçon	→	au garçon	
		to the boy			
	c.	*à les garçons	→	aux garçons	
		to the boys			

It can be concluded that the analysis in which it is assumed that Spec NP is occupied either by functional heads such as determiners or by full phrases is not very satisfactory.

According to Haegeman (1997), Abney (1987) proposes that the category NP should be regarded as a projection of N dominated by a layer of one or

more functional projections. The determiners are the overt realizations of the functional heads of the nominal system. The following structures show this idea for English:



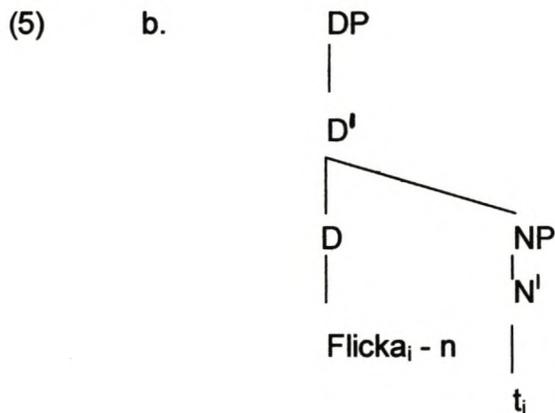
In (4a) above, D is realized as the determiner **the**, with an NP complement.

In (4b), D is an abstract head which assigns genitive case to **the teacher**, in SpecDP.

In Swedish the determiner seems to behave like an inflectional morpheme:

- (5) a. flicka - n
 girl - the

In the above example, **flicka**, the N head moves to the higher head, the determiner – n to which it incorporates.



N – to – D – movement is subject to parametric variation: it applies to DPs in Swedish, but not in English. It can be said that in English the movement of the Noun to the D head is delayed till the level of LF.

Further illustration of the parametric variation of N – movement reveals that the structure of the DP proposed in (5) is not sufficiently rich. In (6) below the adjective **Italiana** in (6a) follows the head Noun **invasione** in the Italian example whereas in (6b) in the English example the adjective precedes the noun.

- (6) a. l' **invasione italiana** dell' Albania
 the invasion **Italian** of Albania
- b. the **Italian** invasion of Albania

In (6a) the adjective **italiana** refers to the agent of **invasione**; it has the same thematic relation with the Noun **invasione** as the adjective **Italian** in (6b) and as the genitive **Italy's** in (6c):

(6) c. Italy's invasion of Albania.

Haegeman assumes with Baker (1988) that thematic relations are expressed uniformly across languages. This principle is the uniformity of Theta assignment Hypothesis.

If **Italiana** in (6a), **Italian** in (6b), and **Italy's** in (6c) have the same thematic relation to the head noun (*invasione*, *invasion*), then their D – structure relation to the head should be uniform. The difference in word order is a surface phenomenon.

(7) a. Italy always invades Albania.

b. Italia invade sempre Albania.

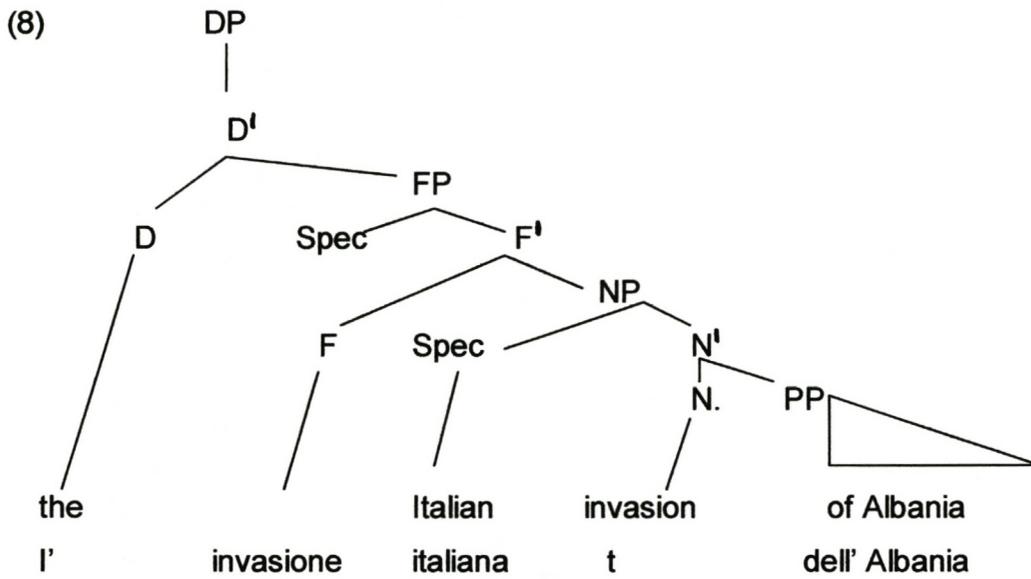
Italy invades always Albania.

The verb invades in English remains VP-internally in (7a). The Italian finite verb in (7b) behaves like the French verb: it moves to a functional head outside VP. Haegeman proposes that in the example (6a) the N **invasione** has moved out of NP and landed on the functional head for it is a head. However, **invasione** does not left-adjoin to D (as in Swedish (5)), but occupies a position between D and its bare position. That **invasione** does not right-adjoin to D either is indicated by (6d), in which the N and the determiner are not adjacent:

(6) d. la prima invasione italiana dell' Albania
 the first invasion Italian of Albania
 'the first Italian invasion of Albania'

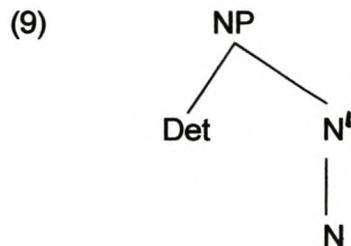
The structure of NP given in (1) above is not sufficient and a more articulated structure is needed. NPs will be reinterpreted as projections which contain a lexical head, N, one functional head D, and some other functional head.

According to Haegeman (1997: 24), this could be Ritter's NumP (1991) or may be interpreted as a more general AgrProjection.

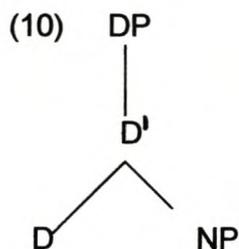


2.2.2 Siloni (1997)

Traditionally the noun phrase has been structurally represented as an NP, the maximal projection of N, with the determiner in its specifier position:



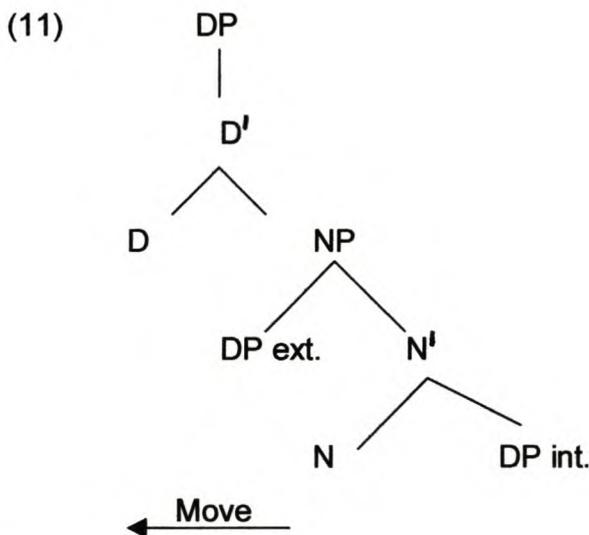
The syntactic behaviour of articles in Semitic and Scandinavian languages has led scholars to identify the landing site of the raised noun as D, the base position of articles. According to Siloni (1997: 6), this has supplied strong support in favor of Abney's (1987) claim that noun phrases are the maximal projections of D:



The insight of some scholars is that D is the element that provides the nominal expression with reference, which is necessary in order for the noun phrase to be able to function as an argument. This is typically the case in Hebrew.

In Hebrew the external argument is generated in the specifier position of NP, and the internal argument is generated within N'. The surface word order

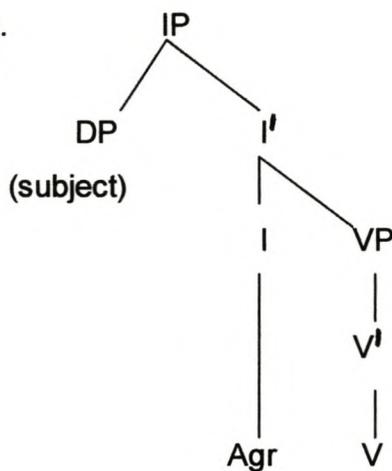
must therefore be derived via leftward movement of the noun. If so, there must be a head position higher than NP to host the raised noun. If noun phrases were projections of N (9), such position would not be available. But if noun phrases are DPs (10), then D emerges as a possible landing site. Given the affixal nature of the Hebrew (definite) article, D constitutes a natural landing site, just like functional heads in the verbal system.



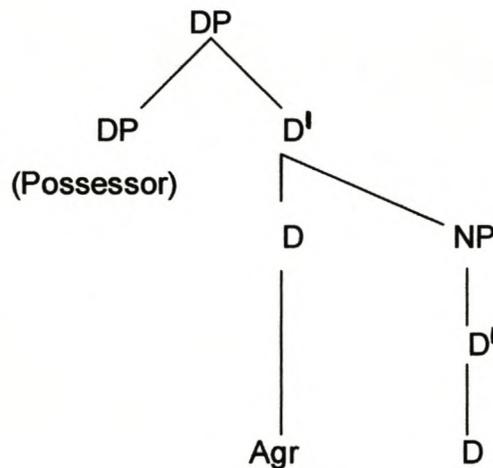
Hebrew shows a definiteness agreement between the noun and its modifying adjective as well as between the head of the construct state and its complement. This agreement phenomenon may suggest that definiteness in Hebrew is a feature of nouns, which coincides with the prefixal nature of the article. Under a checking theory, lexical entries are inserted with their morphological features, which must be checked with an inflectional head by LF. If definiteness is a feature in Hebrew, the noun is inserted with its definiteness specification, be it the definite article or its phonetically null indefinite counterpart. This lexical feature must be checked with D in the course of the derivation, just like the tense specification of a verb is checked with T in the course of the derivation. Noun raising to D applies overtly in Hebrew. The corresponding features D with the raised noun are strong in Hebrew and must therefore be eliminated prior to spell-out.

To explain parallelism between clauses and noun phrases, Abney (1987) has proposed that the noun phrase is the maximal projection of a functional I-like element, D. According to him, the class of elements generated in D consists of determiners and Agr (eement) features. Agr in D assigns case to the possessor in SpecDP (or in SpecNP) in the same way that Agr in I assigns case to the subject in SpecIP (or in SpecVP)

(12) a.

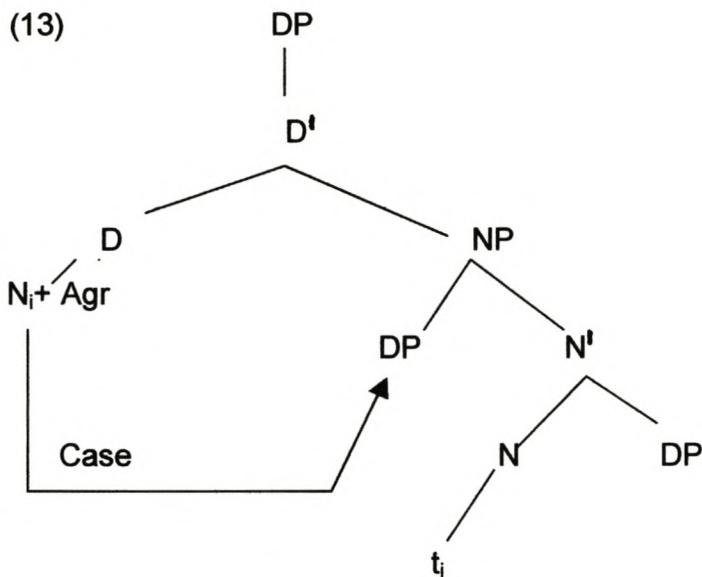


b.

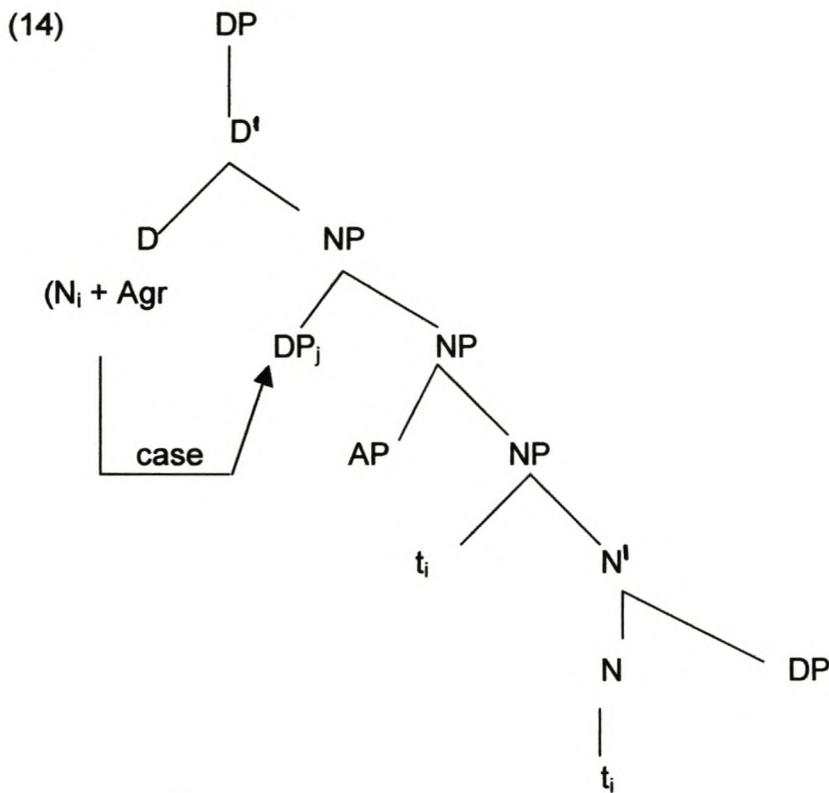


This proposal has inspired a series of studies of semitic construct states. These studies have advanced slightly different variants of the same basic idea that in construct states the noun raises to D and incorporates with Agr.

Once supported morphologically, Agr assigns genitive case under government to the argument in the specifier position of NP:

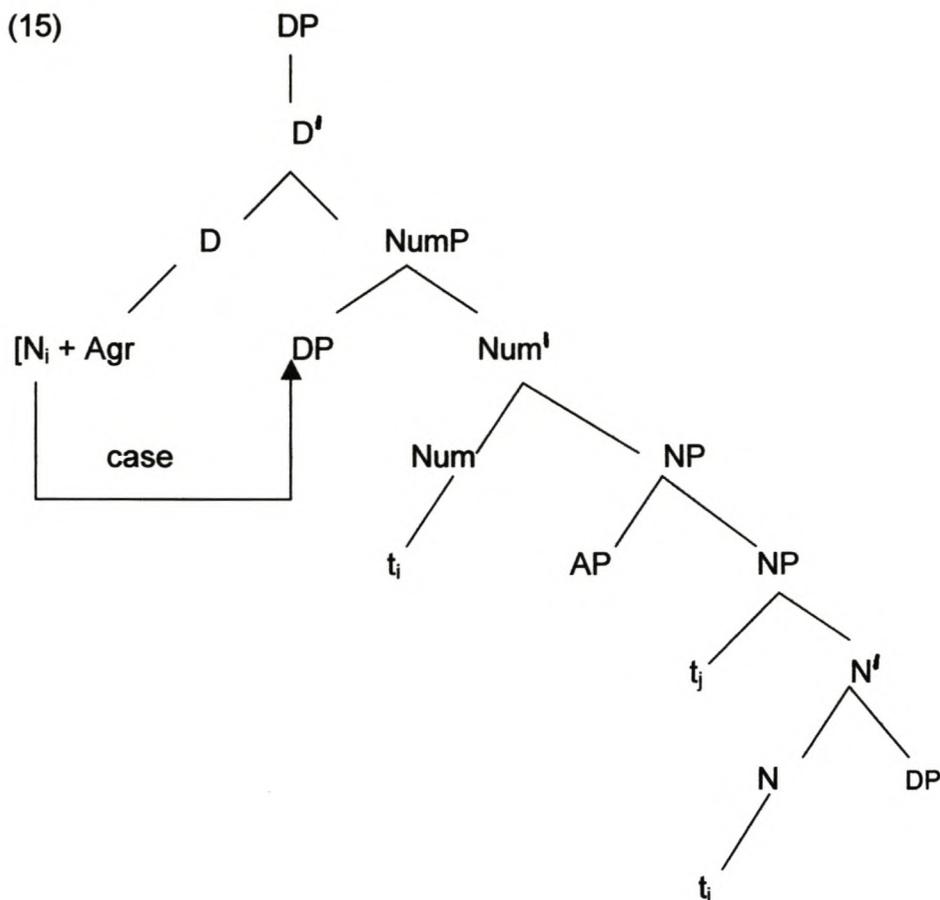


The position of modifying adjectives clearly poses a problem for an analysis along these lines. If modifying adjectives are base-generated in a position left-adjoined to NP, it can be predicted that they ought to appear in between the head of the construct state and its genitive DP, while, in fact, they can never intervene between these two. To rescue the structure, then, the assignee itself must adjoin to NP higher than the adjective, yielding the order “N DP AP.....”:



Indeed, strict adjacency has often been mentioned as a requirement imposed on case assignment under government. This proposal assumes that multiple adjunctions and case assignment to an adjoined position are possible mechanisms.

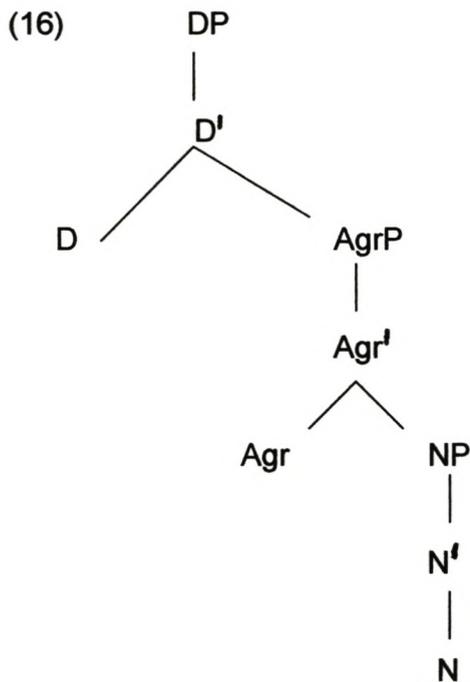
According to Siloni (1997: 38), alternatively Ritter (1991) has suggested that noun phrases contain an additional functional category between DP and NP, NumP, whose head bears the number specification of the noun. He argues that number marking is a syntactic process. NumP makes provision for an additional specifier to which the assignee can raise in order to be adjacent to its case assigner D. The trigger for the movement is identical in both (14) and (15); the landing site, however, is different:



In light of the growing tendency to split up functional heads into their more basic components, the question arose as to whether the conflation of determiners and Agr – features in one functional head position (D) was indeed justified.

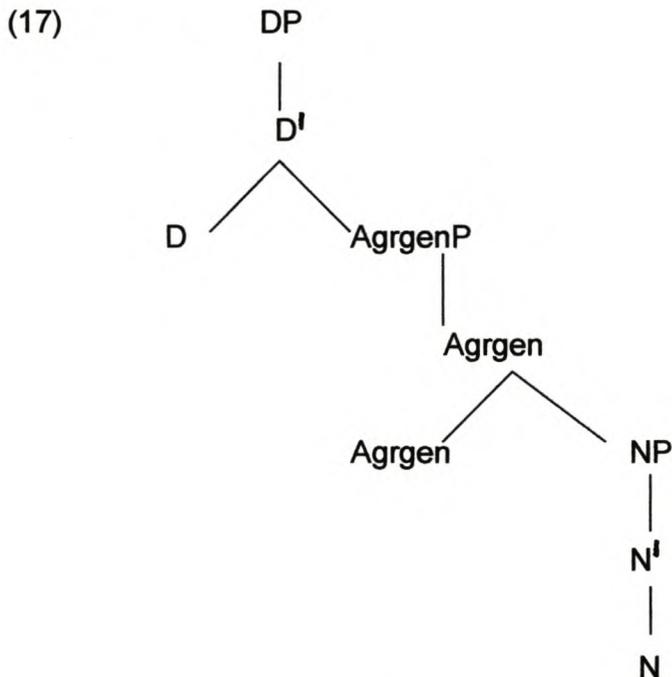
According to Siloni (1997:39), Szabolcsi (1987, 1989) has argued that Hungarian noun phrases contain two functional elements: an Agr – type element that is responsible for the case of the possessor in the same way that I is responsible for the case of the subject, and dominating it a complementizer – like element that accommodates the article (D). According to Siloni (1997), this proposal syntactically separates the two distinct functional elements, Agr – features and determiners, which are both generated in D according to Abney (1987) and much subsequent research.

Abstracting away from Szabolcsi's precise execution, the following structure can be obtained:



It is nonetheless unclear to which extent this approach should be generalized; after all, in many languages noun phrases do not involve any direct Case assignment to DPs, rather they always require the intervention of a case marker like *of*.

Here below follows an examination of the derivation of noun phrases involving a construct state. As these noun phrases involve structural genitive case, they must contain an AgrP:

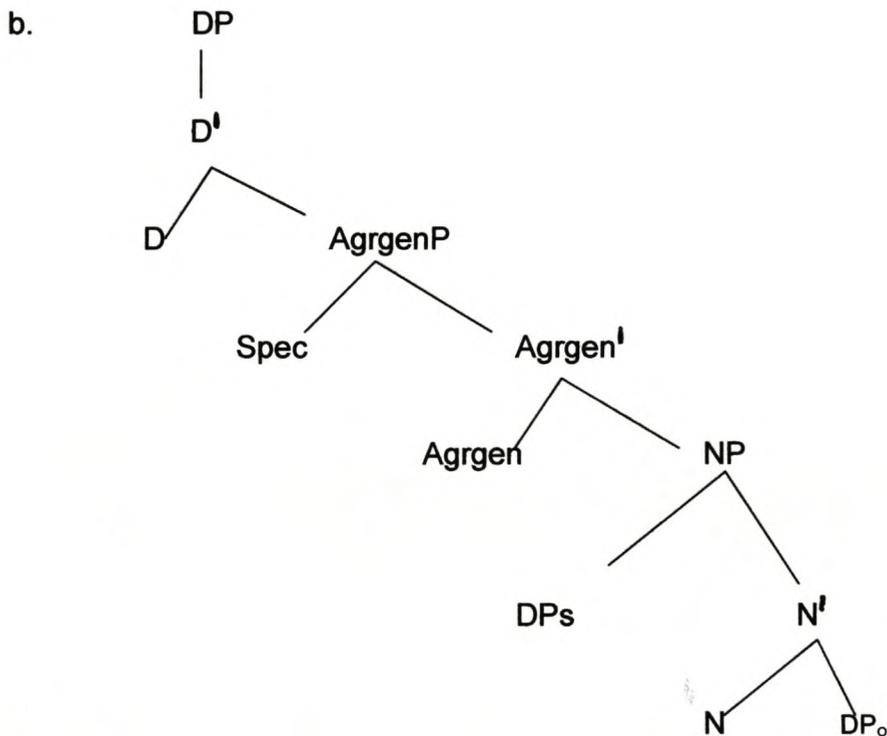


The agreement projection is labelled AgrgenP, but this notation is only mnemonic: it is an AgrP where structural case is checked in the noun phrase, be the case genitive case as in Hebrew, Nominative case as in Hungarian, or ergative case as in Yupik. Just like the case of the subject of the clause is determined by T and checked by Agr and the case of the direct object is determined by V and checked by Agr, the case of their nominal equivalent is determined by N and checked by Agr.

(18a) can serve as example. Its LF representation and the relevant steps in its derivation are given in (18b). The noun is inserted with certain \emptyset – features it must check with Agrgen. Correspondingly, then, Agrgen has N – features it has to check with the noun. Noun raising is overt in Hebrew. This is straightforward, if the N – features of Agrgen are strong and hence must be eliminated prior to spell-out. The genitive DP must precede an adjective modifying the head noun, which is base generated in a position left-adjoined to NP. It follows that the genitive DP undergoes overt raising to Spec

AgrgenP, where it checks genitive case. Hence, the DP- features of Agrgen are also strong. The resulting word order is “DP N “, which is never attested in Hebrew noun phrases. In Hebrew D also bears strong N – features, which requires further over N – raising to D and results in the observed word order (→ indicates movement):

- (18)a. harisat ha-cava ét ha-‘ir
 destruction the-army Acc the-city
 ‘the army’s destruction of the city



N → Agrgen / DP_s → Spec Agrgen P/Agrgen → D

The same ought to apply to concrete nouns. If the case of the construct state is a structural case, it must involve an AgrP, whether the head noun is concrete or deverbal.

When **šel** ('of') is inserted as in (19), DP receives its inherent genitive Case within the **šel** phrase and has no reason to raise further, because movement is a Last Resort operation. Given that, either an inert AgrgenP is generated, which does not check any features, or the projection is missing all together. A priori, the presence of an inert AgrgenP does not seem to have any empirical consequences and seems incongruous with a minimalist guideline; it is therefore taken to be absent:

- (19) ha – harisa šel ha – cava ét ha – 'ir
 the – destruction of the – army Acc the – city
 'the army's destruction of the city'

The question now arises as to why a noun that checks \emptyset – features in Agrgen cannot bear the article, and why there is a definiteness agreement between the components of the construct state.

The head of the construct state cannot realize its article.

- (20) (* ha -) sifrey ha – mešorerim
 (the) books the – poets
 ' the poets' books'

In a string of two (or more) construct states, the article can surface only on the right most noun.

Moreover there is an obligatory agreement in (in)definiteness between the head of the construct state and its genitive DP. Evidence that they must agree was presented above on the basis of the behaviour of the accusative marker **ét** as well as the behaviour of modifying adjectives. A genitival relation between elements that do not share the same [\pm definite] value

cannot be expressed through the construct state (21a), rather *šel* ('of') must appear (21b):

- (21) a. *beyt* *ha – 'iš*
 house the – man
- (i) * a house of the man'
 (ii) 'the man's house'
- b. *bayit* *šel* *ha – 'iš*
 house of the – man
 'a house of the man'

This means that a noun can either be inserted with Agrgen features, which gives rise to a construct state, or with the article, but not with both. A noun inserted with Agrgen features has a [\pm definite] value. This value must accord with the definiteness value of the genitive DP.

In Hebrew, a noun can realize its definiteness feature as part of its Agrgen morpheme. It either does it this way or in the form of an article. When the definiteness feature is part of Agrgen, it must match the definiteness value of the genitive DP.

The (in)definiteness effect is derived as follows:

If a noun is inserted with Agrgen features, its [\pm definite] feature is part of Agrgen, and the article cannot appear, because both include the [\pm definite] feature, which cannot have two realisations on the same head [N]. A noun endowed with Agrgen features raises to Agrgen to check them. The features must match the features of the genitive DP, or else the derivation would not converge; the definiteness agreement between the members of the construct state follows. Once this checking has taken place, the complex head in

Agrgen raises to D. In contrast, if the noun is inserted with the article, it cannot bear Agrgen features. Hence, AgrgenP is not projected, and the noun raises immediately to D to check the relevant features. Nominal agreement features in Hebrew contain definiteness in addition to \emptyset - features that is why it is assumed that Agrgen includes the feature [\pm definite]. Modifying adjective, for instance, must agree with the noun they modify in number, gender and definiteness. The novel component of the proposal is the claim that within Agrgen, the noun realizes its own definiteness feature. This means that while a singular noun can be in an agreement relation with a plural genitive DP, a noun can be in an agreement relation with a genitive DP only if it bears an identical definiteness value. It follows that the head of the construct state cannot bear the article and must agree with its genitive DP in definiteness, because it is in an agreement relation with it.

2.2.3 Giusti (1997)

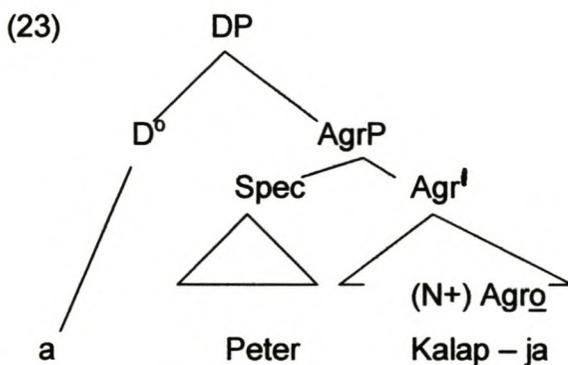
It is assumed that the verb builds a lexical projection VP which reflects its argument structure and further projects a functional structure including AgroP, TP, AgrSP, CP, etc. In a parallel fashion, the noun also builds a lexical projection NP, which reflects its argument structure, and further projects a functional structure which includes a certain number of functional heads.

The Hungarian language provides evidence for the strict parallelism with both an inflection – like and a complementizer – like functional projection in the nominal structure. The former will be known as Agreement Phrase because it hosts agreement morphology with a possessor, and the latter will be known as DP because its head is filled by a determiner.

The possessive argument of a N in Hungarian is marked with nominative case and triggers person agreement with the noun, exactly as a subject does in relation to a verb:

- (22)
- a. az en kalap – om
the I hat – 1st.s.
'my hat'
 - b. a te kalap – od
the you hat – 2nd.s.
'Your hat'
 - c. a Peter kalap – ja
the Peter – Nom hat – 3rd.s.
'Peter's hat'

This argues for a functional head in the noun phrase, where the agreement morphology on the noun is generated, and whose specifier is the nominative possessive.



In the current literature determiners: articles, demonstratives and quantifiers are usually assumed to belong to the category of determiners and hence

occupy the D⁰ position, (one of) the top functional projection(s) of the nominal projection. Such a view is favoured by the complementary distribution of demonstratives, articles and quantifiers in the first position in the English nominal string (24) although it is by no means universal:

(24) these/the/many students.

In many languages, English included, quantifiers cooccur with articles and demonstratives in quite a complex way. Some quantifiers behave like adjectives in being preceded by an article or a demonstrative (25a); finally some others cannot cooccur with any determiner at all (25c):

- (25) a. these/the many (*these/the) boys
 b. (* these/the) all these/the boys
 c. (*these/the)several (* these/the) boys.

The above data make a unified treatment of the prenominal elements in (24), less appealing than it might have looked like at first sight. A unified analysis of these elements makes it difficult to provide a coherent analysis of the systematic cross – linguistic contrasts between the different prenominal elements such as articles, demonstratives and quantifiers. The cross – linguistic parallelisms between articles and the general cross – linguistic contrast with demonstratives would be hard to express if both articles and demonstratives were assumed to occupy D.

Articles, demonstratives and quantifiers will be proposed not to constitute a homogeneous category. Each of the distinct types will be assigned to a different category. It will be argued that only articles are extended heads of the noun phrase; demonstratives are lexical elements and occupy specifier positions; quantifiers are also lexical elements: they can either be

adjectives or lexical heads that select a full DP, that is a noun phrase with its complete extended projection, as its complement.

Some languages have no articles (e.g. kiswahili). Others have. Some languages have articles as clitics. Articles are trivially morphologically dependent on the head noun in all languages with noun – article agreement for gender, number and case. The different morphological form of the article uniquely depends on the morphophonological properties of the root. This suggests that the article is in fact part of the inflectional morphology of the head noun, and not an independent lexical element. Articles are not inserted on semantic grounds. In some languages articles have developed to make up for loss of inflectional morphology on the noun and/or on adjectives. It can be assumed that articles are functional heads. Languages vary with respect to whether they are found in the extended projection of nouns, articles or prepositions.

It has been established that the demonstrative is base generated in a specifier which is lower than the article: according to Giusti (1997:110), Brugè (1994) shows that the demonstrative is the lowest modifier of the noun phrase in that it follows all adjectives but precedes all PPs, as shown in (26) below:

(26) [DP la [AgrP reacción_i [AgrP a lemana_{ti} [AgrP
the reaction German
esa [NP t_i [PP a las críticas]]]]]
this to the criticisms

‘ This German reaction to the criticisms’

Brugè suggests that the position of the demonstrative in Spanish is to be taken as the basic position for this kind of element in UG. According to

Giusti (1997:110), Ernst (1992) gives the following word order for noun phrases in Irish: Art + NumP + N + AP* + Dem + GenP + Relcl. When the demonstrative is present, a definite article is required, whereas when a genitive phrase is present, the definite article is absent.

The obligatory cooccurrence of article and demonstrative confirms the proposal put forth here that they belong to different categories and, on the other hand, the incompatibility of the article and a genitive phrase in a language in which they clearly do not appear in the same structural position shows that the complementarity of two elements cannot be taken as evidence for their insertion in the same structural position or for their unified categorial status.

The analysis of demonstratives in SpecDP in English – type languages can capture in a novel way the opacity effects triggered by these elements. In Italian, for instance, it is not enough to say that definiteness triggers opacity effects in the noun phrase, since it is possible to extract and to have wide scope of a quantifier contained in a genitive complement of a noun phrase introduced by a definite article.

Demonstratives belong to the broad semantic field of deixis which includes adverbials, pronominals, possible aspect morphemes. This is a highly heterogeneous class that includes lexical as well as functional categories.

Demonstratives can appear independently from the presence of the noun they modify.

Kiswahili is one language which has demonstratives and lacks articles. In this language, the DP constituents have the following distribution. Adjectives are only postnominal, demonstratives are either postnominal or pronominal.

When a noun precedes the adjective, N has moved left wards, to a higher position: D^0 . This means that the adjective cannot be a head. A demonstrative in postnominal position always precedes the arguments of the noun: but it can be preceded or followed by adjectives. When the demonstrative is post nominal, it can occupy a position similar to that of adjectives, if the post nominal order is due to N – movement, then it cannot be a head. Carstens proposes that when the demonstrative precedes the N, it has moved to SpecDP.

It has been argued that demonstratives are lexical elements inserted in a low specifier and further moved to SpecDP. Being in a specifier position, they must be taken to have the status of maximal projections. Demonstratives are not in D^0 , contrary to articles.

2.2.4 Visser (1999)

In the past decade a major area of research concerned the nature, types and ordering of functional categories cross-linguistically. This research has developed from the view that agreement, tense, mood, aspect and negative which relate to the verbal inflectional morphology are represented in syntactic structure as functional heads projecting X –bar phrases. The term ‘functional category’, contrasting with lexical category was employed to capture the notion that functional categories fulfil a grammatical function. Differences between lexical categories and functional categories are given in (27) below:

- (27) (i) Lexical categories are thematic elements; they refer to entities, hence they have referential meaning.
Functional categories mark grammatical meaning (grammatical features such as person, number, gender), if they have meaning at all.

- (ii) Lexical categories (heads) have a number of possible complement types. Functional heads do not assign thematic roles to their complements. Functional categories, in contrast to lexical categories, play a role in establishing dependencies between parts of a sentence.
- (iii) Lexical elements are word-level elements. Functional categories often depend phonologically on some other category – they are affixes or clitics (including determiner elements) in various languages.
- (iv) Lexical categories like N(oun) form an open class. Functional categories like c(omplementiser), T(ense), Agr(eement) form a closed class.

According to the Minimalist Program, languages differ only in the properties they select for their functional categories. (Lexical categories are universal across languages). A natural development in the research on the clausal functional system was an interest in the nominal functional system. Hence, questions were posed as regards the nominal inflectional properties such as person, number, gender, case. Questions relating to the NP – internal structures representing the range of nominal modifiers that may occur with the head noun, and the structural positions that these nominal modifiers occupy with respect to the head noun, have resulted in a considerable body of research, especially in rich-inflection languages.

This work focuses on the nominal functional system relating to the morphosyntactic realisation of (in)definiteness in Xhosa and Northern Sotho (Sepedi).

This investigation concerns the (non) – occurrence of the definitising –(l)a -, which canonically constitutes the root of the demonstrative position 1, and which also occurs in the inflectional morphology of other nominal modifiers, in particular, the adjective, nominal relative and verbal (Clausal) relative in both Northern Sotho and Xhosa, as well as a number of other nominal modifiers in Xhosa.

This definitising morpheme – (l) a – is morphologically manifested as either -o -, -e – or – a -, depending on the vowel of the noun class prefix with which agreement is established. The focus of this work relates specifically to the morpho – syntactic realisation of (in)definiteness in Xhosa and Northern Sotho by virtue of the (non) – occurrence of the definitising morpheme (-l)a -.

The evidence from Northern Sotho relative clause constructions, and evidence from a comprehensive range of constructions exhibiting indefiniteness properties of nouns and nominal modifiers in Xhosa support the view that the definitising morpheme (- l) a – can be viewed as a lexical element expressing definiteness. It is proposed that this definitising morpheme (l)a – is lexically specified by the feature [definite] and is represented in syntactic structure by the functional category Det(eterminer) which heads the projection Determiner phrase.

The occurrence of the definitising morpheme (l)a - , characteristically identified as the root of the demonstrative, in the inflectional morphology of the adjective, nominal relative, and clausal relative was considered. The distinction between the (locational) deictic function and the anaphoric (referential) function of the demonstrative, often pointed out in the linguistic literature, can be described as follows:

- (28) Distinction between deictic function and referential (or anaphoric) function.

- a. the referential (anaphoric) demonstrative 'refers back' to some entity previously mentioned in the discourse.
- b. the core feature of the root (l)a is that of definiteness (rather than (deictic) proximity in terms of the three positions 'here' (position 1), 'there' (position 2) and 'over there, yonder' (position 3).

The proximity distinctions in the morphology of the position 2 and 3 demonstrative is realised typically by the suffix – o – (for position 2) and the suffix – ya (Xhosa), - la – (-le) (N.Sotho) (for position 3).

Given that the position 1 demonstrative, in contrast with the position 2 and 3 demonstratives, lacks a suffix, it follows that its deictic (proximity) meaning is assigned by default in Xhosa and for the N. Sotho position 1 demonstrative that lacks a suffix (i.e. position 1a). For N. Sotho, the alternative position 1 demonstrative ('here, next to') which is characterised by the suffix – no, is therefore similar to the position 2 and 3 demonstratives of which the (deictic) proximity is denoted by the suffix.

In light of the view of the demonstrative as the proto typical category associated with definiteness, hence the reference to the root morpheme as the definitising (l) a - , it is proposed that this morpheme is a lexical element, in particular a functional category Determiner, which is lexically specified by the feature [definite].

The non-occurrence of the morpheme (l)a is an indication that the category Determiner is indefinite. The projection Determiner phrase, with the functional category Determiner as head which bears the feature specification

[definite] or [indefinite] thus dominates the noun phrase in N.Sotho, Xhosa and related African languages.

2.2.5. Mallen (1997)

It is possible to account for the different arrangements of genitive elements and categorial heads inside noun phrases in Germanic while adhering to Chomsky's (1993) proposal that the distribution of these elements is conditioned purely by functional morphology. Morphological case – matching derives from a relation between functional categories and lexical categories. The head of the NP must move to a position where its case – feature is matched. This position is identified as kase. Taking genitive case to be a local structural relation, i.e. an agreement relation between a specifier and its head, it is assumed that genitive DPs are also displaced to specifier positions to establish a proper relation with a nominal functional Agreement (Agr). Movement to the functional domains of Agr, kase and Det may occur before spell-out. In a rich inflectional system languages such as German, Spanish, French and Latin, movement must be visible to comply with the condition on Full Interpretation. But this does not occur in English, where the relevant elements may remain in place until after spell out.

It is now widely accepted that noun phrases exhibit a more complex functional structure than was previously known. Different works have shown that an analysis of noun phrases in which different morphological features are encoded in separate functional heads (F^n) can easily account for the full range of distributional facts in these languages.

(29) [FPFⁿ [NP N]]

In Minimalist theory, syntactic configurations across languages are generated from argument structure by a process of generalized

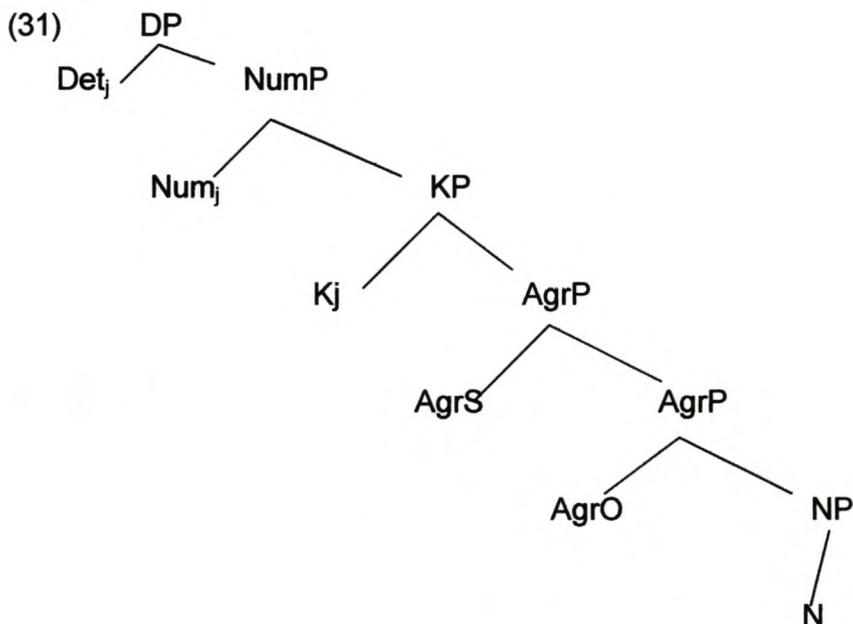
transformation. An item X is selected from the lexicon and is projected to an X – bar structure by the computational system. A single GT takes a phrase marker K' and inserts it in a designated empty position O in a phrase marker K , forming the new phrase marker K^* , which satisfies X – bar theory. Computation proceeds in parallel, selecting from the lexicon freely at any point. It can be assumed that lexical elements which are substituted into available slots inside projections of N are inserted from the lexicon following their semantic relation to the head. Thus, the derived structure of NP strictly follows the thematic hierarchy < possessor, agent, theme > with respect to the head N .

All movement operations displacing these elements from their original position inside lexical maximal projections are driven by inflectional necessity. In other words, the inflectional features of the inserted lexical element must be checked (hence deleted) in the domain of an inflectional head. If left unchecked, a morphological feature “survives” to PF. Morphological elements are deemed illegitimate objects at that level, causing the derivation to crash. But if all the necessary features have been checked, then configuration satisfies the condition of Full Interpretation (FI) and the derivation is said to converge at PF. The output of a converged derivation receives an articulatory – perceptual interpretation.

Under Minimalist Theory, the established raising of the noun to kase can be explained as a morphologically triggered movement. The noun is required to match its case feature before spell-out, and the checking occurs in kase. After the checking has taken place the feature on kase disappears. However the case-feature of the noun survives and reaches Det through an agreement chain. Mallen (1997:55) states that according to Olsen (1989) the nominal inflectional features for Gender, Number and Case are all generated in Det, from where they are linked to the lexical head by means of selectional coindexation.

- (30) [D Diese] i [Q Viele] i [A Wich tige] i [N Lente] i
 these many important people

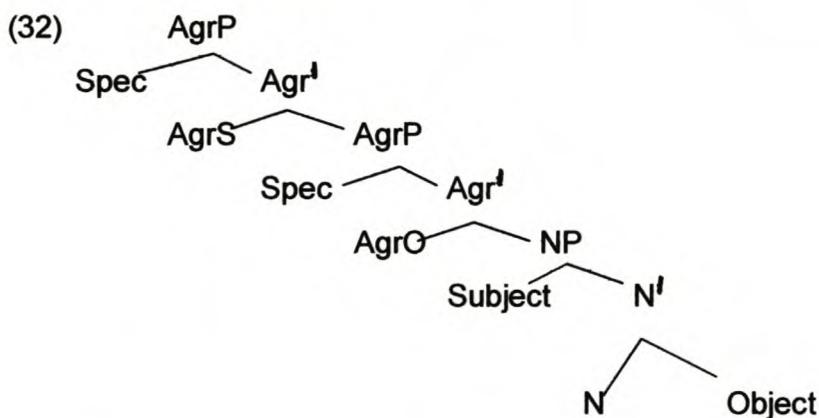
Adopting the notion of a chain coindexing the functional categories which dominate the noun; this results in a structure in (31). Det selects Num; Num selects kase (which in turn selects Agr). Depending on the features of Det, Num and Kase, movement to these categories will take place before or after spell-out in different languages.



Through the chain linking Det to kase, the case feature of the noun is available to be matched at the sentential level, as required. This way, feature checking between a clausal Agr and DP establishes an indirect relation with the noun in kase. In other words case checking by the noun is accomplished DP – internally in kase, Case checking for the entire DP must occur DP – externally in a sentential Agr.

The genitive DPs in German must occur adjacent to the head of NP. In this respect, pre-and post nominal genitives behave similarly. It is proposed that Genitive DPs must occupy positions in which they agree with an independent functional category in order to match their genitive Case feature. This category is a nominal Agreement (Agr). Under Minimalist theory, structural case marking on maximal constituents and their heads are also interpreted as manifestations of feature checking mechanisms. It is assumed that a Case-marked DP inside NP must move to a specifier position to establish a local relation with an inflectional category, namely Agr. Agr plays only a mediating role, it disappears afterwards.

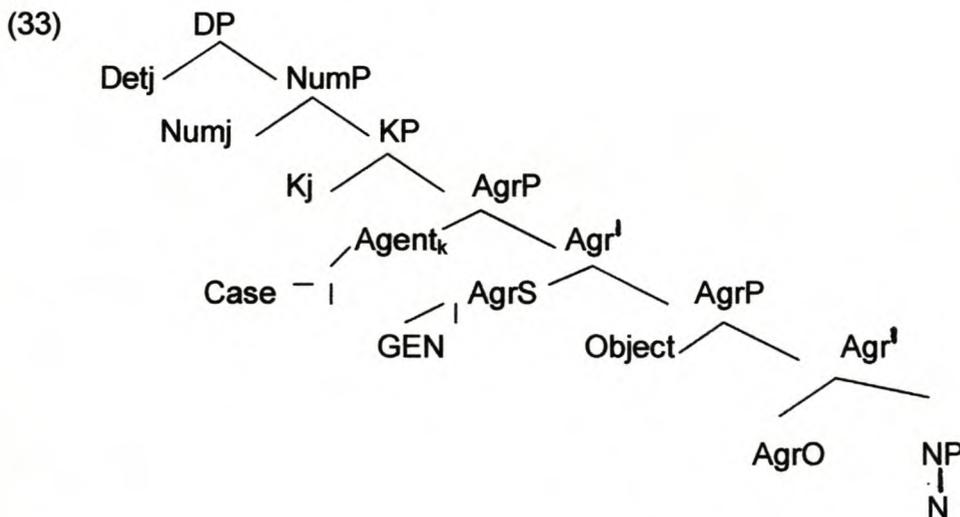
Nouns are drawn from the lexicon with all their morphological features, including case and \emptyset -features. These features must be checked in the appropriate position inside the noun phrase. Nominal Agr has two kinds of features that must be checked: (i) head nominal (N-) features that check nouns adjoined to Agr; and (ii) maximal nominal (DP-) features that check a genitive DP in Spec, AgrP. The N- feature of Agr disappears once it has checked N, its DP-feature when it checks DP.



Checking of Agr features can take place at any stage of a derivation to LF, i.e. before or after spell-out, depending on the language. In German DP – raising to Spec, AgrP applies before spell-out. In English it is postponed until

LF. German has a strong nominal Agr forcing PF movement. Overt raising is barred in English.

Languages like German, Icelandic and Norwegian impose strict conditions on the type of constituent that is raised: unmodified bare proper names or terms of relations which lack a determiner. The impossible cooccurrence of prenominal genitives and determiners seems to indicate that both are in fact in the domain of Det. It is proposed that these languages differ from Spanish in having a genitive marker – s with a null – suffix reflex (Gen) base – generated in Agrs. Since it is the features of GEN that releases case – features on Spec, AgrsP, an agent may have its case-feature matched regardless of the nature of the nominalizing affix in the lower Agr. Any language with a strongly - marked genitive suffix like GEN generated in Agrs would permit an external argument even in the presence of an internal argument in Spec, AgrO P.



The range of possessive elements that may occupy prenominal positions in Germanic include possessive pronouns. These pronouns differ from other prenominal genitive elements in their case marking. Possessive pronouns must encode the same case marking as the

entire DP; while other prenominal genitives may (and must) be case – marked independently.

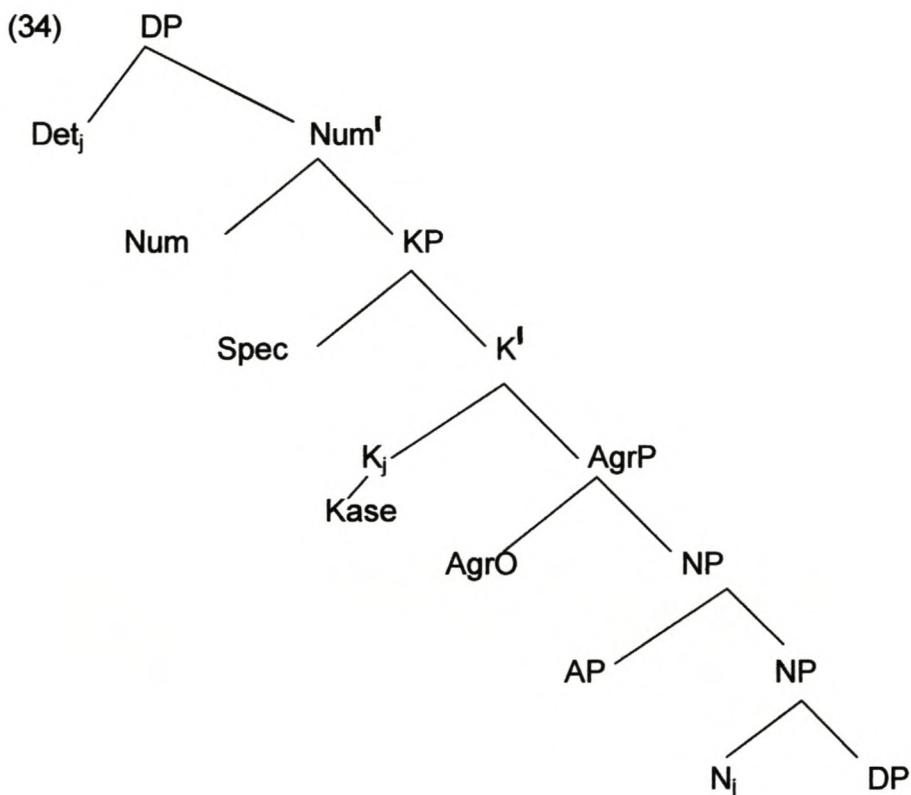
In German genitive DPs differ from attributive adjectives in that the former may occur pre – or post nominally, while the latter must occur prenominally. The obligatory pre-nominal distribution of attributive adjectives is related to its morphological contents. German attributive adjectives are inflected for Case, Number and Gender. The inflectional form of the adjective depends on the inflectional form of the determiner/quantifier it cooccurs with. Three types of inflection may be identified for both determiners/quantifiers and adjectives.

Class I determiners/quantifiers exhibit an overt morphological ending for [masculine, singular, nominative,] , [neuter, singular, nominative] and [neuter, singular, accusative]; while class II remains uninflected in these cases. **ein**, **kein** , and possessive pronouns are instances of class II.

The pattern of adjectival morphology is as follows: Class III occurs in the absence of a lexical determiner or if the determiner is uninflected; class I with determiners/quantifiers of class I; and class II with determiners/ quantifiers of class II.

It can be assumed that adjectives are generated in semantically determined positions inside NP and that parametric variation across languages are the result of raising operations triggered by inflectional morphology. Given a proposal that the noun moves to kase, attributive adjectives in NP would end up to the right of the raised head. Unless if adjectives in German also move from their base-generated position inside NP to the domain of kase. The movement is triggered by the case morphology on the attributive adjective which

forces it to move to a position where its case feature can be matched. The position in question is Spec, KP, in which the adjective matches the maximal (DP -) feature of kase. Kase satisfies the morphological requirements to two elements simultaneously i.e. one in its head and one in its spec position. The case on the adjective must always agree with the case on the noun, since both are in the domain of the same kase.



More than one adjective may land in Spec, KP; but crucially, these adjectives seem to form a complex constituent in that they are all inflected in a parallel fashion.

- (35) a. Die/alle jungen bissigen Hunde
 the/all young biting dogs

b.	Einige/viele	junge	bissige	Hunde
	some/many	young	biting	dogs
c.	Junge	bissige	Hunde	
	Young	biting	dogs	

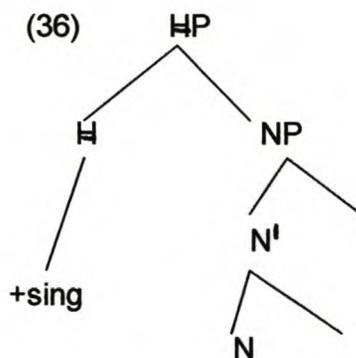
Det and kase are linked in a chain and the feature content of the noun reaches Det through this chain. This chain can be referred to as a case chain, (35) above demonstrates that case features may be morphologically realized either at the head or at the tail of the [Det_i ...kase_j] chain, i.e. in the Det domain or in the kase domain. It shows that case cannot be realized halfway through the chain. More specifically in German Det may morphologically realize the structural case marking of the entire noun phrase. In that event, case is realized at the top of the chain.

2.2.6. Carstens (1991)

In this work the analysis of Kiswahili structure is given. Carstens first argues that number is a functional head which selects NP as its complement. He then shows that word order facts support an analysis in which Kiswahili has noun-raising to number^o and thence to Determiner. This derivation accounts for the fact that all arguments and modifiers in Kiswahili are preceded by nouns. Carstens shows that genitive pronouns occupy a distinct position from lexical genitives, and attribute this to a requirement that the pronouns occupy [Spec, NP]. Finally, he suggests positions for APs, demonstratives, and quantifiers in the base.

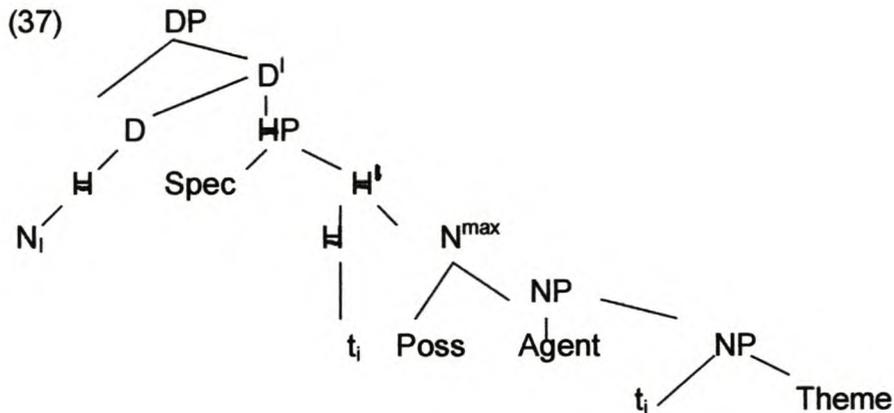
Carstens proposed that Noun class prefixes are not themselves heads but gender – specific spellings – out of number features. He argued that Noun class consists of distinct categories of number and gender.

In Kiswahili, English and most languages number is exhibited morphologically whereas in others it is indicated by the presence of independent words. Carstens considers that number words and morphemes are functional heads which select NP complements. Carstens proposes that for Bantu, the numerous instantiations of singular and plural are introduced by the redundancy rules applying at PF. Singular and plural themselves are represented syntactically as unique, abstract affixes, differentiated by a [+/-singular] feature. Nouns raise and incorporate to these syntactic affixes (36) triggering spell – out.



Carstens proposes that the [+/- singular] distinction is universal, but that further divisions such as [- singular, + dual], are entirely optional. Thus it is not the case that all languages have (covert) dual and trial, as their existence will only be assumed on the basis of overt evidence. That singular is unmarked in many languages that it is default category, where number is concerned.

Carstens presents evidence that Kiswahili genitive pronouns occupy a unique structural position, located to the left of the base position of N. He analyses this position as [spec, HP]. From this it follows that the Kiswahili noun has raised beyond H, to D⁰. Carstens argues that lexical genitives are always situated lower in the tree than their pronominal counterparts. The proposed structure is shown in (37):



In Kiswahili, as in English and other well-studied languages, genitive phrases can be of a variety of thematic types, of which possessors are but one.

In their surface realization, Kiswahili phrasal genitives are reminiscent of the rather freely ordered, post-nominal de-phrases of Spanish. An obvious difference is that Kiswahili *-a*, which introduces all non-pronominal genitives, always agrees with the noun to which the genitive is related.

Internal and external arguments of both results and process nominals are fairly freely ordered relative to each other although there appears to be a dialect split on the preferred order, between Nso and Nos. If only one NP occurs with such a noun, it must be interpreted as patient.

Genitive arguments may be pronominalized, multiple genitive pronouns are disallowed. Where agent and patient/theme arguments co-occur, the agent may be realized as a pronoun, but pronominalization of the theme/patient is not acceptable. Of the pair (possessor, theme) only the possessor may pronominalize. When the pronoun is involved word order is relatively strict: the pronoun may not be separated from the head noun by another of the noun's arguments. Thus in the case of a pronominal possessor or agent co-occurring with a lexical theme, the pronoun is immediately post nominal.

Kiswahili has two ways of realizing genitives i.e. by *-a* phrases and pronouns.

Carstens proposes that Kiswahili genitive pronouns differ from lexical arguments in being restricted to a particular spec position – specifically, [Spec, $\mathbb{H}P$]. This position is base-generated empty, and pronouns arrive at it by movement.

Carstens analyzes the location of genitive pronouns as an intervening specifier position. Based on cross-linguistic factors Carstens considers that genitive pronouns are in [Spec, $\mathbb{H}P$]. He further assumes that Kiswahili nouns raise beyond \mathbb{H} , to D^0 , in order to account for the order [N – pronoun – X].

Kiswahili has no overt determiners, and genitive pronouns are always to the right of the noun. Suppose D^0 is present but always empty in Kiswahili, and that the noun therefore raises to it obligatorily.

Carstens assumes that pronouns are base generated at the same places in the tree as lexical arguments.

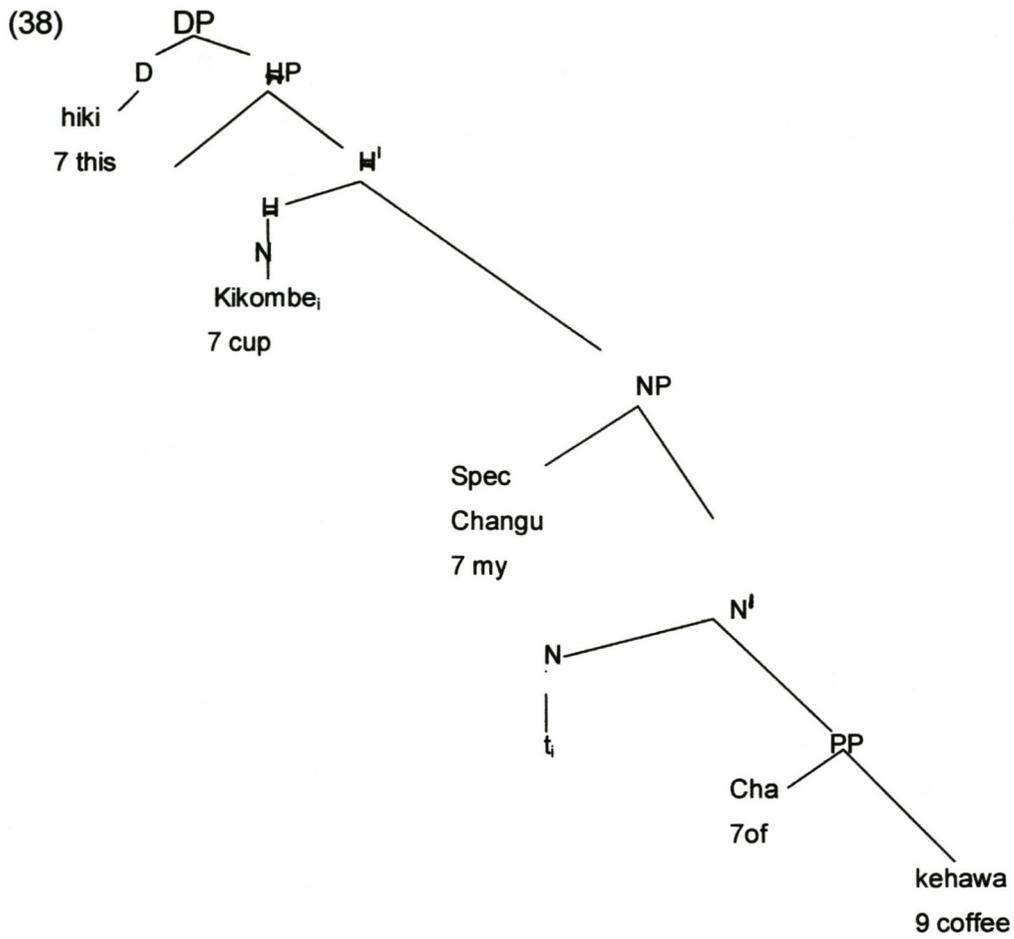
The Kiswahili genitive pronouns are morphologically transparent: they consist of agreement on the vowel *-a*, plus an ending which bears the person features of the possessor. *-a* is likely the so-called ‘*-a* of relation’: the prepositional *-a* which introduces phrasal genitives.

APs are located between [Spec, $\mathbb{H}P$] and the position of a lexical possessor or agent in N^{\max} . Kiswahili adjectives appear to the right of the noun. Native adjectives agree with the head noun but those which are borrowings do not agree with head nouns. The AP precedes all lexical arguments of N,

regardless of their ordering with respect to each other. APs typically follow genitive pronouns. APs are situated in between the surface position of a pronoun ([Spec, $\mathbb{H}P$]) and that of a lexical argument. Carstens proposes that they are adjoined to N^{\max} .

Carstens argues that Kiswahili demonstratives are base-generated as adjuncts to $\mathbb{H}P$, and that they undergo optional raising to [Spec, DP]. Carstens assumes that they are potential binders for the noun's theta role, because of their deictic properties.

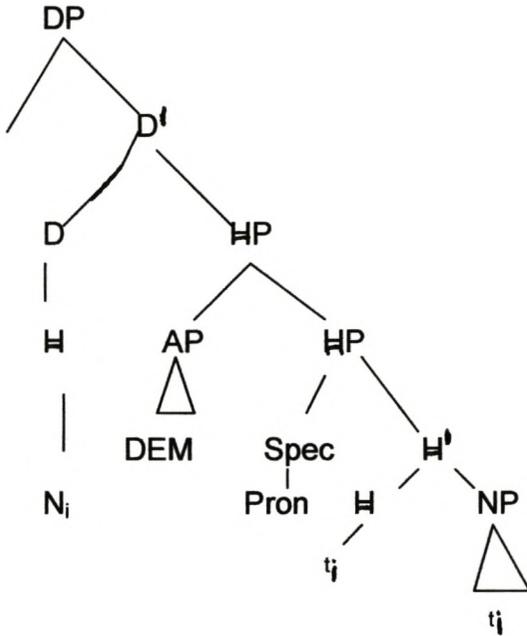
In Kiswahili overt articles are lacking. There are three demonstratives: near, far, and aforementioned (AM). Post-nominal demonstratives precede all lexical arguments of N. This order holds between demonstratives and pronominal arguments. Because of this fact one might expect demonstratives to be a species of determiner. If the conclusion that N raises to D is revised, the order [DEM – N – XP] would be easily explicable. The representation in (38) suggests itself:



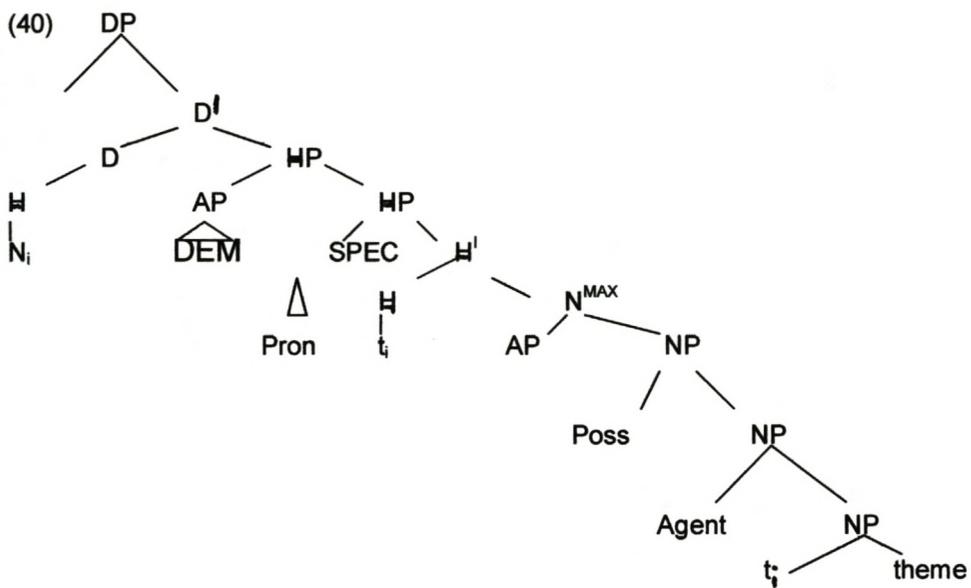
Unfortunately the most common order, [N – DEM – XP], would be difficult to derive.

Carstens concludes that demonstratives are adjuncts to HP, as shown in (39):

(39) Kikombe hiki changu
 7cup 7this 7my
 (this my cup)



Carstens has argued that Kiswahili noun phrases are DPs with empty D's, to which nouns raise. Number is represented in grammar as a functional category H, which projects HP, the complement to D°. Arguments of N are hierarchically arranged in the downwards order [possessor- agent – theme/patient], within projections of N. Genitive pronouns raise obligatorily to [spec, H], from their base – positions. APs are base generated as adjuncts. The complete structure is given in (40)



2.3 THE DETERMINER PHRASE IN TSHIVENDA

2.3.1 Word categories

In Tshivenda there are three types of categories, i.e. lexical, empty and inflectional categories.

(a) Lexical categories

These are noun, locative noun, adjective, demonstrative, quantifier, preposition, verb, adverb, complementizer and conjunct.

(b) Empty categories

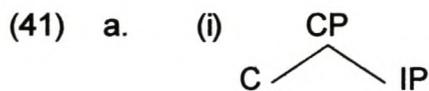
These are three in number, i.e. Pro, PRO and trace.

(c) Inflectional categories

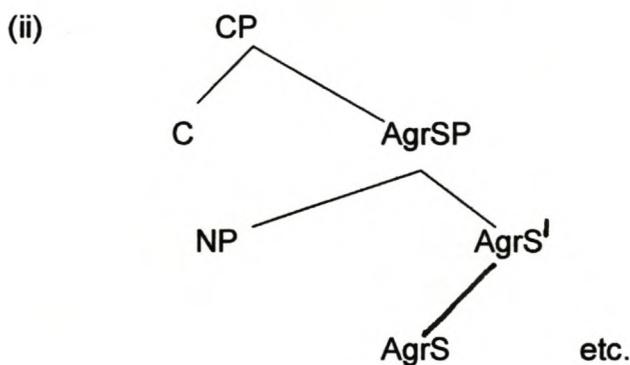
These are functional categories. They appear with verbs, and nominal modifiers. Those with verbs are subjectival agreement, objectival agreement, mood, tense, negative and aspect. The functional categories with nouns are determiner and agreement.

These functional categories appear separately from the lexical categories in both cases.

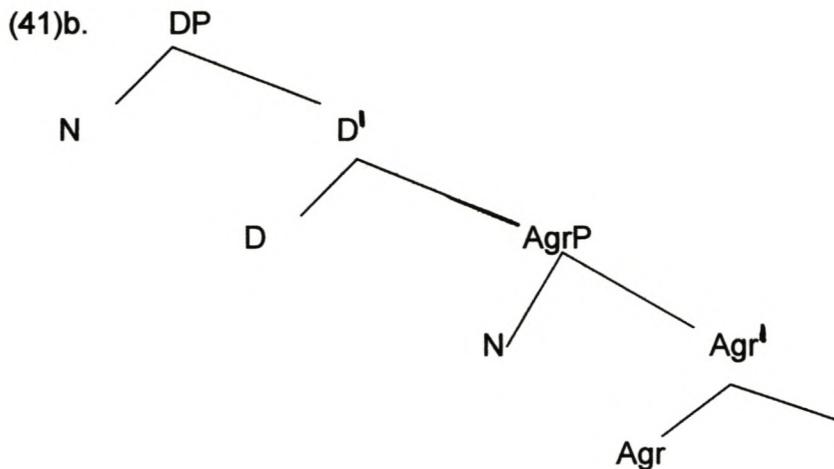
Examples are given in (41) below:



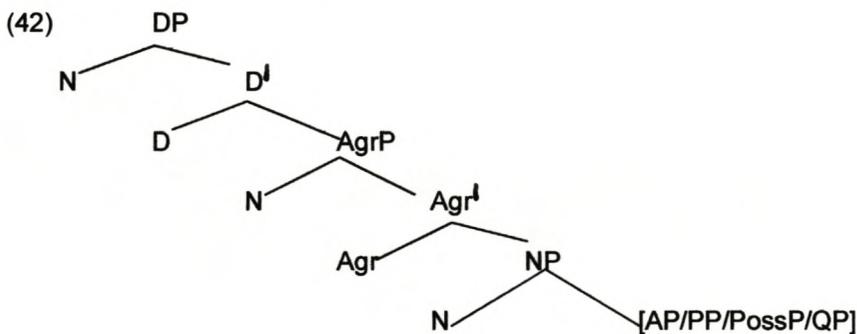
In (41ai) the CP is a complementizer phrase. This CP is a functional projection with a complementizer C as a functional head. The IP is an Inflectional Phrase with an Inflection I as a functional head. This functional projection IP may consist of the following functional categories:



The contents of the complementizer above may be [$\pm Q$] or the complementizer **uri**.



In (41b) determiner and agreement are functional categories in the DP. In the DP only two functional categories are found. The category Determiner is represented by the demonstrative root [A] in Tshivenda while the Agr is represented by subjectival agreement or AgrN. The structure in (42) below shows the determiner phrase in Tshivenda:



In Tshivenda nouns and their modifiers have their base-generated position inside NP. They are eventually checked for the functional categories in feature checking.

2.3.2. Nominal modifiers

2.3.2.1 Demonstrative

In Tshivenda the demonstrative has two basic functions, i.e. to indicate the relative position occupied by a certain referent: this function is referred to as the 'deictic' function, and secondly to refer back to the antecedent: this function is known as anaphoric function:

- (43) a. Mutukana uyu o phasa
(This boy has passed)
- b. Mutukana u a la. izwo zwi a tendelwa.
(The boy eats. That is acceptable)

The demonstrative **uyu** (this) in (43a) has a deictic function because it refers to the relative position occupied by the referent **mutukana** (boy) and the utterance of this demonstrative may be accompanied by gesture or pointing of the referent. The demonstrative **izwo** (that) in (43b) is anaphoric in reference because it refers back to something said in the discourse and there is no pointing when it is uttered.

There are basically four proximity positions of the demonstrative in Tshivenda, i.e. IA, IB, II and III. Position IA signifies "this here". It refers to objects immediately next to the speaker, position IB signifies "this", it refers to referents which are relatively close to the speaker, position II signifies "that" or "those" and refers to referents that are further away from the speaker. Position III signifies "that over there" which is relatively far from the speaker and hearer.

The following morphemes appear in the demonstrative:

- a definiteness morpheme [A]
- an emphatic definiteness morpheme [hA]
- a subjectival agreement morpheme
- proximity morphemes **-no**, **-o** and **-la**.

These morphemes appear in four proximity positions:

Position IA : (i) [AgrS + no]

In position IA if there is no emphasis the demonstrative consists of subjectival agreement and the suffix **-no**:

(44) Tshithu [tshi - + - no] → tshino (this here)

In (44) above **tshino** (this here) is a demonstrative of position IA which consists of the subjectival agreement **tshi** and the suffix **-no**.

(ii) with [hA -]: [hA + AgrS [+ no]]

ha appears as **ho** if AgrS has the vowel **u**; **ha** appears as **ha** if AgrS has the vowel **a** and **ha** appears as **he** if AgrS has the vowel **i**.

Where **ha** appears as **ho**:

(45) a. Mutukana [ha + uno → houno] o phasa
(This very boy here has passed)

b. Muri [ha + uno → houno] wo oma.
(This very tree here is dry)

- c. Musadzi [ha + uno → houno] o talwa.
(This very woman here is divorced)

In all the examples in (45) the subjectival agreement has a vowel **u**. This vowel **u** causes the emphatic morpheme **ha** to become **ho**.

Where **ha** appears as **ha**:

- (46) a. Vhatukana [ha + vhanu → havhano] vha do la.
(These very boys here will eat)
- b. Vhanna [ha + vhanu → havhano] vha do shuma.
(These very men here will work)
- c. Vhana [ha + vhanu → havhano] vha do edela.
(These very children here will sleep)

In the examples in (46) the subjectival agreement has the vowel **a** and this vowel has no influence on **ha** - .

Where **ha** appears as **he**:

- (47) a. Tshitanda [ha + tshino → hetshino] tsho sina.
(This very little log here is rotten)
- b. Tshikalaha [ha + tshino → hetshino] tshi a nwa.
(This very little old man here drinks).
- c. Lingo [ha + lino → helino] lo hula.
(This very mango here is big)

In (47) each subjectival agreement has the vowel **i** and because of this emphatic morpheme **ha** has the form **he**.

Position IB : (i) [A] + AgrS:

[A] represents the definiteness morpheme.

In this position if AgrS has **u**, $A \rightarrow u$, if AgrS has **a**: $A \rightarrow a$ and if AgrS has **i**, $A \rightarrow i$. In position IA, AgrS is a prefix, while in position IB, AgrS is a suffix:

Position IA: [AgrS + no]; Position IB: [A + AgrS].

Where AgrS has **u**:

- (48)a Muri [u + A \rightarrow uu \rightarrow uyu]
(This tree)
- b. Mukegulu [u + A \rightarrow uu \rightarrow uyu]
(This old woman)
- c. Munna [u + A \rightarrow uu \rightarrow uyu]
(This man)

In (48) above the definiteness morpheme [A] has the form **u** because the subjectival agreement in each case has the vowel **u**

Where AgrS has **a**:

- (49) a. Vhathu [A + vha \rightarrow avha]
(These people)
- b. Vhasadzi [A + vha \rightarrow avha]
(These women)

c. Vhanna [A + vha → avha]
(These men)

In (49) above the definiteness morpheme [A] has the form **a** because the subjectival agreement in each case has the vowel **a**.

Where AgrS has i:

(50) a. Tshidula [A + tshi → itshī]
(This frog)

b. Tombo [A + li → ilī]
(This stone)

c. Mbudzi [A + dzi → idzi]
(These goats)

In (50) above the definiteness morpheme [A] has the form **i** because the subjectival agreement in each case has the vowel **i**.

(ii) With [hA]:

ha assimilates with [A]: [hA + A] → ha.

With AgrS and [A]:

ha + u → ho

ha + a → ha

ha + i → he

The structure with **ha** will then be : [ha + [a + AgrS]].

Where **ha** becomes **ho**:

(51) a. Munna [hA + A + u → hoyu]

(This very man)

b. Nwana [hA + A + u → hoyu]

(This very child)

c. Mutukana [hA + A + u → hoyu]

(This very boy)

In (51) above emphatic **ha** assimilates with [A] and AgrS with **u** to become **ho**.

Where **ha** becomes **ha**:

(52) a. Vhasidzana [hA + A + vha → havha]

(These very girls)

b. Vhatukana [hA + A + vha → havha]

(These very boys)

c. Vhanna [hA + A + vha → havha]

(These very men)

In (52) the morpheme **ha** remains **ha** when it assimilates with [A] and AgrS with **a**.

Where **ha** becomes **he**:

(53) a. Tshithu [hA + A + tshi → hetshi]

(This very thing)

b. Linngo [hA + A + li → heli]

(This very mango)

c. Liluvha [hA + A + li → heli]

(This very flower)

In (53) above the emphatic morpheme **ha** becomes **he** when it assimilates with [A] and AgrS with i.

Position II : (i) [A] + AgrS + - o

In this position the definiteness morpheme [A] appears as in IB, while AgrS follows [A] with a proximity morpheme [-o] with this structure: [A + AgrS[+o]]:

(54) a. Muri [A + u + o → uyo]

(That tree)

b. Munna [A + u + o → uyo]

(That man)

c. Musidzana [A + u + o → uyo]

(That girl)

It is clear in (54) above that when AgrS has the vowel **u**, **A** becomes **u**.

(ii) With [hA]:

[hA] appears as in IB: [hA + A + AgrS], while position II also has a proximity morpheme [-o] as above: position II will then have the following structure: [ha + [a + AgrS [+ o]]].

Where ha becomes ho:

(55) a. Muvhuda [hA + A + u + o → hoyo]
 (That very hare)

b. Mupengo [hA + A + u + o → hoyo]
 (That very madman)

c. Muthannga [hA + A + u + o → hoyo]
 (That very young man)

In (55) above emphatic **ha** becomes **ho** when it assimilates with [A] and AgrS.

Where ha becomes ha:

(56) a. Vhathu [hA + A + vha + o → havho]
 (Those very people)

b. Vhasadzi [hA + A + vha + o → havho]
 (Those very women)

c. Vhanna [hA + A + vha + o → havho]
 (Those very men)

In (56) the morpheme [hA] becomes **ha** when it assimilates with [A] and AgrS.

Where **ha** becomes **he**:

- (57) a. Tshivha [hA + A + tshi + o → hetsho]
(That very dove)
- b. Tshitanda [hA + A + tshi + o → hetsho]
(That very little log)
- c. Tshiduna [hA + A + tshi + o → hetsho]
(That very small man)

In (57) above emphatic morpheme **ha** has become **he** when [hA] assimilates with [A] and AgrS.

Position III: (i) AgrS + $\underset{\wedge}{-}la$

See position IA: AgrS is a prefix in IA and III:

- (58) a. Vhaimbi [vha + $\underset{\wedge}{-}la$ → vha $\underset{\wedge}{}la$]
(Those singers over there)
- b. $\underset{\wedge}{}Liivha$ [$\underset{\wedge}{}li$ + $\underset{\wedge}{-}la$ → $\underset{\wedge}{}li\underset{\wedge}{}la$]
(That dove over there)
- c. Mbudzi [i + $\underset{\wedge}{-}la$ → i $\underset{\wedge}{}la$]
(That goat over there)

In the examples in (58) **vhala**, **lila** and **ila** are demonstratives. All these demonstratives consist of AgrS + **-la**.

(iii) With [hA]: as in IA no. (ii): [ha + AgrS [+ la]]

Where ha appears as ho:

(59) a. Munna [ha + ula → houla]
(That very man over there)

b. Muri [ha + ula → houla]
(That very tree over there)

c. Mutukana [ha + ula → houla]
(That very boy over there)

It is clear in (59) above that emphatic **ha** becomes **ho** when the subjectival agreement has the vowel **u**.

Where ha appears as ha:

(60) a. Vhasidzana [ha + vhalā → havhalā]
(Those very girls over there)

b. Vhanna [ha + vhalā → havhalā]
(Those very men over there)

c. Vhatukana [ha + vhalā → havhalā]
(Those very boys over there)

The emphatic morpheme **ha** becomes **he** when the subjectival agreement has a vowel **a**.

Where **ha** appears as **he**:

(61) a. Tshitukana [ha + tshila → hetshila]
 (That very little boy over there)

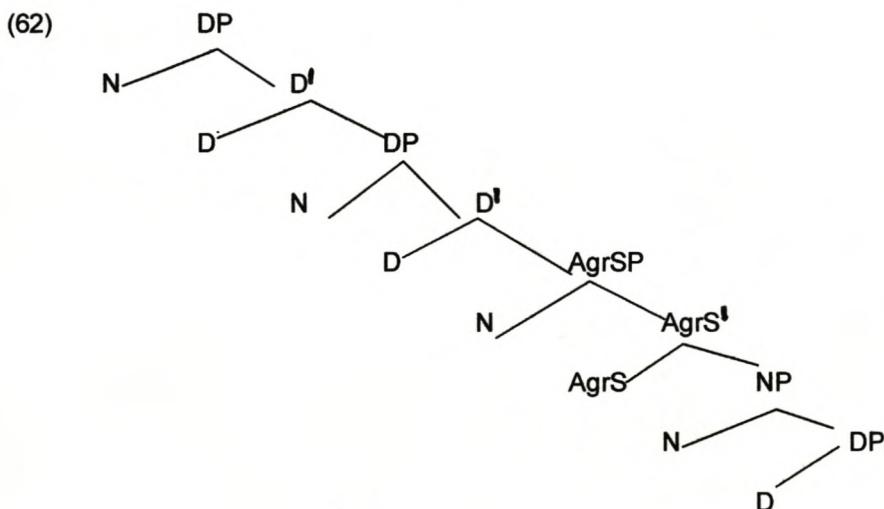
b. Tshiivha [ha + tshila → hetshila]
 (That very little dove over there)

c. Tombo [ha + lila → he lila]
 (That very stone over there)

In (61) the emphatic morpheme **ha** becomes **he** because the subjectival agreement in each case has the vowel **i**.

Structure of DP with a Demonstrative:

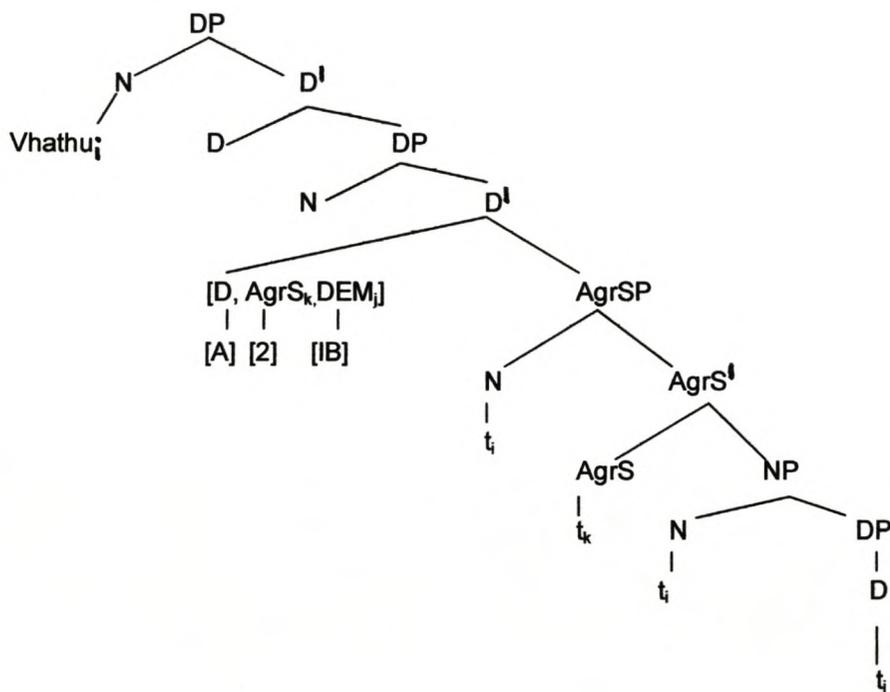
The structure of the DP with a demonstrative should be as in (62):



According to the four proximity positions of the demonstrative discussed above one may then find that the structure above will be the same with all the demonstratives but that certain of these functional categories will not be filled in with any content:

The first structure with the definite morpheme [A] e.g. IB or II above e.g. **vhathu avha** (These people):

(63)



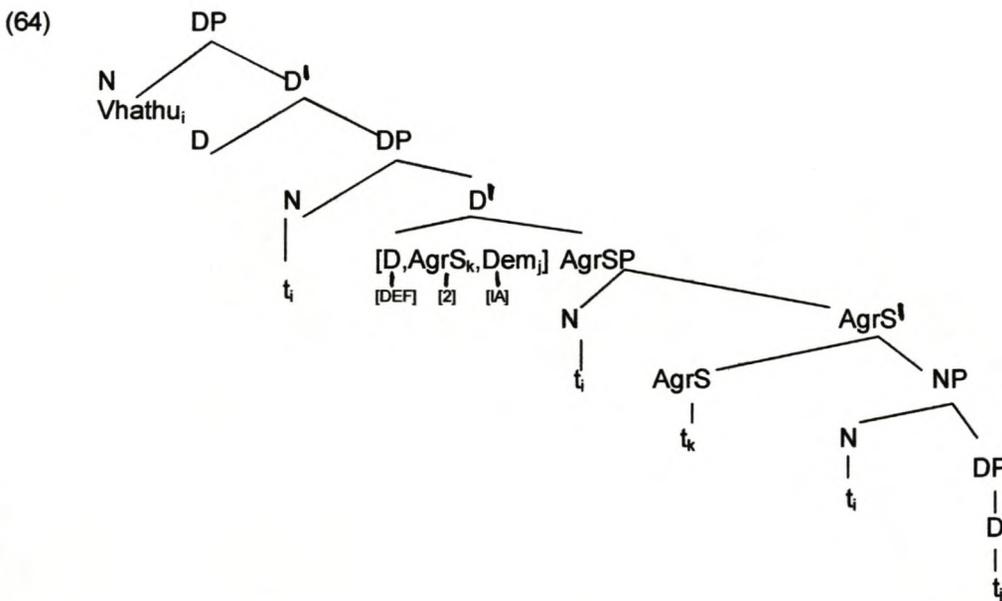
In this structure:

- The NP is a lexical projection with N as head: the noun **vhathu** (people) left a trace in three N – positions, coindexed with [i]: it is now a specifier of D.
- The proximity position of the demonstrative is IB and it is base-generated within the NP as head of the DP. It now appears within D which is the head of the DP. It is coindexed with [j]. This proximity position has no

overt morpheme, but it has a specific proximity meaning, and that is why it has been indicated as [IB] to make provision for the proximity position.

- AgrS also appears within D as class 2 (vha) and it is coindexed with [k].
- The definite morpheme [A] represents the functional category and the surface structure of this demonstrative will then be spelled out as [avha].
- The other functional category [D] is not present, i.e. [ha].

The second structure has no overt definite morpheme [A] e.g. IA or III above e.g. [Vhathu vhano] (These people here):



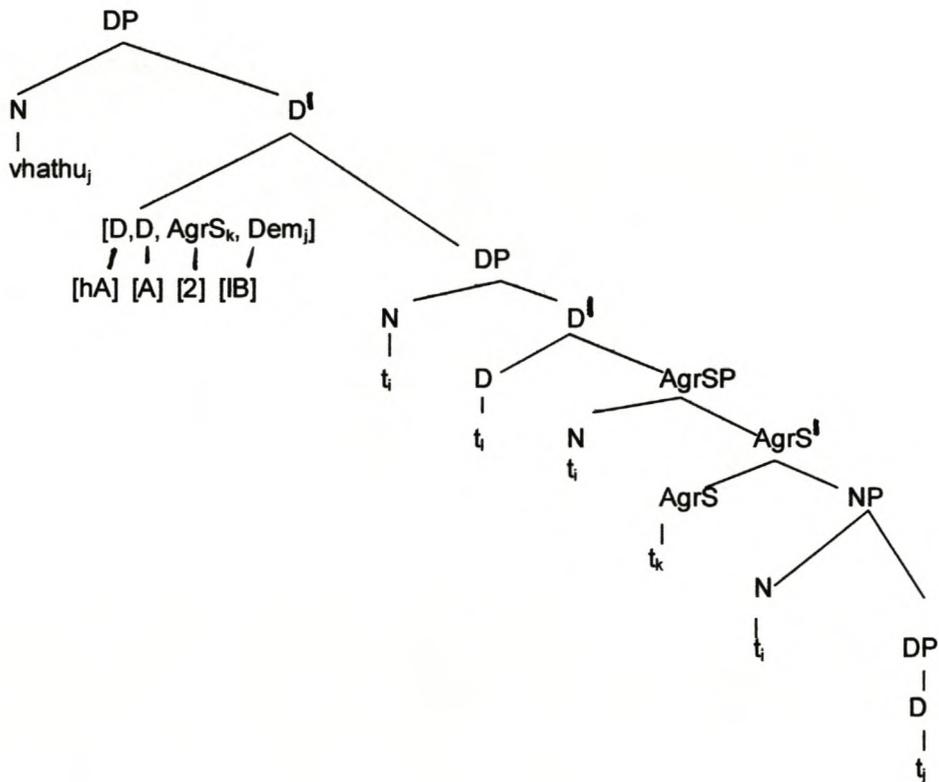
In this structure:

- The NP is a lexical projection with N as head: the noun **vhathu** (people) left a trace in three N – positions, coindexed with [i]: it is now a specifier of D.

- The proximity position of the demonstrative is IA and is base-generated within the NP as head of the DP. It now appears within D which is the head of the DP. It is coindexed with [j]. This proximity position has an overt morpheme, i.e. – no
- AgrS also appears within D as class 2 (vha) and it is coindexed with [k].
- There is no definite morpheme [A] but D will be represented as definite as demonstratives have a definiteness feature and the surface structure of this demonstrative will then be spelled out as [vhano].
- The other functional category [D] is not present, i.e. [ha].

The third structure has the emphatic definite morpheme [ha] with either structure above e.g. [vhatu havha] (These very people):

(65)



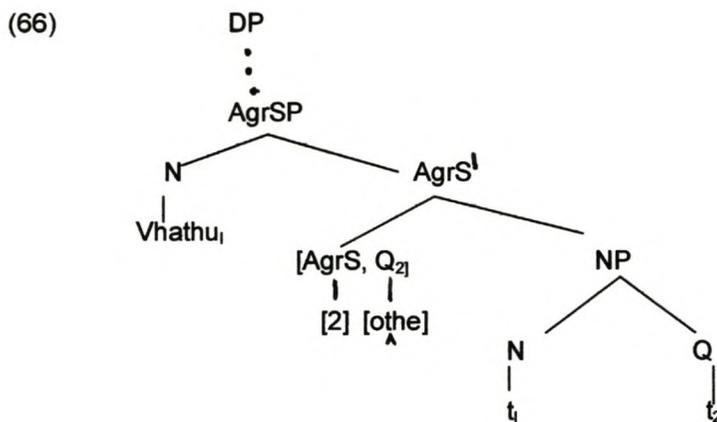
In this structure:

- The NP is a lexical projection with N as head: the noun **vhathu** (people) left a trace in three N – positions, coindexed with [i]; it is now a specifier of D.
- The proximity position of the demonstrative is IB and it is base-generated within the NP as head of the DP. It now appears within D which is the head of the DP. It is coindexed with [j]. This proximity position has no overt morpheme, but it has a specific proximity meaning, and that is why it has been indicated as [IB] to make provision for the proximity position.
- AgrS also appears within D as class 2 (**vha**) and it is coindexed with (k).
- There are two functional categories, i.e. the definite morpheme [A] coindexed with [I] and emphatic definite morpheme [hA] and the structure of this demonstrative will then be spelled out as [havha].

2.3.2.2 Quantifier –one, -sili, -o[^]the, -f[^]hio.

Quantifier –**sili** refers to something of a foreign or strange nature with regard to things, places or people. Quantifier –**one** refers to something specific from all possible instances whereas –**f[^]hio** refers to a question and –**o[^]the** refers to the number of entities or substances.

In Tshivenda the above mentioned quantifiers, i.e. –**one**, –**sili**, –**o[^]the** and –**f[^]hio** appear within the NP in a DP e.g. **vhathu vho[^]the** (All the people):



This structure is an abbreviated structure because the functional category [D] has been left out. This does not mean that it does not appear but for the purpose of showing only the quantifier, it has been left out.

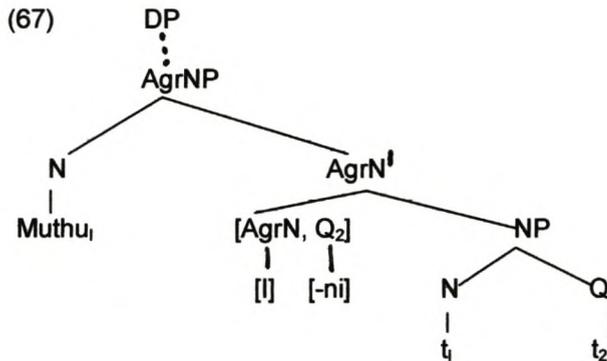
In this structure:

- The noun **vhathu** (people) is the head of NP, and it is base-generated within the NP. The noun **vhathu** (people) has left a trace in N – position, coindexed with [i]; it is now a specifier of AgrS'.
- Quantifier **-othe** appears within AgrS' and it is coindexed with [2]. The quantifier **-othe** (all) originates within NP but now appears next to AgrS: [vha + othe → vhothe].
- Only AgrS appears as a functional category.

2.3.2.3 Quantifier **-ni**, **-hwe**, **-ne**.

Quantifier **-ni** refers to a question whereas quantifier **-ne** refers to self and **-hwe** to any one or the other one of two.

In Tshivenda quantifiers $\overset{\wedge}{-ni}$, $\overset{\wedge}{-nwe}$ and $\overset{\wedge}{-ne}$ are different from the quantifiers discussed in 2.3.2.2 above because they occur with the noun class agreement as a functional category and not with the subjectival agreement. Quantifier $\overset{\wedge}{-ni}$, $\overset{\wedge}{-nwe}$ and $\overset{\wedge}{-ne}$ have the same structure. The example is given in (67) below:



In this structure:

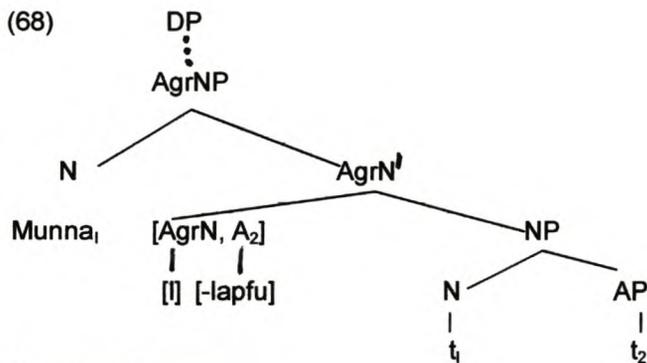
- The noun **muthu** (person) is the head of NP and is base-generated within the NP. The noun **muthu** (person) has left a trace in N – position, coindexed with [I], it is now a specifier of AgrN^I.
- Quantifier $\overset{\wedge}{-ni}$ appears within AgrN^I and it is coindexed with [2]. The quantifier $\overset{\wedge}{-ni}$ originates within NP but now appears next to AgrN: [mu – +ni → munⁱ].

Quantifier $\overset{\wedge}{-ne}$ never appears on its own but it is always present in a quantifier phrase with an absolute pronoun e.g. [vhone vha^{\wedge}ne]. In this example **vhone** is an absolute pronoun.

With the agreement of class 9 [n-] or class 10 [dzin-]: The nominal agreement will be present as a feature e.g. [class 9] but the surface structure e.g. [n – ni, n – n̄we, n – n̄e] will be **ini**, **in̄we** and **in̄e** respectively.

2.3.2.4 Adjective

The structure of DP with an adjective is different from that of the DP with quantifiers – **ni**, **n̄we** and – **n̄e** because it does not have a category [Q] but [A]. The functional category [AgrN] is however the same. The example is given in (68):



In this structure:

- The noun **munna** (man) is the head of NP and it is base-generated within the NP. The noun **munna** (man) has left a trace in N- position, coindexed with [I] ; it is now a specifier of AgrN^I.
- An adjective **-lapfu** (tall) appears within AgrN^I and it is coindexed with [2]. The adjective **-lapfu** (tall) originates within NP but now appears next to AgrN: [mu + - lapfu → mulapfu].
- Only AgrN appears as a functional category.

In the surface form of the adjective e.g. [n-lapfu] becomes **ndapfu** (tall). In other words when AgrN n- is attached before the adjective sound change

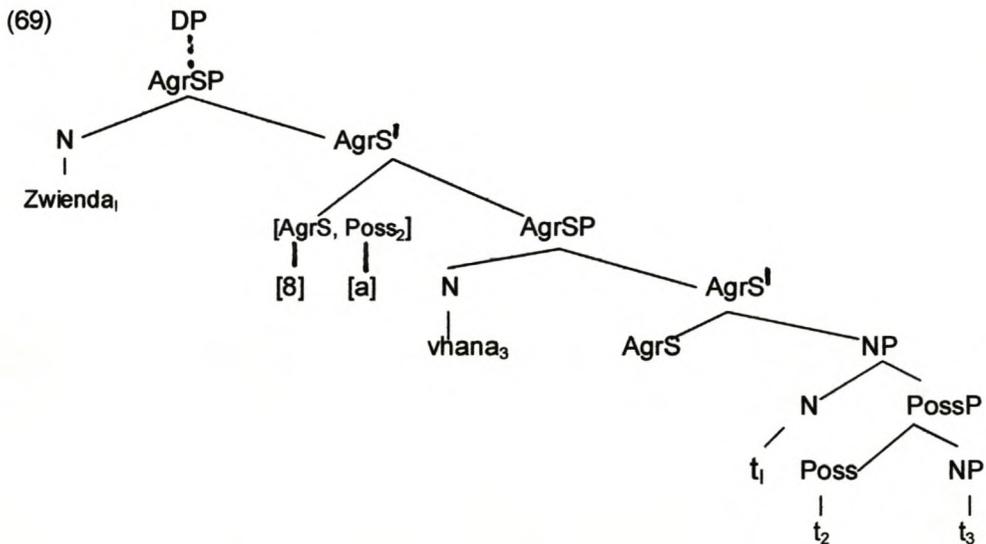
occurs. AgrN **dzin-** of class 10 is not acceptable on the adjective e.g. [dzin - + lapfu → dzindapfu*]. AgrN **n-** of class 9 is used in both classes 9 and 10.

2.3.2.5 Possessive

In Tshivenda the possessive **a** appears with agreement followed by a complement NP: [Poss NP].

The head of NP is a noun

The DP **zwienda zwa vhana** (shoes of children) can be used as the example. In this DP **zwa vhana** (of the children) is the nominal modifier. This nominal modifier consists of the possessive **a** with a complement NP with the noun **vhana** (children) as head. Structurally the DP **zwienda zwa vhana** (shoes of children) can appear as in (69):

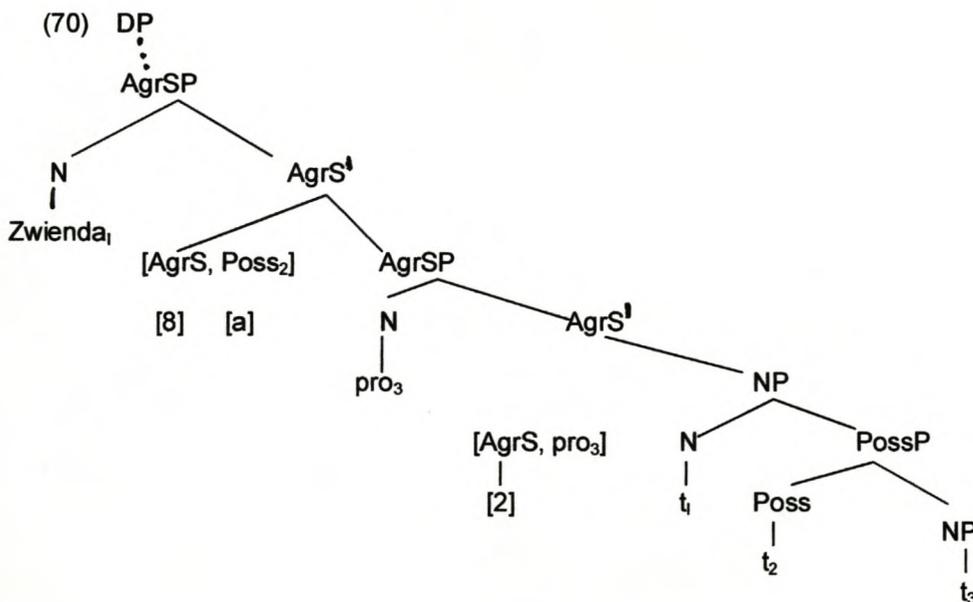


In this structure:

- The noun **zwienda** (shoes) is a specifier of AgrS¹. This noun is base-generated within the NP. The noun **zwienda** (shoes) has left a trace in N – position, coindexed with [1].
- The functional category subject includes the lexical category Poss **a**.
- Poss **a** originates within possP where it left a trace coindexed with [2].
- The complement NP **vhana** (children) also originates within PossP where it left a trace coindexed with [3].

The head of NP is a pronoun

The DP **zwienda zwavho** (their shoes) can be used as the example. In this DP, **zwavho** (their) is a nominal modifier. This nominal modifier consists of the possessive **a** and the pronoun **-vho**. This DP **zwienda zwavho** (their shoes) can appear structurally as in (70):



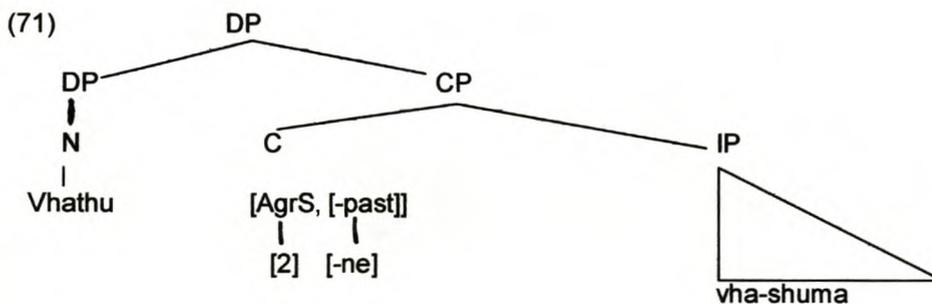
In this structure:

- The noun **zwienda** (shoes) is a specifier of AgrS¹. This noun is base-generated within the NP where it left a trace in N – position, coindexed with [1].
- The functional category subject includes the lexical category Poss **a**.
- Poss **a** originates within PossP where it left a trace coindexed with [2].
- The complement NP position is filled with an empty *pro* because there is no noun. This *pro* originates within possP where it left a trace and it is coindexed with [3].

The structures in (69) and (70) above are the same but in structure (69) the second agreement position is not filled whereas in (70) both agreement positions are filled because of the necessity for agreement on the pronoun, i.e. [vha + o → vho].

2.3.2.6 Relative clause

In Tshivenda the relative clause is a CP. A DP with a complement, i.e. complementizer phrase may form a DP in Tshivenda. The DP **vhathu vhane vha shuma** (people that work) can be used as the example. This DP can appear structurally as in [71]:



In this structure the complementizer [C] consists of AgrS 2, i.e. [vha] and tense marker [-ne]. In other words the complementizer [C] above may have a specific contents e.g. [AgrS] and [\pm past] or it may be empty of contents. There are thus three relative clauses in Tshivenda:

(i) With an overt C:

(72) a. [Vhathu [vhane vha-shuma]
(People who work)

b. [Vhathu [vhe vha-shuma]
(People who worked)

In (72) above **vhane** in (72a) and **vhe** in (72b) are complementizers. They consist of AgrS and tense markers **-ne** and **-e** respectively.

(ii) With an empty C:

(73) [Vhathu [vha – shumaho]
(People that work)

In (73) above the sentence appears with an empty complementizer position.

In general the functional category C above will then be [AgrS, - past] or [AgrS, + past] or it will be empty of contents. The IP will follow the structure of any clause with a predicate.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The functional categories in DP are D, Agr, \pm past and C.

In Tshivenda nouns and their modifiers have their base-generated position inside NP. From this position they are checked for the functional categories in feature checking.

The following morphemes appear in the demonstrative:

- a definiteness morpheme [A]
- an emphatic definiteness morpheme [hA]
- a subjectival agreement morpheme
- proximity morphemes **-no**, **-o** and **-la**.

All these morphemes appear within D'.

The demonstrative IB and II is the only nominal modifier with agreement after the root. The A in the demonstrative is a functional category and has a meaning of definiteness. This element occupies the D position whereas the noun is the specifier of D.

Quantifiers – **one**, **-sili**, **-o^hthe** and **-f^hio** appear next to AgrS in the DP. Quantifiers and AgrS appear within AgrSP but they originate within NP. Only AgrS appears as a functional category. All these quantifiers have the same structure.

On the other hand quantifiers **-ni**, **-^hnwe** and **-^hne** are different from the quantifiers mentioned above because in the DP they occur with the noun class agreement as a functional category and not with the subjectival agreement. These quantifiers have also the same structure. Quantifier **-^hne**

never appears on its own but with an absolute pronoun. These quantifiers and AgrN appear within AgrNP.

In the DP with an adjective, an adjective appears with AgrN as the functional category and not with subjectival agreement. Its structure differs from that of the DP with quantifiers **-ni**, **-niwe** and **-ne** because it does not have a category [Q] but [A]. An adjective and AgrN are found within AgrNP.

In the DP with possessive **a**, possessive **a** appears with agreement followed by a complement NP: [PossNP]. The head of NP can be a noun or pro. Possessive **a** appears with AgrS.

In the DP with the relative clause a complementizer [C] is a functional category. The complementizer [C] may have specific contents e.g. [AgrS] and [\pm past] or it may be empty of contents.

CHAPTER THREE

CASE

3.1 AIM

The aim of this Chapter is to explore case as a grammatical category in Tshivenda. Types of case found in Tshivenda will be discussed. Grammatical functions found with cases will be investigated. This chapter will also examine the following i.e. case and direct object, indirect object, adjunct NPs and Cognate object. The issue of inherent and structural cases will also receive attention.

3.2. OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON CASE

3.2.1 Blake (1994)

Blake (1994) regards case as a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. Traditionally the term refers to inflectional marking, and, typically, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level. He further stated that case is also used for the phenomenon of having a case system and a language with such a system is sometimes referred to as a case language.

According to him Turkish has a system of six cases i.e. nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative and ablative. In Turkish only specific direct objects are marked as accusative. Locative marks location and the ablative indicates 'from' or 'out of'. The genitive is used in possession. Cases can be governed by verbs as well as prepositions or postpositions.

Turkish has postpositions which govern the ablative. A case in Turkish is represented by an affix. These affixes are separable from the stem, so it is possible to talk of case markers. In other languages a case suffix cannot be isolated and it is necessary to talk in terms of the various word forms that express the cases of the stem. These are case forms.

In Turkish the nominative expresses the subject, but not all noun phrases in the nominative are subject.

According to Blake Latin has also six cases, i.e. nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative and ablative. The vocative is used in forms of address. The nominative encodes the subject and nouns that stand in a predicative relation to the subject. The accusative encodes the direct object and nouns that stand in a predicative relation to the object. It also expresses destination. It is governed by a number of prepositions including all those that indicate 'motion towards' or 'extent'. The genitive is mainly used to mark noun phrases as dependents of nouns, i.e. it is primarily an adnominal case. Among its adnominal functions is the encoding of possessor. It is also used to mark the complements of certain verbs. For instance with some verbs of remembering and forgetting it marks the entity remembered or forgotten; with some verbs of reminding the person reminded is encoded as an accusative – marked direct object and the entity to be remembered is put in the genitive, and with verbs of accusing, condemning or acquitting the accused is expressed as a direct object in the accusative with the fault or crime in the genitive.

He regards dative as the case to mark the indirect object. A few three-place verbs like 'to give' take a direct object in the accusative and an indirect object in the dative. A few score of two-place verbs take only one object, an indirect object in the dative.

According to him the ablative in Latin represents the syncretism or merger of three once-distinct cases: the ablative, the locative and the instrumental. It is not surprising then to find that it expresses source, location and instrument. It is also described as having a number of other functions including expressing the 'agent of the passive', i.e. the demoted subject of the corresponding active. Ablative is usually governed by a preposition. In Latin these prepositions include **ex** 'out of', **in** 'in' and **cum** 'with' (with friends). One function where it is normally used without any preposition is the instrumental as in **manū** 'by hand'. A handful of verbs take a complement in the ablative case. These include **ūtī** 'to use' and **vescī** 'to feed on'.

According to Blake the familiar languages of Europe, whether Indo-European or Uralic, exhibit accusative system. In Latin the subject is encoded in the nominative and object in the accusative. Moreover, the subject is represented pronominally in the verb. In the Bantu languages typically there is no case marking, but the cross-referring agreement system and the word order operate in an accusative system. Both subject and object are represented by prefixes on the verb and the basic word order is subject – verb-object. With most languages for a certain case to be assigned some qualification is required with respect to animacy and/or definiteness. In many languages accusative case marking is not used if the direct object is 'indefinite'. According to him English pronouns bear accusative marking.

In various languages where there are local cases such as locative, alative and ablative, there is a straight forward relationship between case marking, case and role or function. Typically there will be a marker peculiar to a case, and the case will have a clear semantic function. With the grammatical cases, however, the function is not always so clear, and the case marking is often not in a one-for-one correspondence with the cases.

Core grammatical cases express the core grammatical relations. The core relations of subject and direct object in an accusative system is syntactic

rather than semantic, though the object could be said to have a semantic basis.

The label dative is the Latin translation applied to the Latin case with the corresponding function. In ancient Greek the case used to express the indirect object with verbs like **didonai** 'to give' was called the **ptōsis dotikē** or 'giving case'.

The dative covers a range of functions like the following:

- a. indirect object of some two-place verbs low on the transitivity scale.
- b. indirect object of a few three-place verbs such as GIVE and SHOW
- c. the roles of purpose and beneficiary.
- d. possessor (frequently expressed by the genitive).
- e. the indirect object of a detransitivised construction.
- f. the direct object in certain aspects or tenses.
- g. the indirect subject of certain verbs or of all verbs in certain aspects.

Blake regards accusative as a syntactic case which can encode a variety of semantic roles but a central one is that of encoding the affected patient of activity verbs. The dative is likewise a syntactic case that can encode a variety of roles, but Blake suggests that its central function is to encode entities that are the target of an activity or emotion. Traditional definitions refer to the entity indirectly affected as opposed to the entity directly affected, which is encoded by the direct object. The accusative and the dative may be in syntagmatic contrast or in paradigmatic opposition. The accusative encodes the entity that is directly affected in the sense that it is moved or

transferred to new ownership and the dative encodes the sentient destination, the one to whom the transfer is directed.

Genitive covers possessor and the label possessive case is a common alternative. The genitive case is often used to encode a complement of a nominalised verb, most often the subject.

In eastern Europe it is common to find that partly affected patients are put in the partitive case. In Finnish the partitive is used for the patient if it represents part or a whole or an indefinite quantity, or if the action is incomplete, or if the polarity of the clause is negative.

The term local refers to 'place'. These cases express notions of location ('at'), destination ('to'), source ('from') and path ('through').

According to Blake a variety of languages have a comitative case expressing accompaniment. In Tamil, Telugu it is known as sociative. An instrumental case encodes the instrument with which an action is carried out. It is sometimes used to encode the agent of the passive in an accusative language. In the Uralic language a case called abessive or privative is found. It means 'lacking', 'not having'. In Australia this case is matched by a 'having' case called the concomitant or propriative.

The labels aversive, evitative and causal have been used for a case category common in Australian languages.

Comparative ('than') occurs in some Dravidian and some Northeast caucasian languages.

3.2.2. Löbel (1994)

According to Löbel Russian and Finnish languages show existence of more than one case in the object position. Case alternation is conditioned due to nominal and NP- internal features, i.e. features such as [+/- animate], and [+/- definite]. According to her Moravcsik (1978) has listed the following criteria responsible for case alternation:

- a. the definiteness- indefiniteness of the noun phrase,
- b. the extent to which the object is involved in the event,
- c. the completedness versus non-completedness of the event,
- d. whether the sentence is affirmative or negative.

In Finnish objects of non-resultative actions are in the partitive and those resultative actions in the nominative or genitive. In Russian the genitive is used to case-mark the object if the entire sentence is negated.

Löbel states that in Russian the object NP of a transitive verb such as put can be marked either with accusative or partitive case depending on the referential features of a NP. In this case the NP is marked with accusative case if it is definite and with partitive when it is indefinite.

According to Löbel (1994), Lamontagne / Travis (1986 and 1987) investigated the factors responsible for the alternation between morphologically overt case and case-marking by zero. For zero case-marking, the NP must be adjacent to the case –assigning verb. According to Lamontagne / Travis the category k is a functional category which is case and which does not assign case but it bears or transmits features. The features may be either base –generated on the functor, or they may be transmitted from the governing head. In other words the case-assigning verb

carries the feature [+ accusative], it may transmit the case feature to its sister node, KP, and therefore to the head k.

Löbel (1994) states that according to Belletti (1988) the NP object can be marked by partitive case, depending on the definite or indefinite reading of a NP. By saying this she tries to indicate that partitive is an inherent case. She assumes that transitives and unaccusative verbs assign accusative case and partitive case alternatively depending on the nature (definite or indefinite) of the object NP involved.

According to Löbel in Finnish partitive case can be assigned to both the subject and object. In other words, for transitive verbs the feature [+/- AGR] correlates with the Nominative, whereas [-AGR] correlates with the partitive. This means that, in Finnish, INFL is capable of assigning two structural cases to its subject: Nominative and partitive. This is an evidence against Belletti, who considers the partitive to be an inherent case. Löbel states that two features must be specified in the Finnish DP: [\pm definite] and [\pm total], a quantitative feature and a referential feature.

Löbel splits D into two separate functional categories i.e. D. and K. According to her D functions as a feature bearer of referential features and K for case. Löbel regards K as a functional category. The functional category K selects a DP and transmits the case feature to it.

The case which is assigned by the verb is fully specified only with regard to lexical / inherent case since this case feature is already specified in the lexicon. Case assignment varies according to languages, in some structural case is available for a given position such as object NP of a verb whereas in others more than one structural case is possible.

According to Löbel lexical case has absolute priority, and overrules any other assignment of structural case. This case assignment may not be changed by any syntactic process.

Nominative and Accusative cases are assigned in terms of s-structure positions. These cases may be replaced by other cases. Referential and nominal features may influence case alternation.

Referential features are [+/- definite]. These features are found in the functional category D. INFL assigns Nominative for present, imperfect, and future tense as well as for conditional and subjunctive mood. This case assignment depends upon the Tense feature. The Ergative is assigned with aorist, optative, and imperative, and the Dative with perfect, past perfect, and subjunctive perfect. The NP is assigned Genitive case if it has a non-specific reading.

Nominal features are [+/-human] and [+/-animate] which are relevant to case-marking. In Spanish the feature [+human] is visible in the functional category D because it is not visible in the noun itself. In this language the feature [+human] is relevant for case-marking and must be regarded as a syntactic feature of this language.

In Russian the feature [\pm animate] is relevant for case marking. The genitive form is used if the noun is accusative and animate whereas the nominative is used if the noun is accusative and inanimate. The adjective agrees in animacy.

3.2.3. Siloni (1997)

According to Siloni the computational system projects structures constrained by X-bar theory. An x-bar structure consists of projections of heads. The

head has a sister which is its complement. In the clausal system, an inflectional head bears V-features, which are checked in a head-head relation with the raised verb, and DP- features, which are checked in a spec-head relation after raising of the appropriate DP.

According to Siloni (1997), Chomsky (1986a) distinguishes two kinds of cases, i.e. structural and inherent cases. According to Chomsky inherent case is assigned by ω to DP only if ω θ -marks DP, while structural case imposes no such thematic requirement. Accusative and nominative cases are instances of structural cases as they are not thematically related. Oblique case assigned by prepositions or dative are examples of inherent cases, as their assigners also θ -mark the assignee. Inherent case is assigned in situ under sisterhood, while structural case is available under government or in a spec-head configuration.

Structural Case can be conceived as the manifestation of a Spec-Agr^o relation. The object raises to SpecAgr^o and checks accusative case with the complex head [Agr^{v+Agr}]. And the subject raises to specAgr^{SP} and checks nominative case with the complex head [Agr T+ Agr].

In Hebrew there are two kinds of accusative case, i.e. the accusative case of transitive verbs and the one found in nominal contexts. Accusative case of transitive verbs is a structural accusative case which is checked within the functional category Agr^{OP}. The case in nominal context is assigned by $\acute{e}t$. Siloni regards this kind of case as the inherent case, since event nominals fail to realize their object as an accusative. Foreign Hebrew nouns do not assign this case. The syntactic approach take event nominals to contain a bare verbal projection; in the absence of Agr^{OP}, structural accusative would not be available. Therefore this kind of case is referred to as inherent accusative case. In Hebrew accusative case is not available in the passive environment.

3.2.4. Mallen (1997)

According to Mallen in German, Icelandic and Norwegian possessive elements are permitted to occur either pre-or postnominally. Pronominal genitives and determiners both occupy the Det domain. These languages have a genitive marker – s with a null – suffix reflex (Gen) base-generated in AgrS. Because it is the features of GEN that releases case-features on Spec, AgrSP, an agent may have its case feature matched regardless of the nature of the nominalizing affix in the lower Agr. Any language which have GEN generated in AgrS would permit an external argument even in the presence of an internal argument in Spec, AgrOP.

When a proper noun occupies Spec, AgrSP, GEN assigns one single case and the proper noun moves to Det position. In German proper nouns, terms of relation and possessive pronouns may occupy pre-nominal position for the elements morphologically marked as [+definite] must have this feature checked in a proper Det category.

In Norwegian, once the noun is in Det [+def], it blocks the occurrence of an attributive adjective. In Icelandic, movement can be postponed until LF and the adjective can co-occur with the definite noun. If the noun doesn't raise the attributive adjective is free to occur with the definite noun in both languages. In German the agent argument receives case in Spec, AgrSP in cases of post nominal agentive genitives.

The object can receive genitive case from AgrO after the noun raises to it. The subject is assigned case under agreement with GEN in AgrS. As a result, the agent moves to Det to match the feature [+definite]. The noun cannot raise to kase over a genitive agent if AgrO is present in the same structure. AgrS is closer to kase than AgrO. Hence it prevents the nouns in AgrO from raising to kase. In result nominals the noun moves to AgrS since

AgrO does not provide it with the nominal feature [AgrN], which is absorbed by the result affix. As a result, the noun can move from AgrS to kase with no problem.

Noun raising to kase is clearly possible once agent which is coindexed with GEN, moves to Det.

Attributive adjectives in German occur prenominaly. Mallen assumes that adjectives are generated inside NP. Attributive adjective ends up to the right of the raised head if the noun is raised to kase. Unless they also move from their base-generated position inside NP to the domain of kase. This position is Spec, KP. The case on the adjective must always agree with the case on the noun since both are in the domain of the same kase. More than one adjective may land in Spec,KP. Det and kase are linked in a chain and feature content of the noun reaches Det through this chain.

According to Mallen possessive pronouns are unable to head a case chain in German, but noun phrases introduced by possessive pronouns are interpreted as definite. It is assumed that the possessive affix moves to Det but cannot head feature chain.

In Norwegian possessive pronouns occur with weak attributive adjective inflection and exhibit more independence. They can occur with a genitive DP in Spec, AgrP and may also occupy a postnominal position. Norwegian possessive is more like a clitic base-generated in AgrS and potentially coindexed with a separate genitive DP in Spec, AgrSP.

As an independent word, the possessive pronouns may undergo clitic-climbing to Det [+def] and from there head the case-chain. As a result, the adjective may be marked with weak inflection.

Even **s-** marked genitives, which are specified as [+definite] fail to serve as heads of case chains. This is because the genitive element receives independent case from AgrS and cannot participate in an additional case chain.

If the domain of Kase is computed hierarchically, the top member of a string of adjectives in Spec,KP may be considered the carrier of the case feature encoded on the tail. In other words, the DP – feature shared by kase and Spec,KP is transferred down a chain of adjectives adjoined to each other. The top adjective carries the morphological marking.

Uninflected adjectives in the left most position in a string of adjectives block percolation. If they are in between the sequence of adjectives or the rightmost member of the sequence they don't block percolation.

3.2.5. Carstens (1991)

According to Carstens (1991), Kuroda (1986) Fukui & Speas (1986), Koopman & Sportiche (1990), henceforth K&S) argue that subjects of IP always originate VP-internally, and that languages differ with regard to whether case may be assigned to that position or not. K&S note that raising correlates with subject agreement: if the subject does not raise to [Spec, IP] for nominative case, there is no subject – verb agreement.

According to K & S in Welsh and Arabic languages subject raising is optional.

Carstens proposes that possessors and agents of type I language are similar to VP-internal subjects in Arabic, in that they may receive case without having moved first. In type II languages, subjects do raise in order to have case.

It appears that the case assigned to in situ subjects of N is always an *of*-like morpheme not one of the cases that H assigns to its spec in Type II languages, which are often INFL-like, and spelled out as morphology on the head of the argument DP. *Of* is generally the case-marker for complements of N, and often serves as a kind of default case-marker within ENP, having the ability to introduce both arguments and modificational DPs.

Carstens suggests that where arguments are concerned, *of* provides a means of indirect assignment of the case feature of H or N, the latter being a “defective” case assigner. He assumes that H has only one case to assign, whether it assigns it to spec or under ECM to the subject in situ.

In type I languages lexical subjects are postnominal and as a result they bear oblique case, transmitted by *of*, and they do not trigger agreement on the head noun because they do not raise to a spec position.

In type II languages, lexical subjects raise for case to [Spec, Hp]. At the same time they trigger [Spec, head] agreement on the head noun.

3.2.6. Drijkoningen and Van Kemade (1991)

In Heerlens double objects can be found appearing in a wide range of constructions. The work focuses on the possessive object construction, in which the indirect object is interpreted as the possessor of the other object. This construction is composed with the benefactive construction.

The following examples were considered.

- (1) a. H Ik sla je een vlieg dood
I beat (i.o) a fly dead.

- b. H Ik ruim hem de kamer op
I clean him (i.o) the room PART.
- c. H Ik smeer haar de boterhammen
I butter her (i.o) the sandwiches

In the above examples each indirect object can be replaced by a voor-PP. The double object construction however seems to imply some 'involvement' of the person referred to by the indirect object in the event described. The benefactive and possessive object constructions differ with respect to the restrictions placed on the direct or the prepositional object. In the benefactive construction the object can be either an indefinite or a definite NP, whereas an indefinite NP leads to unacceptability in the possessive object construction. It can be accepted if it is interpreted as benefactive construction. Sometimes the use of definite object can lead to ambiguity between possessive and benefactive interpretation. But if the direct object refers to a body-part this ambiguity is impossible.

In Heerlens, there are two passive constructions that correspond to the prepositional inalienable possession construction. Here the possessive NP may have either the dative or the accusative case.

There is an alternation of a reflexive possessive object and a genitive specifier in French and German. The reflexive construction expresses a coincidental event whereas a genitive specifier changes coincidence into action; the event is deliberately performed. The possessed object is interpreted as alienable if the genitive specifier is interpreted as coreferential with the subject, the object refers to a prothesis or something of the sort.

In Heerlens the construction with the reflexive refers to a deliberate action. Coincidental event can only be expressed in Heerlens if the reflexive object has been dropped.

Contrary to French and German, the inalienable possession reading is maintained, the subject is interpreted as the possessor of the object. In accordance with this, the possessed object will appear with a definite article.

In *band lek* – construction the subject is interpreted as the possessor of the object which must be definite as in the possessive object construction. In ABN a state is described with the help of a copular construction or with the help of an attributive adjective.

The copular construction in Heerlens may appear with an overt possessive object and this confirms the assumption that the subject is an underlying indirect object. Further the subject behaves as a possessive subject and that a possessive object cannot be added to this construction.

3.2.7. Kempchinsky (1992)

According to Kempchinsky, Mark Goldin (1972) examined the different semantic roles that the Spanish indirect object could bear, contrasting it with the indirect object in the English so-called double – object construction. Two of these roles were benefactive / malefactive and possessor.

According to her, Roldan (1972) claimed that the essential semantic role of the dative clitic was the “person or thing” affected positively or negatively by the action expressed by the verb.

In this work Kempchinsky claims that the possessive dative also bears the θ -role of benefactive / malefactive. Thus, it is part of a chain which includes

an empty category within the direct object DP in the position to which the possessor relation is assigned and an argument position within VP which receives the benefactive / malefactive role. This account picks out two facts of the possessive dative construction which seem to be strange.

(2) A. The possessor relation holds between the dative clitic and the noun phrase in direct object position.

B. The possessor interpretation includes benefactive / malefactive, although the inverse is not true.

Kempchinsky assumes that the possessor relation is assigned to the maximal projection occupying the [Spec, DP].

Concerning the benefactive argument she assumes that it is dominated by some projection of V and is coindexed with the dative clitic. She regards benefactive as a true θ -role, assigned the complex clitic + verb; the possessor relation, however is not. Without the clitic the benefactive θ -role is absent.

According to Kempchinsky, Roldan (1972) proposed that the benefactive reading is also dependent on the verb, arguing that this interpretation is limited to what she termed 'verbs of action'.

Kempchinsky regards possessor relation as an instantiation of modification. When the benefactive dative bears any kind of semantic relation with the direct object DP, can only be related to this DP as possessor.

If the direct object DP has both an agent and a possessor, the DP coindexed with the indirect object clitic can only be interpreted as possessor. The possessor relation with these nominals can 'include both the notion of

possessor and the notion of creator or agent especially in the case of an abstract nominal such as **traducción** 'translation'. Class B nominals may denote only process/event. With these nominals, the possessor relation is not available; when a genitive–marked DP or a possessive adjective appears with these nominals it can refer only to the complement of the nominal.

According to Kempchinsky, Cinque (1990) proposed an intermediate projection between NP and DP, and he assumed that the element associated with the possessor relation is in [Spec, QP] rather than [Spec, DP]. According to her, Guéron (1986) observed that the interpretation of inalienable possession is blocked with body–part NPs when this NP contains a descriptive adjective, however, if the NP is modified by a restrictive adjective rather than a non –restrictive adjective interpretation of possession is possible.

According to the theory of proper government the empty category should be properly governed by its antecedent. There should not be a barrier between [e] and its antecedent. According to Kempchinsky (1992), Torrego (1985) argues that head government for ECP purposes requires that there be coindexing between the governing head and the governee. Whenever coindexing with a clitic obtains, the possessor interpretation should be available.

If there is no verb available as a head governor for [e] the only way that [e] can meet the ECP is by θ -government. Since the dative clitic does participate in assigning a θ -role, it may serve as a θ -governor for [e]; although this empty category is not itself θ -marked, it is in a chain containing both a θ -assigner (the clitic) and a θ -marked argument. On either alternative the presence of the θ -role assigning clitic is important, thus accounting for the link between the possessive interpretation and the benefactive interpretation.

Kempchinsky proposes that [e] is a base-generated empty anaphor. As such it must be A –bound, meeting this requirement via coindexing with the noun phrase receiving the benefactive θ -role.

3.2.8. Walsh (1992)

According to Walsh possession in Spanish both alienable and inalienable is expressed by morpho-syntactic constructs, like the pronominal possessive adjective, the preposition *de* + NP, the dative clitic, both reflexive and non-reflexive and also by the definite article alone, with the subject of the sentence interpreted as possessor.

Assuming that the pronominal possessive adjective is the pronominal form of a *de* + NP genitive phrase, the morphological expression of possession in Spanish can be classified as follows: (i) possessive adjective (ii) dative clitic (\pm reflexive), and (iii) a non -phonologically overt morpheme.

According to Walsh, Roldan (1965) states that the possessive function of the dative clitic is linked to the expression of “benefactive / malefactive”. Although the expression of possession with the dative entails the benefactive/malefactive reading, the inverse is not necessary true.

In the syntactic structure possessor phrases occupy the specifier position, which is the highest position. According to Walsh, Zubizarreta (1987) assumed that the element occupying the specifier position within DP is interpreted as a possessor as a result of the syntactic process of modification, subject to the structural constraints stated in (3) below:

- (3) A modifies B in the context [_C...A...B...] iff C immediately dominates A and B, C is a projection of B, and B is not a head.

Walsh assumes that modification is represented via coindexing between the modifier and the modifiee.

By the principle of modification, it cannot be the definite article itself which is interpreted as the possessor. Rather, there must be an empty category in the specifier position of DP. Concerning the benefactive argument, Walsh assumes that it is dominated by some projection of V and is coindexed within the dative clitic.

The interpretation of the dative clitic as a possessor of the direct object corresponds to a specific syntactic structure, in which an empty category, [e], is interpreted as the possessor, via modification. The dative clitic is interpreted as the possessor due to the coindexing of this clitic with [e]. It is clear that the benefactive dative does not always entail possession. In such cases, there is simply no empty category in the specifier position, although there may in fact be an overt category there. Walsh proposes that this empty category is a base-generated empty anaphor. As an anaphor it must have an antecedent. The dative clitic and its coindexed argument can serve as the antecedent.

Various Romance languages have shown that inalienable possession constructions, have the characteristics of the antecedent-anaphor relation in that the possessor NP always c-commands the body –part NP within the same clause, parallel to the c-command holding between an anaphor and its antecedent.

In Spanish benefactive phrases, the dative clitic and its associated argument may bear the role of benefactive. Benefactive datives require the presence of the clitic, even in the presence of the full argument.

An argument coindexed with the clitic will have the benefactive interpretation and dative case. This dative argument c-commands the direct object and the empty anaphor within that direct object and the anaphor will meet the requirement for an antecedent imposed on it by binding theory.

Along with benefactive datives Spanish also has the so-called “ethical dative” or “speaker clitic”. This clitic co-occurs with a dative clitic, either reflexive or non –reflexive.

According to Walsh, Mallen assumes that the possessor relation is associated with the specifier position of QP, rather than DP.

According to Walsh, Guéron (1986) observed that the inalienable possession interpretation is blocked with body-part NPs when the NP is modified by a non-restrictive descriptive adjective. If the NP is modified by a restrictive adjective rather than a non restrictive adjective, the inalienable possession interpretation is again possible.

According to Walsh, Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1990) noted that in French inalienable possession constructions, the body-part noun phrase is not a true referential NP, denoting some distinct entity in the real world. Rather, the denotation of the body–part is dependent on the denotation of the possessor NP. In other words, when possession is expressed via the possessive adjective, the body-part NP is a referential expression.

This account claims that an empty anaphor in the relevant position can be interpreted as the possessor of the noun phrase within that QP when the anaphor has an appropriate antecedent.

At both D-S levels the subject c-commands the empty anaphor within the direct object, so that binding requirements are met. As with the possessive

dative construction, a non restrictive adjective rules out the construal of inalienable possession.

3.3 FEATURES OF CASE

3.3.1. Case as a nominal inflectional category

According to Beard (1995) Case is the only nominal category unquestionably controlled by syntax. It is a nominal inflectional category because it concerns nouns and it occurs outside all other morphological markers. Case expresses relations between nouns, and nouns and verbs in a phrase. It may be marked by free adpositions (prepositions and postpositions) or by simple affixation as shown in (4) below:

- (4) Vanj-a pisał otkrytk –u Maš-e karandaš –om noč^ŷ-ju
 Vanya – Nom wrote postcard –Acc Masha –DAT pencil – INST
 night –INST
 “Vanya **wrote** a postcard **to** Masha **with** a pencil **at** night”.

In the Russian phrase, **Vanya** appears in the Nominative to indicate its syntactic role as subject while **otkrytk (a)** is in the accusative to indicate that it plays the role of DO. **Maša** is in the Dative because it is the IO, and **karandaš** and **noč^ŷ** are in the Instrumental; the former because it represents the Means of writing and the latter represents the temporal Locus at which the letter was written.

Case markers pass the Peripheral Affix Test, for they always occur outside all other morphological markers except clitics, which are themselves syntactic. They also pass the Free Analog Test as the English example in (5):

- (5) a. **To** who(m) did you give it?
 b. Who(m) did you give it **to**?

The IO marker in (5) is just as independent of the noun whose Case it marks as the Dative Case marker in (4) is bound to the Russian IO. Since it must have a syntactic position in the phrase, the category it marks must be inflectional.

3.3.2. Abstract Case

In the African languages Case is abstract and it may be marked by free adpositions:

- (6) [Mpho] o-ñwalela [vhabebi] [vhurifhi] nga [penisela] [nduni]
 'Mpho wrote parents letter with a pencil in the house'

In (6) above **Mpho** appears in the Nominative to indicate its syntactic role as subject, **vhurifhi** is in the accusative to indicate that it plays the role of direct object while **vhabebi** is in the dative because it is the indirect object. **Penisela** and **ndu** are in the instrumental, the former because it represents the means of writing and the latter because it represents the place at which the letter was written.

3.3.3 Case assignment

According to Haegeman (1991) cases are assigned under government. NPs that are not governed are not assigned case. These include PRO and NP trace.

Government theory concerns the relation between the lexical heads and their complements. In Government theory there are governors and governees. The lexical heads are governors and complements governees.

The categories that are governed are case marked. Government is the issue of locality. Categories that are situated far away from the lexical head will not be governed by that lexical head. Government is restricted to sisterhood relation. The following is the definition of government:

(7) α governs β iff

- a. α is a zero level category
- b. α C (onstituent) command β , and
- c. for every γ , γ a maximal projection/phrase dominating β , γ also dominates α (i.e. α and β must be contained within the same maximal projection)

In Tshivenda there are seven types of case; i.e. Nominative case which is assigned by mood and /or tense and /or AgrS. Accusative case which is assigned by the verb with objectival agreement (AgrO) or by a copulative verb such as **ndi**. This case can also be assigned through the position in a clause. Instrumental case is assigned by three prepositions, i.e. **nga**, **sa** and **na**. Dative case is assigned by the verb. Genitive case is assigned by genitive **a**. Locative case is assigned by preposition **kha** and **ha** or the locative morphology **-ni**. Vocative case which is assigned by the clause or sentence.

In Tshivenda case assignment mostly occurs at S-structure and is assigned to an NP by virtue of the structural position it occupies and percolates to the head of that NP.

According to Haegeman (1991) Case Theory recognises two types of case assignment, i.e. inherent case which is assigned at D-structure and structural case which is assigned at S-structure. Inherent case is assigned by particular lexical items while structural case is assigned by particular syntactic configurations. Nominative case and Accusative case are examples of structural case assignment and Oblique case, Genitive case and Locative case are examples of inherent case assignment.

Characteristics of structural case and Inherent case

- Structural case

It is assigned at S-structure to an NP by a category that governs this NP. An NP assigned structural case can be associated with an AgrO affix. Structural case assignment features of a verb is absorbed by passive morphology. Structural case requires adjacency of the case assigner to the NP to which case is assigned.

-Inherent case

According to Haegeman (1991) inherent case is assigned at D-structure to an NP by a category that governs and θ -marks this NP. An NP assigned inherent case cannot be associated with an AgrO affix. Inherent Case is not affected by passive morphology. Adjacency is not a requirement.

As far as government is concerned PRO is ungoverned. It is ungoverned because its inflection lacks agreement and hence it has no governor. Empty PRO cannot be governed by the verb of the matrix clause because it is protected from outside government by I' which is a barrier. PRO is in its rightful place where it should be because by nature it is ungoverned. PRO will remain in the subject position of infinitival clause without a governor.

Empty PRO must be found always in the case less position. If PRO is found in the case marked position the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

A category α leaves behind a trace in the site from which α has been extracted. A trace has the same categorial status as the moved constituent. On this view trace is regarded as a type of NP since it is of the same status as the moved NP. The moved constituent is coindexed with the trace, such that a mental relationship of identity is established between the moved constituent and the trace. An NP trace is always bound in its governing category. Thus an NP trace is always bound within its governing category by its antecedent. NP trace is not assigned Case.

An empty category pro is assigned case since it is governed.

Question word trace is properly governed and as such it is assigned case; when it is the trace of an argument Q-word.

As far as deficient verbs are concerned they lack the property of assigning case to the NP complements. For the sake of NP complement to be assigned case it must move to the subject position (Spec AgrS") to be assigned case under the government of AgrS.

3.3.4. Case filter

One principle of case theory is the case filter, which states that any s-structure that contains an NP with lexical content but no case is ungrammatical.

Passive verbs lack the power of case assignment to all its complements because one case is absorbed by the passive morphology and this causes movement to occur.

Sometimes in passives, NPs are found not moving. In this case the subject position is occupied by the pronoun **hu** which has existential features. This **pro** and the post verbal NP form a chain because they have the same index. Empty category **pro** receives nominative case assigned by the AgrS element of Inflection and shares it with postverbal NP.

3.3.5. Case categories

According to Beard (1995) case categories are found in two groups, i.e. primary and secondary categories. These categories are as follows:

I. Primary Categories

Ergative	:	not in IE Languages
Absolutive	:	not in IE Languages
Nominative	:	Word order
Accusative	:	Word order
Genitive	:	of
Genitive	:	with/of
Genitive	:	(our) of.
Ablative	:	than
Instrumental	:	by/with
Instrumental	:	by/via
Acc/Instr	:	like
Acc/Instr	:	as
Instrumental	:	for
Ablative	:	by

Dative : to/for
 Ablative : from/out of

SPATIAL

Locative : at/in/on
 Accusative/Locative : to
 Ablative : from/of

II. Secondary Declensional categories

SPATIAL

Locative : in
 Locative : on
 Genitive : in front of
 Ablative : behind
 Ablative : after
 Genitive : over
 Accusative : under
 Accusative : across
 Accusative : between
 Accusative : along
 Genitive : by/near/at
 Accusative : against
 Accusative : through
 Accusative : around
 Instrument : without
 Accusative : about

Grammatical functions

The following are grammatical functions that are associated with case. They are primary and secondary functions:

Primary functions

Agent	Ession
patient	duration
subject	Iteration
object	accordance
possessivity	
possession	purpose
measure	exchange
material	cause
partitivity	sociation
Distinction	Route
Absolute	Manner
Means	

SPATIAL

- * Location
- *temporal
- *Goal
- *Origin

Secondary functions

SPATIAL

Inession	Opposition
Adession	Perlation

Anteriority
 Posteriority
 Superession
 Subession
 Transession
 Intermediacy
 Prolation
 Proximity

Circumession
 Termination
 Concession
 Distribution
 Exception
 Privation
 Thematicity

3.4. CASE IN TSHIVENDA

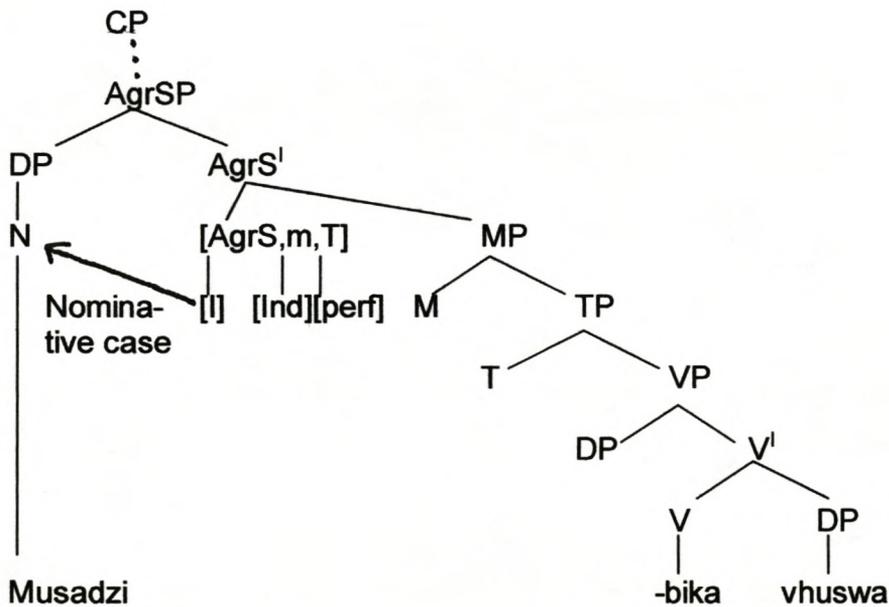
3.4.1. Nominative case

a. Assignment of nominative case

In Tshivenda mood and / or tense and / or AgrS are the assigners of nominative case:

(i) Mood, Tense and AgrS:

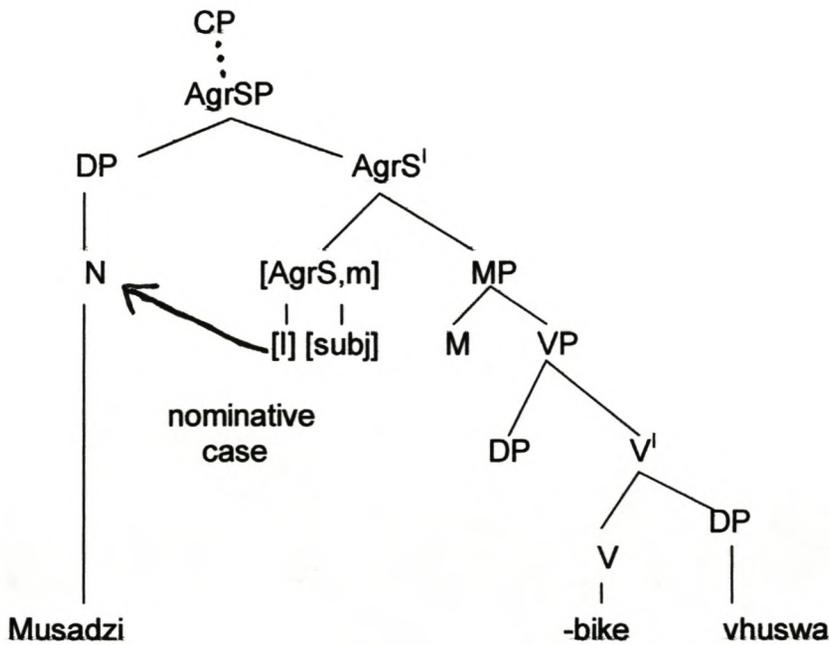
(8) [Musadzi] o-bika vhuswa.
 (The woman cooked porridge)



In (8) above the noun **musadzi** (woman) is assigned nominative case by indicative mood, perfect tense and AgrS. These elements of inflection assign nominative case to this noun jointly.

(ii) Mood and AgrS:

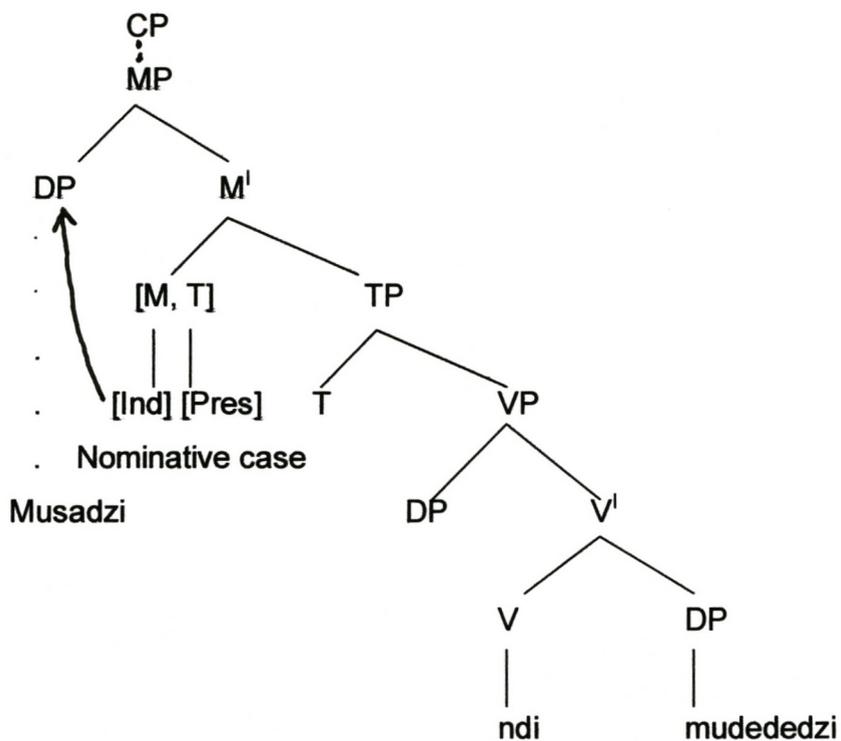
- (9) Ndi [^]to_{da} uri [musadzi] a-bike vhuswa.
 (I want that the woman cooks porridge)



In (9) above the noun **musadzi** (woman) is assigned a nominative case by AgrS and subjunctive mood.

(iii) Mood and Tense: with the copula **ndi**:

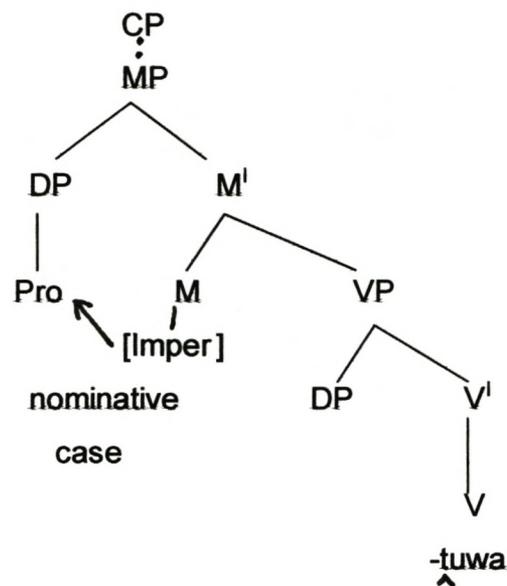
- (10) [Musadzi] ndi mudededzi.
 (The woman is a teacher)



In (10) above the NP **musadzi** (woman) is assigned a nominative case by indicative mood and present tense with the copula **ndi**;

(iv) Mood

(11) Imperative : **tuwa!**
 ^
 (go)



In (11) above the imperative mood assigns nominative case to an empty category pro.

b. Grammatical function of nominative case:

The nominative case has a grammatical function of subject. The following types of subject may be discerned in Tshivenda:

(i) Overt noun:

- (12) [Vhana] vho-swika.
(Children arrived)

In (12) above the noun **vhana** (children) is a subject. This is because of the nominative case which this noun has.

(ii) Overt locative noun:

(13) [Ma[^]ḁakani] hu-a-ofhisa.

(In the bush it causes one to be afraid)

In (13) above the locative noun **ma[^]ḁakani** (in the bush) is assigned a subject function by the nominative case.

(iii) Nouns which appear as clauses:

Nominal Infinitive

(14) [U-shuma] hu-a-leluwa.

(To work it is easy)

In (14) above the clause **u-shuma** (to work) is a nominal infinitive. This clause is assigned a subject grammatical function by the nominative case which this clause has.

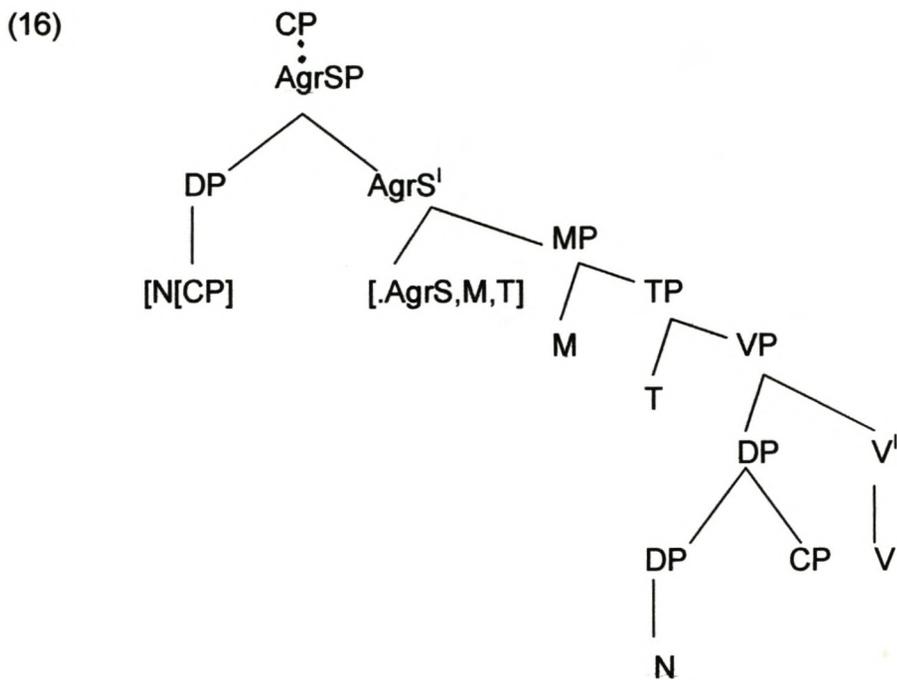
Nominal uri –clause

(15) [Uri vha-ḁo-swika] hu-a-takadza.

(That they will arrive it causes one to be happy)

In (15) above the clause **uri vha – ḁo –swika** (that they will arrive) is a nominal uri-clause. This clause is assigned a subject grammatical function by the nominative case which this clause has.

Such clauses appear in structures such as the following where they may be assigned case by AgrS and mood and / or tense:



(iv) Empty categories: Pro coindexed with AgrS:

(17) [Pro]_i vha_i -a-shuma.
(They work)

In (17) above empty category **Pro** has a subject grammatical function because of its nominative case. This **pro** is coindexed with **AgrS** and thus it has the same reference.

The subject of Infinitive **PRO** has no case because it is not governed:

(18) Vha funa [PRO]_i u tuwa.
(They like to leave)

In (18) above the subject of the infinitive **PRO** has no case since it has no governor.

(iv) Subjects with traces:**Passive**With intransitive verbs:

- (19) [Pro_i] hu_i-a-shu^hwa
 (There is being worked)

In (19) the empty *pro* coindexed with **hu** will receive nominative case through AgrS, Indicative mood and present tense. This empty *pro* will then have the function of subject in the same way as in (17) above. Because such verbs have no objects, a passive verb may then only appear with an empty *pro* coindexed with **hu** only and no trace may be found in such constructions.

With transitive verbs

- (20) a. [Pro_i] hu vhidzwa [vhana_i].
 (There children are called)
- b. [Vhana_i] vha-a-vhidzwa [t_i]
 (Children are called)

In (20a) the postverbal NP **vhana** (children) didn't move to the subject position and this position is occupied by an empty category *pro*. An empty category *pro* and the NP **vhana** (children) are coindexed and form a chain to show that they have the same reference. An empty category *pro* is assigned nominative case by AgrS and it shares this case with the postverbal NP **vhana** (children).

In sentence (20b) the NP **vhana** (children) has moved from the object position to the subject position. In its new position the NP **vhana** (children) inherits a nominative case in the subject position. Because of having this case the NP **vhana** (children) is assigned a subject grammatical function. The NP **vhana** (children) has left a trace in its original position and this trace has no case although the two have the same index.

With ditransitive verbs

- (21) a. [Pro]_i hu_i – n_iewa [vhana]_i z_iwiliwa.
(There children are given food)
- b. [Vhana]_i vha_i–n_iewa [t]_i z_iwiliwa.
(The children are given food)
- c. [Zwiliwa]_i z_iwi– n_iewa vhana [t]_i
(Food is given children)

In (21a) above the nouns **vhana** (children) and **zwiliwa** (food) are in the object position. The subject position is occupied by an empty category **pro** since the objects have not moved to the subject position. Empty category **pro** and the NP **vhana** (children) are coindexed and as such they share a nominative case. Because of having this case the empty category **pro** has a grammatical function of subject.

In (21b) the NP **vhana** (children) has moved to the subject position and it left a trace in the object position. In the subject position this NP **vhana** (children) inherits nominative case and because of having this case the NP **vhana** (children) is assigned a grammatical function of subject. The trace left by the NP **vhana** (children) has no case.

In sentence (21c) the NP **zwiliwa** (food) has moved to the subject position and in this position it inherits nominative case and because of having this case it has a grammatical function of subject. The NP **zwiliwa** (food) has left a trace in its original position and this trace has no case.

Neuter - passive

With intransitive verbs

- (22) [pro]_i hu_i – a – shumea.
(There can be worked)

In (22) above there is no trace as the verb **shuma** (work) has no object which has moved to the subject position. This is because the verb **shuma** (work) is an intransitive verb. In (22) above the subject position is occupied by an empty category **pro** which is coindexed with AgrS to show that the two have the same reference. Empty category **pro** is assigned a nominative case by AgrS and because of having this case, this empty category **pro** has a grammatical function of subject.

With transitive verbs

- (23) a. [pro]_i hu_i – vhidzea [vhana]_i
(There children can be called)
- b. [Vhana]_i vha –a- vhidzea [t]_i
(Children can be called)

In (23a) empty category **pro** occupies the subject position and the NP **vhana** (children) occupies the postverbal position. Empty category **pro** and the NP

vhana (children) are coindexed to show that they have the same reference. Empty category **pro** is assigned a nominative case by AgrS. Because of having this case it has a grammatical function of subject. Empty category **pro** shares a nominative case with the NP **vhana** (children) which appears in the object position since this NP cannot be assigned a case by the neuter – verb **vhidzea** (can be called).

In (23b) the NP **vhana** (children) has moved from the object position to the subject position. The NP **vhana** (children) inherits the Nominative case in the subject position and because of having this case it has a grammatical function of subject.

In the object position the NP **vhana** (children) has left a trace. This trace has no case.

With ditransitive verbs

(24) a. [pro_i] hu_i – $\overset{\wedge}{\text{netshea}}$ [vhana_i] $\overset{\wedge}{\text{zwiliwa}}$.
(There can children be given food)

b. [Vhana_i] vha – $\overset{\wedge}{\text{netshea}}$ [t_i] $\overset{\wedge}{\text{zwiliwa}}$.
(Children can be given food)

c. [Zwiliwa_i] zwi_i – $\overset{\wedge}{\text{netshea}}$ vhana [t_i]
(Food can be given children)

In (24a) empty category **pro** occupies the subject position and NP **vhana** (children) occupies the object position. Empty category **pro** and the NP **vhana** (children) are coindexed. The empty category **pro** is assigned nominative case by AgrS and shares this case with the NP **vhana** (children) in the postverbal position since this NP cannot be assigned case by the verb

netshea (can be given). The empty category **pro** is assigned a grammatical function of a subject because of having a nominative case.

In (24b) the NP **vhana** (children) has moved from the postverbal position where it left a trace to the subject position. In the subject position the NP **vhana** (children) inherits the nominative case. Because of having this case the NP **vhana** (children) has a grammatical function of subject. The NP trace left in the object position has no case.

In (24c) the NP **zwiliwa** (food) has moved from the object position to subject position. In the object position this NP **zwiliwa** (food) has left a trace. In the subject position the NP **zwiliwa** (food) inherits the nominative case and because of having this case it has a grammatical function of subject.

The NP trace which is left by the NP **zwiliwa** (food) in the object position has no case.

(vi) Subject inversion:

Subject inversion is a process where the NP is adjoined to the VP through a movement transformation. **Hu** – with the feature [existential] is then inserted under agreement of inflection. The adjunct NP and **pro** with **hu** constitute the members of a chain and they are coindexed. This coindexing does not share features because they differ between **hu-** and the adjunct NP. However, it is accepted that they share a syntactic index. Thus agreement and **pro** are coindexed with the feature [existential] and **pro** and the adjunct NP are coindexed through syntactic indexing indicating that these two elements enter into a chain for the purpose of case and theta-role assignment. Thus the chain receives nominative case through agreement and is assigned a theta-role:

(25) a. [Vhana] vha – a- shuma.
(Children work)

b. [pro_i] hu_r- shuma [vhana_i]
(There work children)

In (25a) above the NP **vhana** (children) is in the subject position. In this position the NP **vhana** (children) is assigned a nominative case by AgrS and because of this the NP **vhana** (children) has a grammatical function of subject.

In (25b) the NP **vhana** (children) has moved from the subject position to the adjunct position after the verb **shuma** (work). Empty category **pro** and the NP **vhana** (children) are coindexed to show that they have the same features. Empty category **pro** inherits nominative case in the subject position and shares this case with the NP **vhana** (children) which is in the adjunct position. This empty category **pro** has a grammatical function of subject because of having nominative case.

(vii) Inalienable possession:

This syntactic phenomenon is also known as the syntax of body parts. An inalienable body part may be used as an adjunct of an intransitive verb. The inalienable possession which started off as a possession in the subject of the intransitive verb ended up as adjunct of that verb. However, this NP shares the case to be found in the subject position:

(26) [Milenzhe ya ^hnwana] yo –zwimba.
(The legs of the child are swollen)

In (26) above **milenzhe ya n̄wana** (legs of the child) is assigned nominative case by AgrS. Because of having this case this NP has a grammatical function of subject. In this NP **milenzhe ya n̄wana** (legs of the child) the noun **milenzhe** (legs) is inalienable possession. This inalienable possession may be moved and then only **n̄wana** (child) will be subject but this subject will be coindexed with **milenzhe** (legs):

(27) [**n̄wana**_i] o- zwimba [milenzhe]_i
 (The child is swollen legs).

In (27) above the NP **n̄wana** (child) occupies the subject position and the NP **milenzhe** (legs) has been moved to an adjunct position.

The NP **n̄wana** (child) is assigned nominative case by AgrS and it shares this case with the noun **milenzhe** (legs) since the two are coindexed. Because of having the nominative case the NP **n̄wana** (child) has a grammatical function of subject.

3.4.2. Accusative Case

This is a case normally found in the object position. Some scholars refer to it as objective case. An NP is assigned accusative case if governed by verb. According to Radford (1992) objective case is assigned to an NP which immediately follows a transitive verb. This case cannot be assigned to the NPs by the passive verb, for passive morphology absorbs case. This case cannot be assigned to NPs by an intransitive verb since it does not have an NP as an immediate constituent.

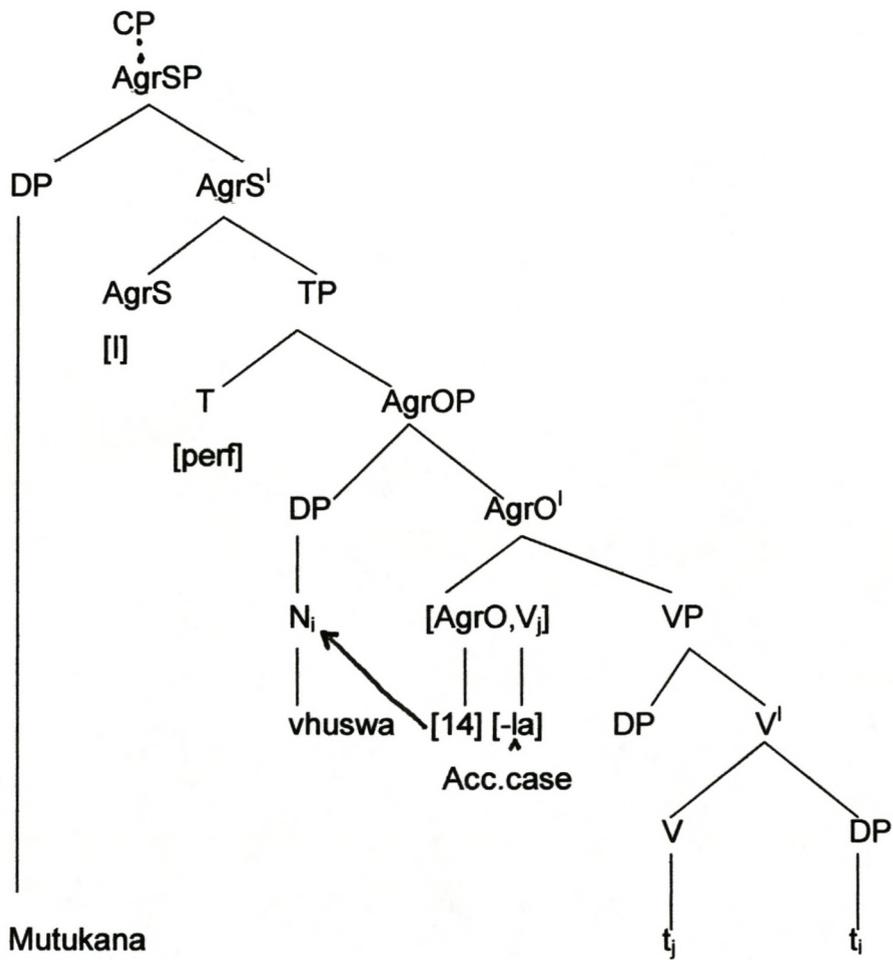
a. Assignment of accusative case

In Tshivenda there are two ways of assigning accusative case:

- (i) Formal assignment of accusative case by a verb with objectival agreement (AgrO) or by a copulative verb such as *ndi*:

Verb with AgrO as case assigner:

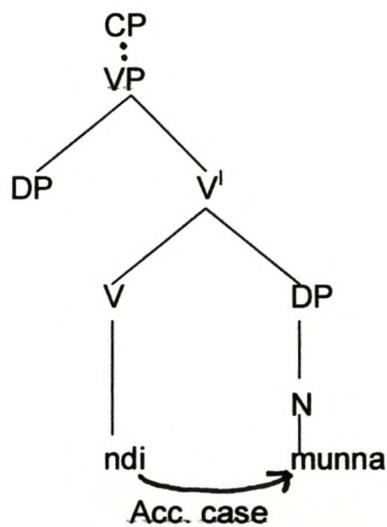
- (28) Mutukana o -vhu_i-la [vhuswa_i]
 (The boy ate it the porridge)



In (28) above the NP **vhuswa** (porridge) is assigned accusative case by the verb **la** (eat) together with AgrO **vh**.

Copulative verb **ndi** as case assigner

- (29) Uyu muthu ndi [munna]
(This person is a man)



In (29) above NP **munna** (man) is assigned accusative case by copulative verb **ndi**.

- (ii) Informal assignment of accusative case through position in a clause:

- (30) U – tshimbila [vhusiku].
(He walks at night)

In (30) above the NP **vhusiku** (night) occupies an adjunct position. This NP **vhusiku** (night) has accusative case. This NP does not get this case from the verb **tshimbila** (walk) since this verb is intransitive verb which cannot

take an object. Because of this fact the NP **vhusiku** (night) receives accusative case because of its position in the sentence.

b. Types of accusative case.

(i) Overt noun

- (31) Ndi [^]_^ toda [halwa]
(I want beer)

In (31) above the NP **halwa** (beer) is assigned accusative case by the verb **toda** (want). This NP **halwa** (beer) is overt because it is visible.

(ii) Overt locative noun

- (32) Ndi –a-hu_i-[^]divha [ma[^]ḁakani_i]
(I know it in the bush)

In (32) above the locative noun **maḁakani** (in the bush) is assigned accusative case by the verb **divha** (know) together with AgrO **hu**.

(iii) Nouns which appear as clauses

Nominal Infinitive

- (33) Ndi – a-hu_i-funa [u-guda_i]
(I like it to study)

In (33) above **u-guda** (to study) is a noun which appears as a clause. This noun is assigned accusative case by the verb **funa** (like) together with AgrO **hu**.

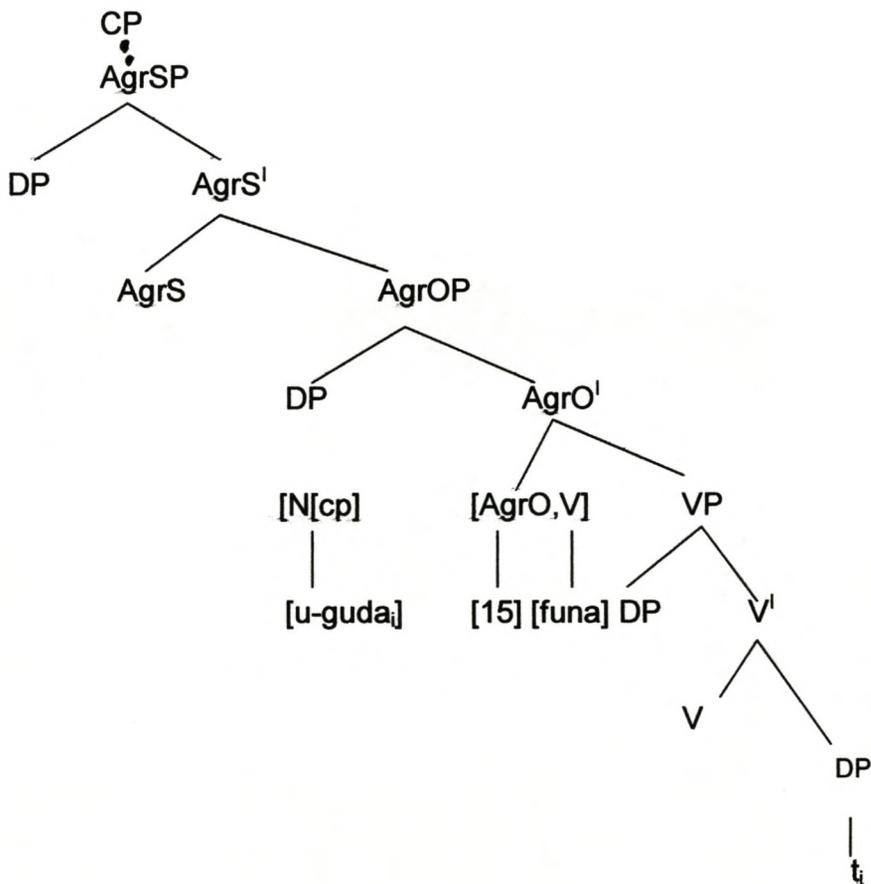
Nominal uri – clause

- (34) Ndi –_Λto_Λda [uri vha-gude]
 (I want that they study)

In (34) above **uri vha-gude** (that they study) is an **uri** – clause. This clause is assigned accusative case by the verb **to_Λda** (want).

The structures of these sentences resemble the structures of nominative discussed above but they are assigned case by different means, i.e. in these cases by the verb and AgrO:

- (35) Ndi –a-hu_i – funa [u-guda_i]
 (I like it to study)



(iv) Empty category: pro coindexed with AgrO:

- (36) Ndi –a- vha_i –toda [pro_i]
 (I want them)

In (36) above empty category [pro] occupies object position. This empty category **pro** is coindexed with AgrO to show that the two has the same reference. This empty category **pro** is assigned accusative case by the verb toda (want).

c. Grammatical functions of accusative case.**(i) Object**

In Tshivenda one of the grammatical functions of accusative case is object:

Object of transitive verb

Here the NP appears as the object of a verb which takes only one NP as object:

- (37) Ndi –toda [zwiliwa]
 (I want food)

In (37) above the noun zwiliwa (food) is an object of the verb toda (want) which is a transitive verb. The noun zwiliwa (food) is assigned accusative case by the verb toda (want). Because of having accusative case this noun zwiliwa (food) has a grammatical function of object.

Direct object of ditransitive verb

- (38) Ndi –[^]nea vhana [zwiliwa]
 (I give children food)

In (38) above the verb [^]nea (give) is a ditransitive verb. This verb has NPs **vhana** (children) and **zwiliwa** (food) as objects. In the sentence in (38) the NP **zwiliwa** (food) is assigned accusative case by the verb [^]nea (give), and it has a grammatical function of direct object.

Direct object of derived verb:

- (39) a. **Causative:** Ndi-hwalisa musadzi [dzanda]
 (I cause the woman to carry a bundle)

- b. **Applicative:** Ndi –[^]todela munna [halwa]
 (I look for the man beer)

In (39) above the verbs **hwalisa** (cause to carry) and [^]**todela** (look for) are derived verbs from the verbs **hwala** (carry) and [^]**toda** (look) respectively.

In (39a) above the NP **dzanda** (bundle) is assigned accusative case by the verb **hwala** (carry) and it has a grammatical function of direct object.

In (39b) the NP **halwa** (beer) is assigned accusative case by the verb [^]**toda** (look), and it has a grammatical function of direct object.

Inalienable possession

- (40) a. Ndo – tumula [munwe wa n̂wana] [Accusative case]
 (I cut the finger of the child)

b. Ndo – mu_i – tumula [munwe [ñwana_i]
(I cut it the finger of the child)

c. Ndo – u_i – tumula [ñwana [munwe_i]
(I cut it the child finger)

In (40a) above the NP **munwe wa ñwana** (finger of the child) is assigned accusative case by the verb **tumula** (cut) with the function of object.

In (40b) the verb **tumula** (cut) appears with AgrO **mu** which is coindexed with the object **ñwana** (child). The verb and AgrO assigns accusative case to **ñwana** (child) and this noun will then be the object.

In (40c) the verb **tumula** (cut) has again AgrO **u** with the noun **munwe** (finger). AgrO and the verb assigns accusative case to **munwe** (finger). Because of having this case the NP **munwe** (finger) has a grammatical function of object.

(ii) Measure

Accusative case may have a measure function:

(41) a. Mulovha ndo gidima [khilomitha t̃hanu]
(Yesterday I ran five kilometres)

b. O lapfa [mitha mbili]
(He is two metres tall)

c. Tshi lemela [khilogiramu t̃hanu]
(It weighs five kilograms)

In (41) above the NPs **khilomitha thanu** (five kilometres), **mitha mbili** (two metres) and **khilogiramu thanu** (five kilograms) have accusative case. These NPs appear in an adjunct position. In this position these nouns have a grammatical function of measure, i.e. a unit or amount in a measuring system, because of the meaning of these NPs.

(iii) Duration

Accusative case may also have a function of duration:

- (42) a. O shuma [awara thanu]
(She worked five hours)
- b. Vho dzula [nwaha wothe]
(They stayed the whole year)
- c. O tshimbila [tshifhinga tshilapfu]
(He walked a long time)

In (42) above the NPs **awara thanu** (five hours), **nwaha wothe** (whole year) and **tshifhinga tshilapfu** (long time) have accusative case. They have a grammatical function of duration, i.e. the time during which something exists, lasts or continues, because of the meaning of these NPs.

(iv) Temporal

Accusative case may have a temporal function:

- (43) a. U tshimbila [vhusiku]
(He walks at night)

- b. U [^]la [masiari]
(He eats in the afternoon)

In (43) above NPs **vhusiku** (night) and **masiari** (afternoon) have accusative case because of their adjunct position. They have a temporal grammatical function, i.e. indicating a certain time, because of the meaning of these NPs.

(v) Iteration

Accusative case has also an iteration function:

- (44) U shuma [duvha [^]linwe na [^]linwe]
(He works every day)

In (44) above the NP **duvha linwe na linwe** (every day) has accusative case. This NP has a grammatical function of iteration, i.e. a function of repetition.

(vi) Cognate object

Accusative case may have cognate object function:

- (45) a. Munna u lila [tshililo]
(The man cries a cry)
- b. Musadzi o [^]lora [mu[^]loro]
(The woman dreamt a dream)

In (45) above the nouns **tshililo** (cry) and **mu[^]loro** (dream) have accusative case. These nouns have a grammatical function of cognate object. These

nouns are related to the verbs they are derived from, i.e. **lila** (cry) and **lora** (dream) respectively.

3.4.3. Instrumental Case

The instrumental case in Tshivenda can be assigned by three prepositions, i.e. **nga**, **sa** and **na**. This case is assigned to the noun which appears as complement of these prepositions:

(i) With **nga**:

(46) a. U tshea [^]nama [nga [lufhanga]]

(He cuts meat with a knife)

b. O fhira [nga [tshikoloni]]

(He passed via the school)

c. O swika [nga [u-gidima]]

(He arrived by running)

In (46) above the nouns **lufhanga** (knife), **tshikoloni** (at the school) and **u-gidima** (to run) are complements of the preposition **nga**. All these nouns are assigned instrumental case by the preposition **nga**.

(ii) With **sa**

(47) a. U [^]la [sa [nguluvhe]]

(He eats like a pig)

b. Vha gidima [sa [ntsa]]

(They run like a buck)

In (47) above the nouns **nguluvhe** (pig) and **ntsa** (buck) are complements of the preposition **sa**. These nouns are assigned instrumental case by this preposition **sa**.

(iii) With **na**

(48) a. Munna u [na [kholomo]]

(The man has cattle)

b. Musidzana u funana [na [mutukana]]

(The girl love each other with a boy)

In (48) above the nouns **kholomo** (cattle) and **mutukana** (boy) are complements of the preposition **na**. These nouns are assigned instrumental case by the preposition **na**.

Grammatical functions of the complement of preposition **nga**:

a. Instrument

The most common function of **nga** is that of denoting the instrument with which the process or action is performed. A wide variety of different types of noun phrases may act as the instrument denoted by this **nga**:

(i) **With concrete noun.**

(49) a. O [^]la vhuswa [nga [lebula]]

(He ate porridge with a spoon)

- b. O swika [nga [g[^]oloi]]
(He arrived by car)
- c. Vho mu rwa [nga [th[^]amu]]
(He hit him with a switch)

In (49) above the nouns **lebula** (spoon), **g[^]oloi** (car) and **th[^]amu** (switch) are concrete nouns. These nouns appear as complements of the preposition **nga**. This preposition **nga** assigns instrumental case to these nouns. These nouns have a grammatical function of instrument.

(ii) With a noun phrase indicating body parts.

A wide variety of body parts may be used with **nga** depending on the verb with which it may be used:

- (50) a. O mu sedza [nga [ma[^]to a sumbaho vengo]]
(He looked at him with eyes which revealed hatred)
- b. O mu raha [nga [milenzhe]]
(He kicked him with legs)
- c. Vho mu sumba [nga [munwe]]
(He pointed at him with a finger)

In (50) above the NPs **ma[^]to a sumbaho vengo** (eyes which revealed hatred), **milenzhe** (legs) and **munwe** (finger) are body parts. These NPs are complements of the preposition **nga**. This preposition **nga** assigns instrumental case to these NPs. Thus, they have a grammatical function of instrument.

(iii) With noun phrase indicating humans

A less frequently found nominal complement of **nga** is the noun phrase indicating humans:

- (51) a. U aluwa [nga [vhañwe vhana]]
(He grows with other children)
- b. Vha do ni thusa [nga mutukana]]
(They will help you with the boy)
- c. Vha do ni vhengisa [nga [khosi]]
(They will cause you to be hated by the chief)

In (51) above the NPs **vhañwe vhana** (other children), **mutukana** (boy) and **khosi** (chief) are complements of the preposition **nga**. All these NPs have a grammatical function of instrument because of having instrumental case. These NPs refer to humans.

(iv) With an abstract noun phrase

- (52) a. Vhasadzi vha lwa [nga [maipfi]]
(Women fight with words)
- b. U vhidza ñwana [nga [dzina]]
(He called the child by name)
- c. O mu sema [nga [maṭamba]]
(She cursed him with curses)

In (52) above NPs **maipfi** (words), **dzina** (name) and **matamba** (curses) are abstract noun phrases. These NPs have a grammatical function of instrument because of having instrumental case.

b. Theme

Here either **nga** or **nga ha** can be used:

(53) a. Vho [^]tangana [nga ha [mutambo]]
(They met about sport)

b. Ni songo amba [nga [kereke]]
(Don't talk about church)

c. Vha songo [^]didina [nga [mutukana]]
(They must not worry themselves about the boy)

d. Vho mmbudza [nga ha [mushumo]]
(They told me about the job)

In (53) above NPs **mutambo** (sport), **kereke** (church), **mutukana** (boy) and **mushumo** (job) have a grammatical function of theme.

c. Manner

There are different ways to express manner with the preposition **nga**:

(i) Nouns only as complements of **nga**.

These nouns are semantically related to the meaning of manner:

- (54) a. munna o ita [nga [khole]]
 (He did it purposefully)
- b. O da [nga [dakalo]]
 (He came with joy)
- c. Shango lo naka [nga [mbonalo]]
 (The country is beautiful in appearance)

In (54) above NPs **khole** (purposeful), **dakalo** (joy) and **mbonalo** (appearance) are complements of **nga**. These nouns have a grammatical function of manner.

(ii) Nouns with an inherent reading of manner

- (55) a. Vho dowela u tamba [nga [ndila hei]]
 (They are accustomed to bath in this way)
- b. U do lindela [nga [fulufhelo lenelo]]
 (He will wait in that hope)

In (55) above NPs **ndila hei** (this way), **fulufhelo lenelo** (that hope) have a grammatical function of manner.

(iii) Infinitive clause as complement of nga:

- (56) a. O da [nga [u t'avhanya]]
 (He came quickly)
- b. Vho d'iphina [nga [u bambela]]
 (They enjoyed themselves by swimming)

- c. Vho thoma [nga [u [^]tanzwa goloji]]
(They started by washing the car)

In (56) above NPs **u [^]tavhanya** (quick), **u bambela** (to swim) and **u [^]tanzwa goloji** (to wash the car) are infinitive clauses which are complements of the preposition **nga**. These infinitive clauses have a grammatical function of manner.

d. Temporal

There is a number of ways in which time can be expressed by means of preposition **nga**. In all such cases it is quite clear that the complement of **nga** has to have a NP expressing time itself:

(i) Where the NP denoting time is not followed by a clause:

- (57) a. O [^]tuwa afho [nga [1938]]
(He left there in 1938)
- b. Ri [^]do [^]tangana [nga [hetshi tshifhinga]]
(We shall meet at this time)
- c. Vho ya [nga [madekwana]]
(They went there in the evening)

In (57) above NPs **1938**, **hetshi tshifhinga** (this time) and **madekwana** (evening) have a grammatical function of time.

(ii) **There are also noun phrases denoting time followed by a relative clause.**

(58) a. Ndo [^] tangana nae [nga [[^] duvha [^] le [^] nda ya ngalo doroboni]].
(I met him on the day that I went to town)

b. Ndo [^] tangana nae [nga [[^] duvha [^] la [^] vhu[^]di [^] le [^] mvula ya na]]
(I met her on a beautiful day that it rained)

In (58) above the NPs [^] duvha (day) and [^] duvha [^] la [^] vhu[^]di (beautiful day) are NPs that are followed by relative clauses [^] le [^] nda ya ngalo doroboni (that I went to town) and [^] le [^] mvula ya na (that it rained) respectively. These nouns have a grammatical function of time. Below are some other examples with relative clause:

(59) a. Ndi khou ya u shuma [nga [[^] duvha [^] line khotsi vha wana phensheni]]
(I am going to be working on the day father gets pension)

b. A thi nga vhi hafho [nga [[^] duvha [^] line khotsi vha ya u renga kholomo]]
(I am not going to be there on the day that father goes to buy a cow)

c. Mme anga vho ntsia [nga [[^] duvha [^] le [^] nda bebwa ngalo]]
(My mother left me on the day that I was born)

(iii) When the head of the NP is **tshifhinga** (time) as in (60) this noun phrase may appear with **musi** in which case the mood of the complement clause is participial :

- (60) a. [Nga [hetsho tshifhinga tsha musi a tshi swika]] mmbwa
dzo huvha.
(At that time when he arrived, the dogs barked)
- b. Hoyu n̄wana o vha a tshi khou tshimbila badani [nga
[hetsho tshifhinga musi a tshi thulwa nga golo]]
(This child was walking in the road that time when he was
hit by a car)
- c. Hatsi ho vha hu vhulapfu [nga [hetsho tshifhinga musi i
tshi kha di na]]
(The grass was long at that time when it was still raining)

In (60) above the NPs with **hetsho tshifhinga** (that time) have a grammatical function of time.

e. Location

Here the preposition **nga** has locatives as complements. In all of these cases the meaning of location of the locative has received a reading of vicinity. This reading of vicinity can be very close to the location specified.

(i) **nga** with locative NPs having the suffix **-ni**.

- (61) a. Kholomo dzi [nga [mavheleni]]
(The cattle are in the vicinity of the mealies)
- b. Vhatukana vha [nga [dangani]]
(The boys are in the vicinity of the kraal)

c. Munna u [nga [ngadeni]]

(The man is in the vicinity of the garden)

In (61) above the locative NPs **mavheleni** (in the mealies), **dangani** (in the kraal) and **ngadeni** (in the garden) are the complements of the preposition **nga**. All these NPs have a grammatical function of location. This location function has a reading of vicinity because of the preposition **nga**.

(ii) **Where old locative class nouns are used as heads.**

(62) a. O zwi pfa [nga [ngomu mbiluni yawe]] uri u funa Maemu na Musundwa.

(He felt quite inside in her heart that she loves Maemu and Musundwa)

b. Vho edela [nga [fhasi ha tafula]]

(They slept close by under the table)

In (62) above old locative nouns **ngomu** (inside) and **fhasi** (down) are used as heads of the NPs **ngomu mbiluni yawe** (inside her heart) and **fhasi ha tafula** (under the table) have a grammatical function of location. This location function has a meaning of vicinity because of the preposition **nga**.

f. **Subject of passive verbs**

(63) a. Tsimu yo linwa [nga [munna]]

(The field was ploughed by the man)

b. Vhuswa ho liwa [nga [mutukana]]

(The porridge was eaten by the boy)

- c. Musidzana o rwiwa [nga [mme]]
(The girl was hit by the mother)

In (63) above the nouns **munna** (man), **mutukana** (boy) and **mme** (mother) have a grammatical function of subject.

Grammatical function of the complement of the preposition **sa**:

Comparative

An instrumental case may have a comparative function. Examples are given below:

- (64) a. O tshena [sa [duvha]]
(She is white like the sun)
- b. Vha gidima [sa [ntsa]]
(They run like a buck)

In (64) above the nouns **duvha** (sun) and **ntsa** (buck) have a comparative function because of instrumental case through **sa**.

Grammatical function of the complement of the preposition **na**.

a. Association

The subject of the clause is associated with the complement, i.e. they are connected in some way. There are two types of predicate which frequently appear with a PP with **na** as head:

Reciprocal verbs

- (65) a. Vhatukana vha funana na vhasidzana.
(Boys love each other with girls)
- b. Munna o vhonana na musadzi.
(The man saw each other with the woman)
- c. Mukalaha vho limelana tsimu na mukegulu.
(The oldman ploughed each other fields with the old woman)

In (65) above the nouns **vhasidzana** (girls), **musadzi** (woman) and **mukegulu** (oldwoman) have a grammatical function of association because of having instrumental case assigned by the preposition **na**. These nouns appear with the reciprocal verbs **funana** (love each other), **vhonana** (see each other) and **limelana** (plough for each other).

Copulative verbs

The meaning should be associated but it may be that it is ambiguous with the meaning of possession:

- (66) a. Vhasidzana vha na vhatukana.
(The girls are with the boys/The girls have boys)
- b. Kholomo i na [^]namana
(The cow is with the calf/The cow has a calf)

These two sentences in (66) are ambiguous in meaning. The nouns **vhatukana** (boys) and **[^]namana** (calf) have a grammatical function of

association or possession because of having instrumental case with **na** through the copulative verbs.

b. Accompaniment

The subject accompanies the complement, i.e. the one is going somewhere with someone.

With verbs of motion.

- (67) a. O [^]tuwa na Vele.
(He left with Vele)
- b. Vho [^]da na vhana.
(They came with children)
- c. U tshimbila na mmbwa.
(He walks with the dog)
- d. Vho swika na khotsi.
(They arrived with father)

In (67) above the nouns **Vele**, **Vhana** (children), **mmbwa** (dog) and **khotsi** (father) have a grammatical function of accompaniment because of having instrumental case assigned by the preposition **na**, through the motion verbs above.

c. Possession

The subject has the complement as a possession : X has something.

- (68) a. Mutukana u na goloji.
(The boy has a car)
- b. Munna u na tsimu.
(The man has a field)
- c. Musadzi u na tshelede.
(The woman has money)

In (68) above the nouns **goloji** (car), **tsimu** (field) and **tshelede** (money) have a grammatical function of possession because of having instrumental case assigned by the preposition **na** with the copulative verb (see also(66)).

d. Existence

Existence refers to someone or something which is real and has not been imagined. This grammatical function has an existential morpheme **hu**-coindexed with an empty category **pro**:

- (69) a. [pro_i] hu_i [na [mvula_i]]
(There is rain)
- b. [pro_i] hu_i [na [makole_i]]
(There are clouds)
- c. [pro_i] hu_i [na [phepho_i]]
(There is cold)

In (69) above the nouns **mvula** (rain), **makole** (clouds) and **phepho** (cold) have a grammatical function of existence because of the presence of the copulative verb with **pro**, coindexed with **hu**.

3.4.4. Dative case

Dative case is assigned by the verb and such a case has the grammatical function of indirect object.

With ditransitive verbs

These are verbs which take two objects:

(70) a. Musadzi o nea [vhana] [vhuswa]

(The woman gave children food)

b. Mudededzi o hadzima [mugudiswa] [tshede]

(The teacher has lent the student money)

In (70) above the nouns **vhana** (children) and **mugudiswa** (student) have dative case assigned by the verbs **ne**a (give) and **hadzima** (lend) respectively. Because of having this case, these nouns have a grammatical function of indirect object. These nouns are not affected by the action of their verbs directly but indirectly. The nouns **vhuswa** (porridge) and **tshede** (money) have direct object grammatical function.

Considering the word order of the objects in (70), the indirect object is the noun immediately adjacent to the verb. The direct object then follows the indirect object in word order. In surface structures these two objects may be interchanged in Tshivenda without any difference in meaning:

(71) a. Musadzi o nea [vhuswa] [vhana]

(The woman gave children porridge)

- b. **Mudededzi o hadzima [tshede] [mugudiswa]**
 (The teacher has lent money student)

This type of interchange of objects is usually allowed because the alternation does not give rise to a difference in meaning: the indirect object has the feature [+ animate] while the direct object is [- animate].

When both objects are [+ animate] the word order cannot be changed and must remain as it is:

- (72) Ndi nea [khotsi] [n̂wana]
 (I am giving a child to the father)

In (72) above both the objects **khotsi** (father) and **n̂wana** (child) are animate and they cannot be interchanged, if interchanged the meaning becomes different:

- (73) Ndi nea [n̂wana] [khotsi]
 (I am giving father to the child)

The sentence in (73) above is different from the sentence (72) because of the nouns **n̂wana** (child) and **khotsi** (father) changing positions.

With transitive verbs with affix –is-

The effect of the causative affix –is- on the predicate argument structure of predicate 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 the indirect object and is always adjacent to the verb:

- (74) a. Musadzi u hwalisa [musidzana] [dzanda]
 (The woman causes/helps the girl carry the bundle)
- b. Ndi limisa [munna] [tsimu]
 (I cause/help the man plough the field)
- c. U [^]lisa [n̂wana] [vhuswa]
 (He causes/helps the child eat porridge)

In (74) above the nouns **musidzana** (girl), **munna** (man) and **n̂wana** (child) are adjacent to their respective verbs, i.e. **hwalisa** (help/cause to carry), **limisa** (help/cause to plough) and **lisa** (help/cause to eat). These nouns are assigned dative case by these verbs and because of having this case, these nouns have a grammatical function of indirect object.

With transitive verbs with affix -el-

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 a transitive verb, it will change this verb to ditransitive verb. The noun adjacent to the verb is interpreted as indirect object; and this object depends on the presence of affix **-el-**:

- (75) a. ndi kovhela [vharwa] [ifa]
 (I divide the heritage for/amongst the sons)
- b. N̂wana u n̂walela [khotsi] [vhurifhi]
 (The child writes letter to the father)

- c. U limela [musadzi] [tsimu]
(He ploughed a field for the woman)

In (75) above the nouns **vharwa** (sons), **khotsi** (father) and **tsimu** (field) are adjacent to the verbs **kovhela** (divide for), **ñwalela** (write for) and **limela** (plough for). These nouns are assigned dative case by these verbs. Because of these nouns having this case, they have grammatical function of indirect object.

3.4.5. Genitive Case

a. Assignment of genitive case

An NP is assigned genitive case if governed by a genitive a:

- (76) a. Ñwana [wa [musadzi]]
(The child of the woman)
- b. Goloï [ya [munna]]
(The car of the man)
- c. Vhathu [vha [shango]]
(People of the earth)

In (76) above the nouns **musadzi** (woman), **munna** (man) and **shango** (earth) are governed by genitive a and because of this, these nouns are assigned genitive case by genitive a.

b. Grammatical functions of genitive case

(i) Possession

(77) a. Ma[^]to a vhu[^]di [a [musidzana]]
(Beautiful eyes of the girl)

b. Milenzhe milapfu [ya [muthan[^]nga]]
(Long legs of the youngman)

In (77) above the nouns **musidzana** (girl) and **muthan[^]nga** (youngman) are governed by genitive **a**. This genitive **a** assigns genitive case to these nouns. Because these nouns are possessors they have a grammatical function of possession.

(ii) Material

(78) a. Ta[^]fula [ya [ouku]]
(A table of oak) (oak table)

b. Watshi [ya [musuku]]
(A watch of gold)

c. Vo[^]thi [la [tsimbi]]
(A steel door)

d. G[^]loi [ya [vumba]]
(A car of clay)

e. N[^]du [ya [zwidina]]
(A house of bricks)

In (78) above the nouns **ouku** (oak), **musuku** (gold), **tsimbi** (steel), **vumba** (clay) and **zwidina** (bricks) have genitive case assigned to them by genitive **a**. Because these nouns indicate the substance of the artifacts, they have a grammatical function of material.

(iii) Partitive

- (79) a. Thanda [ya [ouku]]
(Wood from an oak) (oak wood)
- b. Nama [ya [nngu]]
(Meat from a sheep) (sheep meat)
- c. Tshipida [tsha [nama]]
(A part/piece of meat)
- d. Tshipida [tsha [vhurotho]]
(Piece of bread)
- e. Bodelo [la [mafhi]]
(Bottle of milk)

In (79) above the nouns **ouku** (oak), **nngu** (sheep), **nama** (meat), **vhurotho** (bread) and **mafhi** (milk) have genitive case assigned by genitive **a**. Because they indicate a part from a whole, these nouns have a grammatical function of partitive.

3.4.6. Locative case

According to Richards et al. (1985), locative case has to do with, the noun phrase which refers to location.

a. Assignment of locative case

An NP is assigned locative case if governed by the locative preposition **kha** and **ha** or the locative morphology **-ni**:

- (80) a. U dzula [kha [tombo]]
(He sits on the stone)
- b. Vha dzula [ha [Vele]]
(They stay at Vele's place)
- c. O ya [tshikoloni]
(He went to school)

In (80) above the nouns **tombo** (stone), **Vele** and **tshikoloni** (at school) are assigned locative case by prepositions **kha**, **ha** and the locative morphology **-ni** respectively.

b. Grammatical functions of locative case

(i) Location

The locative may refer to location and **on-top** location with **kha**. Examples are given in (81) below:

- (81) a. U shuma [nduni] VS U shuma [kha [nndu]]
 (He works in the house) (He works on-top of the house)
- b. Vha la [tafulani] VS Vha la [kha [tafula]]
 (They eat at the table) (They eat on-top of the table)

In (81) above two kinds of locative NPs are given. There are locative NPs with the locative morphology *-ni*, i.e. **nduni** (in the house), **tafulani** (at the table). There are also locative NPs with the preposition *kha*, i.e. **kha nndu** (on-top of the house), **kha tafula** (on-top of the table). The former locative NPs have the grammatical function of location whereas the latter group of locative NPs have the grammatical function of on-top location. All these NPs have this grammatical function because of having locative case.

(ii) Source

This grammatical function is associated with certain verbs such as **tuwa** (go), **takuwa** (go) and **wa** (fall):

- (82) a. O tuwa [fhano]
 (He went away from here)
- b. Mme anga vho takuwa [fhala]
 (My mother got up from there)
- c. Tombo lo wa [nduni]
 (The stone fell from the house)

In (82) above the locative NPs **fhano** (here), **fhala** (there) and **nduni** (in the house) have a grammatical function of source. This is because they appear with verbs **tuwa** (go), **takuwa** (go) and **wa** (fall).

Below are some other examples where locative NPs have a grammatical function of source:

- (83) a. Ndi vhidza musidzana [mutukanani]
(I call the girl from the young man)
- b. Ndi vhidza vhathu [nduni]
(I call the people from the house)
- c. Ndi ramba vhathu [ha [mudededzi]]
(I invite people from the teacher's place)
- d. Mutukana u toda nngu [kha [rabulasi]]
(The boy wants to get the sheep from the farmer)

(iii) Goal / Direction

This grammatical function is associated with the verbs of motion like **ya** (go) and certain applicative verbs:

Verbs of motion

- (84) a. O ya [Pitori]
(He went to Pretoria)
- b. Vho swika [hayani]
(They reached home)
- c. O dzhena [nduni]
(He entered in the house)

In (84) above the nouns **Pitori** (Pretoria), **hayani** (at home) and **nduni** (in the house) have a goal/direction grammatical function because they appear with the motion verbs **ya** (go), **swika** (arrive) and **dzhena** (enter) respectively.

Applicative verbs

- (85) a. Munna o shavhela [hayani]
(The man fled to home)
- b. Musadzi o tutshela [mulamboni]
(The woman went to the river)
- c. Kholomo dzi tshimbilela [dangani]
(Cattle walk to the kraal)

In (85) above the locative nouns **hayani** (at home), **mulamboni** (at the river) and **dangani** (in the kraal) have a grammatical function of goal/direction because of appearing with applicative verbs **shavhela** (flee to), **tutshela** (go to) and **tshimbilela** (walk to) respectively.

3.4.7. Vocative case

The vocative is an address form which is used when speaking or writing to someone. The following types of address form may be distinguished:

a. Title

The prefix **who** may be used with the noun. When **who** signifies the plural prefix it is written together with the noun it pluralizes and no hyphen is used:

- (86) a. Kha vha de [vhoVele]
(Come Vele and company)
- b. Kha vha tuwe [vhoMatodzi]
(Leave Matodzi and company)

In (86) above the nouns **vhoVele** and **vhoMatodzi** are the plurals for the nouns **Vele** and **Matodzi** respectively. Plural forms such as **vhoVele** and **vhoMatodzi** could refer to either **Vele/Matodzi** and companies or associates, or it could refer to two people who have the same name. According to Poulos (1990) these two types of plurals are sometimes referred to as the “associative” and “numerical” plurals respectively.

When **vho** is used as a honorific: Prefix in an address to a common noun is written with a capital letter and is joined to the noun as one word with no hyphen:

- (87) a. Kha vha swike [Vhodokotela]
(Come doctor)
- b. Ndi a vha funa [Vhoprinsipala]
(I love you principal)
- c. U do da [Vhokhomishinari]
(He will arrive Commissioner)

In (87) above the nouns **Vhodokotela** (doctor), **Vhoprinsipala** (principal) and **Vhokhomishinari** (commissioner) have **vho** as prefix written in capital letter. All these nouns are titles and they are forms of address because of vocative case that they have.

In Tshivenda the plural prefix of class 2 may be used with certain title nouns:

(88) a. Vho renga goloji [Vhakoma]
(You bought a car petty headman)

b. Vha de [Vhafunzi]
(You must come Pastor)

In (88) above the nouns **Vhakoma** (petty headman) and **Vhafunzi** (pastor) appear with plural prefix of class 2, i.e. **vha**. In these nouns this prefix has honorific meaning not a plural meaning. When the prefix **Vha** is written in capital letter like in (88) above it has honorific meaning. The nouns **Vhakoma** (petty headman) and **Vhafunzi** (pastor) are titles because of having a vocative case.

b. Name

When **vho** is used as honorific prefix to a proper name, i.e. the name of a person, it is capitalised and joined to the name by a hyphen. This **vho** is used when addressing old people in order to show some respect:

(89) a. Vho shuma [Vho-Vele]
(You worked Mr Vele)

b. Vho imba [Vho-Matodzi]
(You sang Mr Matodzi)

c. Vho lima [Vho-Rungani]
(You ploughed Mr Rungani)

In (89) above **vho** is used as a honorific prefix in the nouns **Vho-Vele**, **Vho-Matodzi** and **Vho-Rungani**. These nouns are forms of address because they have a vocative case.

Names can be used without the prefix **vho** to address young people, i.e. children:

(90) a. I [^]da [Mashudu]
(Come Mashudu)

b. [Ma[^]to[^]dzi], tu[^]wa.
(Ma[^]to[^]dzi, go)

In (90) above the nouns **Mashudu** and **Ma[^]to[^]dzi** are proper names that are used to address young people. These names are forms of address because of having a vocative case.

c. Absolute pronoun with a noun.

A vocative case can be found with absolute pronoun with a noun. Here there is some emphasis:

(91) a. [Ene [mutukana]] kha [^]de!
(You boy come)

b. [Inwi [musidzana]] shumani!
(You girl work)

In (91) above absolute pronouns **ene** (you) and **inwi** (you) are used with the nouns **mutukana** (boy) and **musidzana** (girl) respectively. These NPs **ene mutukana** (you boy) and **inwi musidzana** (you girl) are forms of address

where there is some emphasis because of absolute pronouns. These NPs are forms of address because of having vocative case. Absolute pronoun **ene** in (91a) is used in order to show some love to the referent whereas in (91b) absolute pronoun **inwi** is used in order not to show love to the referent.

d. Kinship terms

In Tshivenda kinship terms may be used as forms of address just because of having a vocative case:

- (92) a. [Murwa], i [^]da.
(Son, come)
- b. [Muzwala], [^]tuwa.
(Cousin, go)
- c. [Makhulu] kha vha [^]edele.
(Granny, sleep)

In (92) above the nouns **murwa** (son), **muzwala** (cousin) and **makhulu** (granny) are kinship terms. These kinship terms are used as forms of address because they have a vocative case.

The kinship terms in Tshivenda are found in two major groups, i.e. lineage and in-laws. Some of these kinship terms are discussed below:

Lineage

There is a term **makhulukukukuku** which refers to one's earliest ancestor. This is the fourth ascending generation. In the lineage the term refers to the grandparents of one's grandparents. The term is neutral as far as gender is

concerned and it has a reduplication of part of the stem **kuku** which appears in the third ascending generation.

The parents of one's grandparents are all known by the term **makhulukuku**. This term is also neutral as far as gender is concerned. This term falls in the third ascending generation.

There is **makhulu**. This is one's grandparent. This term is neutral as far as gender is concerned and it falls in the second ascending generation. One's father's or one's mother's father is known as **makhulutshinna** while one's father's or one's mother's mother is **makhulutshisadzi**. **Makhulutshinna** and **makhulutshisadzi** are distinguished as compound nouns with a noun **tshinna** for masculine and **tshisadzi** for feminine.

There is **khotsi** which refers to one's father, and **mme** to one's mother. These terms fall in the first ascending generation. In Tshivenda one cannot address his parents as **khotsi** or **mme** but he addresses his father as **baba** and his mother as **mmawe**

The child cannot address his parents as **vhokhotsi** or **vhomme** as these are title terms.

There are also terms like **murathu**, **khaladzi** and **mukomana**. These terms are neutral as far as gender is concerned. The children of one's father's brother and one's mother's sister are also regarded as one's own brothers and sisters.

There is a term **murwa** and **ñwananyana**. These terms refer to one's son and one's daughter respectively. The children of one's father's brother's son and the children of one's mother's sister's son are regarded as one's own and are referred to as **vhana**, i.e. **murwa** and **ñwananyana**.

There is **mu^uduhulu**, this term refers to one's child's child or one's sister's child. The term is neutral as far as gender is concerned.

There is **mu^uduhulwane** which refers to one's child's child's child. This term is also neutral with regard to gender. It has a diminutive suffix **-ane**.

There is **makhadzi** which refers to one's father's sister. There is also **khotsimunene** and **khotsimuhulu**. These are two terms for one's father's brothers who are distinguished according to a feature of relative age; these are compound nouns with adjectives **-nene** for small (which is now obsolete) and **-khulu** for big.

There is **malume**, this is one's mother's brother. There are also terms for one's mother's sisters, i.e. **m^mmemuhulu** and **m^mmane**. These sisters are distinguished according to a feature of relative age where one's mother's elder sister is **m^mmemuhulu** and one's mother's younger sister is **m^mmane**.

There is a term **muzwala**. The children of one's mother's brother and one's father's sister share this term.

There is a term **muzwalazwalane** which is derived from **muzwala**. This term refers to the children of one's mother's brother's son and the children of one's father's sister's son.

In -laws

I. In-laws of a married man.

There is **musadzi**. This term refers to one's wife. The parents of one's wife share the same term: **makhulu**. One's wife's brother is known as **mulamu**,

malume or **sivhara**. One's wife's younger sister is **nyamusadzana** whereas one's wife's elder sister is **mmemuhulu**.

II. In-laws of a married woman

A woman's husband is **munna**. The parents of her husband, i.e. her father – and mother-in-law are both known as **mazwale**. Her husband's younger brother is **khotsimunene** and his wife is **mmane**. Her husband's elder brother is **khotsimuhulu** and his wife is **mmemuhulu**. The married woman thus uses the same terms as those which her husband will use for the brothers of his father.

3.5. CONCLUSION

Tshivenda has seven types of case, i.e. nominative, accusative, genitive, locative, instrumental, dative and vocative. The NPs that receive these cases must be governed as ungoverned NPs do not receive case. NP trace and PRO do not receive case in Tshivenda. Empty category pro, cognate object, indirect object and subject in subject inversion receive case in Tshivenda.

Nominative case is assigned to the NPs by mood and / or tense and / or AgrS. This case has grammatical function of subject.

Accusative case is assigned to the NPs by the verb with objectival agreement (AgrO) and copulative **ndi**. This case can also be assigned to NPs because of structural position occupied by those NPs, e.g. object position. This case has the following grammatical functions: object, measure, duration, temporal, iteration and cognate object.

Instrumental case is assigned by three prepositions, i.e. **nga**, **na** and **sa**. This case has the following grammatical functions: instrument, theme, manner, temporal, location with the reading of vicinity, subject of passive verbs, comparative, association, accompaniment, possession and existence. Dative case is assigned by the ditransitive verb to the NP adjacent to this verb. This case has the grammatical function of indirect object.

Genitive case is assigned by genitive **a** to the NP which is a complement of this genitive **a**. This case has the following grammatical functions: possession, material and partitive.

Locative case is assigned by prepositions **kha** and **ha** or the locative morphology **-ni**. This case has the following grammatical functions: location, source and goal/direction.

Vocative case is found in forms of address. In Tshivenda the following forms of address are found: title, name, absolute pronoun with a noun and kinship terms.

CHAPTER FOUR

NOUN CLASS

4.1 AIM

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the noun classes in Tshivenda. For this purpose three issues will receive attention: firstly the categorial status of the noun class prefixes will be considered with special attention towards its relationship or not with the issues of gender, secondly, the morphological structure of the noun in Tshivenda will be explored, specifically to establish the place of the noun class prefix within this structure and also to find out whether such noun classes are involved in lexical or inflectional derivation or both; thirdly, an overview will be given of the semantics of the noun class prefixes to establish their contribution towards the meaning of the noun. These discussions will be preceded by an overview of the literature on the noun class.

4.2 OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE NOUN CLASS

4.2.1. Louw (1973)

According to Louw class 7/8 prefixal elements consist of the initial vowel and the prefix. The initial vowel *i* – is a separate formative. When *ísi-* is used before a vowel the last *-i-* is elided in even slow adult speech. This happens where the noun stem starts with an initial vowel or when the formative *-a-* is used between the prefix and stem. The same applies to *-izi-* which indicates its plural.

According to Louw, Xhosa deverbative nouns that refer to humans can end on **-a**, **-e**, **-i** and **-o**. Only one deverbative noun ends on **-o** in this class. There is no deverbative noun that ends in **-u**.

All these nouns (deverbatives or non-deverbatives) refer to humans which have specific characteristics, potentiality, acquired skill, defect whether physical or otherwise.

When certain stems are used with other prefixes the meaning becomes stronger when they are used in class 7. Passive stems have nearly always a high tone on the terminating **-a**. The meaning probably indicates some state.

Many terms of an abstract nature are found in this class. Articles and instruments used for particular purposes occur in this class. This class can include an idea or concept expressing any intense urge or feeling, which is felt, or accepted as being very extra ordinary.

Mass or collective nouns are found in this class. Such mass or collective nouns can be human, or rather animate, or may refer to inanimate things or concepts. Places or structures where people meet or live, which are indicative of crowds, are referred to by nouns of class 7. A number of body organs are found in this class.

According to Louw, Cole regards the class 8 prefix as the same as that of class 10 for most South African languages. According to Meinhof the prefix of class 8 has become more or less the same in form as class 10 without the N, because of analogy. This analogical levelling took place because of the possessive concord for class 8 PB – BI A → **za** - which is the same as for class 10.

4.2.2 Denny and Creider (1976)

Denny and Creider utilize what they argue as a “reputable” methodology and present evidence to support the claim that PB noun prefixes realized a semantic system where each prefix was, in general, associated with a particular characteristic meaning. They claim that many of the noun prefixes were associated with configurational or shape meanings.

Their evidence is of two types, i.e. direct and indirect. The direct evidence comes as a result of an examination of PB vocabulary and the indirect evidence consists of a discussion of noun classifier sets found in other languages throughout the world.

Denny and Creider separated count nouns from mass nouns. They again divided count nouns between prefixes which classify according to the spatial configuration of the objects and the prefixes which classify into kinds. Classes 1/2, 9/10 and 7/8 make up the latter system.

Configurational classes are distinguished according to solid shape (3/4, 5/6) or outline shape (9/10, 11/10). Within each of these pairs a contrast is made between extended and non-extended configuration. The basic shape for class 11/10 is an extended curve within which there is an interior, e.g. horn, rib etc. Objects of non-extended outline in class 9/10 include pot, drum etc.

The non-extended solid figure class, 5/6, contains objects such as egg, stone etc. Class 3/4 is for extended solid shape objects like bone. Fruits are generally found in 5/6.

According to Denny and Creider kinds of count nouns have clear semantic content, i.e. 1/2 for human, 9/10 for animals and 7/8 for artifacts. Animals that are not found in 9/10 are those with pronounced shape characteristics

and those which are despised which are placed in 7/8 such as frog. According to them class 7/8 has instrumental artifacts and appears as a fairly natural extension from 'used object' to 'despised object'.

Concerning the mass nouns, they state that some of the morphemes from the count system are used again for masses, with meanings which establish suitable classes for mass substances yet which are related to the meanings of the count classes. Mass nouns fall mostly into classes 5,14,6 and 3. In re-using the classes for mass nouns the singular – plural distinction disappears and in fact one of the plural prefixes is used, 6 along with three of the singular ones. The distinctions in the mass sub-system are related to those in the count system. The first distinction, cohesive/dispersive, is related to the non-extended/extended factor for count nouns. The dispersive class of mass substances, class 3, has those dry particles readily dispersed or spread out. In contrast, the cohesive classes, 6, 5, and 14 are concerned with substances that stick together such as liquids and cohesive solids.

The second contrast is between solids and liquids, which can be shown to be related to the count noun factor, unit/collection. The class for collection, 6, is often used to mark collective plurals, where units cohere together. Liquids are rearrangeable, class 6, whereas solids are of internally fixed arrangement, class 5 and 14.

The third distinction is between homogeneous and differentiated substances. Differentiated substances in class 14 are those having distinct parts such as brain. Of the classes used for mass nouns, class 5 is the least stable across languages. Class 14 has one member as bead.

Just like count classes, the mass classes also show a residue of items which are not good examples of the meaning posited for the class.

According to Denny and Creider the Bantu noun prefixes are an example of noun class systems of the type found widely among the language families of the world. Toba, Burmese and Ojibway employ one of the two configurational variables found in the Bantu system, extended/non-extended factor. Burmese and Ojibway divide “things” into configuration and kind as Bantu languages. Burmese shares with Bantu special classes for animate beings in which humans and animals are separated.

4.2.3. Burton and Kirk (1976)

Burton and Kirk are concerned with the nature and extent of the semantic reality of the noun class.

They state that every noun in Bantu languages belongs to a noun class and these noun classes correspond with noun prefixes: the members of a given noun class take one of a small number of prefixes, and a given noun prefix is found in only a small number of noun classes. They gave a definition of a noun class according to Bennet (1970) where he says a noun class is a set of nouns which share a concordance pattern of adjective, pronoun, and verb prefixes.

They also gave some conflicting opinions regarding semantic status of noun classes by some linguists like Welmers and Hoffmann. Welmers (1973) speaks of “partial semantic correlation” and Hoffmann (1963) asserts that “noun classes are only morphological categories and void of any meaning whatsoever...”

They state that Leakey (1959) suggests that several of the noun classes are rank ordered. According to Leakey objects can be elevated or demoted from the class. A person, for example can be demoted to a lower class for the

purpose of insult or expression of hatred. Similarly, spirit-borne diseases are often promoted to class 3.

A person may be placed in class 5 to indicate his spiritual significance; and an object may be a member of its class due to its association with another object in that class rather than to its own nature or form. Other objects are put in a certain class because of some belief of language speakers.

Burton and Kirk regard some words belonging to a class because of shape, color and size. They conducted triads experiment focusing on "flying animals", which contains five words from class 11, three from class 9, and one word from class 5.

They focused primarily on triads which would provide critical information about the hypothesis that noun class affects semantic classification. Here they show that although noun class is not a major feature in the overall hierarchical organization of the concepts, it appears clearly as a feature within small contrast sets. The noun class has an effect on triads choices, but the effect of noun class is subsidiary to the effects of distinctions of size and size and phylogeny.

4.2.4. Mufwene (1987)

According to Mufwene, Bantu class prefixes have two roles, i.e. inflectional and derivational roles. They are inflectional because they indicate number and when a nominal stem is COUNT it takes a COUNT prefix and when it is MASS stem it takes a mass prefix.

Concerning derivational role Mufwene states that a change of prefix may mean something much more than a mere change of number, it may also indicate a more or less fundamental change in the meaning of the noun. He

gave Tswana examples from Doke (1954) to illustrate his point as in (1) below:

- (1) **mo/nna** (man)
se/nna (manliness)
bo/nna (manhood)

According to Mufwene there are two types of derivations, i.e. primary and secondary derivations.

Mufwene regards primary derivation as a derivation where a prefix combines directly with the stem. He gave Swahili data as in (2) below as examples:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--------------------------|
| (2) | <u>Adjective</u> | <u>Nouns</u> |
| | - réfu (long) | u – réfu (length) |
| | - kúbwa (big) | u – kúbwa (size) |

Mufwene considers secondary derivation where prefixes do not combine directly with the stem, they combine with them as pre – prefixes to previously delimited nouns. He gave the following examples from Kikongo in (3) below to illustrate this.

- (3) a. **fi – mwa – ána** 'small child cl 19 +1+stem
 b. **bi – b – ána** 'small children cl 8+2+stem
 c. **tu – b – ána** 'small children cl 13+2+stem
 d. **tu – bí – b – ána** 'very small children cl
 13+8+2+stem

4.2.5. Carstens (1991)

According to Carstens in many Bantu languages every noun belongs to a certain noun class. Class membership determines the type of agreement

come by a noun's modifiers and complements, verbs and auxiliaries in relevant syntactic relations with it. The class of the noun correlates with a distinctive noun prefix. These noun prefixes in many classes are related as singular/plural pairings, to which a particular group of stems is common. According to Carstens in Kiswahili every noun stem which takes the class 1 singular prefix also takes the class 2 prefix in the plural. Meinhoff's system shows this among classes. Class features are taken to be properties of the prefixes themselves. According to Carstens (1991), Sproat (1985), Myers (1987) and Bresnan & Mchombo (1989) share the assumption that the prefix, as the head supplies the class information. Carstens argues that gender is universally a lexical property of nouns, and that noun class prefixes are gender-specific spellings-out of number features.

In this classification it is assumed that stems are specified for class. Thus stems which bear prefixes of class 1 and 2 constitute one gender. Prefixes are specified for number. The gender specification is supplied entirely by the noun, and these two features together make up class. Carstens proposes that the choice of each prefix pair is determined by lexical properties of the noun stem.

Animate nouns in Kiswahili always trigger agreement of class 1 for singulars, and class 2 for plurals. However, not all animate nouns bear class 1 and 2 prefixes. Not all nouns referring to humans bear 1/2 prefixes, however, kinship terms, words for friend, leader, and youth, and names for people with deformities show other than 1/2 prefixes, while triggering 1/2 concord. If class information were a property of noun prefixes, these agreement facts would be quite anomalous.

4.2.6. Treece (1986)

Rick Treece investigated how noun classes can be handled in a formal grammar. Traditional Bantu usually confuses the concept “lexical noun class” with the concept “morphological agreement pattern”. He proposed that an efficient formal grammar must include both of these concepts separately.

According to Treece agreement in a Bantu language can be approached in two ways. According to him there is the “possible agreement patterns” approach where each noun in the language is taken in turn and combined with a verb, a demonstrative etc and the agreement morphology, which constitutes its “agreement pattern”. There is also the “lexical class” approach where all nouns in the language trigger the same agreement pattern(s), singular and plural, and assign them to one lexical classification.

These “lexical groups” are a more useful and efficient characterization of “noun class” than the traditional definition, which should be called “agreement pattern”.

According to Treece traditionally Kiswahili is described as having sixteen noun classes, these classes are numbered 1-18, classes 12-13 being omitted, since they are extinct in modern Kiswahili.

Swahili traditional noun classes are not totally devoid of semantic content; it is merely that their semantic content is often vague and that it is valid for only a portion of the nouns which fall into that class.

Most Swahili agreement operate arbitrarily. Animate nouns trigger class 1 agreement in the singular and class 2 agreement in the plural, even if the

noun itself forms its own plural according to the morphology of some other class.

There is a group of nouns with class 5/6 or class 9/10 morphology which usually trigger class 9/10 agreement on a possessive or genitive – a. However, sometimes this irregularity does not show up, the possessive agreement reverts to the animate class 1/2 marker (**w-**).

The traditional account concerning this is that 9/10 possessive agreement is used whenever the number of the noun has not already been established in the sentence. Noun phrases with no number marking were unacceptable to Swahili speakers, so that instead of the expected, semantically motivated animate agreement, they chose class 9/10 agreement, which would unambiguously mark number.

Treece has a counter proposal concerning these cases. He stipulated a kinship Agreement Principle to account for these as in (4) below:

(4) Kinship Agreement Principle:

Within a noun phrase, if a possessor or genitive – a modifies and follows immediately a “kinship” noun, then it takes a class 9 or class 10 agreement marker.

Otherwise, the expected animate class 1/2 agreement (**w-**) will appear.

In Swahili the class 9/10 possessive agreement will not appear if the possessive and its noun are not in the same noun phrase.

According to Treece if the agreement patterns of Swahili are split they can be forty – five or more at the maximum but if lumped together they can be eight.

Treece proposed an efficient grammar for Swahili to incorporate agreement and lexical classes. He proposed 14 agreement patterns for Swahili and 11-12 lexical noun classes. He also set up rules that would interact with the Agreement Patterns and Lexical noun classes. The rules also incorporate some language – specific features which refer to semantics such as [+kinship]. The rules depart from tradition by categorizing nouns by their own morphology rather than by the agreement they trigger on verbs. These rules only access the basic, underlying representations of the agreement morphemes.

4.2.7. Spitulnik (1989)

Spitulnik considers first how the semantics of Bantu noun class systems is typically understood and then gives the crucial semantic factors in the Chibemba system.

Concerning the semantics of Bantu noun class system Spitulnik says the fundamental issue in determining the semantic nature of Bantu noun classes rests on the extent to which distinct morphological classes align with what is called semantic classes. Most analyses of Bantu noun classes focus primarily on the types of entities which the nouns of a class denote. Such approaches recognize a basic semantic grid common to Bantu noun class systems. One problem with the above approach is that the 'meaning' associated with a noun class is mistakenly identified with the typical set of objects it picks out, rather than any finer semantic distinctions. A second problem is that on such accounts, the nouns which do not fall into the central

category of a noun class are considered to be randomly distributed within the system.

Spitulnik considers the extensional view of noun class semantics as having inadequate descriptive power to capture the richness of Bantu system, or to analyze the semantic structuring of the lexicon in general.

Spitulnik distinguishes formal and notional categories. According to her, formal categories define classes of linguistic forms which have common grammatical properties, e.g. classes of NP types such as COUNT and INANIMATE, or classes of nouns which govern distinct agreement marking patterns such as those of the Bantu noun class systems. Notional categories are at the level of intension and are based on conceptual distinctions relating to the meanings of linguistic forms, e.g. 'activity', 'thing', 'small', and 'round'. In the case of nouns, such notional values characterize distinctive properties of denotata. It is at this intensional level and not the strictly extensional level that the semantic coherence and semantic structuring of Bantu noun classes becomes clear.

Spitulnik gave 8 basic factors that are critical in providing the semantic bases for ChiBemba noun classification. They are as follows:

The first five are directly tied to the noun class prefixes themselves, i.e. number, animacy, shape, location, and size. Additionally, there are two sources of semantic structuring which in all cases involve peculiarities of noun class prefixes: one involves the pragmatic functions of certain prefixes, and the other involves the distinctive phonological shape of certain prefixes. The final factor rests on the syntactic patterns which NPs of certain noun classes can enter into. These eight factors overlap and compete with one another in the determination of the class membership of any particular

ChiBemba noun, and are the basic sources and loci of the notional values structuring the ChiBemba noun class system.

As far as semantic structuring is concerned Spitulnik suggests that the notional structuring of a noun class can be viewed as analogous to the way in which stereotypes contribute to the meaning of nouns.

According to Spitulnik Putnam's idea of a stereotype applies to the meanings of individual words. However, one can extend this idea to approach the meaning of noun classes in the following way. One can understand the notional values associated with a particular noun class as a set of stereotypical values which delimit the possible denotata of nouns occurring in the class. A stereotype of a noun class would thus specify a sufficient set of notional criteria for a noun's membership in the class. In this manner, one can describe every class in the ChiBemba noun class system as having a unique stereotype, which is based on the stereotypes of the individual nouns that occur in the class.

In ChiBemba system there are numerous instances of competing notional values in the classification of certain types of nouns, as well as reclassification along notional lines, and dual classification reflecting dual notional attributes. For all of the ChiBemba noun classes, one can select a prototypical referent which most nearly satisfies the greatest number of notional values operative in the class.

In the ChiBemba system it is the typical referent (based on extension) which has traditionally been the determinant of the "semantic coherence" of a noun class. The semantic coherence of a noun class depends on how tightly the noun class is structured by derivational processes, and notional and NP categories. On one level, the semantic homogeneity of a given class depends to a great extent on the productivity of its class prefixes. Thus, all of

the nouns derived by as certain class prefix would tend to have a shared meaning, namely that belonging to the prefix. On another level, these meanings of prefixes extend into other notional values and non-derived forms. For example, the affective notions of 'gross' and 'despised' associated with both the 'augmentative' and 'thing' (of) functions of the Cl.7 prefix *ici-* are descriptors of non-derived nouns as well (e.g. *icipuba* 'fool').

Thus, maximum semantic homogeneity is found among the nouns of class 1/2 and class 15, and near – homogeneity in class 14, classes which have highly productive prefixes and which most closely correlate with NP categories. On the other hand, class 7/8 appears to be the semantically residual Bantu noun class. According to Spitulnik class 7/8 is loosely structured on an extensional level in virtue of the highly productive derivational functions of the class prefixes *ici-/ifi-*, generally meaning 'thing (of)'.

The other classes in the Chibemba system fall somewhere between these two poles.

Additionally, the notional values in the Chibemba system interact in many different ways. Within a class, notional values are linked via metaphorical relations.

4.3. NOUN CLASS IN TSHIVENDA

4.3.1. The category noun class

4.3.1.1. Gender

Beard (1995) distinguishes four nominal categories, i.e. gender, case, agreement and number.

According to him case is a nominal category controlled by syntax and for that matter he considers it as an inflectional category. Case expresses relations between nouns, and nouns and verbs in a phrase.

Beard considers agreement as a derived category, determined by a combination of factors including Noun Class, Number and Gender. He regards agreement as a category which interprets lexical categories for syntactic morphology and is hence a derived inflectional category.

As far as number is concerned Beard regards it as a category reflected in Agreement. According to him number is a lexical category and not an inflectional one.

Concerning gender, Beard regards it as an L – category not accessible to syntax. According to him the term Gender is appropriate only for the grammatical category of Natural Gender, which includes just those nouns referring to sexed beings. German nouns **Lehrer** “teacher” (unmarked masculine), **Lehrer – in** “female teacher” (marked feminine) and **der Bruder** “brother” (marked masculine) and Russian nouns **student** “student” (unmarked masculine), **student-ka** “female student” (marked feminine) and **brat** “brother” (marked masculine) are the examples.

Grammatical Gender is simply the same category found among the nouns of Bantu and Amerindian languages and usually referred to as “Noun Class”. Grammatical gender is determined by grammar and for that matter it is a lexical category.

4.3.1.2. Lexical category

Morphology has four categories, i.e. word, root, stem and an affix. A Tshivenda morphological word may consist of a root, stem and an affix. Morphemes can be free or bound. A free morpheme can occur independently as a word; bound morpheme cannot.

(i) The Root

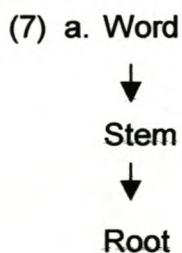
A root is the smallest unit of a word which cannot be further analysed without total loss of identity. It is that part of the word left when all the affixes are removed. It can be regarded as the lexical item in Tshivenda:

(5) mu – **amb** – i (a speaker)

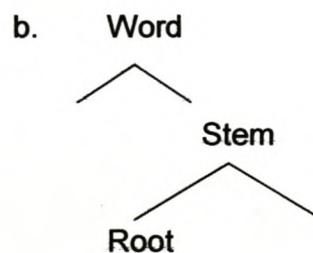
In the example in (5) above –**amb**- (speak) is a root. There are primitive and derived roots:

- (6) a. Primitive root: - **thu** in **muthu** (a person)
 b. Derived root: - **swifhal-** (to be dark) from **swiswi**(darkness)

From a derivational point of view, the root, is the lowest element in a derivation in Tshivenda:

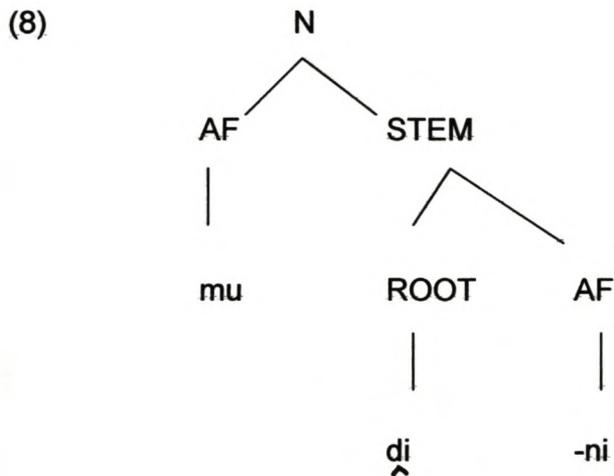


OR



(ii) The Stem

The stem consists solely of a root plus a derivational affix:



(iii) The affix

An affix is essential for word formation. This is a morpheme which is attached to the root or the stem. In Tshivenda these morphemes can be inflectional or derivational. Affixes like roots and stems are recognised as lexical items which are assigned to a category and which have a lexical entry, e.g. N^{AF} , V^{AF} , A^{AF} etc. The lexical entry of an affix will contain its syntactic, semantic and phonological information. Selkirk (1982) gives the following as a lexical entry for an affix:

- (9)
- (i) Category
 - (ii) Subcategorization frame
 - (iii) meaning
 - (iv) Phonological representation

According to the theory of “headedness” the category features of an affix determine the node of the word structures to which they are daughters. Adjective affixes will derive adjectives, noun affixes will derive nouns and verb affixes will derive verbs. The affix of a word structure is the head when the category that is its sister is not the same as the mother category.

Sometimes an affix can just appear for recognition and without any meaning at all.

In Tshivenda affixes are classified into two types, depending on their position with reference to the root or stem of the word, i.e. prefixes and suffixes.

Prefixes are attached before or to the left of a root or stem to form a word whereas suffixes are attached after or to the right of a root or stem. Examples are given in (10) below:

(10) mu-(prefix) + - lambo + - ana (suffix)
> mulambwana (a small river)

In (10) above the morpheme **mu** – is the prefix whereas **–ana** is the suffix.

Prefixing in noun derivation from verbs goes hand in hand with suffixing. The example is given in (11) below:

(11) mu – (prefix) + - shum - + - i (suffix)
> mushumi (worker)

In (11) above the morpheme **mu** – and **–i** are prefix and suffix respectively.

Derivational affixes can change the category of the stem or root they are attached to:

(12) vhu – (prefix) + - hulu > vhuhulu (greatness)

In (12) above **vhuhulu** (greatness) is a noun derived from an adjective – **hulu** (big) after the prefix **vhu** – was attached to it.

They can also assign a semantic feature to the root or stem they are attached to:

(13) thavha (mountain) – ana (suffix) >
thavhana (a small mountain)

In (13) above the noun **thavha** (mountain) was converted to a diminutive noun because of the suffix – **ana** attached to it.

Thus derivational affixes have a category – changing and a semantic function in Tshivenda.

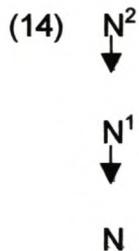
4.3.2. The morphological structure of the noun

4.3.2.1. The X – bar theory

In the X – theory, the symbol X is a variable standing for the category names Noun (N), Verb (V), Adjective (A), Preposition (P), Quantifier (Q) etc. The superscript \underline{n} e.g. X^n or equivalently the number of “bars” e.g. X^1 , X^2 , X^3 etc. define the level or type of category.

In syntax the word is a category or type zero, i.e. it is the “ lowest” category of syntactic structure. Words of the category Noun, Verb, Adjective etc. have the category symbol N^0 , V^0 , A^0 respectively (or more simply, N, A, V).

Categories of level N^1 , N^2 , N^3 are phrases. Hierarchically this could be represented as in (14) below:

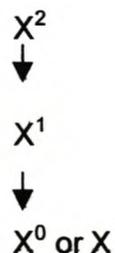


In (14) above N is immediately dominated by N^1 and N^1 is immediately dominated by N^2 . Every syntactic category dominates a category of the same name, but which is one level down in the \bar{X} hierarchy.

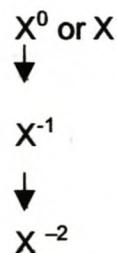
Morphological categories are identical in character to syntactic categories. This means that each morphological category will have a level and a category name within \bar{X} -theory.

The difference between syntactic categories and morphological categories within the \bar{X} -theory is on dominance. The ordering of domination reverses in morphology. Examples are given in (15) below:

(15) a. Syntactic category



b. Morphological category



In syntax X^1 immediately dominates X and in morphology X immediately dominates X^{-1} . The lexical items of morphology, i.e. roots and stems are

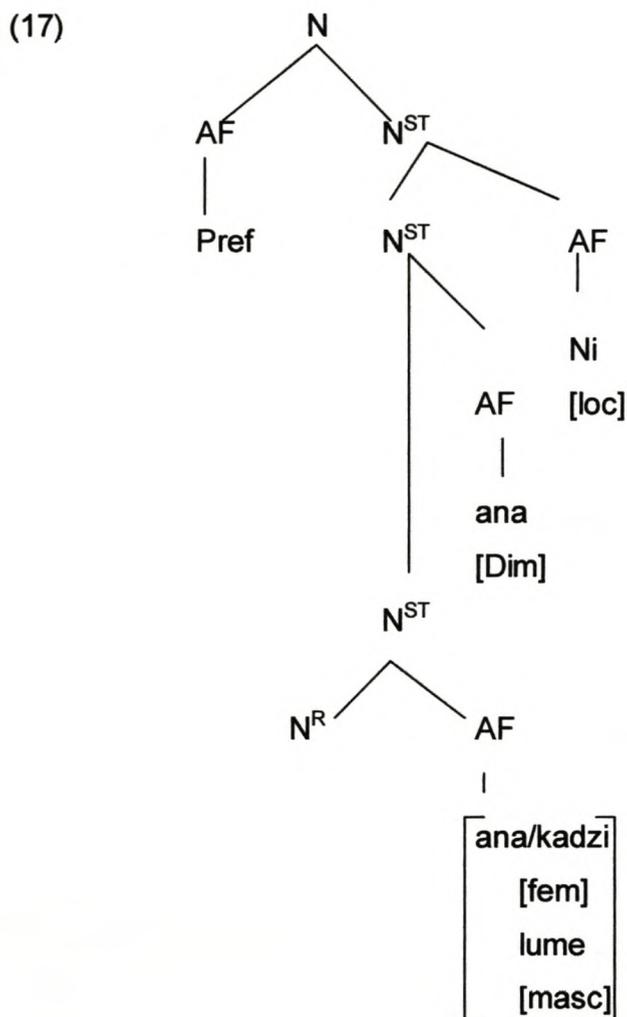
ordered within \bar{X} hierarchy but the affix is not ordered. It subcategorises for the level it attaches to roots and stems. Diacritic features both inflectional and derivational are assigned to the affix e.g. – **ana**:

(16) a. N^{AF}
[+ Dim]

b. thavhana (a small mountain)

-**ana** here displays syntactic category features [N^{AF}] and the diacritic feature [+ Dim].

The morphological structure of the noun in Tshivenda appears as in (17) below:



It is clear in (17) above that the noun may consist of an affix which is a prefix and any number of stems. The example here can be **muthu** (person), which consists of the prefix **mu** – and the noun root **–thu**. On the root another affix may be attached, e.g. the locative **–ni** to give **muthuni** (at the person). The diminutive **–ana** may also be added to another stem to give a diminutive noun. The feminine affix – **ana/kadzi** can also be added to a certain root to give the female noun or the masculine affix – **lume** may be added to give the male noun.

According to the percolation theory, the category feature percolates or passes from a lexical morpheme to a node of the tree structure. It is not only

the category membership feature but the entire feature content of a morpheme that is percolated up a tree. This means that the derived word, through percolation, adopts all the feature values of its outer-most morpheme.

4.3.2.2. Locative, diminutive and gender affixes.

In Tshivenda locative, diminutive and gender affixes are derivational affixes and not inflectional affixes. Derivational affixes are responsible for forming new words from existing words while inflectional affixes are not able to form new words. Derivational operations are carried out in the lexicon and this results in a change in meaning of a word. Inflectional operations are carried out in syntax.

Locative –ni

When a locative –ni is affixed to some nouns, new nouns are formed, with a change in meaning. In other words those derived words have a locative meaning:

- (18) a. [Murunzi] u a rothola
(The shade is cold)
- b. [Murunzini] hu a rothola
(In the shade it is cold)

in (18a) above there is a noun **murunzi** (shade). This noun is a common noun which belongs to class 3, and it triggers class 3 agreement which is **u**. In (18b) there is a derived noun **murunzini** (in the shade) which is formed by the addition of a locative –ni to the noun **murunzi** (shade). This derived noun has a locative meaning and it triggers a locative agreement **hu**.

Diminutive affix –ana and –nyana

In Tshivenda these two suffixes are used to convert various nouns to diminutives. Nouns are diminutized in terms of amount, age and size.

Diminutive affix –ana

A diminutive affix –ana is found in a derived noun because of a change in meaning. A noun which is not a diminutive noun can become a diminutive after an affix –ana was attached to it:

- (19) a. [Musadzi] o da.
(A woman has come)
- b. [Musadzana] o da.
(A young woman has come)

In (19a) above the noun **musadzi** (woman) is an ordinary noun with a common meaning. In (19b) there is **musadzana** (a young woman) which is derived from **musadzi** (woman) in (19a). **Musadzana** (young woman) is a derived noun because of a change in meaning. **Musadzi** (woman) has no diminutive meaning whereas **musadzana** (a young woman) has a diminutive meaning. **Musadzana** (a young woman) has a diminutive meaning because of an affix –ana attached to it.

Diminutive affix –nyana

A diminutive affix –nyana can derive nouns because of a change in meaning:

- (20) a. O mu fha [maḏi]
(He gave him water)
- b. O mu fha (maḏinyana)
(He gave him little water)

In (20) above the noun **maḏi** (water) in (20a) is an ordinary noun with an ordinary meaning. When an affix **-nyana** is attached to **maḏi** (water) as in (20b) a new word **maḏinyana** (little water) is derived with a new meaning, i.e. a small amount. The noun **maḏi** (water) is not a diminutive noun whereas **maḏinyana** (little water) is a diminutive noun.

An affix – **nyana** can also appear with the following nouns given in (21):

- (21) a. swigiri (sugar) + -nyana > swigirinyana (little sugar)
b. mavu (soil) + -nyana > mavunyana (little soil)
c. kule (far) + -nyana > kulenyana (little bit far)
d. vhathu (people) + -nyana > vhathunyana (few people)

The problem of ku- and -ana or -nyana

- (i) ku – on its own:

The prefix **ku-** on its own has the meaning of small in size;

- (22) a. ku - + - mbudzi (goat) > kubudzi (small goat)
b. ku - + -thavha (mountain) > kutavha (small mountain)

In (22) above the morpheme **ku-** is attached to the nouns **mbudzi** (goat) and **thavha** (mountain). When this morpheme **ku-** is attached these nouns become **kubudzi** (small goat) and **kutavha** (small mountain) respectively. In

other words they become diminutives. What happened during derivation is that the initial consonants underwent some sound change.

(ii) The prefix **ku** – and – **ana**

In Tshivenda the prefix **ku-** can be used with **-ana**. When the noun appears with **-ana**, the noun has a meaning of “very small “:

- (23) a. ku - + -mbudzi (goat) + -ana > kubudzana
(very small goat/very small kid)
- b. ku-+- ndau (lion) + - ana > kudawana
(very small lion/very small cub)

(iii) The prefix **ku-** and –**nyana**

In Tshivenda the diminutive prefix **ku-** cannot appear together with an affix **-nyana** on the same noun:

- (24) a. ku- + - swigiri (sugar)+ - nyana > * kuswigirinyana
(small little sugar)
- b. ku - + - mavu (soil) + - nyana >* kumavunyana
(small little soil)

Gender affixes

In Tshivenda there are two genders under which certain nouns can be classified, i.e. feminine and masculine genders. Each of them has affixes by which they are identified e.g. feminine affixes are – **kadzi** and - **ana** and the masculine affix is **-lume**.

The gender affix – **kadzi** can derive a noun because of a change in meaning:

- (25) a. [Mudededzi] o da.
(The teacher has come)
- b. [Mudedekadzi] o da.
(The lady teacher has come)

In (25a) above there is a noun **mudededzi** (a teacher) which is unmarked for gender. In (25b) there is a noun **mudedekadzi** (a female teacher) which is marked for feminine gender. This noun **mudedekadzi** (a female teacher) refers to a lady teacher because of the affix –**kadzi** which is attached.

Other examples are given in (26) below:

- (26) a. ndou (elephant) + - kadzi > ndoukadzi
(female elephant)
- b. mbudzi (goat) + - kadzi > mbudzikadzi
(she – goat)

In (26) above the nouns **ndou** (elephant) and **mbudzi** (goat) are neutral their referents can be both male and female. This is because they are not marked for gender. When affix – **kadzi** is attached to the nouns **ndou** (elephant) and **mbudzi** (goat) they become **ndoukadzi** (female elephant) and **mbudzikadzi** (female goat) respectively. Because of an affix –**kadzi** these nouns have female referents.

In Tshivenda a feminine affix –**ana** only appears with a feminine meaning with nouns which are derived from colour adjectives and then only with cattle:

- (27) a. Ndi [dzothwa] yo [^]thavhiwaho.
(Is a male head of cattle, dark brown all over which has been slaughtered)
- b. Ndi [dzothwana] yo [^]thavhiwaho
(Is a female head of cattle, dark brown all over which has been slaughtered)

The noun **dzothwa** (male head of cattle, dark brown all over) in (27a) is unmarked masculine noun whereas **dzothwana** (female head of cattle, dark brown all over) in (27b) is a marked feminine noun because of the affix – **ana** on it.

This feminine meaning can also be found within a NP:

- (28) a. Ndi [kholomo [ya dzothwa [yo [^]thavhiwaho]
(Is a male head of cattle dark brown in colour all over which is slaughtered)
- b. Ndi [kholomo [ya dzothwana [yo [^]thavhiwaho]
(Is a female head of cattle dark brown in colour all over which is slaughtered)

Other examples are given in (29) below:

- (29) a. tshubwa (male head of cattle without horns) + -ana > tshubwana (female head of cattle without horns)
- b. dilu (male head of cattle with darker stripes running across the body) + -ana > diluana > dilwana (female head of cattle with darker stripes running across the body)

- c. thomu (male head of cattle white in colour with black patches all over) + -ana > thomuana > thoñwana (female head of cattle white in colour with black patches all over)

In Tshivenda the gender affix **-lume** has a meaning **male**. Gender affix **-lume** can derive a noun which is masculine from a noun which is not masculine:

- (30) a. O [^]tavha [mutu[^]]
(He planted a water berry)
- b. O [^]tavha [mutulume[^]]
(He planted a male water berry)

In (30a) above there is a noun **mutu** (water berry) which is unmarked for gender. In (30b) there is a noun **mutulume** (male waterberry) which is marked for gender. This noun **mutulume** (male water berry) refers to a male waterberry because of the affix **-lume** attached to it.

Other examples are given in (31) below:

- (31) a. ndou (elephant) + -lume > ndoulume (male elephant)
- b. muthu (person) + -lume > muthulume (male person)

In (31) above the nouns **ndoulume** (male elephant) and **muthulume** (male person) were derived from the nouns **ndou** (elephant) and **muthu** (person) when the gender affix **-lume** is attached to them. It is clear in the examples above that gender affix **-lume** can derive masculine nouns from certain nouns which are not marked for gender.

4.3.3. Noun class prefixes

In Tshivenda all nouns are specified for a certain noun class and these noun classes are recognized through prefixes which are also known as noun class prefixes. According to Carstens (1991), Bresnan and Mchombo (1989) regard the prefix as the head of the noun which supplies the class information. According to her these noun prefixes in many classes are related as singular/plural pairings, to which a particular group of stems is common.

In Tshivenda noun prefixes have two roles, they are both inflectional and derivational.

The noun class prefixes as inflectional

In Tshivenda the prefixes of the noun refer to the nominal category noun class. One can know the class of the noun because of the prefix:

(32) a. **liivha** (dove)
 Class 5

b. **maivha** (doves)
 Class 6

In (32) above there are two nouns **liivha** (dove) and **maivha** (doves). These nouns belong to classes 5 and 6 respectively. This is evident because of the prefixes **li-** and **ma-**. In other words, prefixes reveal the class of nouns concerned.

The noun class prefix as derivational

In Tshivenda a noun class prefix can derive a new noun from the existing noun:

- (33) a. muthu (person) > vhuthu (humanness)
 b. mutukana (boy) > vhutukana (boyhood)

In (33) above there are two nouns, i.e. **vhuthu** (humanness) and **vhutukana** (boyhood) which are derived from the nouns **muthu** (person) and **mutukana** (boy) respectively. In the derivation the prefix **vh** – of class 14 was used to replace the prefix **mu** – in each case to form the nouns **vhuthu** (humanness) and **vhutukana** (boyhood) respectively.

Other examples are given in (34) below:

Underived nouns**Derived nouns**

- | | | |
|--------|----------------------|---|
| (34)a. | mukalaha (old man) : | tshikalaha (small old man)
galaha (big old man)
lukalaha (thin old man)
kukalaha (small old man) |
| b. | muri (tree) : | tshiri (small tree)
liri (big tree)
luri (thin tree)
kuri (small tree) |
| c. | liivha (dove) : | tshiivha (small dove)
luivha (thin dove)
kuivha (small dove) |

- d. tshikolo (school) : golo (big school)
lukolo (thin school)
kukolo (small school)
- e. thanda (log) : danda (big log)
tshitanda (small log)
lutanda (thin log)
kutanda (small log)

In (34) above the nouns that are derived from the nouns **mukalaha** (old man), **muri** (tree), **liivha** (dove), **tshikolo** (school) and **thanda** (log) are given in column derived nouns. In the derivation of these nouns, prefixes **tshi -**, **li -**, **lu -** and **ku -** have been used.

4.3.4. The phonological forms of the noun class morphemes.

4.3.4.1. Overview

Spencer (1991)

Spencer describes the manipulations of the morphological shape of roots, stems and words. He argues for a particular view of the place of allomorphy in the grammar. He adopts the perspective that morphophonological operations of various sorts can be the exponents, or at least the partial exponents, of morphological properties. According to him allomorphy can never be viewed as (partial) exponent of a morphological property. Typologically it means that languages are permitted to list floating features as morphemes but they are not allowed to signal a difference in morphological property by means of a paradigmatic relationship between singular and plural allomorphs.

In concatenation two strings are linked together in linear sequence to form a longer string. Spencer found compounding and affixation as the kinds of concatenation. According to him compounding is the concatenation of two words to form another word. When compounded types become fossilized, the head of the compound may turn into an affix.

Concerning affixation he regards prefixation and suffixation as important in affixal operations. These operations may be combined to form a single process by means of a circumfix. According to Spencer prefixation and suffixation do not entail that the prefix/suffix appears on the far left/right of the word or stem. An affix can appear inside the stem to which it is attached. Spencer regards reduplication as a morphological operation which is a kind of affixation of a prosodic template to a stem, followed by copying of that stem and association to the template. The simplest type is simple copying of an entire root.

Spencer found ten morphophonemic processes, i.e. apophony, c – mutation, tone, stress, vowel length, consonant length, metathesis, subtractive morphology, truncation and replacive morphology.

Apophony is where sounds are replaced by other sounds. C – mutation is where affixes induce phonological changes in the final consonant or consonants of their bases and that these alternations then become morphologized. When consonant alternations take place word – initially it is known as (initial) consonant mutation or left-edge mutation, and when a suffix induces morphologized change this is known as right –edge mutation.

According to Spencer many languages use tonal alternations as exponents of grammatical categories.

As far as stress is concerned Spencer views it as an important concomitant of affixation and compounding, and is often used to mark membership of particular cells of inflectional paradigms. He views metathesis as the reordering of phonemes. This process accompanies affixation, but on occasion it gives the impression of being the sole exponent of a morphological property. Concerning subtraction morphology he says it is a process where a form is derived from another form by deleting material like **agronomija** – **agrom**, and he relates truncation to subtractive morphology because it is the sort of shortening as in the formation of diminutives of personal names, e.g. Michael –Mike.

Concerning replacive morphology Spencer says a part of a morpheme is replaced by another phoneme string, for example the alternation between singular **man** and plural **men**: /a/ replaced /e/.

Carstairs – McCarthy (1992)

According to Carstairs and McCarthy pieces of morphological material, when combined can affect each other phonologically. Phonology can determine whether some pieces of morphological material are combinable at all. This is because some morphological processes are restricted to bases with certain phonological characteristics, and cannot apply to bases without them, even if they are appropriate on other grounds.

These phonological constraints can be found in both derivation and inflection. For example English suffix **–al** which forms abstract nouns from verbs as in **arrival** is restricted to bases with main stress on the final syllable. But this restriction does not apply to the adjective – forming suffix **–al**. The English comparative and superlative suffixes **–er** and **–est**, as in **redder**, **happiest** are restricted to short bases.

4.3.4.2 Class 1/2

In class 1 the prototypical morpheme is **mu** – and the variants are **m** – and [ɣw]:

The morpheme **mu** –

This morpheme **mu** – appears in all cases except where its variants appear:

- (35) a. **mu** – (prefix) + - tukana (stem) > mutukana (a boy)
- b. **mu** – (prefix) + - thu (stem) > muthu (a person)

The variant **m** –

The morpheme **m** – appears with one stem that commences with [P]:

- (36) mupengo > **mp**engo (mad man)

The variant [ɣw]

The variant **ñw** – [ɣw] occurs in certain noun stems that commence with a vowel:

- (37) **mu** – (prefix) + -ana (stem) > **ñw**ana (child)

In (37) above there is the noun **ñwana** (child). This noun has **-ana** as the stem the **ñw-** as the prefix. This stem – **ana** commences with vowel **a** and that is why it can accept the morpheme **ñw** – as the prefix. This variant is restricted in use because many derived nouns from verbs with a vowel **a** will accept **mu** – e.g. [**mu** – amb -i].

Class 2 is the plural class for class 1. The prototypical morpheme of this class is **vha**. This morpheme has **vh-** as its variant:

The morpheme **vha** –

This morpheme appears in all cases where the variant **vh** – cannot appear:

- (38) a. **vha** – (prefix) + - **thu** (stem) > **vhathu** (people)
 b. **vha** – (prefix) + - **sidzana** (stem) > **vhasidzana** (girls)

The variant **vh-**

In Tshivenda the morpheme **vh** – appears with certain noun stems that commence with a vowel. This morpheme can be used as the plural for the prefix **ñw** -. In other words the noun stem – **ana** takes **vh** – as its prefix in the plural:

- (39) **vh-** (prefix) + - **ana** (stem) > **vhana** (children)

4.3.4.3. Class 1a/2a

In Tshivenda class 1a does not have an overt prefix. This class is the subclass of noun class 1, because they both use the same agreement morphemes:

- (40) a. Musadzi u – la vhuswa
 (The woman eats porridge)
- b. Mme u – la vhuswa
 (Mother eats porridge)

In (40) above the nouns **musadzi** (woman) and **mme** (mother) belong to classes 1 and 1a respectively, but these nouns use the same agreement morpheme, i.e. **u**.

Class 2a is the plural of class 1a. This class has the morpheme **vho** – as the prefix. This morpheme has no variant:

- (41) a. Vho – (prefix) + Vele >Vho-Vele (Mr Vele)
 b. Vho – (prefix) + mme >Vhomme (mothers)

4.3.4.4. Class 3/4

In class 3 the prototypical morpheme is **mu** – and the variants are **ñw** – and **m** - .

The morpheme mu –

This class prefix has the same form as the prefix **mu** – of class 1:

- (42) a. mu – (prefix) + - fula (stem) > mufula (marula tree)
 b. mu – (prefix) + - lomo (stem) >mulomo (mouth)
 c. mu – (prefix) + - vhuḁa (stem) > muvhuḁa (hare)

In (42) above there are three nouns, i.e. **mufula** (marula tree), **mulomo** (mouth) and **muvhuḁa** (hare). All these nouns belong to class 3 and they have morpheme **mu** - as their prefix.

The variant ñw –

In Tshivenda this variant **ñw** – is found with certain older vowel – commencing stems:

- (43) a. $\dot{n}w$ – (prefix) + - aha (stem) > $\dot{n}waha$ (year)
 b. $\dot{n}w$ – (prefix) + - edzi (stem) > $\dot{n}wedzi$ (moon)
 c. $\dot{n}w$ – (prefix) + - enda (stem) > $\dot{n}wenda$ (cloth worn by women)

There are also certain noun stems that although they commence with a vowel, do not use the morpheme $\dot{n}w$ – as a prefix but mu – :

- (44) a. mu – (prefix) + ano (stem) > $muano$ (oath)
 b. mu – (prefix) + - embe (stem) > $muembe$ (wild castard apple tree)
 c. mu – (prefix) + - umo (stem) > $muumo$ (strangler fig tree)

The variant m –

The morpheme m – is used with certain stems that commence with the consonant [P] or [Ph]:

- (45) a. m – (prefix) + - pakato (stem) > $mpakato$ (something slung over the shoulder)
 b. m – (prefix) + - phasi (stem) > $mphasi$ (hemp pipe)
 c. m – (prefix) + - pundu (stem) > $mpundu$ (a kick)

The prototypical morpheme of class 4 is mi -. This class is the plural for class 3. Because of this it can appear with all the noun stems of class 3.

This morpheme has no variant:

- (46) a. mi – (prefix) + - fula(stem) > $mifula$ (marula trees)

- b. mi – (prefix) + - ñw – (prefix) + - enda (stem) > miñwenda
(clothes worn by women)
- c. mi – (prefix) + - tuli (stem) > mituli (mortars)

In (46) above the nouns **mifula** (marula trees), **miñwenda** (clothes worn by women) and **mituli** (mortars) appear with the morpheme **mi –** as a prefix. In (46b) above the noun **miñwenda** (clothes worn by women) has two prefixes, i.e. **mi –** and **ñw –**. In this noun the morpheme **mi –** of class 4 was attached to form the plural noun in the presence of the prefix **ñw –** of class 3. This process of forming plurals is known as superimposition.

4.3.4.5. Class 5/6

In class 5 the prototypical morpheme is **li –** and the variants are **i-** and **∅**.

The morpheme li-

This morpheme appears in all cases except where its variants appear:

- (47) a. **li-** (prefix) + - no (stem) > **lino** (tooth)
 b. **li-** (prefix) + - ga (stem) > **liga** (step)
 c. **li-**(prefix) + - nngo (stem) > **linngo** (mango)

In (47) above the nouns **lino** (tooth), **liga** (step) and **linngo** (mango) belong to class 5. All these nouns have the morpheme **li-** as a prefix.

The variant i-

The variant **i-** may appear where **li-** has been deleted. However the deletion is incomplete as **i** is left visible and in some instances where it is not visible its influence is felt when varied sound changes occur:

(i) where the variant **i** is visible.

- (48) a. i- (prefix) + - to (stem) > ito (eye)
 b. i- (prefix) + - fa (stem) > ifa (inheritance)
 c. i- (prefix) + - pfi (stem) > ipfi (word, voice)

In (48) above the nouns **ito** (eye), **ifa** (inheritance) and **ipfi** (word, voice) have the morpheme **i-** as a prefix.

(ii) Where the variant **i** is not visible but its influence is felt.

- (49) a. i- (prefix) + - lembe (stem) > dzembe (hoe)
 b. i- (prefix) + - kole (stem) > gole (cloud)
 c. i- (prefix) + - tanda(stem) > danda (log)

In (49) above there are the nouns **dzembe** (hoe), **gole** (cloud) and **danda** (log). In these nouns the prefix **i-** is not visible but its influence is felt. In the noun **dzembe** (hoe) **i + l** became **dz** and the sound change caused is affricatization. In the noun **gole** (cloud) **i+ k** became **g** and the sound change caused is referred to as vocalization. In the noun **danda** (log) **i+t** became **d** and the sound change caused is vocalization.

The variant \emptyset

The variant \emptyset appears with certain nouns in class 5 that do not have an overt prefix:

- (50) a. \emptyset - (prefix) + - duvha (stem) > duvha (sun)
 b. \emptyset - (prefix) + - davha (stem) > davha (work party)
 c. \emptyset - (prefix) + - dwadze (stem) > dwadze (epidemic)

In (50) above the nouns **duvha** (sun), **davha** (work party) and **dwadze** (epidemic) appear with \emptyset as a prefix which is a zero prefix.

The prototypical morpheme of class 6 is **ma** -. This class is the plural for class 5. The class morpheme **ma**- has no variant morpheme:

- (51) a. ma- (prefix) + -nngo (stem) > manngo (mangoes)
 b. ma- (prefix) + -ivha (stem) > maivha (doves)
 c. ma- (prefix) + -tombo (stem) > matombo(stones)

In (51) above the nouns **manngo** (mangoes), **maivha** (doves) and **matombo** (stones) belong to class 6. All these nouns appear with the morpheme **ma** – as a prefix.

This prefix **ma**- can appear together with another prefix:

- (52) ma – (prefix) + - di – (prefix) + - thu (stem) > madithu (ogres)

In (52) above the noun **madithu** (ogres) has two class morphemes, i.e. **ma** – of class 6 and **di**- of class 21. The noun **madithu** (ogres) is the plural for class 21 noun **dithu** (ogre). The plural noun **madithu** (ogres) was formed by attaching the prefix **ma** – of class 6 to the noun **dithu** (ogre) from class 21. Because of this people think that class 21 has class 6 as its plural class.

4.3.4.6. Class 7/8

In class 7 the prototypical morpheme is **tshi**- and the variant is **tsh**-

The morpheme **tshi**-

This morpheme appears in all cases except where its variant appears:

- (53) a. tshi – (prefix) + - vhambo (stem) > tshivhambo
(initiation hut for girls)
- b. tshi – (prefix) + - Venda (stem) > tshivenda
(the Venda language)
- c. tshi – (prefix) + - kona (stem) > tshikona
(tshikona traditional dance)

In (53) above the nouns **tshivhambo** (initiation hut for girls), **tshivenda** (the Venda language) and **tshikona** (tshikona traditional dance) belong to class 7. All these nouns appear with the morpheme **tshi-** as the prefix.

The variant **tsh-**

In Tshivenda the variant **tsh** – is used with certain vowel – commencing stems. Examples are given in (54) below :

- (54) a. tsh- (prefix) + - anda (stem) > tshanda (hand)
- b. tsh- (prefix) + - alo (stem) > tshalo (grave)
- c. tsh- (prefix) + - edza (stem) > tshedza (light)

In (54) above the nouns **tshanda** (hand), **tshalo** (grave) and **tshedza** (light) have the morpheme **tsh-** as the prefix.

There are other nouns having the noun stems that commence with a vowel that do not use the variant **tsh-** as a prefix but **tshi-** :

- (55) a. tshi- (prefix) + - akha (stem) > tshiakha (breast bone)
- b. tshi- (prefix) + - ambwa (stem) > tshiambwa (talk)
- c. tshi- (prefix) + - aramo (stem) > tshiaramo
(lintel over door way)

In (55) above the nouns **tshiakha** (breast bone), **tshiambwa** (talk) and **tshiaramo** (lintel over door way) have stems that commence with a vowel but they use the morpheme **tshi-** as a prefix not **tsh-** as expected.

The prototypical morpheme of class 8 is **zwi-**. The variant of this morpheme is **zw-**.

The morpheme **zwi-**

The morpheme **zwi-** appears in all instances where its variant cannot appear:

- (56) a. **zwi-** (prefix) + - **thu** (stem) > **zwithu** (things)
 b. **zwi-** (prefix) + - **tukana** (stem) > **zwitukana** (small boys)
 c. **zwi-** (prefix) + - **kolo** (stem) > **zwikolo** (schools)

In (56) above the nouns **zwithu** (things), **zwitukana** (small boys) and **zwikolo** (schools) belong to class 8 and they use the morpheme **zwi-** as a prefix.

The variant **zw-**

The variant **zw-** appears with certain vowel commencing stems:

- (57) a. **zw-** (prefix) + - **anda** (stem) > **zwa[^]nda** (hands)
 b. **zw-** (prefix) + - **alo** (stem) > **zwa[^]lo** (graves)
 c. **zw-** (prefix) + - **ana** (stem) > **zwa[^]na** (small children)

In (57) above the nouns **zwa[^]nda** (hands), **zwa[^]lo** (graves) and **zwa[^]na** (small children) belong to class 8. These nouns have stems commencing with a vowel and they use the variant **zw-** as a prefix.

There are other noun stems that commence in a vowel that do not allow the variant **zw-** as the prefix but **zwi-**. Examples are given in (58) below :

- (58) a. **zwi-** (prefix) + **- akha** (stem) > **zwiakha**
 (breast bones)
- b. **zwi-** (prefix) + **- ambwa** (stem) > **zwiambwa** (talks)
- c. **zwi-** (prefix) + **- aramo** (stem) > **zwiaramo**
 (lintels over doorway)

In (58) above the nouns **zwiakha** (breast bone), **zwiambwa** (talks) and **zwiaramo** (lintels over doorway) have vowel commencing stems but they have the morpheme **zwi-** as a prefix not **zw-**.

4.3.4.7. Class 9/10

The prototypical morpheme of class 9 is n-. This prefix can change into various forms depending on the consonant that follows. The various forms are [m], [ŋ], [n̥], [ɲ] and [n]. These changes are determined by phonological rules. The morpheme **n-** does not occur before polysyllabic stems. Its variant is \emptyset :

The morpheme n-

- (i) Where **n** → **n**

The morpheme n- of class 9 appears in certain nouns with alveolar stems:

- (59) **n-** (prefix) + **- nda** (stem) > **nnda** (lice)

(ii) Where $n \rightarrow m$

This variant appears before certain labial consonant :

- (60) a. $n - (\text{prefix}) + - \text{mbwa} (\text{stem}) > \text{mmbwa} (\text{dog})$
 b. $n - (\text{prefix}) + - \text{phwe} (\text{stem}) > \text{mphwe} (\text{ostrich})$
 c. $n - (\text{prefix}) + - \text{mbo} (\text{stem}) > \text{mmbo} (\text{tsetse fly})$

In (60) above the nouns **mmbwa** (dog), **mphwe** (ostrich) and **mmbo** (tsetse fly) appear with the morpheme **m-** as a prefix. All the noun stems of these nouns commence in labial consonant.

(iii) Where $n \rightarrow [ŋ]$

This variant appears before velar consonant in certain nouns:

- (61) $n - (\text{prefix}) + - \text{kho} (\text{stem}) > (\text{nkho}) (\text{big water pot})$

In (61) above the noun **nkho** (big water pot) appears with the morpheme (n) as a prefix.

(iv) Where $n \rightarrow \underset{\wedge}{[n]}$

The variant $\underset{\wedge}{[n]}$ is used before dental consonants in certain nouns:

- (62) a. $n - (\text{prefix}) + - \underset{\wedge}{\text{thu}} (\text{stem}) > \underset{\wedge}{\text{n}}\underset{\wedge}{\text{thu}} (\text{mutu berry})$
 b. $n - (\text{prefix}) + - \text{ndu} (\text{stem}) > \underset{\wedge}{\text{nn}}\underset{\wedge}{\text{du}} (\text{hut})$

In (62) above the nouns **$\underset{\wedge}{\text{n}}\underset{\wedge}{\text{thu}}$** (mutu berry) and **$\underset{\wedge}{\text{nn}}\underset{\wedge}{\text{du}}$** (hut) appear with the morpheme $\underset{\wedge}{\text{n}}$ $\underset{\wedge}{[n]}$ as a prefix.

(v) Where $n \rightarrow [ɲ]$

This variant [ɲ] is used before palatal consonant in certain nouns:

(63) $n - (\text{prefix}) + - \text{nzhu} (\text{stem}) > \text{nnzhu} (\text{Black Eagle})$

In (63) above the noun **nnzhu** (Black Eagle) appears with the morpheme n [ɲ] as a prefix.

The variant \emptyset

In Tshivenda the prefix \emptyset is used with the noun stems that do not have any overt prefix:

- (64) a. $\emptyset - (\text{prefix}) + - \text{thoho} (\text{stem}) > \text{thoho} (\text{head})$
 b. $\emptyset - (\text{prefix}) + - \text{khuhu} (\text{stem}) > \text{khuhu} (\text{fowl})$
 c. $\emptyset - (\text{prefix}) + - \text{thavha} (\text{stem}) > \text{thavha} (\text{mountain})$

In (64) above the nouns **thoho** (head), **khuhu** (fowl) and **thavha** (mountain) belong to class 9 and they appear with \emptyset as a prefix.

The prototypical morpheme of class 10 is **dzin-**. Class 10 is the plural class for class 9. The variant of the morpheme **dzin-** is **dzi-**

The morpheme **dzin-**

The prefix **dzin-** is used as the plural morpheme for the prefix **n-** of class 9. All the noun stems that appear with class 9 prefix **n-** can appear with class 10 prefix **dzin-**:

- (65) a. $\text{dzin} - (\text{prefix}) + - \text{ngu} (\text{stem}) > \text{dzinngu} (\text{sheep pl}).$

- b. dzin – (prefix) + - thu (stem) > dzinthu (mutu berries)
- c. dzin – (prefix) + - kho (stem) > dzinkho (big water pots)

In (65) above the nouns **dzinngu** (sheep Pl.), **dzinthu** (mutu berries) and **dzinkho** (big water pots) appear with the morpheme **dzin -** as the prefix.

The variant **dzi -**

The variant **dzi -** is used as the plural morpheme of the class 9 prefix \emptyset . This morpheme **dzi -** appears in cases where **dzin -** cannot appear:

- (66)a. dzi – (prefix) + - thoho (stem) > dzithoho (heads)
- b. dzi – (prefix) + - thavha (stem) > dzithavha (mountains)
- c. dzi – (prefix) + - khuhu (stem) > dzikhuhu (fowls)

In (66) above the nouns **dzithoho** (heads), **dzithavha** (mountains) and **dzikhuhu** (fowls) appear with the morpheme **dzi -** as a prefix. The prefix of class 10 is frequently not used at all.

4.3.4.8. Class 11

The prototypical morpheme of class 11 is **lu -** . The variant of this class morpheme is **lw -**.

The morpheme **lu -**

This morpheme can appear in all instances where its variant does not appear:

- (67)a. lu – (prefix) + - fhanga (stem) > lufhanga (knife)
- b. lu – (prefix) + - shaka (stem) > lushaka (nation)

- c. **lu – (prefix) + - nyunyu (stem) > lunyunyu (mosquito)**

In (67) above the nouns **lufhanga** (knife), **lushaka** (nation) and **lunyunyu** (mosquito) appear with the morpheme **lu -** as a prefix.

The variant **lw –**

The variant **lw –** appears with certain noun stems that commence with a vowel:

- (68) a. **lw – (prefix) + - endo (stem) > lwendo (trip)**
 b. **lw – (prefix) + - atsi (stem) > lwatsi (grass)**
 c. **lw – (prefix) + - ala (stem) > lwala (nail)**

In (68) above the nouns **lwendo** (trip), **lwatsi** (grass) and **lwala** (nail) belong to class 11. All these nouns have stems that commence with a vowel and because of this they appear with the morpheme **lw –** as a prefix.

There are also other noun stems that commence with a vowel that do not use **lw –** as the prefix:

- (69) a. **lu – (prefix) + - imbo (stem) > luimbo (song)**
 b. **lu – (prefix) + - are (stem) > luare (razor)**
 c. **lu – (prefix) + - isa (stem) > luisa (lean thin creature)**

In (69) above there are nouns **luimbo** (song), **luare** (razor) and **luisa** (lean thin creature). All these nouns have stems that commence with a vowel but these stems use the morpheme **lu –** as their prefix.

4.3.4.9. Class 14

The prototypical morpheme of this class is **vh-**. The morpheme **vh-** has the morpheme **h-** as its variant.

The morpheme **vh-**

This morpheme occurs in all cases where the variant **h-** does not occur:

- (70) a. **vh-** (prefix) + -**thu** (stem) > **vhuthu** (humanness)
 b. **vh-** (prefix) + -**lungu** (stem) > **vhulungu** (necklace)
 c. **vh-** (prefix) + -**swa** (stem) > **vhuswa** (porridge)

In (70) above the nouns **vhuthu** (humanness), **vhulungu** (neck lace) and **vhuswa** (porridge) appear with the morpheme **vh-** as a prefix. This morpheme can use class 6 **ma-** as its plural:

- (71) **vhudzulo** (abode) > **madzulo** (abodes)

In (71) above the noun **madzulo** (abodes) belongs to class 6 because of the class morpheme **ma-**. This noun is the plural of the noun **vhudzulo** (abode).

The variant **h-**

The variant **h-** occurs in certain noun stems that commence in a vowel:

- (72) a. **h-** (prefix) + -**alwa** (stem) > **halwa** (beer)
 b. **h-** (prefix) + -**atsi** (stem) > **hatsi** (grasses)

In (72) above the nouns **halwa** (beer) and **hatsi** (grasses) appear with the morpheme **h** – as the prefix. This is because the stems of these nouns commence in a vowel.

There are other noun stems that commence in a vowel but using the morpheme **vhu** – as a prefix not the variant **h** -. Examples are given in (73) below:

- (73) a. vhu – (prefix) + - anzwo (stem) > vhuanzwo (trap)
 b. vhu – (prefix) + - a_ɔda (stem) > vhu_ɔda (uncleanliness)
 c. vhu – (prefix) + - ango (stem) > vhuango (stretcher)

In (73) above the nouns **vhuanzwo** (trap), **vhu_ɔda** (uncleanliness) and **vhuango** (stretcher) appear with the morpheme **vhu** – as the prefix although their stems commence in a vowel.

4.3.4.10. Class 15

The prototypical morpheme of class 15 is **u** - . The nouns that occur in this class are also known as infinitives. In syntax these nouns are represented as clauses with an empty PRO as subject. These nouns have both nominal and verbal features and they are derived from verbs:

- (74) a. u – (prefix) + - gidima (stem) > u gidima (to run)
 b. u – (prefix) + - shuma (stem) > u shuma (to work)
 c. u – (prefix) + - lima (stem) > u lima (to plough)

In (74) above the nouns **u gidima** (to run), **u shuma** (to work) and **u lima** (to plough) appear with the morpheme **u-** as the prefix.

4.3.4.11. Class 16-18

Class 16,17 and 18 are known as locative class nouns. They show remnants of the old locative prefixes **fha -**, **ku -** and **mu -** but these prefixes are now fossilised in Tshivenda and they are thus part of the noun. The following are examples of these old nouns:

(75) fha – (prefix) + - si (stem) > fhasi (down, below, on the ground)

(76) ku – (prefix) + - le (stem)) > kule (far)

(77) mu – (prefix) + - rahu (stem)) > murahu (behind, at the back).

4.3.4.12 Class 20

The prototypical morpheme of this class is **ku -**. This morpheme has the morpheme **kw -** as its variant.

The morpheme **ku -**

The morpheme **ku-** is a singular prefix and it derives nouns from other classes or verb roots. This morpheme appears in all cases where its variant does not appear:

(78)a. ku – (prefix) + - thu (stem) > kuthu (small thing)

b. ku – (prefix) + - ambele (stem) > kuambele (characteristic way of speaking)

- c. ku – (prefix) + - di (stem) > kudi (small village)

In (78) above the nouns **kuthu** (small thing), **kuambe** (characteristic way of speaking) and **kudi** (small village) have the morpheme **ku** – as the prefix.

This morpheme **ku-** can use the morphemes **zwi-** of class 8 and **ma** – of class 6 as its plural. The morpheme **ma** – of class 6 is used especially for deverbatives:

- (79)a. kusadzi (small woman) > zwisadzi (small women)
 b. kuambe (characteristic way of speaking) > maambe (characteristic ways of speaking)

In (79) above the nouns **zwisadzi** (small women) and **maambe** (characteristic ways of speaking) belong to classes 8 and 6 respectively and they are the plurals for **kusadzi** (small woman) and **kuambe** (characteristic way of speaking). In the examples above the noun **maambe** (characteristic ways of speaking) is a deverbative.

If a noun from class 9 commences in a nasal or an aspirated sound, the nasal or aspiration disappears when the prefix **ku** - is attached:

- (80) a. ku – (prefix) + - ndu (noun) > kudu (small hut)
 ku – (prefix) + - thanda (log) > kutanda (small log)

In (80) above the nouns **kudu** (small hut) and **kutanda** (small log) were derived from the nouns **nndu** (hut) and **thanda** (log) respectively. It is clear in the above examples that when the prefix **ku-** is attached to the noun **nndu** (hut) the nasal sounds **nn-** have disappeared and the noun **kudu** (small hut) was derived. In the same way when the morpheme **ku** – is attached to the

noun **thanda** (log) aspiration sound [h] has disappeared and the noun **kutanda** (small log) was formed.

The variant **kw –**

The variant **kw –** is used with certain noun stems that commence in a vowel:

- (81) a. **kw –** (prefix) + - ana (stem) > **kwana** (small child)
 b. **kw –** (prefix) + - anda (stem) > **kwanda** (small hand)

In (81) above the nouns **kwana** (small child) and **kwanda** (small hand) appear with the morpheme **kw –** as the prefix.

The variant **zw-** of class 8 can be used as its plural. Example is given in (82) below:

- (82) **kwana** (small child) > **zwana** (small children)

In (82) above the noun **zwana** (small children) appears with the morpheme **zw –** as the prefix.

This noun **zwana** (small children) is the plural for the noun **kwana** (small child).

There are other noun stems commencing in a vowel that do not use the morpheme **kw –** as the prefix. Examples are given in (83) below:

- (83) a. **ku –** (prefix) + - ambele (stem) > **kuambele**
 (characteristic way of speaking)
 b. **ku –** (prefix) + - andele (stem) > **kuandele**
 (characteristic way of becoming many)

The variant **d** –

The variant **d** – appears with certain noun stems that commence in a vowel. Examples are given in (86) below:

- (86) a. **d** – (prefix) + - ana (stem) > **d**ana (big bad child)
 b. **d** – (prefix) + - anda (stem) > **d**anda (big clumsy hand)

In (86) above the nouns **d**ana (big bad child) and **d**anda (big clumsy hand) appear with the morpheme **d** – as the prefix.

4.4 THE SEMANTICS OF THE NOUN CLASS PREFIXES

4.4.1. The semantics of the noun

In general, the noun class prefix does not indicate a consistent pattern of features which may contribute to the semantic interpretation of a specific noun. The nouns in a specific noun class may indicate a wide variety of features. Tshivenda classes 5/6 and 7/8 are discussed below to show the wide variety of semantic features in one class:

4.4.1.1. Class 5/6

Plants and fruits

Singular	Plural
(87) a. fuyu (wild fig)	mahuyu (wild figs)
b. beregisi (peach)	maberegisi (peaches)
c. l iluvha (flower)	maluvha (flowers)

Pejorative

	Singular	Plural
(88)	a. <u>l</u> igula (an Indian)	magula (Indians)
	b. <u>l</u> ikhuwa (white man)	makhuwa (white men)
	c. <u>l</u> izulu (zulu person)	mazulu (zulu people)
	d. <u>g</u> oswi (coward)	magoswi (cowards)
	e. dodo (idiot)	madodo (idiots)
	f. bofu (blind person)	mabofu (blind people)

Animals and insects

	Singular	Plural
(89)	a. p <u>f</u> e <u>n</u> e (baboon)	map <u>f</u> e <u>n</u> e (baboons)
	b. dz <u>h</u> ulu (termite)	mad <u>z</u> ulu (termites)
	c. shon <u>z</u> ha (mopani worm)	mashon <u>z</u> ha (mopani worms)

Parts of the body

	Singular	Plural
(90)	a. sha <u>ḡ</u> a (shoulder)	maha <u>ḡ</u> a (shoulders)
	b. sha <u>m</u> a (cheek)	mama <u>m</u> a (cheeks)
	c. <u>l</u> i <u>t</u> o (eye)	ma <u>t</u> o (eyes)

Fluids

- (91) a. mafhi (milk)
 b. malofha (blood)
 c. mare (saliva)

Temporal nouns

- (92) a. madekwana (evening)
 b. matshelo (tomorrow)
 c. masiari (afternoon)

Characteristic ways of doing things

- (93) a. Mañwalele (characteristic ways of writing)
 b. Maambele (characteristic ways of speaking)
 c. Matshinele (characteristic ways of dancing)

Collectives

	Singular	Plural
(94) a.	gogo (crowd, mass of people)	magogo (crowds, masses of people)
b.	buto (bundle of clothes)	mabuto (bundles of clothes)
c.	suzwa (bundle of grass)	masuzwa (bundles of grass)

States

	Singular	Plural
(95) a.	vivho (jealousy)	mavivho (jealouses)
b.	dora (thirst) ^	madora (thirsts) ^

Names of birds

	Singular	Plural
(96) a.	lianga (vulture) ^	maanga (vultures)
b.	liivha (dove) ^	maivha (doves)
c.	lilisakholomo (cattle egret) ^	malisakholomo (cattle egrets)

Augmentatives

	Singular	Plural
(97) a.	liṇowa (big snake) ^^	maṇowa (big snakes) ^
b.	lidu (big house) ^^	maḍu (big houses) ^
c.	banga (sword)	mabanga (swords)

4.4.1.2. Class 7/8

Languages

- (98) a. Tshizulu (The Zulu language)
b. Tshivenda (The Venda language)
^ ^

c. Tshisuthu (The Sotho language)

Culture

- (99) a. Tshikhuwa (Western culture)
 b. Tshivenda (Venda culture)

People with excessive features

Singular

Plural

- | | | |
|----------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| (100) a. | tshiambi (expert speaker) | zwiambi (expert speakers) |
| b. | tshidaela (idiot) | zvidaela (idiots) |
| c. | tshihole (cripple) | zwihole (cripples) |

Animals and insects

Singular

Plural

- | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (101) a. | tshimange (cat) | zwimange (cats) |
| b. | tshisusu (butterfly) | zwisusu (butterflies) |
| c. | tshievhe (small kind of tick) | zwievhe (small kind of ticks) |

Parts of the body

Singular

Plural

- | | | |
|----------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (102) a. | tshifhatuwo (face) | zwifhatuwo (faces) |
| b. | tshanda (hand) | zwanda (hands) |
| c. | tshitefu (chin) | zwitefu (chins) |

Pejorative**Singular****Plural**

- (103)a. tshisadzi (useless small woman) zwisadzi (useless small women)
- b. tshitukana (useless small boy) zwitukana (useless small boys)
- c. tshikalaha (good for nothing old man) zwikalaha (good for nothing old men)

Abstract nouns**Singular****Plural**

- (104)a. tshivhi (sin) zwivhi(sins)
- b. tshifhinga (time) zwifhinga (times)

illnesses

- (105)a. tshitanzo (nausea)
- b. tshiungulela (heart burn)
- c. tshivha (epilepsy)

Fruits**Singular****Plural**

- (106)a. tshienge (pineapple) zwienge (pineapples)
- b. tshikavhavhe (lemon) zwikavhavhe (lemons)

Domestic utensils

Singular	Plural
(107) a. tshitemba (calabash used as pot)	zwitemba (calabashes used as pots)
b. tshidudu (small earthen ware pot)	zwidudu (small earthen ware pots)
c. tshigero (scissors)	zwigero (scissors)

Diminutives

Singular	Plural
(108)a. tshipanga (small knife)	zwipanga (small knives)
b. tshikedzi (small sack)	zwikedzi (small sacks)

Collectives

Singular	Plural
(109)a. tshithopho (heap, pile, mass)	zwithopho (heaps, piles, masses)
b. tshitata (bundle e.g. of arrows)	zwitata (bundles e.g. of arrows)

4.4.2. Semantic features

In Tshivenda it is possible to isolate certain specific semantic features in specified noun classes. Such features may readily be discerned in the case of lexical derivations, especially in the case of nouns derived from verbs. Examples of nouns derived from verbs are given in (110) below:

- (110)a. muimbi (singer)
 b. luimbo (song)
 c. tshiimbi (expert singer)
 d. u imba (to sing)
 e. kuimbele (a characteristic way of singing)

The following semantic features are regularly associated with certain noun class prefixes:

4.4.2.1. Person names : class 1 / 2

The class prefixes of class 1 / 2 are **mu** – and **vha** – respectively. Examples are given in (111) below:

- (111)a. mutukana (boy) vhatukana (boys)
 b. musidzana (girl) vhasidzana (girls)
 c. munna (man) vhanna (men)

In (111) above there are nouns **mutukana** (boy), **musidzana** (girl) and **munna** (man) together with their plurals **vhatukana** (boys), **vhasidzana** (girls) and **vhanna** (men). These nouns have semantic feature person name. This semantic feature is associated with the prefix **mu** – and **vha** -.

4.4.2.2. Honorifics : Class 2a

A honorific feature is associated with the prefix **vho** – of class 2a:

- (112) a. vho –Vele (Mr Vele)
 b. vhomme (pastor's wife)

In (112) above there are two nouns, i.e. **vho-Vele** (Mr Vele) and **vhomme** (pastor's wife). These nouns have the morpheme **vho** – as their prefix. This prefix gives them a honorific feature because the reference of the noun is to a singular person.

4.4.2.3. Groups of people: Class 2a

Nouns denoting people in class 2a may have a reference to groups if they denote the plural:

- (113) a. vhomme (mother and company)
 b. vhokhotsi (father and company)

4.4.2.4. Proper names: Class 1a/2a

Proper names appear in class 1a. With class 2a the reference is to groups as above:

- | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| (114) a. | Mukhethwa | vho – Mukhethwa |
| b. | Dakalo | vho – Dakalo |
| c. | Murendeni | vho – Murendeni |

In (114) above the nouns **Mukhethwa**, **Dakalo**, and **Murendeni** are proper names in class 1a.

4.4.2.5. Kinship terms: Class 1a/2a

Most kinship terms in Tshivenda appear in class 1a:

- | | | |
|----------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| (115) a. | khotsi (father) | vhokhotsi (fathers) |
| b. | mme (mother) | vhomme (mothers) |
| c. | makhulu (grand parent) | vhomakhulu (grand parents) |

In (115) above the nouns **khotsi** (father), **mme** (mother) and **makhulu** (grandparent) together with their plurals **vhokhotsi** (fathers), **vhomme** (mothers) and **vhomakhulu** (grandparents) are kinship terms.

4.4.2.6. Actor: Class 1 /2

The term actor refers to a person who is doing something or is taking some action. Such nouns are derived nouns from verbs in class 1 /2:

- | | | |
|----------|------------------|--------------------|
| (116) a. | mubiki (cook) | vhabiki (cooks) |
| b. | mudahi (smoker) | vhadahi (smokers) |
| c. | muhami (milker) | vhahami (milkers) |
| d. | mushumi (worker) | vhashumi (workers) |

All the nouns in (116) i.e. **mubiki** (cook), **mudahi** (smoker), **muhami** (milker) and **mushumi** (worker) together with their plurals **vhabiki** (cooks), **vhadahi** (smokers), **vhahami** (milkers) and **vhashumi** (workers) are derived from verbs **bika** (cook), **daha** (smoke), **hama** (milk) and **shuma** (work) respectively and they refer to actors.

4.4.2.7. Excessive actor: class 7/8 , 9/10

These nouns also refer to persons but they do not appear in class 1 /2 as above. They refer to people who have done something or who have something in excess, i.e. more than what is regarded as reasonable or usual or what is generally allowed. These nouns appear in class 7/8 or class 9/10:

Class 7/8

- | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (117)a. | tshiimbi (good singer) | zwiimbi (good singers) |
| b. | tshiambi (good speaker) | zwiambi(good speakers) |
| c. | tshipfumi (very rich person) | zwipfumi (very rich people) |
| d. | tshidziili (very destitute person) | zwidziili(very destitute people) |
| e. | tshibiki (good cook) | zwibiki (good cooks) |

All the nouns in (117) above, i.e. **tshiimbi** (good singer), **tshiambi** (good speaker), **tshipfumi** (very rich person), **tshidziili** (very destitute person) and **tshibiki** (cook) together with their plurals **zwiimbi** (good singers), **zwiambi** (good speakers), **zwipfumi** (very rich people), **zwidziili** (very destitute people) and **zwibiki** (cooks) are derived from the verbs **imba** (sing), **amba** (speak), **pfuma** (be rich), **dziila** (be destitute) and **bika** (cook) respectively and they refer to excessive actors.

Class 9/10

- | | | |
|----------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (118) a. | ndimi (plougher) | dzindimi (ploughers) |
| b. | mbulahi (killer) | dzimbulahi (killers) |
| c. | [^] tholi (spy) | dzitholi (spies) |
| d. | [^] phathi (renegade) | dziphathi (renegades) |
| e. | phangami (leader) | dziphangami (leaders) |

f. pfunzi (instructor) dzipfunzi (instructors)

In (118) the nouns **ndimi** (plougher), **mbulahi** (killer), **tholi** (spy), **phathi** (renegade), **phangami** (leader) and **pfunzi** (instructor) together with their plurals **dzindimi** (ploughers), **dzimbulahi** (killers), **dzitholi** (spies), **dziphathi** (renegades), **dziphangami** (leaders) and **dzipfunzi** (instructors) are derived from the verbs **lima** (plough), **vhulaha** (kill) **tola** (spy) , **pata** (do vicious things), **pangama** (lead) and **funza** (teach) respectively. All these nouns refer to excessive actors.

4.4.2.8. Act: Class 3/4 , 9/10 , 15

This term refers to something that someone has done, i.e. an action of a particular kind. Such nouns denoting an act may appear in class 3/4, 9/10 or class 15 and their reference depends on the meaning of the verb:

Class 3/4

- | | | |
|----------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (119) a. | mulimo (ploughing) | milimo (ploughings) |
| b. | mutshimbilo (walking) | mitshimbilo (walkings) |
| c. | mubvumo (rumbling) | mibvumo (rumblings) |
| d. | mudzinginyo (shaking) | midzinginyo (shakings) |

In (119) above there are nouns **mulimo** (ploughing), **mutshimbilo** (walking), **mubvumo** (rumbling) and **mudzinginyo** (shaking) together with their plurals **milimo** (ploughings), **mitshimbilo** (walkings), **mibvumo** (rumblings) and **midzinginyo** (shakings). All these nouns are derived from the verbs **lima** (plough), **tshimbila** (walk), **bvuma** (rumble) and **dzinginya** (shake) respectively. Because of this fact these nouns are referred to as deverbatives. All these nouns refer to acts.

Class 9/10

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (120) a. pfunzo (teaching) | dzipfunzo (teachings) |
| b. phembeledzo (coaxing) | dziphembeledzo (coaxings) |
| c. [^] thambo (bathing) | dzithambo (bathings) |
| d. thathatho (hitting) | dzithathatho(hittings) |

In (120) above the nouns **pfunzo** (teaching), **phembeledzo** (coaxing), **thambo** (bathing) and **thathatho** (hitting) together with their plurals **dzipfunzo** (teachings), **dziphembeledzo** (coaxings), **dzithambo** (bathings) and **dzithathatho** (hittings) are derived from the verbs **funza** (teach), **fhembeledza** (coax), **tamba** (bathe) and **rathatha** (hit) respectively. All these nouns refer to acts.

Class 15

- (121) a. u- lima (ploughing)
 b. u- imba (singing)
 c. u- gidima (running)

In (121) above the nouns **u-lima** (ploughing) **u-imba** (singing) and **u-gidima** (running) are derived from the verbs **lima** (plough), **imba** (sing) and **gidima** (run) respectively. All these nouns refer to acts.

4.4.2.9. Excessive act: Class 5/6 , 11

As above, an excessive act refers to something that has been done in excess, i.e. more than what is reasonably expected. Such nouns may appear in class 5/6 or class 11:

Class 5/6

- | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (122)a. | biso (great heat) | mabiso (great heats) |
| b. | bono (extraordinary sight) | mabono (extraordinary sights) |
| c. | bulayo (massacre) | mabulayo (massacres) |
| d. | dzilafho (successful treatment) | madzilafho(successful treatments) |

In (122) above the nouns **biso** (great heat), **bono** (extraordinary sight), **bulayo** (massacre) and **dzilafho** (successful treatment) together with their plurals **mabiso** (great heats), **mabono** (extraordinary sights), **mabulayo** (massacres) and **madzilafho** (successful treatments) are derived from the verbs **fhis**a (burn), **vhon**a (see), **vhulaha** (kill) and **ilafh**a (cure) respectively. All these nouns refer to excessive acts.

Class 11

- (123) a. lulo (endless eating)
 b. luhambo (much scolding)
 c. lulanga (excessive control)
 d. lurumo (excessive sending)

In (123) above there are nouns **lulo** (endless eating), **luhambo** (much scolding), **lulanga** (excessive control) and **lurumo** (excessive sending). These nouns are derived from the verbs **la** (eat), **hamba** (scold), **langa** (control) and **ruma** (send) respectively.

4.4.2.10. Pejorative: Class 5/6 , 7/8 , 21.

The term pejorative refers to an expression of disapproval of someone or something or of suggesting that someone or something is of little value or

importance. Nouns with this reference may appear in class 5/6, 7/8 or class 21:

Class 5/6

- | | | |
|----------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (124) a. | goswi (coward) | magoswi(cowards) |
| b. | dodo (idiot) | madodo (idiots) |
| c. | dabadaba (fool) | madabadaba (fools) |

The nouns in (124) above, i.e. **goswi** (coward), **dodo** (idiot) and **dabadaba** (fool) together with their plurals **magoswi** (cowards), **madodo** (idiots) and **madabadaba** (fools) have pejorative reference.

Class 7/8

- | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (125)a. | tshidaela (stupid person) | zwidaela (stupid persons) |
| b. | tshikegulu (useless old woman) | zwidegulu (useless old women) |
| c. | tshiteto (worn-out basket) | zwiteto (worn-out baskets) |
| d. | tshitahala (worn-out material) | zwitahala (worn out materials) |

In (125) above the nouns **tshidaela** (stupid person), **tshikegulu** (useless old woman), **tshiteto** (worn-out basket) and **tshitahala** (worn-out material) together with their plurals **zwidaela** (stupid persons), **zwidegulu** (useless old women), **zwiteto** (worn-out baskets) and **zwitahala** (worn-out materials) have a pejorative reference. The nouns **tshikegulu** (useless old woman) and **zwidegulu** (useless old women) are derived from the noun **mukegulu** (old woman) whereas **tshitahala** (worn-out material) and **zwitahala** (worn-out materials)are derived from the verb **tahala** (wear-out).

Class 21

- (126) a. $\hat{d}imbo$ (great contemptible song)
 b. $\hat{d}a\hat{n}\hat{d}a$ (big clumsy hand)

The nouns in (126) i.e. $\hat{d}imbo$ (great contemptible song) and $\hat{d}a\hat{n}\hat{d}a$ (big clumsy hand) are pejoratives. These nouns are pejoratives because of the prefix $\hat{d}i$ – of class 21. The noun $\hat{d}imbo$ (great contemptible song) is derived from the noun $luimbo$ (song) whereas $\hat{d}a\hat{n}\hat{d}a$ (big clumsy hand) is derived from the noun $tshanda$ (hand).

4.4.2.11. Augmentative : class 5/6 , 21

This term refers to people or things which are exceptionally large, i.e. it denotes something or someone bigger than normal. Nouns with this reference may appear in class 5/6 or class 21:

Class 5/6

- | | | |
|----------|---|---|
| (127) a. | $\hat{l}i\hat{d}u$ (huge hut) | $ma\hat{d}u$ (huge huts) |
| b. | $\hat{l}i\hat{b}u\hat{g}u$ (big book) | $ma\hat{b}u\hat{g}u$ (big books) |
| c. | $ge\hat{g}u\hat{l}u$ (big old lady) | $ma\hat{g}e\hat{g}u\hat{l}u$ (big old ladies) |
| d. | $du\hat{k}a\hat{n}a$ (big boy) | $ma\hat{d}u\hat{k}a\hat{n}a$ (big boys) |

The nouns in (127), i.e. $\hat{l}i\hat{d}u$ (huge hut), $\hat{l}i\hat{b}u\hat{g}u$ (big book), $ge\hat{g}u\hat{l}u$ (big old lady) and $du\hat{k}a\hat{n}a$ (big boy) together with their plurals $ma\hat{d}u$ (huge huts), $ma\hat{b}u\hat{g}u$ (big books), $ma\hat{g}e\hat{g}u\hat{l}u$ (big old ladies) and $ma\hat{d}u\hat{k}a\hat{n}a$ (big boys) are augmentatives. The above mentioned nouns are derived from the nouns $n\hat{n}d\hat{u}$ (hut), $b\hat{u}g\hat{u}$ (book), $m\hat{u}k\hat{e}g\hat{u}l\hat{u}$ (old woman) and $m\hat{u}t\hat{u}k\hat{a}n\hat{a}$ (boy) respectively.

Class 21

- (128) a. [^]dikolomo (large beast)
 b. [^]didenzhe (large leg)

The nouns in (128), i.e. [^]dikolomo (large beast) and [^]didenzhe (large leg) are augmentatives. All these nouns refer to augmentative because of the prefix [^]di – of class 21. The noun [^]dikolomo (large beast) is derived from the noun [^]kholomo (cow) whereas [^]didenzhe (large leg) is derived from the noun [^]mulenzhe (leg).

4.4.2.12. Manner of activity: Class 20 and class 6

The feature manner of activity is associated with the prefix **ku** – of class 20 or the prefix **ma-** of class 6:

- (129) a. kutshilele (characteristic way of living)
 b. kuambele (characteristic way of speaking)
 c. kutshinele (characteristic way of dancing)

In (129) above the nouns **kutshilele** (characteristic way of living), **kuambele** (characteristic way of speaking) and **kutshinele** (characteristic way of dancing) have the feature manner of activity because of having the prefix **ku** – of class 20. Such nouns must be derived from applicative verbs and they have an alternative in class 6 with **ma-**.

4.4.2.13. Manner of behaviour: Class 7/8

The reference is to a certain way of behaving and nouns with this reference in class 7/8 are derived from nouns denoting people:

Class 7

- (130) a. tshisadzi (woman's way of behaving)
 b. tshitukana (boyish behaviour)

The nouns in (130) above, i.e. **tshisadzi** (woman's way of behaving) and **tshitukana** (boyish behaviour) refer to the manner of behaviour of such people. This is because of the prefix **tshi** – of class 7. The noun **tshisadzi** (woman's way of behaving) and **tshitukana** (boyish behaviour) are derived from **musadzi** (woman) and **mutukana** (boy) respectively.

4.4.2.14. Language : Class 7

Nouns denoting languages appear in class 7. They are derived from the nouns denoting the specific people whose language it is:

- (131) a. Tshivend[^]a (Vend[^]a language)
 b. Tshisuthu (Sotho language)
 c. Tshizulu (Zulu language)

In (131) above the nouns **Tshivend[^]a** (Vend[^]a language), **Tshisuthu** (Sotho language) and **Tshizulu** (Zulu language) have the feature language because of the prefix **tshi** – of class 7.

4.4.2.15. Culture : Class 7

The nouns in (131) above may be ambiguous between a reading of language or culture:

- (132) a. tshikhuwa (Western culture)
 b. tshivend[^]a (Vend[^]a culture)

c. **tshisuthu** (Sotho culture)

In (132) above the nouns **tshikhuwa** (Western culture), **tshivenda** (Venda culture) and **tshisuthu** (Sotho culture) have the feature culture or language because of the prefix **tshi** – of class 7.

4.4.2.16. Diminutive : Class 7/8, class 11, class 20

Diminutive semantic feature is associated with the prefixes **tshi** – of class 7, **zwi** – of class 8, **lu** – of class 11 and **ku** – of class 20:

Class 7/8

- (133) a. **tshitivha** (small pool) **zwitivha** (small pools)
 b. **tshikedzi** (small sack) **zwikedzi** (small sacks)
 c. **tshitavha** (small mountain) **zwitavha**(small mountains)

In (133) above the nouns **tshitivha** (small pool), **tshikedzi** (small sack) and **tshitavha** (small mountain) together with their plurals **zwitivha** (small pools), **zwikedzi** (small sacks) and **zwitavha** (small mountains) are diminutives. This is because of the prefixes **tshi** – of class 7 and **zwi** – of class 8. These nouns are derived from the nouns **tivha** (pool), **khedzi** (sack) and **thavha** (mountain) respectively, and in comparison with (130 -132) above they are not derived from nouns denoting people.

Class 11

- (134) a. **lusunzi** (small ant)
 b. **lutasana** (small dry twig)
 c. **luñwenda** (small piece of cloth)

In (134) above the nouns **lusunzi** (small ant), **lutasana** (small dry twig) and **luñwenda** (small piece of cloth) are diminutives because of the prefix **lu -**. All these nouns are derived from the nouns **sunzi** (ant), **thasana** (dry twig) and **ñwenda** (piece of cloth) respectively.

Class 20

- (135) a. kusadzi (a small woman)
 b. kudi (a small village)
 c. kuri (a small tree)

In (135) above the nouns **kusadzi** (a small woman), **kudi** (a small village) and **kuri** (a small tree) have the feature diminutive because of having the prefix **ku -**. These nouns are derived from the nouns **musadzi** (woman), **mudi** (village) and **muri** (tree) respectively. Derivations with the reference of diminutive are generally limited to class 20.

4.4.2.17. Length and narrowness: Class 11

The feature length and narrowness is associated with the prefix **lu -** of class 11:

- (136) a. lukalaha (tall,thin old man)
 b. lutukana (tall, thin boy)
 c. lutanda (long, thin log)

In (136) above the nouns **lukalaha** (tall, thin old man), **lutukana** (tall, thin boy) and **lutanda** (long, thin log) have the feature length and narrowness because of having the prefix **lu-** of class 11. These nouns are derived from the nouns **mukalaha** (old man), **mutukana** (boy) and **thanda** (log) respectively. Such derivations in class 11 with this particular reference are

not very common in class 11 and they are dependent on the original meaning of the non-derived noun.

4.4.2.18. State: Class 14

Together with process and transition, the terms state refers to one of three events. The term state denotes a condition in which a person or thing is with regard to a particular way of being, feeling or thinking as its most important quality:

- (137) a. **vhuthu** (humanness)
 b. **vhuhole** (lameness)
 c. **vhumbulu** (treachery)
 d. **vhudini** (troublesomeness)
 e. **vhulondo** (carefulness)
 f. **vhulwadze** (sickness)
 g. **vhun̄anga** (circumstance of being a medicine –man)
 h. **vhushai** (poverty)

In (137) above the nouns **vhuthu** (humanness), **vhuhole** (lameness), **vhumbulu** (treachery), **vhudini** (troublesomeness), **vhulondo** (carefulness), **vhulwadze** (sickness), **vhun̄anga** (circumstance of being a medicine-man) and **vhushai** (poverty) denote states because of the prefix **vh-** of class 14. The nouns **vhuthu** (humanness), **vhuhole** (lameness), **vhumbulu** (treachery) and **vhun̄anga** (circumstance of being a medicine – man) are derived from the nouns **muthu** (person), **tshihole** (lame person), **mbulu** (land iguana) and **n̄anga** (medicine -man) respectively whereas the nouns **vhudini** (troublesomeness), **vhulondo** (carefulness), **vhulwadze** (sickness) and **vhushai** (poverty) are derived from the verbs **dina** (trouble), **londa** (care), **lwala** (be sick) and **shaya** (be in want) respectively.

4.4.2.19. Collections : Class 6

The feature collection is associated with the prefix **ma** – of class 6:

- (138) a. makhopfu (different types of flour)
 b. maswa (different kinds of porridge)
 c. mahalwa (different kinds of beer)
 d. mafhafhado (ravings)
 e. mazwifhi (lies)
 f. mafhali (shavings)
 g. mahwai (scars)
 h. manona (fat on meat)

The nouns in (138) refer to a variety or a collection of different types because most of these nouns may not refer to plurals because of their meaning.

The nouns **makhopfu** (different types of flour), **maswa** (different kinds of porridge) and **maalwa** (different kinds of beer) are derived from the nouns **vhukhopfu** (flour), **vhuswa** (porridge) and **halwa** (beer) respectively, whereas the nouns **mafhafhado** (ravings), **mazwifhi** (lies), **mafhali** (shavings), **mahwai** (scars) and **manona** (fat on meat) are derived from the verbs **fhafhada** (rave), **zwifha** (lie), **fhala** (scrape), **hwaya** (scratch) and **nona** (become fat) respectively.

4.4.2.20. Artifact

The term artifact refers to an object made by human work such as a tool or instrument. Such artifacts appear in various classes from class 3 to 11. Some examples are given below of artifacts in class 7/8 which are derived from verbs:

- | | | |
|----------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (139) a. | tshiambaro (garment) | zwiambaro (garments) |
| b. | tshid [^] olo (ointment) | zwid [^] olo (ointments) |
| c. | tshifhalo (scraper) | zwifhalo (scrapers) |
| d. | tshigayo (handmill) | zwigayo (handmills) |
| e. | tshipato (tongs) | zwipato (tongses) |
| f. | tshitibo (lid) | zwitibo (lids) |

All these nouns, i.e. **tshiambaro** (garment), **tshid[^]olo** (ointment), **tshifhalo** (scraper), **tshigayo** (handmill), **tshipato** (tongs) and **tshitibo** (lid) together with their plurals **zwiambaro** (garments), **zwid[^]olo** (ointments), **zwifhalo** (scrapers), **zwigayo** (handmills), **zwipato** (tongses) and **zwitibo** (lids) are artifacts. This is because of the prefix **tshi** – of class 7 and **zwi** – of class 8. These nouns are derived from the verbs **ambara** (wear), **dola** (be smeared), **fhala** (scrape), **gaya** (grind), **pata** (grip) and **tiba** (cover) respectively.

4.4.2.21. Fruit

There are various trees and plants in class 3/4 of which their fruit may appear in class 5/6:

- | | | |
|----------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| (140) a. | fula (marula fruit) | mafula (marula fruits) |
| b. | fuyu (fig) | mahuyu (figs) |
| c. | lin [^] ngo (mango) | manngo (mangoes) |
| d. | swiri (orange) | maswiri (oranges) |
| e. | papawa (pawpaw) | mapapawa (pawpaws) |
| f. | afukhada (avocado) | maafukhada (avocados) |

The nouns in (140), i.e. **fula** (marula fruit), **fuyu** (fig), **lin[^]ngo** (mango), **swiri** (orange), **papawa** (pawpaw) and **afukhada** (avocado) together with their plurals **mafula** (marula fruits), **mahuyu** (figs), **manngo** (mangoes), **maswiri** (oranges), **mapapawa** (pawpaws) and **maafukhada** (avocados) refer to fruit.

These nouns refer to fruit because of the prefix **li** – of class 5 and **ma** – of class 6. These nouns are derived from the nouns **mufula** (marula tree), **muhuyu** (fig tree), **munngo** (mango tree), **muswiri** (orange tree), **mupapawa** (pawpaw tree) and **muafukhada** (avocado tree) respectively.

Class 9/10

A few nouns denoting fruit may also appear in class 9/10:

- | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (141) a. | mbula (muvhula fruit) | dzimbula (muvhula fruits) |
| b. | ndolo (mulolo fruit) | dzindolo (mulolo fruits) |
| c. | ndirivhe (grape fruit) | dzindirivhe (grape fruits) |

In (141) above the nouns **mbula** (muvhula fruit), **ndolo** (mulolo fruit) and **ndirivhe** (grape fruit) together with their plurals **dzimbula** (muvhula fruits), **dzindolo** (mulolo fruits) and **dzindirivhe** (grape fruits) refer to fruit.

4.4.2.22. Result

These nouns refer to transition events in which the noun gives the result of such a transition, i.e. something that happens because of such an event:

Class 7/8

- | | | |
|----------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (142) a. | tshiambo (saying) | zwiambo (sayings) |
| b. | tshifhato (building) | zwifhato (buildings) |
| c. | tshimbo (dance with song) | zwiimbo (dances with songs) |
| d. | tshiito (act) | zwiito (acts) |
| e. | tshifayo (resemblance) | zwifayo (resemblances) |

In (142) above the nouns **tshiambo** (saying), **tshifhato** (building), **tshimbo** (dance with song), **tshiito** (act) and **tshifayo** (resemblance) together with

their plurals **zwiambo** (sayings), **zwifhato** (buildings), **zwiimbo** (dances with songs), **zwiito** (acts) and **zwifayo** (resemblances) denote transitions in which we find the result of such a transition. These nouns are derived from the verbs **amba** (speak), **fhata** (build), **imba** (sing), **ita** (do) and **faya** (resemble) respectively.

Class 9/10

Such nouns denoting results may also appear in class 9/10:

- | | | |
|----------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| (143) a. | khumbudzo (reminder) | dzikhumbudzo (reminders) |
| b. | khanedzo (denial) | dzikhanedzo (denials) |
| c. | tshinyadzo (damage) | dzitshinyadzo (damages) |

The nouns in (143), i.e. **khumbudzo** (reminder), **khanedzo** (denial) and **tshinyadzo** (damage) together with their plurals **dzikhumbudzo** (reminders), **dzikhanedzo** (denials) and **dzitshinyadzo** (damages) also denote results. These nouns are derived from the verbs **humbudza** (remind), **hanedza** (deny) and **tshinyadza** (damage) respectively.

Class 11

Some derived nouns with this feature may also appear in class 11:

- | | |
|----------|-------------------|
| (144) a. | luimbo (song) |
| b. | luambo (language) |
| c. | luñwalo (letter) |

In (144) the nouns **luimbo** (song), **luambo** (language) and **luñwalo** (letter) denote results. These nouns are derived from the verbs **imba** (sing), **amba** (speak) and **ñwala** (write) respectively.

4.4.2.23. Event

This term refers to a happening which may be interesting, important or even unusual:

Class 9/10

- | | | |
|----------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| (145) a. | khano (harvest) | dzikhan ^o (harvests) |
| b. | mbulungo (funeral) | dzimbulungo (funerals) |
| c. | ndovhedzo (baptism) | dzindovhedzo (baptisms) |
| d. | tsiko (creation) | dzitsiko (creations) |

The nouns in (145) above, i.e. **khano** (harvest), **mbulungo** (funeral), **ndovhedzo** (baptism) and **tsiko** (creation) together with their plurals **dzikhan^o** (harvests), **dzimbulungo** (funerals), **dzindovhedzo** (baptisms) and **dzitsiko** (creations) refer to events. These nouns are derived from the verbs **kana** (harvest), **vhulunga** (bury), **lovhedza** (baptise) and **sika** (create) respectively.

4.4.2.24. Place

Nouns with the feature place denote a particular area or position in space in relation to others and such nouns appear in the locative class or class 14, class 6 or class 7/8:

Locative class nouns

(i) Class 16

(146) fhasi (down, below)

(ii) Class 17

(147) kule (far)

(iii) Class 18

(148) murahu (at the back)

Class 14

- (149) a. vhurwa (south)
b. vhubvuvha (east)
c. vhukati (in the middle)
d. vhubvo (exit)
e. vhudzheno (entrance)
f. vhuimo (standing place)
g. vhulalo (sleeping place)
h. vhuyo (destination)

The nouns in (149) above, i.e. **vhurwa** (south), **vhubvuvha** (east), **vhukati** (in the middle), **vhubvo** (exit), **vhudzheno** (entrance), **vhuimo** (standing place), **vhulalo** (sleeping place) and **vhuyo** (destination) refer to place. The nouns **vhubvo** (exit), **vhudzheno** (entrance), **vhuimo** (standing place), **vhulalo** (sleeping place) and **vhuyo** (destination) are derived from

(resting places), **zwireme** (cleared pieces of lands) and **zwitambo** (bathing places) have a feature of place. These nouns are derived from the verbs **fhira** (pass), **fha** (give), **gala** (sit), **khuda** (hide), **lala** (be down), **rema** (chop) and **tamba** (bathe) respectively.

4.5. CONCLUSION

In Tshivenda noun class is a lexical nominal category which is recognized in morphology. A noun class is recognized through prefixes. These prefixes are also known as noun class prefixes. They are both inflectional and derivational morphemes. Some of the noun class morphemes have variants which are used where the prototypical morpheme is not possible. Some prototypical morphemes do not appear in certain environments due to some phonological constraint.

The noun class does not have a specific meaning and the noun class prefix does not indicate a consistent pattern of features which may contribute to the semantic interpretation of a specific noun. The noun in each class may indicate a variety of features, e.g. animal, plant, diminutive, pejorative etc. In Tshivenda it is possible to isolate certain specific semantic features in specified classes.

There are semantic features that are regularly associated with certain noun class prefixes e.g. person names (class 1/2), honorific (class 2a), kinship terms (1a/2a), actor (class 1/2), etc.

The nouns in Tshivenda can appear with locative, diminutive and gender affixes. These affixes are derivational because they can derive nouns from other nouns. Locative **-ni** for instance derives a locative noun from a non locative noun.

CHAPTER FIVE

AGREEMENT AND NUMBER

5.1. AIM

The aim of this chapter is to explore Agreement and Number in Tshivenda. It is the aim of this chapter to examine how these categories are expressed in Tshivenda. Different types and forms of Agreement in Tshivenda will be investigated. This chapter will also examine the distribution of these agreement morphemes, as well as the nature of number and how it is marked in Tshivenda.

5.2. AGREEMENT

5.2.1. Overview of the literature on agreement

5.2.1.1. Beard (1995)

According to Beard (1995), Zaliznjak (1964) distinguishes Agreement as an independent category and Corbett (1991), citing him, differentiates Target gender (= Agreement) from controller gender (= noun class). According to him Aronoff (1993) distinguishes Inflectional class (= Noun class) from gender = Agreement.

Beard regards Gender, Noun Class, and Agreement as independent grammatical categories rather than one category, gender. He says if these categories are not independent, any might be directly derived from any other.

He views agreement as a derived category determined by a combination of factors including Noun Class, Number and Gender. Agreement is an inflectional category which interprets lexical categories for syntactic morphology.

5.2.1.2. **Corbett (1998)**

According to Corbett, agreement is determined by an element called the controller, e.g. the subject NP. The agreement determines an element which is called the 'target'. Agreement occurs in the syntactic environment known as 'the domain' of agreement. And when one indicates in what respect there is agreement one refers to 'agreement features'.

There are three indisputable grammatical features i.e. gender, number and person.

There is agreement in gender if the controller and target agree in gender. Gender is found on the target as a consequence of its presence in the noun. There is agreement in number if the target and the controller agree in number and lastly controllers agree with their targets in person.

There are also other possible features i.e. case and definiteness. Case interacts strongly with agreement features.

According to Corbett Russian agreement occurs after the stem but in many Bantu languages it occurs before the stem. In Russian gender is constrained by number: gender distinctions are found only in the singular number. Gender and singular number (and nominative case) are fusional in this language.

The agreement forms available depend on the agreement target and on its type. In part, the availability of agreement may be syntactically determined. Some targets show agreement while others will not. In German adjectives in pre-nominal attributive position show agreement, while others, especially those in predicate position do not. But the restriction often depends just on the word class of the target.

Targets vary both in the number of times they can mark agreement and in the types of their controller(s). A single target may have more than one agreement position; but the same controller. As a variant of the same controller type, the different slots of the target may show agreement with the same controller, but with different morphological patterning. Then one may find targets with more than one agreement slot, which agree with a single controller in respect of different features. One also finds targets with more than one agreement slot, for agreement with different controllers.

A given slot may take agreement with different controllers under different conditions. Targets may offer more than one slot for one and the same controller or for more than one controller in different syntactic positions.

According to Corbett the form selected depends on more complex interactions -typically interactions between agreement targets. In each case, determining the appropriate form to mark agreement requires more information than a 'common sense' view of agreement would lead one to expect.

The first type of example involves an agreement of one target requiring information about another. In Tigre a definite direct object can optionally give rise to an agreeing object clitic but this is possible, only provided another noun phrase triggers object agreement, thus one type of agreement depends on the occurrence of the other.

A second example is found in Somali where a focus marker agrees with or does not agree with the subject, according to a set of factors. When the focus marker does agree, the verb has a reduced agreement paradigm.

A third example concerns the adjectival agreement in German. Adjectives within the noun phrase show agreement in gender and number, but the form of this agreement depends on the agreement information supplied by various types of determiners within the same noun phrase.

Another problem concerns syncretism. In Chichewa when noun phrases which do not refer to humans are conjoined, the general rule requires that the agreeing verbal predicate will be in the plural of gender 7/8, shown by the prefixed marker *Zi -*. But there are some exceptions where noun phrases headed by nouns of the same gender are both plural, and the verb takes the same plural. This is acceptable although it is not the form which would be predicted by the rule given.

There is also an instance where noun phrases are headed by non-human plural nouns of different genders, but whose subject agreement forms happen to coincide. The point here is that if noun phrases headed by plural nouns which would take the same target gender form are conjoined, then that target gender form will be the preferred form. The crucial point here is that the agreement form is determined by the fact that particular markers are syncretic. If the forms did not happen to be syncretic, then the regular rule would apply.

5.2.1.3. **Carstens (1991)**

Carstens examines agreement and case relations within the Extended Noun Phrase (ENP). Within ENP there are both a head and its arguments, the bearers of \emptyset – features. According to her two different relations bring about

the spread of agreement features. These relations are government and the [spec, head] relation.

Carstens distinguishes two kinds of Agreement, i.e. agreement under government and spec – head agreement.

Agreement under government is a type of Agreement which occurs where there is government. Here an element governs some elements in its governing domain. An element agrees with the elements that it governs.

According to Carstens in Kiswahili all the modifiers of N agree with it in number and gender, in other words everything within the noun's c – command domain agrees with it. Because of this fact, Carstens regards agreement features as assigned under government. Government gives rise to the transmission of \emptyset – features.

Carstens gave the following definitions:

Government: α governs β iff α M- commands β , and no barrier for β excludes α

Minimality: γ is a barrier for β iff γ is a projection of σ , a zero – level category distinct from β

Exclusion prohibition: γ^{\max} excludes α iff no γ^n dominates α .

Recycling prohibition : Second-hand \emptyset - features may not be reassigned.

According to Carstens agreement in ENP is assigned under government.

In spec-head agreement arguments move to spec position. From this position the argument triggers agreement.

According to Carstens Koopman & Sportiche (1990) note that raising correlates with subject agreement: if the subject does not raise to [spec, IP] for nominative case, there is no subject – verb agreement, as this is [spec, head] agreement between [spec, IP] and INFL. According to her possessors and agents of a Type I language are similar to VP – internal subjects in Arabic, in that they may receive case in situ. An NP – internal subject therefore need not raise to [spec, H] in a type I language. In type II languages subjects must raise for case.

Carstens think of gender as an “identity” feature of N, somewhat similar to the referential index of a DP. A derived noun never exhibits multiple gender specifications. If α and β are of different genders, α 's gender specification clearly overrides that of β . both number and gender features control agreement.

According to Carstens government and the [spec, head] relation do not co-occur in the languages like Kiswahili, Turkish, Chamorro, Yup'ik and Tzutujil. This fact derives from the missing pattern of co-occurrence and a licensing requirement on agreement morphology.

According to Carstens Bantu languages typically manifest [spec–head] agreement in several major categories. Bantu shows GBA in ENP and SHA in other categories.

Hebrew has gender and government – based agreement. The subject either raises to [spec, Hp] for case, necessitating the suppression of [spec- head] agreement, or it appears in an NP-adjoined PP headed by $\check{S}el$. In Hebrew

the subjects may be licensed independently of ECM from \mathbb{H} , or of movement to [spec, \mathbb{HP}]

5.2.1.4. Corbett & Mtenje (1997)

Corbett and Mtenje distinguish between the genders into which nouns are divided and the agreement markers used to agree with them, and they show that the relation between them is not straightforward. They also cover phenomena on the fringe of the gender system, such as nouns which do not fall completely into a single gender. The most interesting problem is that of gender agreement with conjoined noun phrases.

According to Corbett and Mtenje, Watkins (1937) recognizes ten classes in Chichewa, and a similar scheme is adopted by Mapanje (forth coming). They take agreement evidence to be crucial in setting up the genders. The first gender has the same subject agreement marker *a* for both singular and plural. In the fifth gender, number is differentiated in the agreement markers, but not in the noun itself. In the sixth gender, number is typically marked on noun and verb in the same way. This phenomenon is sometimes termed "alliterative concord". In Chichewa there is often some relation between the morphology of nouns and the agreements but the two do not coincide. The seventh gender also shows alliterative concord. This gender comprises mainly nouns formed from nouns of other genders. Original prefixes are retained. There are also locative genders which have one form and do not have singular – plural pair like the other genders.

There are two problems: the first concerns nouns whose semantics and morphology are in conflict and the second is the problem of agreement in gender where there is no noun as head of the noun phrase controlling the agreement (neutral agreement).

According to Corbett and Mtenje, there is a semantic principle according to which nouns denoting humans are in gender 1. There is a morphological principle which determines the gender of a noun according to the prefixes it takes. Nouns which take no prefix in either singular or plural are found in gender 5. There are a few nouns which denote humans, but with the morphology form of gender 5. These normally take gender 5 agreements. Subject pronouns are normally dropped, the form of emphatic pronouns, and of the subject agreement marker when no pronoun is included, are both normally of gender 7. Yet gender 1 agreements are also possible when sufficiently separated from the noun. However, when the pronoun is further removed from the noun, semantic agreement becomes a possible alternative.

According to Corbett and Mtenje, neutral agreement is the agreement with elements which do not carry gender and number feature in the normal way. These elements vary from infinitives to interjections. Infinitives in Chichewa take the prefix **ku** and an agreement marker **ku**; there is a special gender (gender 10) which infinitives share with locatives. The interjections take **a** as an agreement marker. This **a** is the singular form of gender 1. In Chichewa elements which are outside the gender system take gender 1 singular agreement as the neutral agreement form.

When the conjuncts are both singular they take **zi** as the agreement marker. When plural nouns which take the same agreement form are conjoined, that form will be used (**zi** may be an alternative). Nouns from gender 5 when conjoined either singular or plural, take **zi** as the agreement form. When conjoined noun phrases are headed by plural nouns which would require different agreement forms, then **zi** is an appropriate agreement form.

In other languages conjoined infinitives require neutral agreement just as a single infinitive does. In Chichewa when conjoined infinitives are construed

as a joint activity the gender 10 form is used; otherwise the **zi** form is used. When an infinitive is conjoined with another noun, the regular form **zi** is used.

In Chichewa gender 8 cannot be conjoined with another gender 8 form. Gender 9 allows conjunction with other gender 9 forms. Other agreements, including **zi** are not allowed. Gender 9 does not allow conjunction with other genders. Gender 10 allows conjunction with forms of the same gender, but no other agreement, including **zi** is allowed. Thus locative gender 10 differs from infinitive gender 10 in this respect. The locative genders do not follow the general rule for inanimates, since **zi** is excluded. Thus the locative genders behave differently from the normal noun genders.

In Chichewa when all conjuncts denote humans the target gender form used for the plural of gender 1 is expected, that is the form with **a**. When both nouns are from the first gender then **a** form is acceptable with no problem, and when one noun is from a different gender the **a** is still used. Even with two nouns of gender 7 **a** is found, the problem is when these nouns are both plural **a** is accepted with some reluctance. **ti** is considered the normal form. This links with inanimates. Where both conjuncts require the same target, agreement marker take that marker.

Conjuncts between humans and non-humans are not acceptable in Chichewa but if forced, the same form as for non-humans is used, i.e. where both conjuncts require the same target, agreement marker take that marker.

5.2.2 AGREEMENT IN TSHIVENDA

5.2.2.1. Noun Class

Noun class is a lexical feature in nouns and because of this fact it is regarded as a lexical category. Agreement features are purely

morphological, though they operate in syntax. For this reason agreement is taken to be an inflectional category.

In Tshivenda agreement is not an inherent category but a derived category, determined by a combination of factors including Noun Class and Number.

5.2.2.2. Independence of Agreement

Agreement in Tshivenda is taken to be independent because of the following factors:

Syntactic contexts exist in which no noun class is possible, but Agreement is required. Examples are given in (1) below:

- (1) a. [pro] hu a liwa.
(There is eating)
- b. [pro] hu a shuŋwa.
(There is working)
- c. [pro] hu vhala vhana.
(It is children who read)

In (1) above **hu** is an agreement morpheme and there is no noun class associated with it. It appears with an empty *pro* in the position of the subject NP.

The presence of noun class does not guarantee a certain agreement. This is shown in (2) below.

- (2) a. **Mudededzi vho da.**
(The teacher has come)
- b. **Malume vho swika.**
(The uncle has arrived)
- c. **Mutukana na musidzana vha do da.**
(The boy and the girl will come)

In (2) above **vha** is an agreement morpheme (in 2a, b: $vha + o \rightarrow vho$). It is clear in (2) that the presence of noun class does not guarantee a certain agreement because the agreement in each sentence is not related to the noun class prefix of the nouns in different sentences. In (2a) and (2b) the expected agreement is **u** but we find **vha** as an agreement morpheme. The sentence (2c) has two nouns that belong to class 1 where the agreement is **u** but **vha** is the actual agreement morpheme.

A,V, Det exhibit agreement: Agreement cannot be defined in terms of copying operations. It interprets lexical categories for syntactic morphology, thus Agreement is a derived inflectional category.

Agreement is restricted to syntax and to different lexical classes, A,V and Det. Some examples are given in (3) below of agreement with a verb, an adjective and a demonstrative:

- (3) a. **Munna o-da.**
(The man came)
- b. **Munna u-no**
(This man)
- c* **Munna da – o.**
(The man came he)

d. Mutukana **mutuku**.
 (A small boy)

In (3a) and (3b) above there is an agreement morpheme **u**. This is an agreement morpheme of the noun **munna** (man). This agreement **u** is also a prefix of the verb in **o-da** (he came) as well as the demonstrative **u-no** in (3b). This agreement must always appear as a prefix on the verb stem otherwise the sentence will be ungrammatical and meaningless. The example is given in (3c) above. In this example the agreement is a suffix after the verb stem. In (3d) the morpheme **mu** on the adjective **mutuku** (small) is an agreement morpheme. This is an agreement morpheme from the noun **mutukana** (boy) which appears on the adjective – **tuku**.

Agreement is a mechanism interpreting noun class for syntax:

(4) Kholomo **dzi** a fa.
 (Cows can die)

In (4) above the morpheme **dzi** is an agreement morpheme of the noun **kholomo** (cow). It is not easy for one to know the class to which this noun belongs if there is no agreement **dzi**. Because of the agreement **dzi** one can know that the noun **kholomo** (cow) is in plural form and it belongs to class 10.

5.2.2.3. Subjectival agreement

The maximal projection of this category is the subjectival agreement phrase [AgrSP] where subjectival agreement [AgrS] is the head of this phrase. Subjectival agreement morpheme shows agreement with the subject NP. Such an NP may be represented by a noun in a certain noun class or it may

be represented by an empty pro with the features of noun class or person and number:

- (5). a. Vhanna [vha] – a – lima
(Men plough)
- b. [pro] [vha] – a- lima
(They plough)
- c. [pro] ri-a- shuma
(We work)

In (5) above the morpheme **vha** represents subjectival agreement. In (5a) the agreement morpheme **vha** appears with an overt subject noun, i.e. **vhanna** (men) whereas in (5b) and (5c) the subject NP is non-overt.

The following are the forms of subjectival agreement:

	Number/Person	Agreement
(6)	1 st person singular	ndi
	1 st person plural	ri
	2 nd person singular	u
	2 nd person plural	ni

Noun class	prefix	Noun	Agreement
1.	mu-	mutukana (boy)	u
2.	vha-	vhatukana (boys)	vha
3.	mu-	muri (tree)	u
4.	mi-	miri (trees)	i
5.	li- ^	linngo (mango) ^	li ^

6.	ma-	manngo (mangoes)	a
7.	tshi-	tshidina (brick)	tshi
8.	zwi-	zwidina(bricks)	zwi
9.	N(i)-	nngu (sheep sing).	i
10.	dzin-	dzinngu (sheep p1)	dzi
11.	lu-	lufuno(love)	lu
14.	vh-	vhuthu (humanity)	vh
15.	u-	u shuma (to work)	hu
16.	fha-	fhasi (down)	hu
17.	ku-	kule (far)	hu
18.	mu-	murahu (at the back)	hu
20.	ku-	kuduna (small man)	ku
21.	ḍi-	ḍithu (ogre)	ḷi

In the case of the noun classes the form of the AgrS morpheme is determined by the noun with which it appears. When considering AgrS, nouns are divided into two subgroups, i.e. strong and weak noun classes. Strong classes are those noun classes whose AgrS has a consonant as part of the Agreement. Those classes are given in (7) below:

	Strong classes	prefix	AgrS
(7)	+2	vha-	vha
	+5	ḷi-	ḷi
	+7	tshi-	tshi
	+8	zwi-	zwi
	+11	lu-	lu
	+14	vh-	vh
	+15	u-	hu
	+16	fha-	hu
	+17	ku-	ku

+18	mu-	hu
+20	ku-	ku
+21	di- ^	li ^

In Tshivenda the following classes are taken to be weak classes because AgrS consists only of a vowel while prefix has a nasal consonant:

	Weak classes	Prefix	AgrS
(8)	+1	mu-	u
	+3	mu-	u
	+4	mi-	i
	+6	ma-	a
	+9	n-	i

In Tshivenda the subjectival agreement can appear with the following:

The Verb:

Subjectival agreement can be found with the verb:

- (9) Vhasadzi [**vha**-a-bika]
(Women cook)

In (9) above the morpheme **vha** in **vha –a –bika** (they cook) represents subjectival agreement. This morpheme **vha** is an agreement morpheme of the noun **vhasadzi** (women) which is the subject NP of the sentence.

Demonstrative

Subjectival agreement morphemes can appear with demonstratives:

(10) [Tshin[^]oni tshino] tshi a fhufha.

In (10) above **tshino** (this) is a demonstrative. This demonstrative consists of the subjectival agreement **tshi** and the suffix **-no**, i.e. [tshi-+no →tshino].

Absolute pronoun

Subjectival agreement can appear with Absolute pronouns:

(11) [Vhasidzana **vhone**] vho [^]da.
(The girls as for them have come)

In (11) above **vhone** (as for them) is an absolute pronoun. This absolute pronoun consists of the subjectival agreement **vha**, the root **-o-** and the suffix **-ne**. The formation is [vha-+[o+ -ne]→ Vhone].

Quantifier – **othe**

Subjectival agreement can be found with quantifier – **othe**:

(12) [Vhaimbi vho[^]the] vho-[^]tuwa.
(All singers have left)

In (12) above subjectival agreement **vha** appears with quantifier – **othe**. The nominal modifier **vho[^]the** (all) in (12) above is formed as follows: [vha-+o-+the→ vho[^]the]. The vowel **a** on **vha** has elided.

Possessive

In Tshivenda the possessive [a] has to appear with AgrS:

- (13) [Musadzi wanga] o-da.
(My wife has come)

In (13) above **wa** is a possessive preposition which consists of subjectival agreement **u** and a possessive **a**: [u+a > wa]. This possessive **a** may have any number of complements.

Quantifier – fhio

Subjectival agreement can appear with quantifier – **fhio**:

- (14) Vhana ho da [vhafhio]?
(Which children have come?)

In (14) above quantifier –**fhio** combines with subjectival agreement **vha** to form **vhafhio** (which ones) which is a nominal modifier. The formation is as follows: [vha - + - fhio → vhafhio].

Quantifier – sili

Subjectival agreement can appear with quantifier –**sili**:

- (15) [Vhathu vha sili] vho-swika.
(Foreign people have arrived.)

In (15) above **vhasili** (foreign) is a nominal modifier. This nominal modifier **vhasili** (foreign) consists of subjectival agreement **vha** and quantifier **-sili**. The formation is as follows: [vha -+-sili→ vhasili].

COMP with relative clause

Subjectival agreement can be found with COMP with relative clause as complement:

- (16) Tshin[^]oni [tshine [tsha-fhufha]]
(A bird which flies)

In (16) above the COMP **tshine** has the morpheme **tshi** which is subjectival agreement. This **tshi** is the agreement of the noun **tshin[^]oni** (bird). The formation is [tshi-+-ne] → tshine].

5.2.2.4. Noun class

The noun class morpheme may serve as the agreement morpheme.

This morpheme has the same form as the prefix of the noun concerned:

- (17) [Zwitukana zwit[^]uku] zwo- xela.
(Small boys are lost)

In (17) above **zwi** on the adjective **zwit[^]uku** (small) is an agreement morpheme. This morpheme looks exactly as the prefix of the noun **zwitukana** (small boys) which is **zwi**.

In Tshivenda a noun class morpheme can appear as agreement with the following:

Adjective

A noun class morpheme can appear with adjective as agreement of the noun. Example is given in (18) below:

- (18) [Munna **muhulu**] o-swika.
(A big man has arrived)

In (18) above **muhulu** (big) is an adjective. This adjective consists of the noun class morpheme **mu** and adjective stem **-hulu** (big). In this adjective **muhulu** (big) the noun class morpheme **mu** serves as an agreement morpheme of the noun **munna** (man).

Quantifier -ni

A noun class morpheme can appear with quantifier **-ni**:

- (19) Musadzi o-wana [n̄wana **muni**]?
(What kind of child did the woman get?)

In (19) above the nominal modifier **muni** (what kind) consists of the noun class morpheme **mu** and the quantifier **-ni**. The formation is [mu-+-ni→muni].

Quantifier -n̄we

A noun class morpheme can appear with quantifier **-n̄we**:

- (20) [Vhanna vha[̇]n̄we] vho-[̇]da
(Other men have come)

In (20) above there is a nominal modifier **vhañwe** (other). This nominal modifier **vhañwe** (other) consists of the noun class morpheme **vha** and quantifier **-ñwe**. The formation is [vha-+-ñwe → vhañwe].

Reflexive emphasiser

A noun class morpheme can also appear on the reflexive emphasiser as agreement of the noun concerned:

- (21) $\overset{\wedge}{\text{Lin}}\text{ngo}$ [$\overset{\wedge}{\text{lo}}\text{ne}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{li}}\text{ne}$] $\overset{\wedge}{\text{lo}}\text{-wa}$
 (The mango itself fell)

In (21) above $\overset{\wedge}{\text{lo}}\text{ne}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{li}}\text{ne}$ (itself) is a compound nominal modifier which includes an absolute pronoun [$\overset{\wedge}{\text{lo}}\text{ne}$]. The morpheme $\overset{\wedge}{\text{li}}$ on $\overset{\wedge}{\text{li}}\text{ne}$ is a noun class morpheme. This noun class morpheme $\overset{\wedge}{\text{li}}$ is an agreement of the noun $\overset{\wedge}{\text{lin}}\text{ngo}$ (mango).

5.2.2.5. Objectival agreement [AgrO]

Objectival agreement refers to a morpheme which agrees with the object NP whether it is overt or non-overt.

- (i) Where the object NP is overt

Here the object NP is visible in the sentence:

- (22) Mutukana o- $\overset{i}{\text{mu}}$ -rwa [$\overset{i}{\text{musidzana}}$].
 (The boy hit her the girl)

In (22) above the morpheme **mu** represents objectival agreement. This morpheme **mu** is an objectival agreement of the noun **musidzana** (girl). **Musidzana** (girl) is the object NP of the sentence which is overt. In this example objectival agreement appears together with an overt object NP.

(ii) Where the object NP is non-overt.

Here the object NP is not visible. Objectival agreement appears together with an empty *pro*:

(23) Mutukana o-**mu**_i-rwa [*pro*_i]
(The boy hit her)

In (23) above the morpheme **mu** represents objectival agreement. In this sentence the object NP is not visible but objectival agreement **mu** appears together with an empty *pro*. In this sentence the object is non-overt and it is represented by an empty *pro* with which AgrO is coindexed with [*i*]. Such an empty *pro* may also have features of person and number.

In Tshivenda the form of objectival agreement is determined by the noun with which it is in agreement in the case of the noun classes. Except for 1ps. and class 1, AgrS and AgrO are identical in form:

	Number/Person	Objectival agreement
(24)	1 st person singular	-n-
	1 st person plural	-ri-
	2 nd person singular	-u-
	2 nd person plural	-ni-

Noun class

1. mu-	-mu-
2. vha-	-vha-
3. mu-	-u-
4. mi-	-i-
5. li- [^]	-li- [^]
6. ma-	-a-
7. tshi-	-tshi-
8. zwi-	-zwi-
9. n-	-i-
10. dzin-	-dzi-
11. lu-	-lu-
14. vhu-	-vhu-
15. u-	-hu-
16. fha-	-hu-
17. ku-	-hu-
18. mu-	-hu-
20. ku-	-ku-
21. di- [^]	-li- [^]

AgrO of [1Ps]:

(i) Where -n- becomes [ŋ]

(25) [Musidzana o-(n+kona) nkona] nga mazwifhi.
(The girl beat me because of lies)

In (25) above **-n-** becomes [ŋ] when it combines with the verb **-kona** (beat). Here an alveolar speech sound becomes velar. The cause of this sound change is the velar speech sound **k** on the verb **-kona** (beat).

(ii) Where **-N-** becomes [m].

(26) [vho-(n+vhona) mmbona] vha-da.
(They saw me and came)

In (26) above the **-N-** becomes [m] when it is attached to a verb with a bilabial consonant.

(iii) Where **-N-** becomes [ɲ]

(27) [Vha-songo- (n+amba) nnyamba]
(Don't talk about me)

In (27) above **-N-** becomes [ɲ] when attached to a verb stem such as **-amba** (speak) which begins with a vowel. The cause of this sound change is the vowel **a** on **-amba** (speak). Here alveolar speech sound **-N-** becomes a palatal speech sound [ɲ].

(iv) Where **-N-** becomes [N]

(28) [No – (n+toda) ntoda] na nngwana.
(You looked for me and found me)

In (28) above alveolar speech sound **-N-** becomes a dental speech sound **-n-** after it was attached to the verb stem **-toda** (look). The cause of this sound change is the dental speech sound [t].

(v) Where –N- becomes [ŋ]

(29) [Ni songo (n+fara) mpfara]
(Don't hold me)

In (29) above alveolar –N- becomes [ŋ] which is a denti-labial speech sound after it was attached to the verb stem –fara (hold). The cause of this sound change is the speech sound [ɸfh] which is a denti-labial speech sound.

(vi) Where –N- remains [N]

(30) [A no ngo)n+tenda) ntenda]
(You did not believe me)

In (30) above objectival agreement –N- remains [N] when attached to the verb stem –tenda (believe) which has an alveolar consonant [t].

The objectival agreement –N – may have an influence on verb stems as below in (31) – (41):

(i) Where N + fh become mph

(31) [Vha [^]–do- (n+ fhelekedza) mphelekedza]
(They will accompany me)

In (31) above when N combines with fh they become mph.

(ii) Where **N + r** become **nth**.

(32) [Vho-(n+ rengela) **nthengela** bugu.]

(They bought a book for me)

In (32) above objectival agreement **-N-** plus **r** become **nth**.

(iii) Where **N + s** become **nts**.

(33) [Vho-(n+sia) **ntsia**]

(They left me behind)

In (33) above objectival agreement **-n-** plus **s** become **nts**.

(iv) Where **N+sh** become **ntsh**.

(34) [Vho-(n+shavha) **ntshavha**.]

(They ran away from me)

In (34) above objectival agreement **-n-** plus **sh** become **ntsh**.

(v) Where **N+x** become **kh**

(35) [Vho-(n+xedza) **nkhedza**]

(They lost me)

In (35) above objectival agreement **-n-** plus **x** become **nkx**.

(vi) Where **N+h** become **nkh**

(36) [Vho-(n+hana) nkhana]
(They refused me)

In (36) above objectival agreement **-n-** plus **h** of the verb stem **-hana** (refuse) become **nkh**.

(vii) Where **N + vh** become **mmb**.

(37) [Vho-(n+ vhona) mmbona]
(They saw me)

In (37) above objectival agreement **-n-** plus **vh** of the verb stem **-vhona** (see) become **mmb**.

(viii) Where **N+I** become **nnd**.

(38) [Kha vha-(n+lisa) nndise]
(Feed me)

In (38) above objectival agreement **-n-** plus **I** of the verb stem **-lisa** (cause to eat) become **nnd**.

(ix) Where **N+I** become **nnd**.

(39) [Kha vha (n+lafha) nndafhe]
(Heal me)

In (39) above objectival agreement **-n-** plus **I** of the verb stem **-lafha** (heal) become **nnd**.

(x) Where **N+w** become **nngw**.

(40) [No (**n+wana**) **nngwana**]
(You found me)

In (40) above objectival agreement **n** plus **w** of the verb stem **-wana** (find) become **nngw**.

(xi) where **N+** vowel become **nny**.

(41) [Vha songo (**n+amba**) **nnyamba**]
(you must not talk about me)

In (41) above objectival agreement **n** becomes **nny** when attached before a vowel **a** of the verb stem **-amba** (speak).

Distribution

Objectival agreement appears with verbs:

(42) Munna o-**vha**-**rwa** vhana.
(The man hit them the children)

In (42) above the morpheme **vha** is the objectival agreement of the object NP **vhana** (children). This objectival agreement **vha** appears with the verb **-rwa** (hit). In the absence of the verb there can't be objectival agreement as the sentence would be meaningless:

(43) *Munna o **-vha** vhana.
(The man they children)

In (43) above **vha** appears without the verb and because of that it cannot be the objectival agreement and the sentence is ill-formed.

The objectival agreement can also appear in the construction where the NP is non-overt as long as the verb is present:

- (44) Munna o-vha_i -rwa [pro_i]
(The man hit them)

In (44) above **vha** is the objectival agreement which appears with the verb – **rwa** (hit). In this construction there is no overt object NP but the morpheme **vha** is the objectival agreement which is coindexed with *pro*.

5.2.2.6. Existential agreement

AgrS [hu-] appears with infinitive and locative as subject and as expletive **hu** with an empty *pro* as subject:

- (45) a. [U – tshimbila] **hu** – a – vhavha.
(To walk is painful)
- b. [Fhasi] **hu**-a-fhisa.
(Down is hot)
- c. [pro_i] **hu**_i-a-rothola.
(It is cold)

In (45) above AgrS **hu** appears with infinitive, locative and as expletive **hu** with *pro* respectively.

Distribution of the existential (hu-)

In Tshivenda the existential **hu** can appear with the following:

The subject of the passive

Existential **hu** can appear with the empty subject *pro* of the passive verb:

- (46) [pro_i] hu_i -do-gudwa.
(There will be studied)

In (46) above existential **hu** appears with the subject of the passive which is *pro*:

The subject of the neuter-passive

Existential agreement **hu** can appear with the empty subject *pro* of neuter-passive verbs:

- (47) [pro_i] hu_i-a-gudea.
(There can be studying)

In (47) above existential agreement **hu** appears with the subject of a neuter passive verb which is an empty *pro*.

In subject inversion

Existential agreement **hu** can appear where the subject has undergone subject inversion. In such a case **hu** has to appear with *pro* as subject:

- (48) [pro]_i hu_i-guda [vhana]_i
 (There are studying children)

In (48) above existential agreement **hu** appears with an empty *pro* where the subject NP has undergone subject inversion. The subject of this sentence which is now *pro* is coindexed with **vhana** (children) which appears at the end of the sentence.

Copulative Constructions

The existential agreement morpheme **hu** appears with an empty pronoun as subject of a clause with a copulative verb:

- (49) [[pro]_i] ho_i-vha [hu vhusiku [musi a tshi swika]]
 (It was at night when he arrived)

In (49) above existential **hu** appears with an empty pronoun as a subject.

5.2.2.7. Sentential pronoun

The sentential pronoun has the form of a demonstrative pronoun of class 8 with AgrO of class 8:

- (50) [O-rwa-^hnwana] mme vho-[zwi]- pfa [hezwo]
 (He hit the child. Mother heard it that)

In (50) above the morpheme **zwi** is the AgrO of the sentential pronoun **hezwo**.

5.2.2.8. Infinitive as complement of a copulative verb

When an Infinitive clause appears as complement of a copulative verb, the following types of agreement occur:

(a) AgrS of subject

- (51) [Mafhungo awe]_i [o_i-vha [e_i-[u-[^]tatisana]_i]
(His issue was to argue)

In (51) above the morpheme [a] in **o** and **e** is the AgrS of the subject. The subject NP is [mafhungo awe] (his issue). The Infinitive is the complement [u-[^]tatisana].

(b) AgrS of Infinitive

- (52) [Mafhungo awe] [ho_i-vha [hu_i-[u-[^]tatisana]_i]
(To argue was his issue)

In (52) above the morpheme [hu] is the AgrS of the infinitive clause [u-[^]tatisana] (to argue).

(c) AgrS of subject and of Infinitive

- (53) [Mafhungo awe]_i [o_i -vha [hu_j-[u-[^]tatisana]_j]
(His issue was about to argue)

In (53) above the morpheme [u] in **o** is the subject agreement of the subject NP [Mafhungo awe] (his issue), while the morpheme [hu] is the AgrS of the complement Infinitive [u-[^]tatisana].

In (56) above the nouns **afukhada** (avocado) and **linngo** (mango) belong to class 5. When these nouns are used separately they take the morpheme **li** as agreement morpheme but when used together they use the morpheme **a** of class 6 as their agreement morpheme which is the plural of these nouns.

Class 6

- (57) [Maafukhada na manngo] **a** a sina.
(avocados and mangoes can get rotten)

In (57) above the nouns **maafukhada** (avocados) and **manngo** (mangoes) belong to class 6 and these nouns are plurals. These nouns use the morpheme **a** as their agreement morpheme.

Class 9

- (58) [Ntsa na mmbwa] **dzi** do fa.
(The buck and the dog will die)

In (58) above the nouns **ntsa** (buck) and **mmbwa** (dog) belong to class 9. When these nouns are used separately they use the morpheme **i** as their agreement morpheme but when they are used together they use the morpheme **dzi** as their agreement morpheme.

- (b) When two NPs belong to the same noun class, with different features: AgrS is the morpheme **zwi** of class 8:

Class 3

- (59) [Munngo na muvhuda] **zwi** do swa.
(Mango tree and the hare will get burnt)

In (59) above the nouns **munngo** (mango tree) and **muvhuda** (hare) belong to class 3 and when used separately they use the morpheme **u** as agreement morpheme but when they are used together they use the morpheme **zwi** of class 8 as agreement morpheme.

Class 5

- (60) [Linngo na tombo] **zwi** a takadza.
 (A mango and a stone are interesting)

In (60) above the nouns **linngo** (mango) and **tombo** (stone) belong to class 5 but they don't have the same features and because of this fact they don't use the morpheme **a** which is the plural of these nouns but the morpheme **zwi** of class 8.

Class 9

- (61) [Ndau na khosi] **zwi** a konda.
 (The lion and the chief are difficult)

In (61) above the nouns **ndau** (lion) and **khosi** (chief) belong to class 9. When these nouns are used separately they use the morpheme **i** as agreement but when used together they use the morpheme **zwi** of class 8 as agreement.

Class 11

- (62) [Luaviavi na lutanda] **zwi** a fana.
 (Chameleon and thin log are similar)

In (62) above the nouns **luaviavi** (chameleon) and **lutanda** (thin log) belong to class 11 which has the morpheme **lu** as agreement morpheme. When these nouns are used together they use the morpheme **zwi** as agreement morpheme.

Class 14

- (63) [Vhulwadze na vhusudu] **zwi** do fhedzwa
(Sickness and earthworms will be destroyed)

In (63) above the nouns **vhulwadze** (sickness) and **vhusudu** (earthworms) belong to class 14 and when they are used separately they use the morpheme **vhu** as agreement. But when used together they use **zwi** as agreement morpheme.

- (c) AgrS is **vha**: in any two noun classes which refer to humans:

Classes 20 and 1

- (64) [Kutukana na mutukana] **vha** a fana.
(A small boy and a boy are the same)

In (64) above the nouns **kutukana** (small boy) and **mutukana** (boy) belong to classes 20 and 1 respectively. These classes have the morpheme **ku** and **u** as agreement morphemes but when the nouns **kutukana** (small boy) and **mutukana** (boy) are used together they use morpheme **vha** of class 2 as agreement morpheme.

Classes 1 and 7

- (65) [Mutukana na tshikalaha] **vha** do swika.
(A boy and a small oldman will arrive.)

In (65) above the nouns **mutukana** (boy) and **tshikalaha** (small oldman) belong to classes 1 and 7 respectively. These nouns when used separately use the morphemes **u** and **tshi** as agreement morphemes respectively. When they are used together they use the morpheme **vha** of class 2 as their agreement morpheme.

- (d) AgrS is **zwi**: in any two noun classes with the exception of (c) above.

Classes 3 and 4

- (66) [Mango na mikavhavhe] **zwi** a mela.
(Mango tree and lemon trees grow)

In (66) above the nouns **mungo** (mango tree) and **mikavhavhe** (lemon trees) belong to classes 3 and 4 respectively. When used separately these nouns use the morphemes **u** and **i** respectively but when used together they use the morpheme **zwi** as an agreement morpheme.

Classes 9 and 3

- (67) [Ntsa na muvhuda] **zwi** do fa.
(A buck and a hare will die)

In (67) above the nouns **ntsa** (buck) and **muvhuda** (hare) belong to classes 9 and 3 respectively. When used separately these nouns use the

morphemes **i** and **u** respectively but when they are used together they use the morpheme **zwi** of class 8 as an agreement morpheme.

Classes 11 and 9

- (68) [Luaviavi na nowa] zwi do fhiswa.
 (A chameleon and a snake will be burnt)

In (68) above the nouns **luaviavi** (chameleon) and **n^uowa** (snake) belong to classes 11 and 9 respectively. These nouns when used separately use the morphemes **lu** and **i** as agreement morphemes respectively but when they are used together they use the morpheme **zwi** of class 8 as agreement morpheme.

Coordinated NPs as object

- (a) When two NPs belong to the same noun class and have the same features: AgrO is the plural of those noun classes:

Class 1

- (69) Ndo **v**ha rwa [mutukana na musidzana]
 (I hit them the boy and girl)

In (69) above the nouns **mutukana** (boy) and **musidzana** (girl) belong to class 1. The morpheme of this class is **u** but when these nouns are used together they use the morpheme **vha** as their agreement morpheme.

Class 3

- (70) O i [^]ta[^]vha [munngo na mukavhavhe]
 (He planted them mango tree and lemon tree)

In (70) above the nouns **munngo** (mango tree) and **mukavhavhe** (lemon tree) belong to class 3. When these nouns are used separately they use the morpheme **u** as agreement morpheme but when used together they use the morpheme **i** as their agreement. This agreement **i** is the plural of this class.

Class 5

- (71) Vho a [^]la [afukhada na [^]linngo]
 (They ate them avocado and mango)

In (71) above the nouns **afukhada** (avocado) and **linngo** (mango) belong to class 5. When these nouns are used separately they use the morpheme **li** as an agreement morpheme. But when used together they use the morpheme **a** of class 6 as their agreement morpheme.

Class 6

- (72) Vho a [^]la [maafukhada na manngo]
 (They ate them avocados and mangoes)

In (72) above the nouns **maafukhada** (avocados) and **manngo** (mangoes) belong to class 6. When these nouns are used separately they use the morpheme **a** of class 6 because they are in plural and when they are used together they still use the morpheme **a** of class 6 as their agreement morpheme.

Class 9

- (73) O **dzi** vhona [ntsa na mmbwa]
 (He saw them buck and dog)

In (73) above the nouns **ntsa** (buck) and **mmbwa** (dog) belong to class 9. When used separately they use the morpheme **i** as agreement morpheme but when used together they use the morpheme **dzi** as an agreement morpheme. **Dzi** is class 10 morpheme which is the plural of class 9.

- (b) When two NPs belong to the same noun class and have different features: AgrO is the morpheme **zwi** of class 8:

Class 3

- (74) O **zwi** vhona [munngo na muvhuda]
 (He saw them mango tree and hare)

In (74) above the nouns **munngo** (mango tree) and **muvhuda** (hare) belong to class 3. When used separately these nouns use the morpheme **u** as agreement but when used together they use the morpheme **zwi** of class 8 as their agreement morpheme.

Class 5

- (75) Ndo **zwi** la[^]ta [linngo na tombo]
 (I threw them away a mango and stone)

In (75) above the nouns **linngo** (mango) and **tombo** (stone) belong to class 5. When these nouns are used separately they use the morpheme **li** as

agreement morpheme and when used together these nouns use the morpheme **zwi** as their agreement morpheme.

Class 9

- (76) Vho **zwi** fhisa [ndau na khosi]
(They burnt them a lion and the chief)

In (76) above the nouns **ndau** (lion) and **khosi** (chief) belong to class 9. When these nouns are used separately they use the morpheme **i** as agreement morpheme but when they are used together they use the morpheme **zwi** as their agreement morpheme.

Class 11

- (77) U a **zwi** vhenga [luaviavi na lutanda]
(He hates them a chameleon and a thin log)

In (77) above the nouns **luaviavi** (chameleon) and **lutanda** (thin log) belong to class 11. When used separately they use the morpheme **lu** as their agreement morpheme and when used together they use the morpheme **zwi** as their agreement morpheme.

Class 14

- (78) Vho **zwi** fhedza [vhulwadze na vhusu^udu]
(They destroyed them sickness and earthworms)

In (78) above the nouns **vhulwadze** (sickness) and **vhusu^udu** (earthworms) belong to class 14. When these nouns are used separately they use the

morpheme **vhu** as agreement morpheme but when they are used together they use the morpheme **zwi** as agreement morpheme.

- (c) AgrO is **vha**: in any two noun classes which refer to humans:

Classes 20 and 1

- (79) O **vha** ruma [kutukana na mutukana]
(He sent them a small boy and a boy)

In (79) above the nouns **kutukana** (small boy) and **mutukana** (boy) belong to classes 20 and 1 respectively. When these nouns are used separately they use the morphemes **ku** and **u** as agreement morphemes respectively but when they are used together they use the morpheme **vha** as their agreement morpheme.

Classes 1 and 7

- (80) Vho **vha** sea [mutukana na tshikalaha]
(They laughed at them a boy and small old man)

In (80) above the nouns **mutukana** (boy) and **tshikalaha** (small oldman) belong to classes 1 and 7 respectively but when they are used together they use the morpheme **vha** as their agreement morpheme.

- (d) AgrO is **zwi**: in any two noun classes with the exception of (c) above:

Classes 3 and 4

- (81) Vho **zwi** tumula [munngo na mikavhavhe]
(They cut them a mango tree and lemon trees)

In (81) above the nouns **munngo** (mango tree) and **mikavhavhe** (lemon trees) belong to classes 3 and 4 respectively. When these nouns are used separately they use the morpheme **u** and **i** as agreement morphemes respectively. But when they are used together they use the morpheme **zwi** as their agreement morpheme.

Class 9 and 3

- (82) O **zwi** vhulaha [ntsa na muvhuda]
(He killed them a buck and hare)

In (82) above the nouns **ntsa** (buck) and **muvhuda** (hare) belong to class 9 and 3 respectively. When these nouns are used separately they use the morphemes **i** and **u** as agreement morphemes respectively. But when used together these nouns use the morpheme **zwi** as their agreement morpheme.

Classes 11 and 9

- (83) Ndo **zwi** vhulaha [luaviavi na nowa]
(I killed them chameleon and snake)

In (83) above the nouns **luaviavi** (chameleon) and **nowa** (snake) belong to classes 11 and 9 respectively. These nouns use the morpheme **lu** and **i**

respectively when used separately but when used together these nouns use the morpheme **zwi** as their agreement morpheme.

Classes 15 and 16

- (84) U a **zwi** vhenga [u tshimbila na fhasi]
(He hates them to walk and down)

In (84) above the nouns **u tshimbila** (to walk) and **fhasi** (down) belong to classes 15 and 16 respectively. These nouns use the morpheme **hu** as agreement morpheme when they are used separately and use the morpheme **zwi** of class 8 as their agreement morpheme when they are used together.

5.2.2.10. No agreement

In Tshivenda there are certain categories that do not incorporate agreement morphemes. Imperatives, infinitives and copulative **ndi / a-si** are examples.

Imperative

In Tshivenda the imperative is the verb form that is used in the expression of commands. Only a positive form of the imperative occurs. A command is normally directed towards the second person, either singular or plural. The imperative appears with an empty pro as subject and the empty pro has the contents of second person singular or plural:

- (85) [pro] [shuma] (sing.)
(work)

In a structure given in (85) above there is no AgrS and the contents of pro refer to number and not noun class. The number can be seen in two commands as shown in (86) below:

(86) a. [pro_i] dzula [pro_i] u_i – ñwale.
(Sit and write)

b. [pro_i] dzulani [pro_i] ni_i – ñwale.
(Sit and write)

The command in (86a) is directed to the second person singular, this is evident because of the morpheme **u** which refers to number, whereas the command in (86b) is directed to second person plural, this is evident because of the morpheme **ni**.

In Tshivenda the singular form is used normally when addressing children and the plural form can be used when addressing people of equal or higher rank. The plural form can also be used when speaking to one person where there is respect. Plural forms are more polite than the singular ones.

Infinitive

The infinitive is a category which does not incorporate subject agreement. In Tshivenda an Infinitive appears with an empty PRO as subject:

(87) [PRO] [u – shuma]
(To work)

In (87) above there is an example of an infinitive which appears with an empty PRO as subject. This empty PRO may be controlled by another NP.

The copulatives with **ndi** and **a-si**

Ndĩ is the copulative verb in the positive. This **ndĩ** has a high tone. It is different from the SC of the first person singular because of tone. The negative form of copulative **ndĩ** is **a-si**. Copulative verbs can appear with or without the overt subject NP.

(i) The subject of the copulative clause is overt:

(88) a. [Uyu munna] [ndi [khosi]
(This man is a chief)

b. [Uyu munna] [a-si [khosi]
(This man is not a chief)

In (88) above the copulative verbs **ndi** and **a-si** appear with NP subject **uyu munna** (this man). It is clear in these examples that the subject NP in each case has no AgrS on the copulative verbs **ndi** and **a-si**.

(ii) The subject of the copulative clause is an empty *pro*:

(89) a. [*pro*] [ndi [khosi]
(Is a chief)

b. [*pro*] [a-si [khosi]
(Is not a chief)

In (89) above the copulative verbs **ndi** and **a-si** appear with an empty *pro* as subject. Although the empty *pro* may have the contents of a specific noun class, it still show no AgrS on the copulative verb.

5.3. NUMBER

5.3.1. Overview of the literature on number

5.3.1.1. Carstens (1991)

Carstens argues that Noun Class consists of distinct categories of number and gender.

According to her Kiswahili and English as well as most languages exhibit number morphology, in others, grammatical number is shown by the presence of independent words. According to Dryer (1989) there are singular, plural, dual and trial number words.

Carstens considers number words and morphemes to be functional heads which select NP complements. According to her in Yapese, singular, plural and dual are overt, independent lexical items, for Bantu the numerous instantiations of singular and plural are introduced by the redundancy rules applying at PF. Singular and plural themselves are represented syntactically as unique, abstract affixes, differentiated by a [+/- singular] feature. Nouns raise and incorporate to these syntactic affixes; triggering spell-out.

Carstens proposes that the [+/- singular] distinction is universal, but further divisions such as [- singular,+ dual] are optional. The fact that singular is unmarked in many languages suggests that it is the default category, where number is concerned.

In a theory where determiners are constituents of NP the treatment of grammatical number words as heads cannot be easily accommodated. The head-like behavior of number words therefore provides indirect support for the DP hypothesis.

Concerning English plural NPs, Carstens assumes that affix-hopping operates in the English nominal system to bring N and plural morphology together, just as it does in the verbal system between V and the morphology of INFL.

5.3.2. Number in Tshivenda

Number is a semantic category in Tshivenda which has two features: singular and plural. These features appear in Agr in the agreement of the first and second person: Examples are given in (90) below:

- (90) a. [pro_i] [ndi- a – shuma]
 [pro] [AgrS – a – shuma]
 [1p.s] [1p.s]
- b. [pro_i] [ni – a – |a]
 [pro] [AgrS – a – |a]

In (90) above the morphemes **ndi** and **ni** are agreement morphemes. These morphemes appear with empty pro as subject. The agreement **ndi** and **ni** have the semantic features singular and plural respectively.

Number also appears as a semantic category in nouns:

- (91) munna (man) Vs vhanna (men)

In (91) above the noun **munna** (man) is singular whereas the noun **vhanna** (men) is plural.

With regard to number: it also appears as a semantic feature on AgrS and AgrO:

- (92) a. [pro_i] [vha_i-do-da]
 (They will come)
- b. O – mu_i - rwa [pro_i]
 (He hit him)

In (92a) above the morpheme **vha** represents AgrS and it has a semantic feature plural whereas the morpheme **mu** in (92b) represents AgrO and has semantic feature singular.

Person is a semantic category which is present in AgrS as first and second person:

- (93) a. [pro_i] [ri_i - do – swika]
 (we shall arrive)
- b. [pro_i] [ni_i – do-la]
 (you will eat)

In (93) above the morphemes **ri** and **ni** represent AgrS and they have the semantic feature person, i.e. first and second person respectively.

A person feature can also appear in AgrO as first and second person:

- (94) a. Vha do-ri_i-rwa [pro_i]
 (They will hit us)

- b. U $\underset{\wedge}{\text{do}}$ -ni-sia [pro_i]
 (He will leave you)

In (94) above the morphemes **ri** and **ni** are objective agreement morphemes. These morphemes have the feature person, i.e. first and second person respectively.

Person also appears as a feature on empty pro in the subjunctive which is used as imperative:

- (95) a. [pro_i] u_i – shume.
 (You must work) (sing.)
- b. [pro_i] ni- $\underset{\wedge}{\text{je}}$.
 (You must eat) (plur.)

In (95) above the imperatives appear with empty pro as subject. The empty pro in (95a) has the feature second person singular as it is coindexed with the AgrS **u** which has the feature second person singular. The same applies to the empty pro in (95b), it has the feature second person plural as it is coindexed with AgrS **ni** which has the feature second person plural.

5.4. CONCLUSION

In Tshivenda agreement is regarded as a derived inflectional category. This category is independent because it can be found in contexts where there is no noun class. In Tshivenda there are three main types of agreement morphemes, i.e. subjectival, objectival and existential agreement morphemes.

The form of subjectival agreement is determined by nouns with which it appears. This agreement can be found with verbs as well as nominal modifiers.

Objectival agreement generally appears with verbs. This agreement does not accept intransitive verbs and it does not need AgrS especially when appearing with the imperative. The form of this agreement is determined by the noun with which it is in agreement. Objectival agreement morpheme often changes the consonant that immediately comes after it.

The existential agreement is **hu** which has **h-** as variant. This agreement can be found with the subject of the passive, in subject inversion, with the subject of the neuter-passive and with the subject of weather verbs.

Agreement can be found with conjoined NPs as AgrS or AgrO. Conjoined NPs can take a certain kind of agreement because of their classes or features.

If the NPs conjoined are from the same class and have the same features they trigger the plural agreement morpheme of these nouns:

- (96) [Mutukana na musidzana] **vha** a la.
 (The boy and the girl they eat)

In (96) above the nouns **mutukana** (boy) and **musidzana** (girl) belong to class 1 and they have the feature human. These nouns use the morpheme **vha** which is the plural agreement of these nouns.

If the NPs conjoined are from the same class with different features the morpheme **zwi** of class 8 is used:

- (97) [Muvhuda na muri] **zwi** do swa.
 (A hare and stone will burn)

In (97) above the nouns **muvhuda** (hare) and **muri** (tree) belong to the same class but they have different features since the one is an animal and the other a plant. Because of this fact these nouns use the morpheme **zwi** of class 8 as their agreement.

If the NPs conjoined are plurals and they belong to the same noun class they use the agreement they use when they are used separately as their agreement morpheme:

- (98) [Dzikholomo na dzimbudzi] **dzi** do fa.
 (Cows and goats will die)

In (98) above the nouns **dzikholomo** (cows) and **dzimbudzi** (goats) belong to class 10. When these nouns are used separately they use the morpheme **dzi** as an agreement morpheme and when they are used together they still use the morpheme **dzi** as their agreement morpheme.

If two nouns that refer to humans are conjoined they use the morpheme **vha** as their agreement regardless of them belonging to different classes:

- (99) [Mutukana na tshikalaha] **vha** a tuwa.
 (The boy and small oldman they leave.)

In (99) above the nouns **mutukana** (boy) and **tshikalaha** (small oldman) belong to classes 1 and 7 respectively. These nouns use the agreement morphemes **u** and **tshi** if they are used separately. But when they are used together they use the morpheme **vha** as an agreement morpheme.

If the nouns that belong to any two noun classes and one of them does not refer to human the morpheme **zwi** is used as their agreement morpheme:

- (100) [Munna na muri] **zwi** do da.
 (The man and the tree will come)

In (100) above the nouns **munna** (man) and **muri** (tree) belong to classes 1 and 3 respectively. When these nouns are used separately they use **u** as an agreement morpheme but when they are used together they use the morpheme **zwi** of class 8 as their agreement morpheme.

In cases where the two nouns conjoined belong to the same noun class which has no plural class the agreement morpheme of that class is used:

- (101) [U la na u tshimbila] **hu** a takadza.
 (To eat and to walk is pleasant)

In (101) above there are two nouns, i.e. **u la** (to eat) and **u tshimbila** (to walk) belong to class 15. This class has no plural class and because of this fact these two nouns use the morpheme **hu** which they use when they are used separately.

Number in Tshivenda is not an inflectional category but a semantic category. This category has two features, i.e. singular and plural. Number appears in Agr of the first and second person and also in nouns.

CHAPTER SIX

DEFINITENESS

6.1. AIM

The aim of this chapter is to address the question of definiteness in Tshivenda noun phrases. Noun phrases will be investigated to see if they are definite or not. Noun phrases will be explored to see how definiteness is expressed in Tshivenda.

6.2. OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON DEFINITENESS

Lyons (1999)

Simple definites and indefinites

Lyons considers simple definites and indefinites in English language to be noun phrases that contain elements like **the** and **a** respectively. The English **the** shows that the speaker or writer is referring to a definite or particular thing, while **a** refers to an indefinite thing, just any.

Familiarity and identifiability

According to Lyons where **the** is used the reference is clear to the hearer as well as the speaker, whereas in the case of an indefinite noun phrase the speaker may be aware of what is being referred to and the hearer probably not. This led to a view of definiteness known as the familiarity hypothesis. **The** signals that the entity denoted by the noun phrase is familiar to both

speaker and hearer, and **a** is used where the speaker does not want to signal such shared familiarity.

Linguists prefer to see definiteness as being about identifiability. The idea is that the use of the definite article directs the hearer to the referent of the noun phrase by signalling that he is in a position to identify it.

On the familiarity account **the** tells the hearer that he knows which, on the identifiability account it tells him that he knows or can work out which.

Uniqueness and inclusiveness

The article **the** sometimes entails the idea of uniqueness: the definite article signals that there is just one entity satisfying the description. The definite article can occur with plural count nouns and mass nouns. Lyons proposes that uniqueness applies to sets and masses rather than to individuals. Definites with plural and mass noun phrases involves not uniqueness but inclusiveness. The reference is to the totality of the objects or mass in the context which satisfy the description. It appears that with plural and mass nouns **the** is a universal quantifier similar in meaning to **all**. Uniqueness can be assimilated to inclusiveness. When the noun phrase is singular, inclusiveness turns out to be the same as uniqueness, because the totality of the objects satisfying the description is just one.

Identifiability, inclusiveness and indefinites

According to Lyons **the** logically entails uniqueness with singular noun phrase, **a** is logically neutral with respect to this. But it carries a weaker implication of non-uniqueness. Material can be added to show that the referent is unique. When a referent is **inclusive** in the context, **the** is normally used rather than **a**, because **a** implies non inclusiveness. But non-

inclusiveness is not an entailment of the indefinite article. When the referent is not inclusive in its context **a** must be used and **the** may not. Where there is no contextual set within which inclusiveness may or may not apply, **a** is used. And in such cases it seems to be a matter of non-identifiability rather than non-inclusiveness. The referent is taken to be unfamiliar to the hearer because it has not been mentioned before. Lyons considers definiteness as involving either identifiability or inclusiveness, or both.

Types of definite noun phrases

According to Lyons including the definite article in a noun phrase is not the only way of making definite reference to some entity. There are noun phrase types which have definiteness as part of their meaning. There are many kinds of noun phrases which appear either to express the inclusiveness of the referent or to indicate that the referent is identifiable.

Determiners cover non adjectival noun phrase modifiers such as **this**, **several**, **our**, **all**. Some of these are definite determiners, differing from **the** in that they combine definiteness with other semantic content. This other semantic content entails definiteness or is incompatible with indefiniteness. Lyons refers to noun phrases in which [+Def] is present as a consequence of, or otherwise in combination with another feature, as complex definites.

Demonstratives

Lyons considers demonstratives as generally taken to be definite. Identifiability is what links demonstratives with the definite article. But identifiability is only part of the semantic content of demonstratives. They signal that the identity of the referent is immediately accessible to the hearer.

Proper nouns

These are names. They are used as if they were unique. Uniqueness of reference of proper nouns aligns them with definites.

Possessives

In English possessives render the noun phrase which contains them definite.

Personal pronouns

They are referred traditionally as definite pronouns. **He, She, it** and **they** are the pronominal correlatives of the determiner **the**.

Universal quantifiers

All, every and **each** are universal quantifiers in logic. They express totality, either within a context or absolutely.

Simple and complex indefinites

Simple indefinites contain the article **a** and complex indefinites do not contain **a**.

Indefiniteness and cardinality

Determiners like **three** and **many** which denote cardinality have been characterized as indefinite determiners. Lyons regards them to be neutral with respect to (in) definiteness. There are some determiners which only appear in indefinite noun phrases e.g. **some** and **enough**. A noun phrase is

indefinite if it has no definite determiner, whether or not it has an indefinite determiner.

Complex indefinites

These are noun phrases in which some determiner other than one of the quasi- indefinite articles seems to compel indefiniteness and render a definite determiner impossible. These are determiners like **several**, **enough**, **such** etc.

6.3. DEFINITENESS IN TSHIVENDA

6.3.1. Noun phrases and definiteness

6.3.1.1. Where the interpretation of the noun phrase may be ambiguous

A noun phrase may have two interpretations due to the context of the speaker and the hearer:

- (1) a. [Mmbwa] yo nnduma.
[A / The dog] bit me.
- b. Ndo vhona [golo]
I saw [a/the car]

In (1a) above the noun phrase **mmbwa** (dog) is the subject of the sentence. This noun phrase may have two interpretations, depending on the context of the speaker and the hearer. The noun phrase **mmbwa** (dog) may be interpreted as definite if the speaker has seen this dog before or indefinite if

the speaker has not seen this dog before. In other words the speaker would be referring to any dog and not a specific dog.

The same interpretations will be available to the hearer. The hearer will interpret **mmbwa** (dog) as either indefinite or definite. He may interpret it as definite if he knows or have seen that dog before or having been told about it before, or as indefinite if he is hearing about this dog for the first time.

The same interpretations will be available in the noun phrase **goloji** (car) in sentence (1b).

6.3.1.2. Where the noun phrase may be only definite

There are two instances of this reference. They are as follows:

6.3.1.2.1. Where the noun phrase may be familiar to both the speaker and hearer.

- (2) a. [Khosì] yo ḡda.
[The chief] has come.
- b. Ni korope [bafurumu]
You must scrub [the bathroom]
- c. Nḡnekedzeni [mbaḡo]
Hand me [the axe]

In the examples in (2) above the noun phrases **khosi** (the chief), **bafurumu** (the bathroom) and **mbaḡo** (the axe) may be interpreted as only definite. This is because these referents referred to by these noun phrases appear to be the only ones in their specific locations. The noun phrases **khosi** (the

chief) may be interpreted as definite by both the speaker and hearer if there is only one chief in that country. The same will apply to **bafurumu** (the bathroom) if there is one in that house which the speaker is referring to. The noun phrase **mbado** (the axe) in (2c) may also be interpreted as definite if there is only one axe and the speaker is referring to that one.

This interpretation may not be possible in cases where the hearer is not familiar with those entities referred to by the noun phrases. For instance if the person has just entered the room and the speaker said '**Nṅekedzeni mbado**' (hand me the axe), this would be very difficult for the hearer to identify the referent because he has just entered and might not know where the axe was placed.

6.3.1.2.2. Where the noun phrase has a unique reference.

(3) a. [Duvha] li a fhiṣa.
[The sun] is hot.

b. [Ṃwedzi] wo tshena.
[The moon] is bright.

c. [Mupapa] o funza.
[The pope] has taught.

In the above examples in (3) the noun phrases **duvha** (sun), **ṁwedzi** (moon) and **mupapa** (pope) are definite noun phrases. This is because the entities referred to by these noun phrases are familiar to both the speaker and hearer. These are unique noun phrases. They each belong to a singular set for there is only one. For instance there is only one sun and one moon in this planet. The same applies to the pope, there is only one pope at a time. Familiarity stems from general knowledge.

6.3.1.3. Indefinite /definite noun phrases.

One noun phrase may appear twice in the same discourse. The first noun phrase is interpreted as indefinite and the second one as definite.

The first noun phrase is interpreted as indefinite because it was not familiar to the speaker and hearer whereas the second noun phrase is interpreted as definite because it is now familiar to the speaker and hearer just because of its appearance in the first part of the discourse. For the second noun phrase to be interpreted as definite these two NPs must have a common referent. The context of the sentence plays a major role for the second noun phrase to receive a definite interpretation. In some cases the second noun phrase can be ambiguous:

- (4) Ndo vhona [mutukana], ndi tshi dzula fhasi [mutukana] a swika.
(I saw a boy, when I sat down a / the boy arrived)

In (4) above the second noun phrase **mutukana** (boy) is ambiguous. It can be either indefinite or definite. It can be indefinite if it does not refer to the boy in the first part of the discourse. If it refers to the boy in the first part of the discourse it is interpreted as definite.

Below follows examples where a definite interpretation of the second noun phrase is possible:

1. Subject

- (5) [Munna] o [^]da kha n[^]ne nda mu vusa. Zwino [munna] a mmbudzisa hune nda bva.

[A man] came to me and I greeted him. Then [the man] asked me where I came from.

In (5) above the noun phrase **munna** (man) appears twice. It is clear from the context that the man that came to the speaker is the same man that asked him where he came from. Because of this fact the second NP **munna** (man) is interpreted as definite. This NP does not refer to any other man but to the man that came to the speaker.

2. Object

2.1. Positive

- (6) Ndo vhona [n̂wana] n̂dilani. Nda mu vhudzisa [n̂wana] uri ndi ngani a songo ya tshikoloni.

(I saw [a child] in the street. I asked [the child] why he did not go to school.)

In (6) above the two NPs **n̂wana** (child) have the same referent. The child that the speaker saw in the street is the same child that he asked why he did not go to school. In this discourse the first NP **n̂wana** (child) is interpreted as indefinite whereas the second NP **n̂wana** (child) is interpreted as definite. This interpretation is bolstered by the presence of AgrO **mu** in the second sentence.

2.2. Negative form

- (7) A thi athu u vhona [ndou] fhedzi ndi fulufhela uri musi ndi tshi ya vhugalaphukha, a thi nga i takaleli [ndou]

I have never seen [an elephant] but I hope that when I go to the zoo I will not like it [the elephant]

In (7) above the first noun phrase **ndou** (elephant) is interpreted as indefinite but the second noun phrase **ndou** (elephant) is interpreted as definite because it refers to a specific elephant at the zoo and not to any elephant. It seems there is an elephant at the zoo that the speaker does not like. As above this interpretation is bolstered by the presence of AgrO *i* on the verb **takalela** above.

2.3. Interrogative

- (8) Ndi nga renga [nyamunaithi] kha vhengele ili? Nda u nwa [nyamunaithi] afha?

Can I buy [a cold drink] in this shop? And I drink it [the cold drink] here?

In (8) above the first NP **nyamunaithi** (cold drink) is interpreted as indefinite because it refers to any cold drink. The second NP **nyamunaithi** (cold drink) is interpreted as definite because it refers to a specific cold drink: the one that the speaker can buy. As above, AgrO *u* on the verb **nwa** assists this interpretation.

2.4. Future

- (9) Phanda hu do fhatwa [vhengele]. Vhathu vha fhana vha do li funa [vhengele]

Further on there will be built [a shop] . The people here will like it [the shop]

In (9) above the first NP **vhengele** (shop) is not specific it is general and for that matter it is interpreted as indefinite. The second NP **vhengele** (shop) is interpreted as definite because it is specific in that it refers to a shop that would be built further on and not any shop. As above, AgrO **li** is present on the verb **funa**.

3. The preposition nga

3.1. Positive

- (10) Mutshudeni o n̄wala nga [peni]. A ri o fhedza nda i humbela nda n̄wala nga [peni].

The student wrote with[a pen]. When he finished I asked it and I wrote with [the pen].

In (10) above the first NP **peni** (pen) is interpreted as indefinite because it was not familiar to the speaker but the second NP **peni** (pen) is interpreted as definite because the pen was now familiar to the speaker when he wrote with it, it was then specific. This interpretation is helped by the presence of AgrO **i** on **humbela**.

3.2. Negative

- (11) Mudededzi a vho ngo **ñwala** nga [penisela] fhedzi musi
mudededzi vho mpha yone, a tho ngo **ñwala** nga [penisela]

The teacher did not write with [a pencil] but when the
teacher gave me it, I did not write with [the pencil]

In (11) above the first NP **penisela** (pencil) is interpreted as indefinite because the pencil was not familiar to the speaker in the first place. The second NP **penisela** (pencil) is interpreted as definite because this pencil was familiar to the speaker because it was that pencil that the teacher did not use in writing that the teacher gave it to him. A definite interpretation is bolstered by the presence of **yone** above which refers to the pencil.

3.3. Interrogative

- (12) Mutshudeni a nga kona u **ñwala** nga [peni]? Arali nda mu
rengela yone, a nga kona u **ñwala** nga [peni]?

Can the student write with [a pen]? If I buy one for him,
can he write with [the pen]?

In (12) above the first NP **peni** (pen) is interpreted as indefinite because it is not specific. The second NP **peni** (pen) is interpreted as definite because it is specific. It is specific in the sense that the student would not write with any pen but with the one that the speaker would buy for him. The same reference to **yone** is present above.

3.4. Future

- (13) Ndi [^]do [^]da nga [goloji], musu ndo no fhedza u i shumisa, ndi
do [^]vhuya nga [goloji].

I will come with [a car], and after I have finished using it, I
will return with [the car].

In (13) above the first NP **goloji** (car) is interpreted as indefinite because it refers to any car but the second NP **goloji** (car) is interpreted as definite because it is specific. The speaker does not know the car that he would use to come but he will know the car when he is using it and the car is now familiar to him. He will also use that car to come back. That is how definite interpretation of the second NP **goloji** (car) came about. This interpretation is also bolstered by the presence of AgrO **i** on **shumisa**.

4. The preposition na

4.1. With a non-copulative verb

4.1.1. Positive

- (14) Ndo [^]tangana na [munna], a mmbudzisa mushumo, nga
murahunyana nda mu thola nda shuma na [munna]

I met [a man], he asked me for work, after a while, I hired him
and I worked with [the man].

In (14) above the first NP **munna** (man) is interpreted as indefinite because this man was not familiar to the speaker. The second NP **munna** (man) is interpreted as definite because this man was then familiar to the speaker as he met him before. See also the presence of AgrO **mu** on **thola** above.

4.1.2. Negative

- (15) Ndo vha ndi sa athu u [^]tangana na [khosi] fhedzi nga murahu
ha musu ndo no [^]tangana na yone, a tho ngo amba na [khosi].

I have never met with [a chief] before but after I have met
one, I did not talk with [the chief].

In (15) above the first NP **khosi** (chief) is interpreted as indefinite because this chief was not known by the speaker. The second NP **khosi** (chief) is interpreted as definite because he first met the chief. See the presence of **yone** which refers to **khosi**.

4.1.3. Interrogative

- (16) Ndi nga kona u shuma na [musadzi]? Arali na mu thola, ni nga
kona u shuma na [musadzi]?

Can I work with [a woman]? If you hired one, can you work with
[the woman]?

In (16) above the first NP **musadzi** (woman) is interpreted as indefinite because it refers to any woman. But the second NP **musadzi** (woman) is interpreted as definite because it is specific for it refers to the one (woman) that could be hired. See no. (14) above: AgrO **mu** is also present in (16) on **thola**.

4.1.4. Future

- (17) Ndi [^]do [^]la na [khosi] [^]namusi nga murahu nda [^]do kona u amba
na [khosi]

I will eat with [a chief] today and later I will then talk with [the
chief].

In (17) above the first NP **khosi** (chief) is interpreted as indefinite because the chief was not familiar to the speaker. The second NP **khosi** (chief) is interpreted as definite because the chief was familiar to the speaker as he ate with him in the first place. Both references to **khosi** may also be definite: see no. (2) above.

4.2. With a copulative verb

4.2.1. Positive

(18) Musadzi u na [bodo] nga murahu ndo no mu humbela
ndi na [bodo] zwino.

The woman has [a pot] and after I have asked her, I have
[the pot] now.

In (18) above the first NP **bodo** (pot) is interpreted as indefinite because the pot is not familiar to the speaker as the pot is with the woman. Apparently the speaker has not seen the pot before. The second NP **bodo** (pot) is interpreted as definite because the pot will be familiar to the speaker as he will now have it. In (18) the implication is that there is a second reference to **bodo** on **humbela**, which will then assist this reading.

4.2.2. Negative

(19) Musidzana ha na [peni] nga murahu musu ndi tshi i [^]_^ toda
kha mutukana nda vhona uri mutukana na ene ha na
[peni].

The girl does not have [a pen] but after a while when I
looked for it, I saw that the boy also does not have [the
pen].

In (19) above the first NP **peni** (pen) is interpreted as indefinite but the second NP **peni** (pen) is interpreted as definite as this was the pen the speaker was looking from the girl. AgrO i on **toda** will bolster the interpretation of definiteness.

4.2.3. Interrogative

(20) Ndi nga vha na [peni]? Ndo no i shumisa mutukana a nga vha na [peni]?

Can I have [a pen]? And after I have used it, can the boy have [the pen]?

In (20) above the first NP **peni** (pen) is interpreted as indefinite as it is not specific it may refer to any pen but the second NP **peni** (pen) is definite as it refers to the pen that the speaker would have used. See AgrO i on **shumisa**.

4.2.4. Future

(21) Musidzana u **do** vha na [bugu] **namusi** musi musidzana o no fhedza u i vhalala, mutukana u **do** vha na [bugu].

The girl will have [a book] today and after the girl has finished reading it, the boy will have [the book]

In (21) the first NP **bugu** (book) is interpreted as indefinite as this noun phrase may refer to any book. The second NP **bugu** (book) is interpreted as definite as this noun phrase refers to the book that would have been used by the girl in the first place not any book. AgrO i on **vhalala** will also assist in this interpretation.

5. The preposition kha

5.1. Positive

- (22) Ndo dzula kha [tshidulo] lufherani, ndo no [^]tuwa kha [tshidulo] ha vho dzula musadzi.

I sat on [a chair] in the room, and after I have left on [the chair] then sat a woman.

In (22) above the first NP **tshidulo** (chair) is interpreted as indefinite as this noun phrase refers to any chair but the second NP **tshidulo** (chair) is interpreted as definite as this NP refers to the chair on which the speaker was sitting.

5.2. Negative

- (23) A tho ngo dzula kha [tshidulo] tshikoloni naho tshi hone ndo dzula kha bannga, musu ndi tshi [^]tuwa, mutshudeni na ene a sa dzule kha [tshidulo].

I did not sit on [a chair] in the school, even when it was there I sat on a bench, when I left, I saw that the student also did not sit on [the chair].

In (23) above the first NP **tshidulo** (chair) is interpreted as indefinite as it is not specific. But the second NP **tshidulo** (chair) is interpreted as definite as it refers to the chair that the speaker did not sit on. However, both NPs above may also be interpreted as indefinite.

5.3. Future

- (24) Mutshudeni u [^]do dzula kha [tshidulo] musi a tshi
da, musi a tshi [^]tuwa, ndi [^]do dzulavho kha
[tshidulo].

The student will sit on [a chair] when he comes,
and when he leaves, I will also sit on [the chair].

In (24) the first NP **tshidulo** (chair) refers to any chair that the student will choose to sit on, and because of this this noun phrase is interpreted as indefinite. The second NP **tshidulo** (chair) is interpreted as definite since it refers to the chair used by the student and not any chair.

6. The locative noun

6.1. Positive

- (25) Ndo ya [vhengeleni] [^]doroboni, khonani yanga a
ntevhela [vhengeleni].

I went to [a shop] in town, my friend followed me
to [the shop].

In (25) above the first NP **vhengeleni** (at shop) is interpreted as indefinite because it refers to any shop as the speaker was not going to the specific shop. The second NP **vhengeleni** (at shop) refers to a specific shop as the friend of the speaker cannot follow the speaker to any shop but to a specific shop, because of this reason the second noun phrase **vhengeleni** (at shop) is interpreted as definite.

6.2. Negative

- (26) A tho ngo nwa [barani] [^]doroboni, ngauri khonani yanga ho ngo nndindela [barani].

I did not drink at [a bar] in town, because my friend didn't wait for me at [the bar].

In (26) above the first NP **barani** (at bar) is interpreted as indefinite since it is not specific but the second NP **barani** (at bar) is interpreted as definite because this NP refers to a specific bar where the speaker's friend was supposed to have waited for him.

6.3. Interrogative

- (27) Ndi nga kona u ya [barani] musi ndi tshi ya kha yone, ni nga kona u [^]da [barani]?

Can I go to [a bar] when I go to it, can you come to [the bar]?

In (27) above the first NP **barani** (at bar) is interpreted as indefinite because it does not have a specific reference, it refers to any bar. The second NP **barani** (at bar) is interpreted as definite because it has a specific reference where the speaker's listener could go.

6.4. Future

- (28) Ndi [^]do ya [vhengeleni] [^]doroboni, musi ndi tshi swika kha [^]lone, vhabebi vhanga vha [^]do ntevhela [vhengeleni]

I will go to [a shop] in town, when I arrive at it, my parents will follow me to [the shop]

In (28) above the first NP **vhengeleni** (at shop) refers to any shop, it is not specific and is therefore interpreted as indefinite. The second NP **vhengeleni** (at shop) is interpreted as definite since it refers to a specific shop in town where the speaker's parents will follow him.

6.3.1.4. Antecedent / definite noun phrase

The noun phrase in the second part of the discourse is interpreted as definite because of the antecedent in the first part of the discourse:

(29) Ndo dzhena kha bisi [mureili] a mmbudza uri ndi badele.

I got in a bus. [The driver] told me to pay.

In (29) above the noun phrase **mureili** (driver) in the second part of discourse is interpreted as definite. This is because of the noun phrase **bisi** (bus) in the first part of discourse. This noun phrase **bisi** (bus) serves as an antecedent of the noun phrase **mureili** (driver). The noun phrase **mureili** (driver) does not refer to any driver in this discourse but to the specific driver of the bus that the speaker got in. Here the referent of driver is familiar through association with the antecedent of a bus. It is known that buses have drivers.

This use is known as bridging cross-reference or associative use.

The above discussion is concerned with singular count nouns. The same process is possible with plural count nouns and mass nouns. But definiteness with plural and mass noun phrases involves not uniqueness but inclusiveness, because these noun phrases deal with sets or masses not with individuals:

(30) a. Ndo vhona [vhatukana]

[Vhatukana] vho ḡa.

I saw [boys]

[The boys] came

b. Ho ḡa [halwa]

Vho nwa [halwa]

There came [a beer]

They drank [the beer]

In the noun phrases in (30) above uniqueness is no longer available, because the definite noun phrases refer to a set or mass respectively. English **the** which appears with plural or mass nouns is a universal quantifier, similar in meaning to **all**. Inclusiveness is related to uniqueness in that in singular noun phrase, inclusiveness turns out to be the same as uniqueness, because the totality of the objects satisfying the description is just one.

6.3.2. Nominal modifiers and definiteness

6.3.2.1. Demonstratives

In Tshivenda noun phrases with demonstratives can be considered definite noun phrases, but their definiteness is not a matter of inclusiveness. Demonstratives have identifiability because the referent can be identified.

All demonstratives have three features: definiteness, AgrS and proximity. The proximity has four features, i.e. IA, IB, II and III.

There are also two definiteness features represented by [A] and [hA].

The definiteness element [A] is regarded as the root and also as a functional element. A demonstrative is interpreted definite because of it. This definiteness nature of the demonstrative renders the whole noun phrase definite:

(31) Dzhiani [linngo ilo]
 ˆ ˆ

(Take that mango)

In (31) above **linngo ilo** (that mango) is a noun phrase. This noun phrase is interpreted as definite because of the demonstrative **ilo** (that). The referent of this NP can be identified.

Tshivenda demonstratives are deictic in nature because they relate things talked about to the spatio-temporal context, and in particular to contextual distinctions like that between the speaker, the hearer and others. The Tshivenda demonstratives like **itshi** (this) and **itsho** (that) can be termed proximal and distal demonstratives, respectively.

The Tshivenda demonstratives have three suffixes, i.e. **-no** (here, next to), **-o** (there) and **-la** (over there, yonder). These three suffixes are found in position IA, II and III respectively.

Position IA demonstrative has the suffix **-no** and it refers to an object near the speaker or hearer, whereas IB lacks a suffix and it follows that its deictic (proximity) meaning is assigned by default.

Position II demonstrative may refer to two things:

- (a) to an object near the hearer
- (b) to indicate something which has been referred to before.

The example of (b) is given in (32) below:

(32) Ndo vhona **goloji** [^]doroboni. Goloji **iyoy** yo naka.

I saw the car in town. That car is beautiful.

In (32) above demonstrative **iyoy** (that) refers to **goloji** (car) in the first part of the discourse.

Position III demonstratives may also refer to two things:

- (a) to an object far away from the speaker
- (b) to indicate something that was referred to previously.

The example of (b) is given in (33) below:

(33) [^]Namusi ndo vhona goloji **ila**.

(Today I saw that car)

In (33) above **ila** (that) is a demonstrative of position III. This demonstrative indicates the car that was referred to previously.

6.3.2.2. Adjectives

In Tshivenda [^]adjectives can make NPs definite or indefinite depending on the context:

(34) Ndo vhona [munna mulapfu]

(I saw a /the tall man)

In (34) above the noun phrase **munna mulapfu** (tall man) is ambiguous, it can be interpreted as definite or indefinite. This noun phrase is interpreted as definite if the speaker has known the referent before or it can be interpreted as indefinite if the speaker did not know that man before.

6.3.2.3. Possessives

Possessives in Tshivenda can make the NPs definite or indefinite depending on the context.

- (35) Ndi [^]to[^]da [kholomo ya khosi]
 (I want a/the cow of the chief)

In (35) above the NP **kholomo ya khosi** (a / the cow of the chief) is ambiguous, it can be interpreted as both definite and indefinite. It can be definite if the speaker refers to a specific cow or indefinite if the speaker refers to any cow.

The NP can be interpreted as only definite if it appears with a pronoun as head after **a**:

- (36) Ndi [^]to[^]da [bugu yanga]
 (I want my book)

In (36) above the NP **bugu yanga** (my book) is definite because of a pronoun as head after **a**.

6.3.2.4. Descriptive possessives

Descriptive possessives can make the NPs definite or indefinite depending on the context:

- (37) Ndi [^]to[^]da [n[^]ndu ya zwi[^]dina].
 (I want a / the brick house)

The noun phrase **n[^]ndu ya zwi[^]dina** (a / the brick house) is interpreted as definite if the speaker refers to a specific house or as indefinite if the speaker refers to any brick house.

6.3.2.5. Absolute pronouns

In Tshivenda absolute pronouns in noun phrases make them definite:

(38) [Vhathu vhone] vho swika.

(People as for them have arrived)

In (38) above the NP **vhathu vhone** (people as for them) is interpreted as definite because it appears with an absolute pronoun. This noun phrase refers to a specific group of people and not to any group of people.

6.3.2.6. Quantifier -othe

In Tshivenda quantifier -othe in the noun phrase makes it definite. This is because it is related to inclusiveness, for it expresses totality, either within a context or absolutely. Quantifier -othe is a universal quantifier because it refers to all the members of a set. The Tshivenda othe is similar to English **the** with plural nouns and mass nouns. They differ with the fact that Tshivenda othe (all) is more emphatic than English **the**, but they are very close in meaning:

(39) [Nama yothe] yo rengwa.

(All the meat was bought)

In (39) above **nama yothe** (all the meat) is a noun phrase. This noun phrase is interpreted as definite because of the quantifier -othe. Quantifier -othe indicates that the meat concerned is specific and familiar to the hearer.

6.3.2.7. Quantifier -sili

In Tshivenda quantifier -sili shows something of a foreign or strange nature with regard to things, persons and places:

(40) [Luambo lusili] lu a takadza

(A foreign language is interesting)

In (40) above **luambo lusili** (foreign language) is a noun phrase. This noun phrase is interpreted as indefinite because the quantifier **–sili** cannot render it definite. The noun phrase **luambo lusili** (foreign language) is not specific, it is general as it can refer to any foreign language.

6.3.2.8. Quantifier **–fhio**

In Tshivenda quantifier **–fhio** has two meanings: i.e. interrogative meaning and a meaning of “any”:

(41) a. Ni funa [bugu ifhio]?

(You want which book?)

b. [Musadzi ufhio na ufhio] u a dina

(Any woman is troublesome)

In (41) above the quantifier **–fhio** in (41a) has an interrogative meaning whereas in (41b) it has a meaning of “any”. In (41) **bugu ifhio** (which book) and **musadzi ufhio na ufhio** (any woman) are noun phrases. Both these noun phrases are interpreted as indefinite. This is because quantifier **–fhio** cannot make the noun phrase definite. It cannot make a noun phrase specific or familiar.

6.3.2.9. Quantifier **–ni**

In Tshivenda quantifier **–ni** makes a noun phrase indefinite:

(42) Ndi [n̄wana muni]?

(What is the sex of the child?)

In (42) above **ñwana muni** (what sex of the child) is interpreted as indefinite because it is not specific. This is because quantifier **-ni** cannot render the noun phrase definite.

6.3.2.10. Quantifier **-ñwe**

In Tshivenda quantifier **-ñwe** may mean “the other one of two” or it may effect a meaning of contrast:

(43) a. Ha na [muñwe ñwana nga nnda ha Vele]

(He has no other child except Vele)

b. [Vhañwe vhana] vha khou guda vhañwe] vha khou tamba.

(Some children are studying, others are playing).

In (43a) above quantifier **-ñwe** has a meaning of the other one of two and in (43b) it has a meaning of contrast.

In (43) above **muñwe ñwana** (other child) and **vhañwe vhana** (some children) are noun phrases. Both these noun phrases are interpreted as indefinite since they are not specific. Their referents are unknown. In other words quantifier **-ñwe** cannot render the noun phrases definite, it renders them indefinite.

6.3.2.11. Numeral quantifier

In Tshivenda numeral quantifier denotes a number or quantity of things. This quantifier renders the noun phrase ambiguous, in other words it can be interpreted either as definite or indefinite depending on the context:

(44) Ndo renga [bugu mbili].

(I bought two books)

In (44) above **bugu mbili** (two books) is a noun phrase. This noun phrase can be interpreted either as definite or indefinite. It can be interpreted as definite if the speaker refers to specific books or indefinite if the speaker refers to any books.

6.3.2.12. Inclusive quantifiers.

In Tshivenda inclusive quantifiers are near to English **all**. They have a meaning of totality or group. Because of this, inclusive quantifiers render the noun phrase definite:

(45) [Vhatukana nga vhavhili] vho da •

(Both boys came)

In (45) above **vhatukana nga vhavhili** (both boys) is a noun phrase. **Nga vhavhili** (both) is an inclusive quantifier. The noun phrase **vhatukana nga vhavhili** (both boys) is interpreted as definite because of inclusive quantifier **nga vhavhili** (both).

6.3.2.13. Nga + Numeral

In Tshivenda **nga + numeral** cannot make the noun phrase definite:

(46) [Musidzana nga muthihi] u na n̄wana.

(Each girl has a child)

In (46) above **musidzana nga muthihi** (each girl) is a noun phrase. **Nga muthihi** (each) is **nga + numeral**. The noun phrase **musidzana nga muthihi** (each girl) is interpreted as indefinite since **nga + numeral** cannot make it definite. This noun phrase is not specific and the referents are unknown.

6.3.2.14. Reflexive emphasiser

In Tshivenda a reflexive emphasiser is formed by an absolute pronoun with a second word consisting of morpheme [-ne]:

(47) [Mudededzi ene mu^{ne}] u a shuma.

(The teacher himself works)

In (47) above **mudededzi ene mu^{ne}** (the teacher himself) is a noun phrase whereas **ene mu^{ne}** (himself) is a reflexive emphasiser. The noun phrase **mudededzi ene mu^{ne}** (the teacher himself) is interpreted as definite because of the reflexive emphasiser **ene mu^{ne}** (himself). In other words the reflexive emphasiser can render the noun phrase definite. The noun phrase **mudededzi ene mu^{ne}** (the teacher himself) refers to a specific teacher and not to any teacher.

6.3.2.15. Relative clause

In Tshivenda a relative clause can render the NP ambiguous. The NP can be interpreted as definite or indefinite depending on the context:

(48) Ndo vhona [musadzi ane a shuma].

(I saw a/the woman who is working)

In (48) above **musadzi ane a shuma** (a / the woman who is working) is a noun phrase. This noun phrase has **ane a shuma** (who is working) as a relative clause. This relative clause makes the whole noun phrase **musadzi ane a shuma** (a / the woman who is working) as either definite or indefinite. This noun phrase can be interpreted as definite if the referent is specific or familiar to the speaker and not to any woman. The noun phrase can be interpreted as indefinite if the speaker refers to any woman.

6.3.3. Proper nouns and definiteness

These are proper names like **Matodzi**. Names like these have no semantic content independent of the entity they name. Proper nouns are regarded as referring expressions and for that reason they are sometimes said to be logically equivalent to definite descriptions. In Tshivenda proper nouns are used as if they were absolutely unique just like inherently unique definites like **duvha** (the sun).

Uniqueness of reference of proper nouns is what assimilates them with definites. Nouns like **duvha** (the sun) and **Matodzi** denote a singleton set. And for that reason they are interpreted as definite.

6.4. CONCLUSION

In Tshivenda familiarity plays a significant role in the interpretation of the NPs. The NP can be interpreted as definite if the referent is familiar to the hearer. It can also be interpreted as definite if the referent can be identified. In order for the referent to be identified the referent must be unique. NPs can also have a definite interpretation if they denote singleton sets like the sun and proper names. The NPs can be interpreted as definite because of certain nominal modifiers that are found with them.

In Tshivenda nominal modifiers like demonstratives, absolute pronouns, quantifiers **othe**, inclusive quantifier, reflexive emphasiser and possessive pronouns force a definite interpretation on the NPs.

There are also nominal modifiers that can make the NPs to have an indefinite or definite interpretation depending on the context. These are nominal modifiers like adjectives, possessives, descriptive possessives, numeral quantifier and relative clause.

In Tshivenda the following nominal modifiers force the noun phrases to be indefinite, i.e. Quantifiers **-sili**, **-fhio**, **-ni**, **-ñwe** and **nga** + numeral.

Depending on the context, the same NP may first appear as indefinite in a discourse, and the second appearance of this NP may then be definite. In most of these cases the context within which the NP appears, may be conclusive with regard to its interpretation of definiteness, but it has frequently been found that the NP needs a third reference to it in discourse, such as AgrO on the verb (see no. (6)- (21) above).

CHAPTER SEVEN

ENCLITICS

7.1 AIM

The aim of this chapter is to explore the enclitics in Tshivenda. The syntactic consequences and distribution of enclitics will be investigated as well as their meaning. The three enclitics i.e **shu**, **de** and **who** will be looked at with this in mind, i.e. where may they appear, who are their hosts, and what do they mean.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON ENCLITICS

Halpern (1998)

Halpern regards clitics as language formatives which are hard to classify as one or the other. These elements are numerous. According to some scholars "clitic" denotes any prosodically weak element which is not an inflectional or derivational affix. This clitic must be incorporated into the accentual structure of an adjacent word or phrase, the clitic's host in order to be pronounced, since clitics may not constitute an utterance on their own. Clitics which form a prosodic unit with a host on their left are enclitics and those forming a unit to their right are proclitics.

Cliticization in the strictly phonological sense does not entail any syntactic consequences. An unstressed word which is otherwise unexceptional is known as a simple clitic, e.g., a simple clitic which is a preposition will head a prepositional phrase and be followed by its complement. In contrast to this prosodic definition of the clitic, syntactically the term is used to refer to the

sort of weak pronoun found in modern Romance languages which appears in a special position in the clause.

Simple clitics

In English reduced auxiliaries and pronouns are often cited as examples of simple clitics because they lack stress, and are pronounced as a single unit with the preceding word, while their distribution is essentially a subset of that which the corresponding unreduced forms occupy. Simple clitics often do not have the full range of distribution of an independently accented word of the same category, but the restrictions seem to reflect a filtering of the structures permitted by the syntax, rather than some special syntactic status. Reduced auxiliaries are ungrammatical before the site of various elisions, though they are phonologically enclitics. Simple clitics are of a nonsyntactic nature.

Enclitics in Latin affect the location of stress on their host. Yet the effect of an enclitic is not the same as the effect of a suffix. The addition of a suffix causes stress to shift so that it is located as follows: stress is on the penultimate syllable if that syllable is heavy, but on the antepenultimate syllable if the penult is light. The addition of a clitic causes stress to appear on the penultimate syllable of the host + clitic sequence regardless of the weight of that syllable. Simple clitics do not generally enter into morphologically conditioned alternations with their hosts.

Verbal clitics

Halpern refers to weak pronouns in French as verbal clitics because they do not behave like other noun phrases. According to Kayne (1975) verbal clitics are like inflectional affixes, this is because they always appear adjacent to a verb and attach morphologically or phonologically to it. Verbal clitics are

syntactically adjoined to the verb or to a functional head which incorporates the verb. In French verbal clitics are found to attach to verbs which are not the source of the theta role to which the clitic is associated, a phenomenon known as clitic climbing, and they have greater mobility with respect to the verb stem than canonical inflections, in the sense that they may be preverbal in one context but post verbal in another.

As for morphological considerations, clitics are generally external to any (other) inflectional affixes. Clitics seldom select for particular stem forms; nor are they sensitive to the morphology of the host, and they are not involved in suppletion. In Spanish there is clitic doubling where clitics and non-clitics serve the same function to cooccur. Doubling is possible only if the double is an indirect object or an animate direct object, both of which are accompanied by the preposition *a*. Inanimate direct objects, which are not accompanied by *a*, may not be doubled. The same applies to genitive clitics in the Hebrew construct state, in which doubles must be preceded by the preposition *šel*. Doubling also turns out to be sensitive to properties of the double.

Second –position clitics

According to Halpern second-position (2p) sometimes was known as a Wackernagel's Law (WL) clitic, after Wackernagel (1892). Second-position clitics must appear second in the relevant domain consequently, they are not attached to a host of any particular category, and do not form a syntactic or semantic constituent with their host. In Serbo-Croatian sentences may be rearranged in any order, so long as the clitics are second; placing them elsewhere is ungrammatical. In Tagalog clitics must follow the first word of certain sorts of constituents.

Some 2P clitics follow the first word of a clause while others follow the first syntactic daughter. Halpern refers to these options as 2W (for "second

word”) and 2D (for “second daughter”) respectively. In some languages, the choice between 2D and 2W is fixed, while in others there is either free or conditioned variation.

It can be assumed that 2W clitics are initial within their domain, perhaps adjoined to an entire phrasal constituent, but that their requirement for a preceding host triggers metathesis of the clitic and the syntactically following phonological word, an effect which might be referred to as prosodic inversion.

The last point regarding 2P clitics is that in perhaps all languages with 2P clitics, certain sentence- initial constituents have to be ignored for the purpose of determining the second position.

Other special clitics

According to Halpern clicks in Old French and Bulgarian are found adjacent to a verb like verbal clitics. The choice of pre-or post verbal positioning is determined as follows: they are preverbal if this would make them ‘sentence-initial; in which case they are post verbal, regardless of the finiteness or mood of the clause. Within the Romance tradition this is known as the Tobler-Mussafia Law. These clitics require some constituent to precede them, much like 2P clitics. This requirement can force the verb to raise exceptionally to a position above a clitic if nothing else precedes it.

Halpern (1995) suggests that in these languages clitics are syntactically preverbal, but may undergo prosodic inversion to avoid being sentence initial.

In European Portuguese clitics are preverbal in embedded clauses, but may appear before the verb in a main clause only if preceded by certain types of

constituents: negation, a universally quantified subject, a wh-phrase, or a focused constituent.

The weak pronouns in various Germanic and Old Romance languages are closely related to the behavior of second position clitics, despite substantial superficial divergence from this pattern. In West Flemish, clitics are third (post-verbal) in V2 main clauses, but second in embedded clauses and V1 main clauses.

Polish pronouns and past tense (preterite) markers have considerable distributional freedom, but show signs of being clitics. According to Halpern (1998), Kaufman (1974) discussed phrase-final locative clitics which undergo climbing. Klavans (1985) and Sadock (1991) discussed possible cases of second- to-last clitics in Nganhcara and Modern Greek.

Prospects for a unified theory of clitics?

So far, Halpern has focused on the behavior of certain individual types of clitics, and on primarily syntactic accounts of their behavior.

According to Halpern (1998), Klavans (1980,1985) was the first one to suggest that the distribution of all clitics could be accounted for by a limited set of parameters. He proposed the following three parameters:

- (1) P1: Initial/Final
- P2: After/Before
- P3: Proclitic/Enclitic

The specification for P1 shows whether a clitic should be positioned with respect to the first or last daughter of the domain; P2 specifies whether it should appear before or after this daughter; and P3 specifies whether it is

enclitic or proclitic. This theory predicted that there should be eight basic types of clitics, corresponding to the eight ways of setting these parameters. For instance, one type would involve an enclitic which appeared before the first constituent of its domain. An example of this are the KwaKwala case marking determiners: syntactically part of the following noun phrase, they are phonologically part of the preceding word.

Sadock's proposal is based on the central idea of Autolexical Theory that there are several levels of grammatical representation which must be put in correspondence with one another according to certain constraints. For clitics and certain other phenomena, it is the morphological and syntactic representations which are relevant. Both the syntactic and the morphological representation encode linear order, but the orders involved may diverge when necessary to satisfy the requirements of each level. The divergence must satisfy the following conditions:

(2) Linearity constraints

- (a) Strong : The associated elements of morphological and syntactic representations must occur in the same linear order:
- (b) Weak : The associated elements of morphological and syntactic representations must occur in as close to the same linear order as the morphological requirements of the lexeme allow.

Constructional integrity constraints

- (a) Strong : If a lexeme combines with a phrase P in the syntax and with a host in the morphology, then the

morphological host must be associated with the head of the syntactic phrase P.

- (b) **Weak** : If a lexeme combines with a phrase P in the syntax and with a host in the morphology, then the morphological host must be associated with some element of the syntactic phrase P.

A given association between morphology and syntax must either satisfy the strong version of one of the constraints or satisfy at least the weak version of both constraints.

According to Halpern (1998), Anderson (1992,1993) argues for a conceptually very different approach to special clitics, according to which they are the result of an entirely different mechanism, i.e. the application of morphological spellout rules applied to a phrase. The range of possible spellouts for a clitic, given in (3) below, is parallel to that of word-level spellouts except for the nature of the input.

- (3) **The distribution of special clitics:**
 - (a) The clitic is located in the scope of some syntactic constituent.
 - (b) The clitic is located by reference {FIRST VS LAST VS HEAD element} of the constituent in which it appears.
 - (c) The clitic {PRECEDES VS FOLLOWS} this reference point.

In favor of this treatment, Anderson points out that there is a strong parallel between the properties of clitics on the one hand and affixes on the other.

7.3 TSHIVENDA ENCLITICS

In Tshivenda there are three types of enclitics. These are **-de**, **-shu** and **-vho**. These enclitics can appear with nouns. Enclitic **-vho** can also appear with all nominal modifiers whereas **-de** and **-shu** can appear with some but not with all nominal modifiers. These enclitics are discussed below:

7.3.1 Enclitic **-de**

The meaning of [-de]:

The enclitic [-de] is an interrogative quantifier. The quantifier is a term which refers to a set of items which express contrasts in quantity in terms of the size of the set of individuals or in terms of the amount of substance that is being referred to. In the case of [-de] this set refers to a group or class of people or things that share certain qualities and are different from those outside the group or class. The term interrogative refers to a term that is used for asking questions. The enclitic [-de] will thus refer to a question about a group that share certain qualities:

- (4) a. [Kha kholomo hedzi dzothe, ni funa kholomo-de?]
(From all these cows, what type or kind of cow do you like?)
- b. [Kha goloji idzi dzothe, ni funa goloji -de?]
(From all these motor cars, what type of motor car do you like?)

In (4) above enclitic **-de** refers to a question about a group that

share certain qualities, in these examples cows and motorcars.

In Tshivenda **-de** cannot appear with every noun, there are certain nouns which cannot host **-de** e.g. proper nouns:

- (5) *No vhona [Matodzi **-de** ?]
(What kind Matodzi did you see?)

In (5) above the noun **Matodzi** cannot appear with **-de** because there is a clash of meaning. **Matodzi** is a definite noun whereas **-de** has indefinite meaning.

Distribution of **-de**

- A. [**-de**] appears on the head noun in a NP.

With nouns in the object position

Here enclitic **-de** is attached to the noun in the object position:

- (6) a. No vhona [muthu]
(You saw a person)
- b. No vhona [muthu **-de**]?
(What kind of person did you see?)

In (6) above there are two sentences, i.e **No vhona [muthu]** (You saw a person) and **No vhona [muthu **-de**]**? (What kind of person did you see?).

In these sentences the noun **muthu** (person) appears in the object position. Enclitic **-de** is attached to the noun in the object position of

sentence (6b). In sentence (6a) there is no enclitic **-de** on the object noun. Sentence (6a) is a positive statement because of the absence of enclitic **-de** whereas (6b) is an interrogative statement because of enclitic **-de**.

The head noun of a NP may occur as object of a copulative verb, i.e. in this case a copula **ndi**:

- (7) a. Ndi muthu o shumaho.
(Is a person who worked)
- b. [Ndi muthu-**de**] o shumaho?
(Is what kind of person who worked?)

In (7) above there are two sentences, i.e. **Ndi muthu o shumaho** (Is a person who worked) and **[Ndi muthu-**de**] o shumaho?** (Is what kind of person who worked?).

The sentence (7a) does not have enclitic **-de** and for this reason it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (7b) has enclitic **-de** attached to the noun **muthu** (person) which is a complement of copula **ndi**. This sentence is in interrogative form because of **-de**.

With nouns in the subject position:

In Tshivenda nouns in subject position in an ordinary sentence cannot accept **-de**:

- (8) *[Munna-**de**] o da.
(What kind man came)

In (8) above the noun **munna** (man) is a noun in subject position and it cannot host enclitic **-de**. In order for the noun **munna** (man) to accept enclitic **-de**, the clause is changed to a relative clause and the noun **munna** (man) will be the complement of the copula **ndi**.

- (9) [Ndi munna-**de**] o **daho**?
(Is what kind of man who came?)

In the example in (9) above the noun **munna** (man) appears with **-de** because it is the complement of copula **ndi**.

With preposition **nga**:

Enclitic **-de** can appear with nouns that are the complements of the preposition **nga**:

- (10) a. Vele o rwiwa [nga [muthu]].
(Vele was hit by a person)
- b. Vele o rwiwa [nga [muthu **-de**]]?
(What kind of person hit Vele?)

Both sentences in (10) above are grammatical and meaningful. In (10a), there is no enclitic **-de** attached to the noun which is a complement of a preposition **nga** which is **muthu** (person). This is a positive statement. Sentence (10b) has enclitic **-de** attached to the noun which is a complement of preposition **nga**, i.e. **muthu** (person). This sentence is in interrogative form because of enclitic **-de**. Another example is given in (11):

- (11) a. O tshea **nama** [nga [lufhanga]].
(He cut meat with a knife)

- b. O tshea nama [nga [lufhanga-de]]?
 (He cut meat with what kind of knife?)

In (11) above there are two sentences. In the first sentence there is no -de whereas in the second sentence there is -de. This enclitic -de is attached to the noun **lufhanga** (knife) which is the complement of the preposition **nga** (with). This noun **lufhanga** (knife) can be interpreted as the instrument. This sentence, i.e. (11b) is in interrogative form because of enclitic -de attached to the noun **lufhanga** (knife).

B. [-de] appears in a NP with a nominal modifier.

With adjective

- (12) a. No lima [tsimu [khulu]].
 (You ploughed a big field)
- b. No lima [tsimu [khulu-de]]?
 (What kind of big field did you plough?)

In (12) above there are two sentences, i.e. **No lima [tsimu [khulu]]** (You ploughed a big field) and **No lima [tsimu [khulu-de]]?** (What kind of big field did you plough?). Both sentences are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (12a) appears without enclitic -de and because of this it is positive statement whereas (12b) appears with -de and because of this it is in interrogative form.

With possessives

The possessive phrase is in reality a prepositional phrase with the possessive **a** as prepositional head. There are then two issues: firstly [-**de**] may appear on the NP which is a complement of the possessive [-**a**]:

- (13) [Kha sambi heli la kholomo no dzhia namana dza kholomo –
de]?

(From this herd of cattle you took the calves of what type of cow?)

Secondly, -**de** may appear on the head noun of the NP with a possessive phrase:

- (14) [Kha sambi heli la kholomo dza khosi, ni funa kholomo–
de ya khosi]?

(From this herd of cows of the chief, what type of cow of the chief do you like?)

In (13) and (14) above -**de** is accepted by the NP **kholomo** (cow) in each case, which is a complement of the possessive [-**a**] because this NP and -**de** have the same meaning, i.e. indefinite.

If a pronoun appears with a possessive **a** and -**de** there is a clash in meaning because the reference of a pronoun is definite whereas -**de** is indefinite:

- (15) *Vho dzhia [bugu [dzanga-d_e]]?
 (What kind my books did they take?)

The sentence in (15) above is meaningless because of attaching **-d_e** to a pronoun **dzanga** (mine). This is because of the **-d_e** and a pronoun **dzanga** (mine) having different references.

With **-o_{the}**

There is a clash in the meanings of quantifiers **-o_{the}** and **-d_e**: these two quantifiers cannot appear together because the reference of **-o_{the}** is to a universal quantifier and with **-d_e** to a specific set.

- (16) a. Vho rwa [vhatukana [vho_{the}]]
 (They hit all the boys)
- b. *Vho rwa [vhatukana [vho_{the}-d_e]]?
 (What kind all the boys did they hit?)

In (16) above two sentences are given. Sentence (16a) is meaningful because there is no **-d_e** attached to the quantifier **-o_{the}** whereas (16b) is meaningless because of **-d_e** which is attached to the quantifier **-o_{the}**.

With **-one**

In Tshivenda quantifier **-one** does not accept enclitic **-d_e** because of a clash in meaning. Quantifier **-one** has definite meaning whereas **-d_e** has indefinite meaning:

- (17) a. O vhona [vhanna [vhone]]
 (He saw as for them the men)

- b. *O vhona [vhanna [vhone-de]]?
 (He saw as for them what kind of the men?)

In (17) above the sentence (17a) is meaningful because there is no -de attached to the quantifier **-one** whereas (17b) is meaningless because of the presence of -de on the quantifier **-one**.

With demonstrative

In Tshivenda demonstrative cannot host enclitic -de because of a clash in meaning. A demonstrative has definite reference whereas -de has indefinite reference:

- (18) a. No vhona [mutukana [uyu]]
 (You saw this boy)
- b. *No vhona [mutukana [uyu-de]]?
 (What kind of this boy did you see?)

In (18) above two sentences are given. Sentence (18a) is meaningful and grammatical because there is no -de attached to the demonstrative **uyu** (this) whereas sentence (18b) is meaningless because of the presence of -de on the demonstrative **uyu** (this).

With numerals

In Tshivenda numerals cannot accept -de because there is a clash in meaning. Numerals are definite whereas -de is indefinite.

- (19) a. O rema [thanda [mbili]]
(He cut two logs)
- b. *O rema [thanda [mbili -de]]
(What kind of two logs did he cut?)

In (19) above two sentences are given. Sentence (19a) is meaningful because there is no -de on the numeral **mbili** (two) whereas (19b) is meaningless because of the appearance of -de on **mbili** (two).

With -sili

In Tshivenda quantifier -sili can appear with enclitic -de because there is no clash in meaning, they both have indefinite meaning:

- (20) a. O rwa [vhathu [vhasili]]
(He hit strange people)
- b. O rwa [vhathu [vhasili-de]]?
(What kind of strange people did he hit?)

In (20) above two sentences are given. These two sentences are both meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (20a) has no -de on quantifier -sili whereas sentence (20b) has -de on quantifier -sili. Enclitic -de in sentence (20b) makes this sentence to be in interrogative form.

With -fhio

In Tshivenda quantifier -fhio cannot accept -de because these two quantifiers have interrogative meaning:

- (21) a. No vhona [mbudzi [dzifhio]]?
(Which goats did you see?)
- b. *No vhona [mbudzi [dzifhio-de]]?
(Which what kind of goats did you see?)

In (21) above two sentences are given. Sentence (21a) is meaningful because there is no -de attached to **-fhio** whereas in sentence (21b) there is -de attached to quantifier **-fhio**. Because of -de on quantifier **-fhio**, sentence (21b) becomes meaningless.

With -ni

Quantifier **-ni** cannot allow the presence of -de in Tshivenda because they both have interrogative meaning:

- (22) a. O wana [n̄wana [muni]]?
(What kind of child did he give birth to?)
- b. *O wana [n̄wana [muni-de]]?
(What kind what kind of child did he give birth to?)

In (22) above two sentences are given. Sentence (22a) has no -de on the quantifier **-ni** and because of this it is meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (22b) has -de on quantifier **-ni** and because of this it is meaningless. Quantifier **-ni** and -de cannot appear together because of both referring to question.

With -ñwe

In Tshivenda quantifier -ñwe can allow the presence of -de as they both have indefinite meaning:

- (23) a. No vhudza [muthu [muñwe]]
(You have told another person)
- b. No vhudza [muthu [muñwe -de]]?
(What kind of another person did you tell?)

In (23) above two sentences are given. Sentence (23a) has no -de on quantifier -ñwe and because of this it is a positive statement. Sentence (23b) has -de on quantifier -ñwe and because of this it is in interrogative form.

With reflexive emphasizer

In Tshivenda reflexive emphasizer cannot allow the presence of -de because there is a clash in meaning between them. Reflexive emphasizer refers to definite meaning whereas -de refers to indefinite meaning:

- (24) a. Vho wana [munna [ene mune]].
(They found the man himself)
- b. *Vho wana [munna [ene mune-de]]?
(What kind of man himself did they find?)

In (24) above two sentences are given. Sentence (24a) has no enclitic

-de and for this reason it is a positive statement and meaningful. Sentence (24b) has **-de** on the reflexive emphasizer **ene mune** (himself), because of this this sentence is ungrammatical and meaningless.

With relative clause

In Tshivenda a relative clause can allow the presence of **-de** because it also has indefinite meaning:

- (25) a. Ndi muthu o shumaho.
(Is a person who worked)
- b. [Ndi muthu **-de**] o shumaho?
(Is what kind of person who worked?)

In (25) above there are two sentences. These two sentences are both meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (20a) has no **-de** and for this reason it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (20b) has **-de** but this enclitic is attached to the noun **muthu** (person) which is complement of copula **ndi**. Because of having **-de** sentence (25b) is in interrogative form.

7.3.2. Enclitic **-shu**

The meaning of **-shu**

Enclitic **-shu** is an interrogative enclitic expressing doubt, i.e. a feeling of uncertainty of belief or opinion:

- (26) a. No vhona muthu.
(You saw a person)

- b. No vhona [muthu-shu]?
(Did you see a real person?)

In (26) above two sentences are given. These two sentences are both correct and meaningful. Sentence (26a) is a straight forward sentence which does not express any doubt. But sentence (26b) expresses doubt because of **-shu** attached to the noun **muthu** (person). This sentence is also in interrogative form because of **-shu**.

Distribution

In Tshivenda enclitic **-shu** can appear on both nouns and verbs:

- A. [**-shu**] appears on the head noun in a NP

With nouns in the object position:

Here enclitic **-shu** is attached to the noun in the object position:

- (27) a. No vhona [munna]
(You saw a man)
- b. No vhona [munna-shu]?
(Did you see a real man?)

In (27) above there are two sentences. These two sentences are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (27a) has no **-shu** on the noun **munna** (man) and because of this it is an ordinary statement whereas (27b) has **-shu** attached to the noun **munna** (man) and because of this it is in interrogative form.

The head noun of a NP may occur as object of a copulative verb, i.e. in this case a copula **ndi**:

- (28) a. Ndi munna o daho.
(Is a man who came)
- b. [Ndi munna –shu] o daho?
(Is a real man who came?)

In (28) above two sentences are given. Sentence (28a) has no enclitic **–shu** and because of this it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (28b) has **–shu** attached to the noun **munna** (man) which is the complement of copula **ndi**. This **–shu** on **munna** (man) makes the whole sentence to be in interrogative form and expresses a meaning of doubt.

With nouns in the subject position

In Tshivenda nouns in subject position in an ordinary sentence cannot accept **–shu**:

- (29) *[Munna-shu] o da.
(A man real came)

In (29) above one sentence is given. This sentence has **–shu** attached to the noun **munna** (man) and makes this sentence to be meaningless. Enclitic **–shu** can be attached to the noun **munna** (man) if this sentence is changed into a relative clause where the noun **munna** (man) will be the complement of copula **ndi**:

- (30) [Ndi munna –shu] o daho?
(Is it the real man who came?)

In (30) above there is a one sentence and this sentence is meaningful in the presence of **-shu** on the noun **munna** (man) because this noun is a complement of the copula **ndi**.

With preposition **nga**:

In Tshivenda **-shu** can be accepted by the noun which is the complement of the preposition **nga**:

- (31) a. Manngo o tswiwa [nga [mutukana]]
(Mangoes were stolen by the boy)
- b. Manngo o tswiwa [nga [mutukana -shu]]?
(Are the mangoes stolen by the real boy?)

The two sentences given in (31) above are correct and meaningful. Sentence (31a) has no **-shu** and because of this this sentence is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (31b) has **-shu** attached to the noun **mutukana** (boy) which is the complement of the preposition **nga**. Because of enclitic **-shu** sentence (31b) is in interrogative form. Another example is given in (32):

- (32) a. O tshea nama [nga [lufhanga]]
(He cut meat with a knife)
- b. O tshea nama [nga [lufhanga-shu]]?
(Did he cut meat with a real knife?)

In (32) above two sentences are given. These two sentences are both meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (32a) has no **-shu** on the noun

lufhanga (knife) and because of this, sentence (32a) is an ordinary positive sentence. Sentence (32b) has **-shu** attached to the noun **lufhanga** (knife). Because of this sentence (32b) is in interrogative form.

With proper nouns

In Tshivenda proper nouns can host enclitic **-shu**:

- (33) a. O vhona [Vele].
(He saw Vele)
- b. O vhona [Vele-shu]?
(Did he see the real Vele?)

In (33) above two sentences are given. Both sentences have the proper noun **Vele**. Sentence (33a) has no **-shu** on the noun **Vele** and because of this it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (33b) has **-shu** on the proper noun **Vele** and because of this sentence (33b) is in interrogative form.

B. [-shu] appears in a NP with a nominal modifier.

With adjective

In Tshivenda enclitic **-shu** can be hosted by an adjective. This is because there is no clash in meaning:

- (34) a. O vhulaha [nowa [ndapfu]]
(He killed a long snake)
- b. O vhulaha [nowa [ndapfu-shu]]?
(Did he kill a real long snake?)

In (34) above two sentences are given. These two sentences are both meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (34a) has no **-shu** on the adjective **ndapfu** (long) and because of this, this sentence is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (34b) has **-shu** on the adjective **ndapfu** (long) and because of this, this sentence is in interrogative form.

With possessive

In the first place [-shu] may appear on the NP which is a complement of the possessive [-a]:

(35) Kha sambi heli la mbudzi no via mbudzana dza [mbudzi -shu]?

(From this flock of goats did you slaughter kids of the real goat?)

In (35) above enclitic **-shu** is attached to the noun **mbudzi** (goat) which is a complement of the possessive [a]. This sentence is meaningful and grammatical. This indicates that the noun which is a complement of possessive [a] can host **-shu**.

Secondly **-shu** may appear on the head noun of the NP with a possessive phrase:

(36) Kha sambi heli la mbudzi la makhulu no via [mbudzi -shu] ya makhulu?

(From this flock of goats of granny, did you slaughter a real goat of granny ?)

In (36) above enclitic **-shu** is acceptable by the head noun of the NP with a possessive phrase. In this example **mbudzi** (goat) is the head noun of the NP with a possessive phrase.

Enclitic **-shu** is also accepted by the pronoun which appears with a possessive [a]:

- (37) O rwa [r̥wana [wanga -shu]]?
(Did he hit my real child?)

In sentence (37) above enclitic **-shu** is accepted by the pronoun **wanga** (mine). This pronoun appears with a possessive [a]. Because of the enclitic **-shu** this sentence is in interrogative form.

With -othe
^

In Tshivenda **-shu** can appear with the quantifier **-othe**:

- (38) a O xedza [mbudzi [dzothe]].
(He lost all the goats?)
- b. O xedza [mbudzi [dzothe -shu]]?
(Did he lose the real all goats?)

In (38) above two sentences are given. Both these sentences are meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (38a) has no **-shu** on the quantifier **-othe** and because of this, this sentence is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (38b) has **-shu** on the quantifier **-othe** and because of this it is in interrogative form.

With **-one**

In Tshivenda quantifier **-one** can host **-shu**:

- (39) a. Vho dzhia [khuhu [dzone]]
(They took as for them the fowls)
- b. Vho dzhia [khuhu [dzone **-shu**]]?
(Did they take as for them the real fowls?)

The two sentences given in (39) above are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (39a) has no **-shu** and because of this it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (39b) has **-shu** and because of this is in interrogative form.

With demonstrative

In Tshivenda a demonstrative can host enclitic **-shu** because there is no clash in meaning:

- (40) a. No rwa [mutukana [uyu]]
(You hit this boy)
- b. No rwa [mutukana [uyu **-shu**]]?
(Did you hit this real boy?)

The two sentences in (40) above are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (40a) has no **-shu** attached and because of this it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (40b) has **-shu** on the demonstrative **uyu** (this) and because of this it is in interrogative form.

With numerals

In Tshivenda a numeral can host enclitic **-shu**:

- (41) a. O renga [goloji [mbili]]
(He bought two cars)
- b. O renga [goloji [mbili-shu]]?
(Did he buy the real two cars ?)

In (41) above two sentences are given. Sentence (41a) has no **-shu** on the numeral **-vhili** (two) and because of this it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (41b) has **-shu** on the numeral **-vhili** (two) and because of this it is in interrogative form.

With **-sili**

In Tshivenda quantifier **-sili** can host **-shu** because there is no clash in meaning :

- (42) a. O vhona [vhathu [vhasili]].
(He saw strange people)
- b. O vhona [vhathu [vhasili -shu]]?
(Did he see the real strange people?)

Two sentences given in (42) above are meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (42a) has no **-shu** and it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (42b) has **-shu** on quantifier **-sili** and because of this it is in interrogative form.

With -fhio

In Tshivenda quantifier **-fhio** cannot host **-shu** since they both refer to question:

- (43) a. O tumula [thanda [dzifhio]]?
(What type of logs did he cut ?)
- b. *O tumula [thanda [dzifhio-shu]]?
(What type real log did he cut ?)

In (43) above two sentences are given. Sentence (43a) has no **-shu** attached to the quantifier **-fhio** but because of having quantifier **-fhio** this sentence is in interrogative form since this quantifier refers to question. Sentence (43b) has **-shu** attached to quantifier **-fhio** since **-shu** also refers to question the sentence becomes meaningless.

With -ni

Quantifier **-ni** cannot host **-shu** since they both refer to question:

- (44) a. Vho wana [n'wana [muni]]?
(What sex of the child did they get ?)
- b. *Vho wana [n'wana [muni-shu]]?
(What sex of the child real they get ?)

In (44) above two sentences are given. Sentence (44a) has no **-shu** attached to quantifier **-ni** and the sentence is meaningful and grammatical. This sentence is in question form because of quantifier **-ni**. Sentence (44b)

is meaningless because of **-shu** attached to quantifier **-ni**. Quantifier **-ni** cannot host **-shu** since they both refer to question.

With **-ñwe**

In Tshivenda quantifier **-ñwe** can host **-shu**:

- (45) a. O rwa [mutukana [muñwe]]
(He hit another boy)
- b. O rwa [mutukana [muñwe-shu]]?
(Did he hit a real another boy ?)

In (45) above two sentences are given. Both these sentences are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (45a) has no **-shu** on the quantifier **-ñwe** and this makes it an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (45b) has **-shu** on quantifier **-ñwe** and this makes this sentence to be in question form.

With reflexive emphasizer

Reflexive emphasizer can host enclitic **-shu** in Tshivenda:

- (46) a. Ho ða munna [ene [mune]].
(There came the man himself)
- b. Ho ða munna [ene [mune -shu]]?
(Was there came the real man himself?)

In (46) above two sentences are given. These two sentences are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (46a) has no **-shu** and because of this it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (46b) has **-shu** attached to

the reflexive emphasizer and because of this, this sentence is in question form.

With relative clause

A relative clause in Tshivenda can host **-shu**:

- (47) a. Vho rwa mbudzi [ine [ya tswa]].
(They hit the goat that steal)
- b. Vho rwa mbudzi [ine [ya tswa-shu]]?
(Did they hit the real goat that steal?)

In (47) above there are two sentences. These sentences are meaningful. Sentence (47a) has no **-shu** on the relative clause and because of this it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (47b) has **-shu** on the relative clause **ine ya tswa** (that steal) and because of this, this sentence is in interrogative form.

C. [-shu] appears on verbs.

In verbs like in nouns **-shu** is still an interrogative enclitic expressing doubt. It functions as a modifier of the verbs.

With intransitive verb

Here **-shu** is hosted by a verb which does not take an object NP:

- (48) a. Mbudzi yo fa.
(The goat is dead)

- b. Mbudzi yo fa-shu?
(Is the goat really dead?)

In (48) above both two sentences are correct and grammatical. In sentence (48a) there is no **-shu** on the verb **-fa** (die) and because of this, this sentence is an ordinary positive statement . Sentence (48b) has **-shu** on the verb **-fa** (die) and because of this, this sentence is in question form.

With transitive verb

Here **-shu** is hosted by a verb which can take an object NP:

- (49) a. O [^]la vhuswa.
(He ate porridge)
- b. O [^]la -shu vhuswa?
(Did he really eat porridge?)

Both two sentences in (49) above are meaningful. Sentence (49a) has no **-shu** on the verb **-[^]la** (eat) and for this reason it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (49b) has **-shu** on the verb **-[^]la** (eat) and because of this it is in question form.

With ditransitive verb

Here **-shu** is hosted by the verb which takes two object NPs:

- (50) a. Mudededzi o fha vhana mbalo.
(The teacher gave children sums)

- b. Mudededzi o fha-shu vhana mbalo?
(Did the teacher really give the children sums)?

In (50) above there are two sentences. These sentences are correct and meaningful. Sentence (50a) has no **-shu** on the verb **-fha** (give) and because of this it is a simple positive statement. Sentence (50b) has **-shu** on the verb **-fha** (give) and because of this it is in interrogative form.

With derived verbs

Here **-shu** appears with verbs that are formed from other verbs, e.g. verbs with **-el-**, **-is-**, **-an-**, **-di-** and **-w-**:

With **-el-**

Here **-shu** is hosted by the derived verb with **-el-**:

- (51) a. Mme vho rungela vhana rokho.
(Mother stitched dresses for the children)
- b. Mme vho [rungela -shu] vhana rokho?
(Did mother really stitch dresses for the children?)

In (51) above there are two sentences. Both these sentences are meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (51a) has no **-shu** on the applicative verb **-rungela** (stitch for) and because of this it is a simple positive statement. Sentence (51b) has **-shu** on the applicative verb **-rungela** (stitch for) and because of this the whole sentence is in question form .

With -is-

Here **-shu** appears on the causative verb:

- (52) a. Mudededzi o shumisa ṅwana.
(The teacher caused the child to work)
- b. Mudededzi o shumisa-shu ṅwana?
(Did the teacher really cause the child to work?)

Both two sentences in (52) above are correct and meaningful. Sentence (52a) has no **-shu** on the causative verb **-shumisa** (cause to work) and because of this, this sentence is a simple positive statement. Sentence (52b) has **-shu** on the causative verb **-shumisa** (cause to work) and because of this, this sentence is in question form.

With -an-

Here **-shu** appears on the reciprocal verb:

- (53) a. Vhana vho remana.
(The children chopped each other)
- b. Vhana vho remana-shu?
(Did the children really chop each other?)

Both sentences in (53) above are correct and meaningful. Sentence (53a) has no **-shu** on the reciprocal verb **-remana** (chop each other) and because of this it is a simple positive statement. Sentence (53b) has **-shu** on the reciprocal verb **-remana** (chop each other) and because of this the whole sentence is in question form.

7.3.3. Enclitic **-vho**

The meaning of **-vho**

In Tshivenda enclitic **-vho** has two meanings. In the first place, it refers to people, places, things, actions or events and every qualities which are not unusual, i.e. which ordinarily appear in everyday life. In the second place, it has a meaning of inclusiveness, i.e. it refers to entities, qualities, actions or events which contain other such elements in addition to those mentioned. When this enclitic appears, it refers to both these meanings:

- (56) a. O rwa **ñwana**.
(He hit the child)
- b. O rwa **ñwana-vho**.
(He hit an ordinary child)
(He hit a child as well)

In (56) above there are two sentences. Both these sentences are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (56a) has no **-vho** attached to the noun **ñwana** (child) and because of this, it is an ordinary positive statement. Sentence (56b) has **-vho** on the noun **ñwana** (child) and this **-vho** introduces two meanings to this noun, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness.

Distribution

In Tshivenda enclitic **-vho** can appear on nouns and verbs:

A. [-vho] appears on the head noun in a NP.

With nouns in the object position

Here enclitic **-vho** is attached to the noun in the object position:

- (57) a. O [^]la [vhuswa]
 (He ate porridge)
- b. O [^]la [vhuswa-vho]
 (He ate an ordinary porridge)
 (He ate porridge as well)

Both sentences in (57) are meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (57a) has no **-vho** on the noun **vhuswa** (porridge) and this makes this sentence to be a simple positive statement. Sentence (57b) has **-vho** on the noun **vhuswa** (porridge). In this noun **-vho** adds two meanings, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness. Enclitic **-vho** is accepted by the noun **vhuswa** (porridge) because there is no clash in meaning.

The head noun of a NP may occur as object of a copulative verb, i.e. in this case a copula **ndi**:

- (58) a. Ndi musidzana o phasaho.
 (Is a girl who passed)
- b. Ndi musidzana-vho o phasaho.
 (Is an ordinary girl who passed)
 (Is a girl as well who passed)

In (58) above two sentences are given. These sentences are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (58a) has no **-vho** on the noun **musidzana** (girl) and because of this this sentence is a simple positive statement. Sentence (58b) has **-vho** attached to the noun **musidzana** (girl) and this enclitic adds two meanings to the noun **musidzana** (girl), i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness.

With nouns in the subject position

Enclitic **-vho** can be hosted by the noun in the subject position in Tshivenda:

- (59) a. [Mutukana] o da.
(The boy came)
- b. [Mutukana-vho] o da.
(An ordinary boy came)
(A boy as well came)

In (59) above two sentences are given. Both these sentences are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (59a) has no **-vho** on the noun **mutukana** (boy) which is a noun in the subject position. This is a simple positive statement. Sentence (59b) has **-vho** on the noun **mutukana** (boy) and this enclitic adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness to the noun **mutukana** (boy).

With preposition nga:

In Tshivenda **-vho** can be hosted by the noun which is a complement of the preposition **nga**:

- (60) a. Vhuswa ho bikwa [nga [musidzana]].
 (The porridge was cooked by the girl)
- b. Vhuswa ho bikwa [nga [musidzana-vho]].
 (The porridge was cooked by ordinary girl)
 (The porridge was cooked by the girl as well)

The two sentences in (60) above are grammatical and meaningful. The noun **musidzana** (girl) is the complement of the preposition **nga**. Sentence (60a) has no **-vho** on the noun **musidzana** (girl) and because of this it is a simple positive statement. Sentence (60b) has **-vho** attached to the noun **musidzana** (girl), this **-vho** adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness to this noun. Another example is given in (61):

- (61) a. Vho bika [nga [lufo]].
 (They cooked with a cooking spoon)
- b. Vho bika [nga [lufo-vho]].
 (They cooked with an ordinary cooking spoon)
 (They cooked with a cooking spoon as well).

In (61) above there are two sentences. Both these two sentences are meaningful and grammatical. These sentences have the noun **lufo** (cooking spoon) as the complement of the preposition **nga** in each case. The noun **lufo** (cooking spoon) is interpreted as an instrument. Sentence (61a) has no **-vho** on the noun **lufo** (cooking spoon) and this makes this sentence to be a simple positive statement. Sentence (61b) has **-vho** on the noun **lufo** (cooking spoon) and this enclitic adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness to this noun.

With proper nouns

In Tshivenda enclitic **-vho** can be hosted by proper nouns:

- (62) a. Ma[^]to[^]dzi o vhona [Vele].
(Ma[^]to[^]dzi saw Vele)
- b. Ma[^]to[^]dzi o vhona [Vele-vho]
(Ma[^]to[^]dzi saw an ordinary Vele)
(Ma[^]to[^]dzi saw Vele as well)

In (62) above two sentences are given. These sentences have a proper noun **Vele**. In sentence (62a) the noun **Vele** has no **-vho** attached. Sentence (62b) has **-vho** on the proper noun **Vele** and this enclitic adds two meanings to the noun **Vele**, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness.

B. [-vho] appears in a NP with a nominal modifier.

With adjective

In Tshivenda an adjective can host enclitic **-vho**:

- (63) a. O lima [ngade [khulu]]
(He ploughed a big garden)
- b. O lima [ngade [khulu-vho]]
(He ploughed an ordinary big garden)
(He ploughed a big garden as well)

In (63) above two sentences are given. Both these sentences have **khulu** (big) as an adjective. Sentence (63a) has no **-vho** on the adjective **khulu** (big). Sentence (63b) has **-vho** on **khulu** (big) and this enclitic adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness to the adjective **khulu** (big).

With possessive

First, [-vho] may appear on the NP which is a complement of the possessive [-a]:

(64) Kha gogo heli la vhathu ni divha n'wana wa [muthu-vho].
 ^ ^ ^ ^

(From this multitude of people you know a child of ordinary person)

(From this multitude of people you know a child of a person as well)

In (64) above enclitic **-vho** is attached to the noun **muthu** (person) which is a complement of the possessive [-a]. Enclitic **-vho** adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness to this noun **muthu** (person).

Secondly **-vho** may appear on the head noun of the NP with a possessive phrase:

(65) Kha gogo heli la vhathu vha shango, ni divha muthu-vho wa shango.
 ^ ^ ^ ^

(From this multitude of people of the world you know an ordinary person of the world)

(From this multitude of people of the world you know a person of the world as well.)

In (65) above enclitic **-vho** is attached to the noun **muthu** (person) which is the head noun of the NP with a possessive phrase. Enclitic **-vho** adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness to the noun **muthu** (person).

This enclitic **-vho** is also accepted by the pronoun which appears with a possessive [a]:

- (66) O vhulaha [zwiivha [zwanga-vho]].
 (He killed my ordinary doves)
 (He killed my doves as well)

In (66) above one sentence is given. This sentence has **zwanga** (mine) as a pronoun. This pronoun **zwanga** (mine) can host **-vho** as shown in (66). This enclitic **-vho** adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness to this pronoun.

With **-othe**
 ^

In Tshivenda quantifier **-othe** can host enclitic **-vho**:

- (67) a. O xedza [mbudzi [dzo[^]othe]].
 (He lost all the goats)
- b. O xedza [mbudzi [dzo[^]othe -vho]]
 (He lost all ordinary goats)
 (He lost all goats as well)

In (67) above the two sentences given are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (67a) has no **-vho** and because of this it is an ordinary positive

statement. Sentence (67b) has **-vho** on the quantifier **-o[^]the** and this enclitic adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness.

With **-one-**

Quantifier **-one** can host **-vho** in Tshivenda because there is no clash in meaning:

- (68) a. Vho [^]thavha [kholomo [dzone]].
(They slaughtered as for them the cows)
- b. Vho [^]thavha [kholomo [dzone-vho]]
(They slaughtered as for them ordinary cows)
(They slaughtered as for them as well cows)

In (68) above the two sentences given are both grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (68a) has no **-vho** and because of this it is a simple positive statement. Sentence (68b) has **-vho** on quantifier **-one** and this enclitic adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness .

With demonstrative

A demonstrative can host **-vho** in Tshivenda:

- (69) a. Vho [^]tanzwa [goloji [iyi]].
(They washed this car)
- b. Vho [^]tanzwa [goloji [iyi-vho]]
(They washed this ordinary car)
(They washed this car as well)

In (69) above two sentences are given. Both these sentences are correct and meaningful. Sentence (69a) has no **-vho** on the adjective **iyi** (this). Sentence (69b) has **-vho** on the adjective **iyi** (this). This enclitic **-vho** adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness to the demonstrative.

With numerals

In Tshivenda a numeral can host **-vho**:

- (70) a. O [^]la [miomva [miraru]]
(He ate three bananas)
- b. O [^]la [miomva [miraru-vho]]
(He ate three ordinary bananas)
(He ate three bananas as well)

In (70) above two sentences are given. These two sentences are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (70a) has no **-vho** and because of this it is a simple positive statement. Sentence (70b) has **-vho** on the numeral **-raru** (three). This enclitic adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness to this numeral.

With quantifier **-sili**

Quantifier **-sili** can host enclitic **-vho**:

- (71) a. O zwifhela [vhathu [vhasili]]
(He lied to strange people)

- b. O zwiifhela [vhathu [vhasili-vho]]
 (He lied to ordinary strange people)
 (He lied to strange people as well)

The two sentences given in (71) above are meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (71a) has no **-vho** on quantifier **-sili** and this makes this sentence a simple positive statement. Sentence (71b) has **-vho** on quantifier **-sili**. This enclitic **-vho** adds the meanings not unusual and inclusiveness to the quantifier **-sili**.

With **-fho**

Quantifier **-fho** can host enclitic **-vho**:

- (72) a. Vho rema [muri [u fho]]?
 (Which tree did they cut?)
- b. Vho rema [muri [u fho-vho]]?
 (Which ordinary tree did they cut?)
 (Which tree did they cut as well?)

In (72) above two sentences are given. These two sentences are grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (72a) has no **-vho** on the quantifier **-fho** and this makes this sentence to be a simple question sentence. Sentence (72b) has **-vho** on the quantifier **-fho**. This enclitic **-vho** adds two meanings to this quantifier, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness.

With **-ni**

Quantifier **-ni** can host enclitic **-vho**:

- (73) a. O wana [n̄wana [muni]]?
(What sex of the child she got?)
- b. O wana [n̄wana [muni-vho]]?
(What sex of ordinary child she got?)
(What sex of child she got as well?)

In (73) above two sentences are given. These two sentences are meaningful. Sentence (73a) has no **-vho** whereas sentence (73b) has **-vho** on the quantifier **-ni**. This enclitic **-vho** adds two meanings to quantifier **-ni**, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness.

With **-n̄we**

Quantifier **-n̄we** can host **-vho** in Tshivenda:

- (74) a. Vho rwa [n̄wana [muñwe]].
(They hit another child)
- b. Vho rwa [n̄wana [muñwe-vho]].
(They hit another ordinary child)
(They hit another child as well)

In (74) above two sentences are given. These two sentences are both grammatical and meaningful. Sentence (74a) has no **-vho** on quantifier **-n̄we**. Sentence (74b) has **-vho** on the quantifier **-n̄we** and this enclitic adds two meanings to quantifier, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness.

With reflexive emphasizer

In Tshivenda reflexive emphasizer can host enclitic **-vho**:

- (75) a. Ho ḁa [munna [ene[muḁe]]]
 (There came the man himself)
- b. Ho ḁa [munna [ene [muḁe-vho]]]
 (There came ordinary man himself)
 (There came the man himself as well)

In (75) above two sentences are given. Both these sentences are meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (75a) has no **-vho** whereas sentence (75b) has **-vho** on the reflexive emphasizer **ene muḁe** (himself). This **-vho** adds two meanings, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness.

With relative clause

In Tshivenda a relative clause can host **-vho**:

- (76) a. Ho swika [mutukana [ane [a shuma]]]
 (There arrived a boy who works)
- b. Ho swika [mutukana [ane [a shuma-vho]]]
 (There arrived a boy who works ordinarily)
 (There arrived a boy who works as well)

In (76) above two sentences are given. Both these sentences are meaningful and grammatical. Sentence (76a) has no **-vho** whereas sentence (76b) has **-vho** on the relative clause **ane a shuma** (who works). Enclitic **-vho** adds two meanings, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness to the relative clause.

C. [-vho] appears on verbs

Like in nouns **-vho** has two meanings, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness:

With Intransitive verbs

Enclitic **-vho** can be hosted by the verbs that do not take an object NP:

- (77) a. Musadzi o edela.
(The woman slept)
- b. Musadzi o edela-vho.
(The woman slept ordinarily)
(The woman slept as well)

In (77) above two sentences are given, i.e. (77a,b). These two sentences are meaningful and grammatical. These two sentences have intransitive verb **-edela** (sleep). Sentence (77a) has no **-vho** on the verb **-edela** (sleep) whereas (77b) has **-vho** on the verb **-edela** (sleep). This **-vho** is accepted by the verb **-edela** (sleep) because there is no clash in meaning.

With transitive verb

In Tshivenda enclitic **-vho** can be hosted by transitive verbs:

- (78) a. O bika vhuswa.
(She cooked porridge)
- b. O bika-vho vhuswa.
(She cooked ordinarily porridge)
(She cooked porridge as well)

The two sentences in (78) above are meaningful and grammatical. Both of these sentences have the verb **-bika** (cook) as transitive verb. Sentence (78a) has no **-vho** on the verb **-bika** (cook) whereas sentence (78b) has **-vho** on the verb **-bika** (cook). **-Vho** is accepted by the verb **-bika** (cook) because there is no clash in meaning.

With ditransitive verbs

Enclitic **-vho** can appear with ditransitive verb:

- (79) a. Munna o hadzima khonani tshelede
(The man lent a friend money)
- b. Munna o hadzima-vho khonani tshelede.
(The man lent ordinarily a friend money)
(The man lent as well a friend money)

In (79) above two sentences are given. These two sentences are meaningful and grammatical. Both sentences have ditransitive verb **-hadzima** (lend). Sentence (79a) has no **-vho** attached to the verb whereas sentence (79b) has **-vho** attached to the verb **-hadzima** (lend). Enclitic **-vho** is accepted by the verb **-hadzima** (lend) because there is no clash in meaning.

With derived verbs

These are verbs that are formed from other words e.g. from other verbs;

With -el-

In Tshivenda –vho can appear with applicative verbs:

- (80) a. Khotsi vho yela hayani.
(Father went towards home)
- b. Khotsi vho yela-vho hayani.
(Father went ordinarily for home)
(Father went as well for home)

In (80) above two sentences are given. These two sentences have the applicative verb **–yela** (go for). Sentence (80a) has no **–vho** on the verb whereas sentence (80b) has **–vho** on the verb **–yela** (go for). This verb **–yela** (go for) and **–vho** appear together because there is no clash in meaning.

With –is-

In Tshivenda –vho can appear with the causative verb:

- (81) a. Mme vho lisa n̄wana.
(Mother caused the child to eat)
- b. Mme vho lisa-vho n̄wana.
(Mother caused the child to eat ordinarily)
(Mother caused the child to eat as well)

In (81) above two sentences are given. These sentences are meaningful and grammatical. Both sentences have the causative verb **–lisa** (cause to eat). Sentence (81a) has no **–vho** on the verb **–lisa** (cause to eat) whereas sentence (81b) has **–vho** on the verb **–lisa** (cause to eat). Causative verb **–**

lisa (cause to eat) accepts **-vho** because there is no clash in meaning between them.

With **-an-**

In Tshivenda enclitic **-vho** can appear on the reciprocal verb:

- (82) a. Vhatukana vho rahana .
(The boys kicked each other)
- b. Vhatukana vho rahana-vho .
(The boys kicked ordinarily each other)
(The boys kicked as well each other)

In (82) above two sentences are given, i.e. (82a,b). Both these sentences have the reciprocal verb **-rahana** (kick each other). Sentence (82a) has no **-vho** on the verb **-rahana** (kick each other) whereas sentence (82b) has **-vho** on the verb **-rahana** (kick each other). The reciprocal verb **-rahana** (kick each other) accepts **-vho** because there is no clash in meaning between them.

With **-di-**

Enclitic **-vho** can appear on the verb with **-di-**:

- (83) a. Munna o **dirwa**.
(The man hit himself)
- b. Munna o **dirwa-vho**.
(The man hit ordinarily himself)
(The man hit as well himself)

In (83) two sentences are given. Both sentences have the verb **-dirwa** (hit oneself). Sentence (83a) has no **-vho** on the verb **-dirwa** (hit oneself) whereas sentence (83b) has **-vho** on the verb **-dirwa** (hit oneself). The verb **-dirwa** (hit oneself) accepts **-vho** because there is no clash in meaning.

With -w-

In Tshivenda enclitic **-vho** can appear on the passive verb:

- (84) a. Tsimu yo liñwa.
(The field was ploughed)
- b. Tsimu yo liñwa-vho.
(The field was ploughed ordinarily)
(The field was ploughed as well)

In (84) above two sentences are given. Both sentences have the passive verb **-liñwa** (ploughed). Sentence (84a) has no **-vho** on the passive verb **-liñwa** (ploughed) whereas sentence (84b) has **-vho** on the verb **-liñwa** (ploughed). The passive verb **-liñwa** (ploughed) accepts **-vho** because there is no clash in meanings between the two. **-Vho** adds two meanings to the verb, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness.

7.4. CONCLUSION

There are three types of enclitic in Tshivenda, i.e. **-de**, **-shu** and **-vho**.

Enclitic **-de** is an indefinite interrogative quantifier. This enclitic cannot appear on proper nouns because these nouns have a definite meaning. It

cannot appear also on the definite nominal modifiers e.g. demonstrative, reflexive emphasizer, etc. Enclitic **-de** cannot appear on the nominal modifier that refers to question e.g. quantifiers **-fho** and **-ni**.

Enclitic **-shu** is an interrogative enclitic expressing doubt. Because this enclitic refers to question, it cannot appear on nominal modifiers that refer to question e.g. quantifiers **-fho** and **-ni**. This enclitic can appear on all verbs and nouns.

Enclitic **-vho** has two meanings, i.e. not unusual and inclusiveness. It can appear on all the nouns, nominal modifiers and verbs.

CHAPTER EIGHT

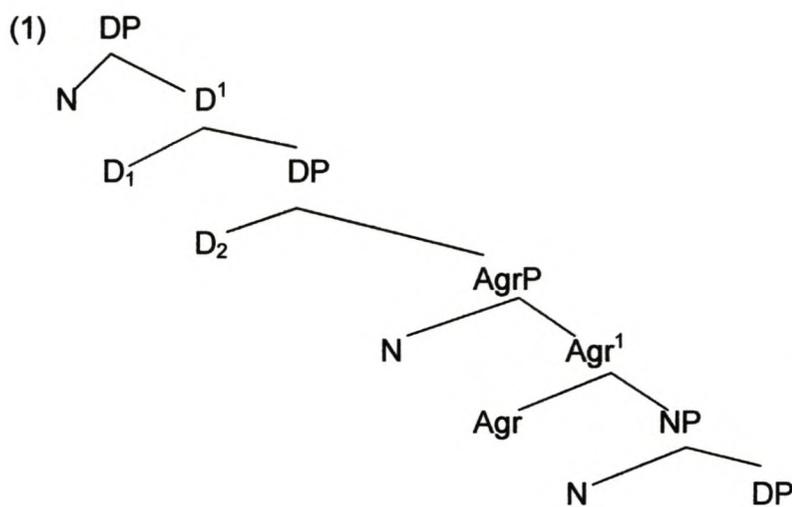
CONCLUSION

The noun in Tshivenda has been considered in this study with regard to its inflectional derivation. The Separation Hypothesis of Beard (1995) has been taken as the starting point of this study. According to this hypothesis, lexical and inflectional derivations are discrete sets of operations. Lexical derivation accounts for the grammatical relations of word formation and is carried out in the lexicon. Lexical derivational categories of the noun include the categories of gender (feminine vs masculine), the locative, diminutive, augmentative, pejorative and honorific. Included are also the functional lexical derivations which, in the case of the noun, is concerned with derived nouns e.g. from verbs. Inflectional derivation on the other hand, accounts for the grammatical relations of inflection and is carried out in syntax. Affixation with regard to both derivations above occur in the morphological spelling component. Thus, the Separation Hypothesis separates derivation from its spelling. Languages in general have access to a few nominal inflectional categories such as case, gender, agreement, noun class and number. Four of these categories have been investigated with regard to Tshivenda, i.e. case, noun class, agreement and number. These nominal inflectional categories appear in syntax. That is why it has been considered appropriate to begin the discussion on nominal inflectional categories with the structure of the determiner phrase (DP) in Tshivenda.

As in the case of verbal inflectional categories, a clear distinction has to be made between the functional and lexical categories within a DP. With this in mind it has been found that Tshivenda will need at least two functional categories, i.e. a determiner (D) and an agreement feature. The key to this type of structure lies in the demonstrative. A demonstrative in Tshivenda has to appear with at least three of the following features: a definiteness

morpheme [A], an emphatic definiteness morpheme [hA], an agreement morpheme as well as various proximity features.

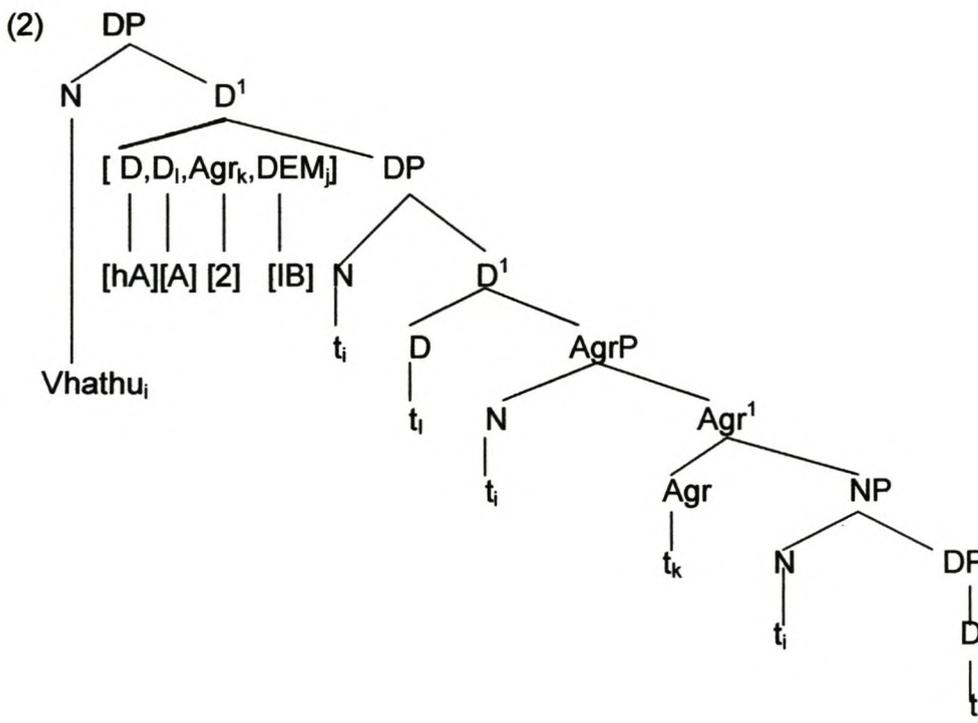
The definiteness features will then be positioned within the DET node as a functional category together with agreement:



In this structure [D₁] will be represented by the emphatic definiteness feature and [D₂] by the definiteness feature of [A]. The Agr feature will have the same form as subjectival agreement.

The lexical categories are represented by the NP above. The DP which appears within the NP will show the proximity position of the demonstrative.

A noun phrase such as [vhathu havha] may then be represented in a structure such as the following where the functional categories are D and Agr, and the lexical categories N and D.



If one considers the other nominal modifiers in Tshivenda which may appear within a NP, it is apparent that they will mostly appear with a functional category represented by Agr. This agreement may either be subjectival agreement as with othe, one and others, or the agreement will have the same form as the noun class prefix as with ni, ne, adjective and others.

In the case of a possessive phrase it has been found that such a phrase has to appear with two agreement features, i.e. agreement on the possessive a, as well as agreement on the possessive pronoun, if it is present.

In the DP with the relative clause a complementizer [C] is a functional category. The complementizer [C] may have a specific contents e.g. [Agr] and [\pm past] or it may be empty of contents.

The first nominal inflectional category which has been considered is case. Case is the only nominal category controlled by syntax and it expresses relations between nouns, and nouns and verbs in a phrase. It is marked by free adpositions in Tshivenda.

In Tshivenda there are seven types of case, i.e. nominative, accusative, genitive, locative, instrumental, dative and vocative. The NPs that receive these cases must be governed as ungoverned NPs do not receive case. NP trace and PRO do not receive case in Tshivenda.

Nominative case is assigned to the NPs by mood and / or tense and/or AgrS. Four such possibilities have been found:

(i) **Mood, Tense and AgrS:**

- (3) [Musadzi] o-bika vhuswa
(The woman cooked porridge)

(ii) **Mood and AgrS**

- (4) Ndi toda uri [musadzi] a-bike vhuswa
(I want that woman cooks porridge)

(iii) **Mood and Tense: with the copula ndi:**

- (5) [Musadzi] ndi mudededzi
(The woman is a teacher)

(iv) **Mood only**

(6) Imperative: [^]tuwa!
(go)

The grammatical function of the nominative case is **subject**.

Accusative case is normally found in the object position. In Tshivenda there are two ways of assigning this case:

(i) Formal assignment of accusative case by a verb with objectival agreement (AgrO) or by a copulative verb such as **ndi**:

(7) Mutukana o-vhu_i-[^]ja [vhuswa_i]
(The boy ate it the porridge)

(8) Uyu muthu ndi [munna]
(This person is a man)

(ii) Informal assignment of accusative case through position in a clause:

(9) U – tshimbila [vhusiku]
(He walks at night)

The grammatical functions of accusative case are object, measure, duration, temporal, iteration and cognate object.

The instrumental case in Tshivenda can be assigned by three prepositions, i.e. **nga**, **sa**, and **na**. This case is assigned to the noun which appears as complement of these prepositions:

(10) U tshea [^]nama [nga [lufhanga]]
 (He cuts meat with a knife)

(11) U [^]la [sa [nguluvhe]]
 (He eats like a pig)

(12) Munna u [na [kholomo]]
 (The man has cattle)

The grammatical functions of the complement of the preposition **nga** are instrument, theme, manner, temporal, location and subject of passive verbs.

The grammatical function of the complement of the preposition **sa** is comparative.

The grammatical functions of the complement of the preposition **na** are association, accompaniment, possession and existence.

Dative case is assigned by the verb and such a case has the grammatical function of indirect object as in the case of **vhana** below:

(13) Musadzi o [^]nea [**vhana**] [vhuswa]
 (The woman gave children food)

In Tshivenda an NP is assigned genitive case if governed by a genitive **a**:

(14) [•]Nwana [wa [musadzi]]
 (The child of the woman)

Grammatical functions of the genitive case are possession, material and partitive. Locative case has to do with the noun phrase which refers to location. An NP is assigned locative case if governed by the locative preposition **kha** and **ha** or the locative morphology **-ni**:

- (15) a. U dzula [kha [tombo]]
(He sits on the stone)
- b. Vha dzula [ha [Vele]]
(They stay at Vele's place)
- c. O ya [tshikoloni]
(He went to school)

Grammatical functions of locative case are location, source and goal / direction.

The vocative is an address form which is used when speaking or writing to someone. The following types of address form may be distinguished, i.e. title, name, absolute pronoun with a noun and kinship terms.

The second nominal inflectional category which has been investigated is noun class. The term grammatical gender is the same category as noun class in Tshivenda. This category of noun class represents arbitrary lexical subclasses of nouns which provide the basis for agreement. The term noun class will then be applicable to all nouns in Tshivenda. Together with this category a neutral Arabic numerical system e.g. 1,2,3 appear which distinguish the functions or classes of this lexical category e.g. noun class 1/2 , 3/4 , etc.

Thus, in Tshivenda all nouns are specified for a certain noun class and these noun classes are recognized through prefixes which are also known as noun class prefixes. The noun class prefixes are both derivational and inflectional. They are derivational because they can be used to derive a new word from an existing word and they are inflectional because one can know the class of the noun because of them.

The following class prefixes are found in Tshivenda:

Class 1/2:	[mu-/vha-]
Class 1a.2a:	[Φ/vho-]
Class 3/4:	[mu-/mi-]
Class 5/6:	[li-/ma-]
Class 7/8:	[tshi-/zwi-]
Class 9/10:	[n-/dzin-]
Class 11:	[lu-]
Class 14:	[vhu-]
Class 15:	[u-]
Class 16-18:	These classes refer to the old locative class nouns but they are no longer active in Tshivenda.
Class 20:	[ku-]
Class 21:	[di-]

In general the noun class prefix does not indicate a consistent pattern of features which may contribute to the semantic interpretation of a specific noun. The noun in a specific noun class may indicate a wide variety of features. But it is possible to isolate certain specific semantic features in specified noun classes. The following semantic features are regularly associated with certain noun class prefixes:

Person names: Class 1/2; Honorifics: Class 2a; Groups of people: Class 2a; Proper names: Class 1a/2a; Kinship terms: Class 1a/2a; Actor: Class 1/2; Excessive actor: Class 7/8, 9/10; Act: Class 3/4, 9/10, 15; Excessive act: Class 5/6, 11; Pejorative: Class 5/6, 7/8, 21; Augmentative: Class 5/6, 21; Manner of activity: Class 20 and class 6; Manner of behaviour: Class 7/8; Language: Class 7; Culture: Class 7; Diminutive: Class 7/8, class 11, Class 20; Length and narrowness: Class 11; State: Class 14; Collections: Class 6; Artifact: Class 7/8; Fruit: Class 5/6, 9/10; Result: Class 7/8, 9/10; Event: Class 9/10; Place: Class 16-18, Class 14, Class 6, Class 7/8.

The third nominal inflectional category which has been considered is agreement. Agreement features are purely morphological, though they operate in Syntax. For this reason agreement is taken to be an inflectional category. In Tshivenda agreement is not an inherent category but a derived category, determined by a combination of factors including Noun Class and number.

Agreement in Tshivenda is taken to be independent because syntactic contexts exist in which no noun class is possible, but Agreement is required. But agreement is also dependent on a specific noun class which provides the basis for agreement.

The following types of agreement have been investigated:

(a) Subjectival agreement [AgrS]:

(16) Vhanna [vha] – a-lima
(Men plough)

(b) Noun Class agreement:

(17) [Zwitukana zwi[^]tuku] zwo-xela
(Small boys are lost)

(c) Objectival agreement [AgrO]:

(18) Ndo-mu_i – vhona [musadzi]
(I saw her the woman)

(d) Existential agreement:

(19) [pro_i] [hu_i – a-shu^onwa]
(There is being worked)

(e) Sentential pronoun:

(20) [O-rwa-^onwana] mme vho – [zwi] –pfa [hezwo]
(He hit the child. Mother heard it that)

In Tshivenda Agreement can be found with conjoined NPs as AgrS or AgrO. Conjoined NPs can take a certain kind of agreement because of their classes or features.

If the conjoined NPs are from the same class and have the same features they trigger the plural agreement morpheme of these NPs.

If the NPs conjoined are from the same class but with different features the morpheme **zwi** of class 8 is used.

If the conjoined NPs are plurals and they belong to the same noun class they use the same agreement when they are used separately as their agreement morpheme.

If two nouns that refer to humans are conjoined they use the morpheme **vha** as their agreement regardless of them belonging to different classes.

If the nouns that belong to any two noun classes and one of them does not refer to human, the morpheme **zwi** is used as their agreement morpheme.

In cases where the two conjoined nouns belong to the same class which has no plural class the agreement morpheme of that class is used.

The fourth nominal inflectional category is number. In Tshivenda number is not an inflectional category but a semantic category. This category has two features, i.e. Singular and Plural. Number appears in Agr of the first and second person and also in nouns.

The issue of definiteness has been investigated with regard to the interpretation of a noun such as those which have been discussed above. In Tshivenda familiarity plays a significant role in the interpretation of the NP. The NP can be interpreted as definite if the referent is familiar to hearer. It can also be interpreted as definite if the referent can be identified. In order for the referent to be identified the referent must be unique. NPs may also have a definite interpretation if they denote singleton sets such as **sun** or **moon**. Nominal modifiers may also influence the definiteness of a NP. Nominal Modifiers such as the demonstrative, absolute pronoun and others force a definiteness interpretation on the NPs. But Nominal Modifiers such

as the adjective or a relative clause and others allow the NP to be interpreted as either definite or indefinite depending on the context. Some nominal modifiers are inherently indefinite and they will force the NP to be indefinite, such as **sili**, **fhio** and others.

Depending on the context, it has been established that the same NP may first appear as indefinite in a discourse, and the second appearance of this NP may then be definite. In most of these cases the context within which the NP appears, may be conclusive with regard to its interpretation of definiteness, but it has frequently been found that the NP needs a third reference to it in discourse, such as AgrO on the verb.

Lastly, the appearance of enclitics on nouns has been explored. The enclitic **de** is an indefinite interrogative quantifier. This enclitic cannot appear on proper nouns because these nouns have a definite meaning. It also cannot appear on the definite nominal modifiers such as the demonstrative or indefinite nominal modifiers such as **fhio**. Otherwise, it may appear on any noun. The enclitic **-shu** is an interrogative enclitic expressing doubt. It can appear on any verb or noun but it cannot appear on interrogative nominal modifiers because it is itself an interrogative.

The enclitic **-vho** may appear on any noun, verb or nominal modifier. It refers to entities or qualities which are not unusual, i.e. which ordinarily appear in everyday life. It has also a meaning of inclusiveness, i.e. it refers to entities or qualities which contain other such elements in addition to those mentioned.

It is evident that the distribution of these three enclitics is dependent on their meaning. The enclitic **-de** refers to quantifiers and may thus not appear on any verb. Enclitics which are interrogative in nature such as **de** and **-shu** may not appear with interrogative Nominal Modifiers.

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