IMPLICIT ARGUMENT CONSTRUCTIONS
IN VENDA

BY

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this study project is my original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any University for a Degree.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the implicit argument in Venda. It concentrates on the omissibility of overt arguments in a range of constructions in Venda.

Section one, the introduction of this study project, examines the general framework assumed in the theory of Government and Binding (GB theory) as outlined in Chomsky (1982). It is indicated that the GB theory comprises of major sub-theories, such as Government Theory, Case Theory, Theta theory, Binding theory, Control theory and the X-bar theory. A brief explanation of the Theta theory and the Control theory is made, for they are employed in the discussion of implicit argument constructions in Venda.

Section two deals with the previous views on implicit arguments. The studies on this issue by Williams (1987) Safir (1987) Jaeggli (1987) Roeper (1987) and Clark (1990) are discussed in detail. Exploration of the control of PRO of the infinitival clause by the implicit argument, is made, i.e. control of the PRO by an unrealized argument in an NP complement.

Section three deals with implicit arguments in passive and neuter-passive verb constructions, i.e. it explores the occurrence of the implicit argument in passive and neuter-passive constructions in Venda is made. It becomes apparent here that the implicit argument whose presence may always be assumed in passive constructions lacking an overt agent, does occur in passive and neuter-passive constructions in Venda. Generally, it becomes evident in this section that for most of the passive verbs in the matrix clauses to allow purposive infinitival complement clauses, the suffix -el- should be affixed to them.

Section four deals with nominal infinitive constructions, i.e. it explores the occurrence of the implicit argument in nominal infinitive constructions in Venda. It has been indicated in this section that an implicit argument can occur in nominal infinitive constructions with a purposive infinitival complement in Venda, and that the applicative -el- has a role to play in the construction of sentences, in that it licences purposive infinitives when it is affixed to nominal infinitive verbs.

Section five deals with deverbal event nominals and the occurrence of deverbal event nominals with a purposive infinitival complement clause. Control of the PRO subject of the infinitival complement clause is explored. It becomes apparent in this section that deverbal event nominals with a monotransitive or ditransitive verb base can allow purposive infinitival complement clauses as well as non-complement clauses and that these infinitives must be nominal infinitives preceded by the genitive -**a**-.

Section six deals with the expletive verb constructions in Venda. It has been demonstrated in this section that the implicit argument is projected onto the syntactic position of the preposition **kha** and that Venda expletive verbal construction can allow an infinitive clause.

Section seven is the conclusion where a presentation of the main findings of this study project is made.

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OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die implisiete argument in Venda. Dit fokus op die weglaatbaarheid van 'n overte argument in 'n verskeidenheid sinskonstruksies in Venda.

Afdeling een, die inleiding tot die studieprojek, gee 'n algemene oorsig van die teorie van Regering en Binding (GB teorie) soos uiteengesit in Chomsky (1982). Daar word genoem dat GB teorie verskeie sub-sisteme van beginsels insluit, onder andere, die Regeringsteorie, Kasusteorie, Theta-teorie, Bindingsteorie, Kontrole-teorie en X-balk teorie. 'n Kort bespreking word gegee van Theta-teorie en Kontroleteorie aangesien hierdie subsisteme van beginsels van besondere belang is in die bespreking van implisiete argument-konstruksies in Venda.

Afdeling twee gee 'n oorsig van vorige beskouinge oor implisiete argumente. Die studies oor hierdie aspek soos behandel deur Williams (1987) Safir (1987) Jaeggli (1987) Roeper (1987) en Clark (1990) word bespreek. 'n Ondersoek word gedoen na die kontrole van PRO van die infinitiefklous deur 'n implisiete argument, d.w.s. die kontrole van PRO deur 'n ongerealiseerde (of nie-overte) argument in 'n NP komplement.

Afdeling drie ondersoek implisiete argumente in passief- en neutro-passief werkwoord konstruksies. Dit blyk dat die implisiete argument wat altyd teenwoordig is in passiefkonstruksies, sonder 'n overte agent, verskyn in passief- sowel as neutro-passiefkonstruksies in Venda. Dit blyk voorts dat die meeste van die matriksklouswerkwoorde die applikatiewe suffiks -el- moet neem ten einde 'n doel-infinitief-klous te neem.

Afdeling vier ondersoek nominale infinitiefkonstruksies en die verskyning van implisiete argumente. Daar word aangetoon dat 'n implisiete argument kan verskyn in nominale infinitief-konstruksies met 'n doel infinitiefkasus en dat die applikatiefsuffiks 'n rol speel in die toelaatbaarheid van die doel infinitiefklous met nominale infinitiewe.

Afdeling vyf ondersoek deverbatiewe gebeurtenis ('event') nominale en die verskyning van doel infinitiefklouse as komplement van hierdie deverbatiewe. Kontrole van PRO in die infinitiefklous word bespreek. Daar word in hierdie afdeling aangetoon dat deverbatiewe gebeurtenis nominale met 'n enkel- of dubbel-oorganklike werkwoordbasis, doel infinitiefklouse kan toelaat as komplemente,

asook infinitiewe nie-komplementklouse voorafgegaan deur die genitiewe (possessiewe) -**a**-.

Afdeling ses ondersoek ekspeletiewe werkwoordkonstruksies in Venda. Daar word in hierdie afdeling aangetoon dat die implisiete afgument geprojekteer word na 'n sintaktiese posisie wat 'n komplement is van die preposisie **kha** en dat ekspletiewe werkwoordkonstruksies in Venda 'n infinitief- klous komplement kan neem.

Afdeling sewe bied die konklusie en belangrikste bevindinge van die studie.

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<div align="center">SECTION ONE</div>

1.   INTRODUCTION

1.1   PURPOSE OF STUDY

The aim of this study is to explore implicit argument constructions in Tshivenda, assuming the general trend of the Principles-and-Parameters framework. This study will thus examine the occurrence of implicit arguments in passive, neuter passive deverbal nominal and infinitival constructions in Tshivenda. The implicit argument is viewed as a kind of unpronounced argument implied when the lexical structure is mapped onto syntax. This kind of implicit argument is capable of supporting an adjectival adjunct. An implicit argument is always assumed in passive constructions as in example sentence (1):

(1)   Ho ḓiwa u renga ṇama
       'There is being come to buy meat'

In passive constructions such as (1) it can be stated that the **PRO** subject of the infinitive appears without a controller, but, it is believed that the possible controller is the implicit argument which may always be assumed in passive constructions.

A question that will be explored in this study relates to whether passive intransitive, monotransitive, ditransitive, weather, experiencer as well as motion verbs in the matrix clause can take or allow the infinitival adjuncts. In this study, control of the PRO subject of the infinitival clause will be explored, i.e. whether the PRO of the Rationale clause can be controlled by the Implicit argument. The issue at stake here is **control** of PRO subject of the infinitival clause which, in most cases, appears as the complement of the verb in the matrix clause.

1.2   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The general framework assumed in this study is the theory of Government and Binding (GB-theory) as espounded in Chomsky (1982) and in numerous other linguists' works. In GB theory, grammar is seen as a continuous interaction between components and sub-themes embodying different principles and parameters.

Haegeman (1991) states that Government and Binding Theory with its recent developments thereof in the minimalist programme, is the current version of the theory of Generative Grammar initiated by Noam Chomsky in the nineteen fifties. Haegeman indicates that the main characteristics of GB Theory is its modular approach to syntactic theory. Syntactic representation of complex linguistic phenomena are interpreted as the result of the interaction of the various modules of grammar, each of which in itself is relatively simple. GB Theory comprises of the following major sub-theories:

(a)   Government theory

(b)   Case theory

(c)   Theta theory

(d)   Binding theory

(e)   Control theory

(f)   X-bar theory

The Theta theory and the Control theory are the theories especially relevant to this study, and as such, they will be briefly discussed as components of Government and Binding Theory.

These subsystems of principles will be employed in the discussion of implicit arguments and control of the infinitival PRO in sentence structures with implicit arguments.

1.2.1 Theta Theory

According to Haegeman (1991) it is assumed in theGB framework, that syntactic structure is to a large extent determined by the lexicon. The lexicon is the place where different kinds of information are stored for each lexical item. For every lexical item the following information is present:

(a)   A phonological matrix

(b)   A categorial feature (N[oun], V[erb], A[djective], P[reposition] …)

(c)   A subcategorization frame and a thematic grid.

The thematic grid specifies the number and kind of participants presupposed by predicative items (V, N, A and P). For the verb **sea** (laugh) for instance, it states that one participant is involved, i.e. that one thematic role, theta (Θ)-role, is assigned. The theta role assigned in this case is the agent role. For **fha** (give) the thematic grid contains the information that it

presupposes a **giver** (agent) a **receiver** (goal) and an **object** (theme) undergoing the transition expressed by the verb.

Droske and Joseph (1991) state that theta theory is concerned with the way in which the NP positions in a clause is filled in. Theta theory deals with the assignment of semantic roles to elements in a sentence. For the purpose of this study the different types of thematic roles as propounded by Haegeman (1991) and Du Plessis and Visser (1993) are described below:

Agent

The agent is the initiator of the action and must be capable of volition (Msutu:1994):

(2)　　　Mme u fha vhana maḽegere
　　　　　'Mother gives children sweets'
　　　　　Mme (mother):　Θ-role:　agent

Goal

Usually, the argument is in the locative in Venda. It is the entity towards which the activity expressed by the predicate is situated:

(3)　　　Munna o rumela tshelede hayani
　　　　　'The man has sent money home'
　　　　　hayani (home):　Θ-role:　goal

Source

This is the entity from which the motion takes place, i.e. the entity from which something is moved:

(4)　　　Munna u wana tshelede kha ramavhengele
　　　　　'The man gets money from the businessman'
　　　　　ramavhengele (businessman):　Θ-role:　source

Location

Location denotes the place where something is, i.e. the place in which the action or state expressed by the predicate is located:

(5)　　　Munna u khou vhala kiḽasini
　　　　　'The man is reading in the class'
　　　　　kiḽasini (class):　Θ-role:　location

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Experiencer

This is the entity that experiences the state expressed by the predicate, i.e. the experiencer experiences some psychological state:

(6)   Munna o neta
        'The man is tired'
        munna (man): Θ-role: experiencer

Recipient

Recipient is a person or thing that receives an object associated with the action expressed by the predicate:

(7)   Mutukana o ṋewa tshelede nga munna
        'The boy was given money by the man'
        mutukana (boy): Θ-role: recipient

Instrument

This is the entity by means of which the action experienced by the predicate is performed:

(8)   Munna u rwa ṅwana nga thamu
        'The man beats the child with a stick'
        thamu (stick): Θ-role: instrument

Benefactive

It is characterized by **-ela**. This is the entity that benefits from the action expressed by the predicate:

(9)   Mme u rengela ṅwana rokho
        'Mother buys the child a dress'
        ṅwana (child): Θ-role: benefactive

Theme

The theme is a person or thing that is moved by the action expressed by the predicate:

(10)   Ṅwana u fha bugu munna
        'The child gives the book to the man'
        bugu (book): Θ-role: theme

Patient

This is the entity which undergoes an action:

(11)   Mmbwa yo luma ṅwana
         'The dog bit the child'
         ṅwana (child): Θ-role: patient

Malefactive

This is the thing or person disadvataged by the action expressed by the predicate:

(12)   Munna o dzhielwa goloi
         'The man's car has been taken'
         munna (man): Θ-role: malefactive

It is also important to define the following concepts that are related to the theta theory:

Argument

An argument is an expression that bears a thematic role.

Theta-position

A position that is assigned a theta role by the predicate, is called a theta-position.

Theta-marking

Theta marking takes place when a head of a phrase assigns a thematic role to a particular position which it sub-categorizes.

Argument structure

The argument structure, as seen by Du Plessis and Visser (1993) is a list of its theta roles, like, agent, theme, experiencer, goal, etc. What must be noted here is that one of these arguments is usually identified as the external argument and the other are internal arguments.

Implicit argument

The implicit argument is a type of argument that is missing, but is always assumed in passive constructions.

1.3   CONTROL THEORY

Control theory is concerned with the assignment of an antecedent to PRO which occurs as the subject of the infinitival clause. Epstein (1991) states that the module of grammar that governs the indexation of PRO and thereby accounts for the interpretive properties of this element, is control theory. Consider examples (13) to (15) below:

(13)   Bill knows how e to solve this puzzle

(14)   Bill persuades Peter e to open the door

(15)   It is diffixult to open the door.

As the examples in (13) and (14) reveal, the interpretation of PRO is often dependent on a controlling antecedent. The question of which constituent functions as controller and the determination of the domain which PRO has to find a conatroller, is the subject matter of **control theory**. Example (13) for instance, is a case of subject control becuse the controller that identifies PRO is in matrix subject position. Example (14) on the other hand, illustrates an instance of object control, since the martrix object is the controller of PRO. In example (15) there is no explicit controller. This is a case of arbitrary control.

In examples (16) to (18) it is illustrated by means of indices, how the dependency relations are established:

(16)   Bill[i] knows how PRO[i] to solve the puzzle

(17)   Bill persuades Peter[j] PRO[j] to open the door.

(18)   It is difficult PRO to open the door.

In summary, Control theory operates in the logical form (LF). In some instances, the empty subject of the infinitival clause is controlled by the subject of the main clause whereas, in other instances the empty subject is controlled by the object of the main clause.

1.4   ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

A number of linguists have explored the issue of implicit arguments. Proposals by various linguists will be considered. In Section Two Williams' proposals will be considered, as regards Implicit Arguments as unassigned theta roles, control of an implicit argument as well as control of unrealized argument in deverbal nominals. This section will also consider

Safir's proposals as regards the question of **two types of implicit arguments**. Safir argues that two kinds of unpronounced arguments exist that do not correspond to any of the currently proposed empty category types. He argues that one kind of implicit external argument occurs when lexical structure is mapped onto syntax. The other kind of implicit argument, according to Safir, is an argument that is not represented in lexical strutures at all. In Section Two, Jaeggli's proposals on the concept of implicit argument, will also be considered. This section will also explore Roberts' proposals as regards theta properties of passives, **by**-phrases and implicit arguments, and PPs with implicit arguments. Roberts' proposals as regards syntactic implicit arguments as well as Clark's proposals as regards the role of the implicit argument and the construction of sentences, will also be considered.

In Section Three this study explores the properties of the implicit arguments in passive and neuter-verb constructions in venda. This section will focus on the matrix clause passive verb with applied affix -el- and infinitival active verb clause. The aim is to determine whether a passivised matrix clause verb can allow the infinitival complement clause with an active verb. Section Three will also focus on the following constructions in Venda:

(i)   Passivation of the matrix clause verbs with the suffix -elel-

Verb constructions that will be explored include **motion** verbs, **experiencer** verbs and **weather** verbs.

(ii)   Intransitive passive and neuter passive constructions

This type of sentence constructions will be discussed under the sub-types of intransitive passive experiencer verbs, intransitive passive weather verbs, intransitive passive motion verbs and intransitive passive stative verbs.

(iii)   Neuter-passive constructions

The aim of this sub-section will be to determine whether neuter-passive constructions can allow purposive clauses to appear in the post-verbal position and whether the PRO subject of the infinitive clause can be controlled by the argument in the overt phrase. In addition, the question of whether monotransitive and ditransitive verbs in the matrix clause can be passivised and still allow the purposive infinitival complement clause, will be explored.

In Section Four the occurrence of implicit arguments in nominal infinitive constructions in Venda, will be investigated. In particular, it will be demonstrated that an implicit argument in these constructions is projected onto the syntactic position of a genitive PP. This issue will be discussed under the sub-sections of nominal infinitives with intransitive verbs, nominal infinitives with weather verbs, nominal infinitives with motion verbs, nominal

infinitives with experiencer verbs, nominal infinitives with monotransitive verbs and nominal infinitives with ditransitive verbs.

In Section Five the occurrence of deverbal event nominals with purposive infinitival complement clauses in Venda, will be explored. The occurrence of deverbal event nominals with intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs and ditransitive verbs, will be investigated. Control of the PRO subject of the infinitival clause will also be investigated. The main findings in this section will be reviewed.

Section Six will establish to what extent impersonal (expletive) verbs of the main clause in Venda can allow a purposive infinitival clause. This section will determine whether, in constructions where the external subject argument is omitted, the PRO subject of the infinitive can be controlled by the implicit argument.

Section Seven presents the main findings of the study.

SECTION TWO

2.   PREVIOUS VIEWS ON IMPLICIT ARGUMENTS

2.1   INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this section is to review some previous studies done on the concept of implicit argument structures. It has been noted in section one that a transitive predicate is normally characterized by having two arguments, i.e. an internal argument and an external argument. Both the external and internal arguments of a transitive predicate are in most cases clearly expressed. There are, however, instances where one of these arguments is not overtly realized. In such cases an argument is known as an implicit argument, i.e. that form or type of argument which is missing or is not overtly expressed. What is interesting about this type of argument is that, in a sentence structure its presence can be determined. For the purpose of this section, attention will be focussed on implicit arguments in studies by Williams (1987), Safir (1987), Roberts (1987), Roeper (1987) and Clark (1990).

The views of these linguists will be reviewed in this section, and will also be considered in section four, where some of the proposals will be explored with regard to the projection of the implicit argument structures in Venda. Section 2.2 will focus on Williams's proposals, section 2.3 on proposals by Safir, section 2.4 on proposals by Roberts, section 2.5 will focus on proposals by Roeper and lastly, section 2.6 will focus on Clark's proposals. Section 2.7 will present the concluding remarks on section 2.

2.2   Williams (1987)

Williams's proposals are based on his investigation of the possibility that the binding theory which includes control, does not apply to the noun phrases but to the theta roles that are assigned to these noun phrases. According to Williams, part of the evidence for this comes from an examination of the behaviour of implicit arguments, which are taken to be simply unassigned theta roles. Williams states that in grammar note should be taken of a model in which there are two components; one concerned exclusively with relations between theta roles, i.e. theta role assignment, theta criterion and the binding theory, and the other which is concerned with positions, i.e. quantification and **wh**-movement.

2.2.1 Implicit arguments as unassigned theta roles

According to Williams, if the binding theory regulates relations amongst theta roles and not amongst noun phrase (NP) positions or directly among NP positions, and if theta role assignment is optional, then, one can expect to find instances in which the binding theory applies to an unassigned theta role, and assigns to it coreference or disjointness with some other theta roles.

To clarify his argument, Williams gives an example of the English noun **attempt**, which has two arguments, viz, the attempter argument and the attempted argument. Williams is of the opinion that the English noun **respect** has two arguments, viz. the respector argument and the respectee argument. Williams (1987:151) considers the following set of data to explain the notion of unassigned theta roles:

(1)   a.   **Control**:   The attempt to leave
                             (attempter = leaver)

       b.   **Binding**:   Respect for oneself is important
                             (respecter = respectee)
                             (Williams, 1985)

According to Williams 1(a) should have read **The attempt to leave by someone**. The absence of the by-phrase **by someone** does not mean that it is not clear that the attempt to leave is made by **someone**. Williams argues that this is where the implicit argument comes into being. He further states that conditions B and C of the binding theory, as well as the disjoint reference rules for pronouns and noun phrases, can **see** the missing arguments (implicit) as is indicated in (2).

(2)   a.   Condition B: Admiration of him
                             (admirer = admiree)
                             (Williams, 1985)

       b.   Condition C: The realization that John was unpopular
                             (realizer = John)
                             (Ross, 1969)

       c.   The [e] realization that John was unpopular

According to Williams one way to assimilate these cases to the binding theory as is usually understood, is to supply a phonologically null NP in the determiner of the NP as in 2(c). He further states that this NP could therefore serve as antecedent for various applications of

the binding theory principles. Williams argues that, since there is no plausible position in which [e] could appear in these NPs, and since the facts of coreference and disjointness are the same as in 1(a) and 2(b), these examples suggest that it is the theta roles in the argument structure of the nouns themselves that are serving as the antecedents and not inaudible syntactic realizations of these theta roles. Williams believes that a weakened theta criterion is all that is needed to permit unassigned theta roles. He goes on to state that every NP must still be assigned a theta role, but that not every theta role must be assigned.

On this note, Williams poses the question for Syntax, namely, whether theta roles that are not assigned should be visible in syntax. He approaches this question by stating that it is already known that theta roles must be visible in syntax, for they must be available for theta role assignment. He further indicates that if theta roles are visible in syntax, i.e. for theta role assignment, then they may be visible for other purposes as well. He cites an example where they can serve as antecedents for the binding theory and for control. Williams argues that theta roles are visible for binding theory in exactly the same domain in which they are available for theta role assignment, viz. in the first projection of the predicate that they are argumented.

According to Williams, a question posed for semantics is what it means for a theta role in an argument structure to be disjointed in reference from some NP. He further states that an unrealized theta role always receives some interpretation, i.e. there is always an interpretation of an unrealized theta role, and that it is assigned some reference. Furthermore, Williams states that the unrealized theta roles are often existentially quantified, which in actual fact is what happens to the implied agent of agnetless passives; sometimes it is bound to a c-commanding antecedent. He cites the example in (3) where John binds the attempter argument of **attempt**:

(3)   John made an attempt PRO to leave

According to Williams, it is this argument which binds PRO, for the attempter binds the subject of the infinitive and as such, John is identified with the attempter.

Finally, Williams is of the opinion that unrealized arguments are assigned referential values. He argues that it is not wrong to refer to an **implicit argument** as disjoint in reference from some NP which it c-commands.

2.2.2 Control of an implicit argument

The issue at stake here is whether an item which is not syntactically present can be controlled. In this regard, Williams argues that a further class of facts, i.e. facts involving control of instead of control by an implicit argument, makes implausible the idea that implicit arguments are inaudible syntactic positions.

2.2.2.1   Control of an unrealized argument in NP complements

On this note, Williams states that, in one analysis of the construction discussed and dismissed by him, the embedded NP has a controllable syntactic position in the specifier of the embedded NP. He indicates that it is this position which is controlled by the matrix subject. He cites the English example in (4):

(4)   John made [$_{NP}$ PRO an attempt to leave]

According to Williams, the example given in (4) is made impossible by examples of the following kind, wherein the syntactic position, which is thought to be controlled, is filled by an uncontrolled NP.

(5)   John performed Mary's operation

Williams argues that here, despite the fact that **Mary** fulfils the theme theta role of the embedded **noun** and appears in the specifier position, John is seen as the Actor of the operation. To Williams example (5) suggests that the subject directly controls the Actor's role of the **operation**. He propounds that since the matrix verb determines which argument of the matrix verb will control which argument of the embedded verb, we must in general indicate control specifications of verbs, such as Argument X controls Argument Y of Argument 2. This he indicates as follows:

(6)   John performed [Mary's operation]
              (A$_j$ th$_i$)   (A$_j$ th)
              A controls
              A of argument th

Taking into account the examples given in (6), Williams argues that, since the Agent argument of **operation** is controlled despite the fact that it is not syntactically realized, this would mean that implicit arguments can be interpreted as pronominal (or anaphoric) independent of any syntactic realization as a pronominal or anaphor. He further states that, when an implicit argument is existentially quantified, it acts like an R expression, in that it

is disjoint from c-commanding noun phrases and that an example is the ommitted by-phrase in passives. Here he cites an English example as in (7):

(7)   John wants Mary to be seen
                               (A   th)

On this note, Williams states that the unassigned Agent is actually understood as disjoint from **John** or at least is vague on that point in the same way that John wants Mary to be seen by somebody, neither means **John wants to see Mary**. Williams is therefore of the opinion that the control of implicit arguments can be detected by the effect of the binding theory on the interpretation of NPs with implicit arguments.

(8)   John took a picture

In example (8) Williams points out that the implicit argument is perhaps existentially quantified, and that it is understood as distinct from **John**, at least to the same extent that an overt existential quantification should be; **John took a picture of something**.

In conclusion, it can be stated that Williams is of the opinion that the binding theory can see unrealized arguments in the sense that it can take them as antecedents for binding conditions.   In addition, Williams has indicated that an implicit argument **can be controlled**, whether or not the argument is realized - as long as it is realized in a way compatible with control, viz. as a pronoun or anaphor bound to the controller.

2.3   SAFIR (1987)

In this section Safir's attempt to address the question of two types of implicit arguments, will be considered. He argues that there exist two kinds of unpronounced arguments that do not correspond to any of the currently proposed empty category types. Safir states that unlike what was suggested by Williams (1987) one of these implicit argument types is probably not syntactically represented.

2.3.1 The two kinds of implicit arguments

Safir (1987:121) suggests that there are two kinds of implicit arguments; one kind is the external argument implied when lexical structure is mapped onto syntax. He indicates that it is this very external argument of the nominal, implicit or overt, that is capable of supporting an adjectival adjunct. The second kind of implicit argument is an internal argument that is not represented in lexical structure at all. Safir argues that by contrast, Williams (1987) had

assumed that there is no difference between implicit arguments in derived nominals which are external arguments of the corresponding verbs. A question posed by Safir is whether internal implicit arguments indeed act differently from external ones. According to Safir there is evidence that they do. He supports this view by stating that external arguments of nominals, i.e. prenominal genitives, when overt can support adjectival adjuncts if the internal argument is represented, but that they cannot do so when the internal argument is not represented. Williams, as quoted by Safir (1987) points out that of-objects can support adjectival adjuncts in nominals, but that implicit objects of nominals do not. This means that in example 9(a) **Dina** can be the one that is drunk, but no such interpretation is possible in 9(b):

(9) a. Jack's observation of Dina drunk led to her dismissal

   b. *Jack's observation drunk led to her dismissal

Taking into account what is expressed by the examples in (9) one can state that it is not unreasonable to claim that the implicit argument is at best optional in 9(b). Since in an example like 9(a) where the coconstrual requires an understood patient, it is not revealing because **undergo** is always contemporaneous with the activity described by its component. Hence, it may be that **drunk** simply modifies the matrix subject directly.

Safir further states that when this is controlled by placing the adjectival adjunct in a temporal adjunct phrase, the implicit object does not support the adjectival adjunct. Safir's prediction is however borne out, as illustrated in (10):

(10) a. Oona underwent the examination drunk

   b. *Oona underwent the operation after Andy's examination drunk

   c. *Dina underwent a thorough tongue-lashing after Jack's observation drunk.

Taking into account what is illustrated in (10) Safir maintains that this so-called difference between internal and external implicit arguments suggests not only that they differ, but also that internal implicit arguments do not play a role in syntax because they do not provide a sufficient antecedent for structurally dependent adjectival adjuncts.

According to Safir, Williams contended that implicit arguments are arguments indices on predicates and that representing all implicit arguments in this way is necessary to account for patterns of coreference within nominals.

Safir states that note should be taken of the fact that none of the nominals in (11) can be interpreted reflexively, no matter what the agent of these nominals can assumed to be:

(11) a. Discussion of him implicated John's brother

   b. Investigation of him will cause trouble

   c. Treatment of him will be harsh

Safir is of the opinion that if the implicit external argument contributes an argument index as part of its syntactic role, then it follows that the pronouns will be disjoint from the index on the c-commanding predicate. According to Safir this is still consistent with the view that external implicit arguments differ from internal ones in that only the former are syntactically active. He furthermore indicates that the same evidence appears to favour the view that the internal implicit arguments are also represented by indices. Safir maintains that none of the nominals in (12) can be interpreted reflexively:

(12) a. Rex received his examination

   b. Undine underwent her investigation/surgery

   c. Suzy suffered her rejection/over interpretation/vicious attack

Taking note of the English examples given in (12) Safir maintains that the reflexive interpretations will be excluded here if the **patient** of **examination**, for example, bears an argument index identical to that of the overt, i.e. agentive pronoun, hence violating Principle B, which requires a pronoun, in this case, the implicit argument, to be free in its domain. Safir argues that if the reflexive readings in (12) were indeed excluded via the binding theory, then we would have to agree with Williams who is of the opinion that internal and external arguments get symmetric treatment.

Safir, therefore, concludes that examples like those in (12) require no appeal to the binding theory and that there is no evidence that internal implicit argumetns must be represented in syntax at all. Safir (1991:124) maintains that looking at his arguments on the notion that there exist two kinds of implicit arguments, he believes that some insight into the contrast between an internal and external implicit argument has been achieved.

Finally, Safir refers to implicit arguments as missing arguments. Safir is of the opinioun that where the theme argument is the pronominal genitive NP, there can be no external argument. If the theme argument is the prenominal genitive NP, then this can only have arisen by free thematic interpretation.

2.4   JAEGGLI (1987)

On the concept of implicit argument, Jaeggli starts by making an analysis of the construction as in example (13):

(13)   The man was killed

Jaeggli argues that constructions such as the one in (13) contain an implicit argument because the external theta role in such constructions is not realized on a lexical NP in an argument position but is assigned to the passive suffix. According to Jaeggli, the term implicit argument is however, misleading. Given the analysis in (13) Jaeggli maintains that the external theta role of the verb is expressed explicitly on the passive suffix and not on an NP position. Jaeggli states that nominals can truly be said to contain implicit arguments. Although the term implicit argument seems to be misleading, Jaeggli indicates that he will arbitrarily continue to use this term to refer to cases such as in (13).

2.4.1 Implicit arguments

Chomsky (1981) as quoted by Jaeggli, points out that there is reason to believe that passives without a **by**-phrase are nevertheless agentive. Chomsky cites the following observation from Manzini (1983) that a passive sentence allows a purpose clause, whereas a middle construction does not. He cites the following English examples:

(14)   a.   They decreased the price [to help the poor]

        b.   The price was decreased [to help the poor]

        c.   *The price decreased [to help the poor]

Examples such as in (14) can also be given in Venda:

(15)   a.   Vho tsitsa mutengo [u thusa vhashai]

        b.   Mutengo wo tsitswa [u thusa vhashai]

        c.   *Mutengo wo tsa [u thusa vhashai]

Jaeggli maintains that a similar phenomenon can be observed with adverbs, called by Jackendoff agent oriented adverbs as indicated in (16):

(16)   a.   They decreased the price **willingly**

         b.   The price was decrease **willingly**

         c.   *The price decreased **willingly**

As far as passives without a **by**-phrase are concerned, Jaeggli is of the opinion that the facts in (16) provide strong motivation for distinguishing between middles and passives without a **by**-phrase. For the case of exposition, Jaeggli refers to these passives without a **by**-phrase as **agentless passives**. This, in no way, entails that he believes either, that the passives do not have an agent or, that all passive **by**-phrases contain NPs that bear the agent theta role.

Furthermore, Jaeggli argues that the first point to be made is that it is really incompatible with most recent versions of the theory of grammar to assume that **implicit arguments are actually carried by an empty category in a VP internal argument position**. Jaeggli states that he wants to argue against a structure like (18) for (17):

(17)   The man was killed

(18)   [the man] was [killed t [EC]]

Jaeggli argues that, in order for (18) to be a well-formed syntactic representation, it must be possible to identify the empty category as one of the recognised independently motivated empty categories. On assuming that the inventory of empty categories consists of the elements, **anaphors**, **variables**, **PRO** and **pronominals**, Jaeggli dismisses the first possibility. He argues that if the empty category was an anaphor, it would violate Principle A of the binding theory which requires that anaphors be A-bound within their governing categories due to the lack of an A-binder. To bind on the issue of **"control"** by the implicit argument, Jaeggli argues that control by the implicit argument in sentences such as 16(b) is radically different from the familiar notion of control and that it would be a mistake to analyse it under the general theory of control. Jaeggli indicates that to distinguish it from standard cases of control, he will label it thematic control instead and refer to the familiar notion of control as argument control.

Jaeggli is also of the opinion that, whereas the implicit arguments cannot participate in argument control, they however, do participate in thematic control. On this note Jaeggli compares the English examples in 16(b) and (19) below:

(16)   b.   The price was decreased [to help the poor])

(19)   *Bill was promised to go to Disneyland

Jaeggli argues that it cannot be claimed that control is impossible in (19) because of peculiarities of the verb **promise**, but he indicates that only argument control is impossible in this example, not control. This would mean that thematic control is quite possible in similar structures as illustrated in the following English sentences:

(20)   a.   John was promised that he would go to Disneyland [to get him to stop crying]

          b.   John was promised that he would be the winner [to make him feel a little better]

The purpose clauses in the sentences in brackets, are controlled by the implicit argument of **promise**. Jaeggli states that the implicit argument of promise is therefore quite capable of thematic control, but is simply incapable of argument control. This follows naturally if it is assumed that argument control involves control from argument positions, whereas thematic control does not.

Jaeggli finally states that another difference between argument control and thematic control is that argument control of sentences in object position, requires c-command, whereas thematic control does not.

2.5   ROBERTS (1987)

2.5.1 Theta properties of passives

This sub-section investigates Roberts's effort to indicate that there is a linkage between a by-phrase and an implicit argument because the theta role assigned to subject position in actives is reassigned to an implicit argument in passives.

Roberts argues that the claim that subjects of passives are dethematized means that the Ɵ-role lexically specified as being assigned to the subject is somehow suppressed. He maintains that there is evidence that the argument which assigned this theta role is present in passives. He furthermore indicates that the clearest evidence comes from the possibility of **by**-phrases which has a theta role corresponding to the Ɵ-role assigned to the subject of the corresponding active. As such, any Ɵ-role that can be assigned to the subject of an active can be assigned to the **by**-phrase. Roberts illustrates this view by using the following English examples:

(21) a. Bill was killed - by Mary   (Agent)

b. The letter was received - by Bill   (Goal)

c. The package was sent - by John   (Source)

d. The proffessor is feared - by all his students (Experiencer)

e. The window was broken - by the hammer (Instrument)

f. The painting was noticed - by the thief (Theme)

In the above examples Roberts indicates that in a range of quasi-idiomatic cases, the **by**-phrase has exactly the theta-role of the subject of the corresponding active, as the following examples indicate:

(22) a. A baseball was thrown **by Fernando**

b. Support was thrown behind the candidate **by the CIA**

c. The match was thrown **by the prize fighter**

d. The party was thrown **by the department**

(23) a. A book was taken from the shelf by John

b. The bus was taken to New York by Mary

c. A nap was taken by the professor in his office

d. An aspirin was taken by John for his cold

e. A letter was taken in shorthand by the secretary

(24) a. The cockroaches were killed by the fallout

b. The conversation was killed by the linguist

c. The evening was killed by John watching TV

d. The bottle was killed by the wino

e. The audience was killed by the witty repartee

(25)   a.   The cat was killed by John

        b.   ?The habit was kicked by Mary

        c.   *The bucket was kicked by fred

As far as non-compositional idioms are concerned, Roberts maintains that they cannot passivize, as shown in 25(c). According to Roberts this is due to the fact that they are really single words in the lexicon and so cannot be broken up by movement rules without violating the Lexical Integrity conditions. Furthermore, Roberts maintains that the by-phrase must receive a Θ-role, as the ungrammaticality of (26) shows:

(26)   *The man was killed by it/there

Concerning **by**-phrases, Roberts concludes that the simplest proposal for passive **by**-phrases is that they somehow get the Θ-role assigned to the subject in actives. He states that subject dethematization, in the sense of suppression of the subject argument, does not take place obligatorily in passives, at least to the extent that a **by**-phrase can be present. Roberts maintains that even where the **by**-phrase is not present, there is evidence that an argument which corresponds to the subject of an active is present. This argument has been referred to as an **implicit argument**.

Concluding, Roberts states that passive morphology takes away one of the case features of a verb because it is the structurally present **implicit argument** and like other arguments, this argument needs case.

2.5.2 Subjects and agents

In this sub-section it will be determined how theta roles are assigned to subjects, i.e. how subjects are theta marked. As will be seen the account rests on a distinction between structural and inherent Θ-role assignment. Roberts believes that theta roles are assigned under government, as such, in a configuration like (27) where V Θ-marks NP:

(27) V^n
                              /   \
                        V   NP
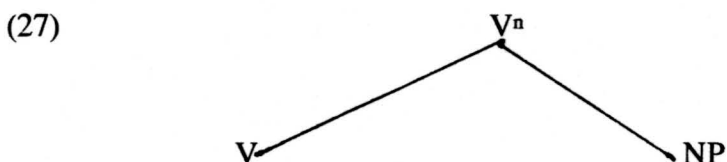
The example cited in (27) is a configuration in which V subcategorizes for NP. It should be taken into account here that all arguments except the subject arguments, are sub-categorized.

Roberts states that an argument structure can be displayed by linking sub-categorization frames to positions in Θ-grids, as in the example in (28):

(28)   donate Θ_1 Θ_2 Θ_3

                                                NP   PP

The illustrations in (28) mean that Θ is marked as the subject argument of **donate** by default, as it is the only one not associated with the sub-categorization frame. Roberts states that an argument appears in the government domain of V if it is sub-categorized. Since the subjects are not sub-categorized, they cannot be Θ-marked in a configuration like (27) instead, it is usually stated that V indirectly Θ-marks the subject, while on the other hand, complements are directly Θ-marked.

Posing the question of which theta roles are assigned in which ways, Roberts states that any theta role may be assigned structurally but only certain Θ-roles are assigned inherently; this means that some Θ-roles are only assigned structurally. According to Roberts a structural Θ-role assigned by a VP is an Agent and a structural Θ-role assigned by a V is a Theme. He maintains that the idea that Agent Θ-roles are structural Θ-roles assigned by VP, has three consequences, viz.:

(i)   Agents receive compositional Θ-roles

(ii)   No other kind of subject argument receives a compositional Θ-role

(iii)   An Agent Θ-role can never be assigned to an argument in a sub-categorized position.

Roberts maintains that the first of these consequences can be illustrated with examples from Marantz (1984:22-31) as shown in the following examples where subjects receive a compositional Θ-role:

(29)   a.   throw a baseball

            b.   throw support behind a candidate

            c.   throw a boxing match

            d.   throw a party

            e.   throw a fit

            f.   take a book from the shelf

g.   take a bus to New York

h.   take a nap

i.   take an aspirin for cold

j.   take a letter in shorthand

k.   kill a cockroach

l.   kill a conversation

m.   kill an evening watching TV

n.   kill a bottle

o.   kill an audience

Marantz (1984:25-26) as quoted by Roberts (1987) maintains that although the different predicates formed by adding different direct objects to most simple transitive verbs assign different semantic roles to their subjects, it is unlikely that one would argue that a different predicate implies a different homophonous verb in each case. Killing a cockroach involves causing it to become not alive, killing an evening may be accomplished by sitting motionless infront of the TV, and killing a bottle implies causing it to become empty, yet, some thread of meaning ties these uses of kill together, a thread we may weave into a single function **kill** from arguments to predicates. Marantz is therefore of the opinion that the **subject argument** in this case is semantically an argument not just of the verb, but also of the complements of the verb and the verb taken together.

Roberts furthermore argues that if agents are prohibited from appearing in subcategorized positions, and the argument in the **by**-phrase is the compositional argument of the predicate, the by-phrase must have moved into VP from subject position. He states that the approach to the Θ-role assignment, which has a number of independent advantages, needs the adoption of a theory of passive as in instances where the underlying subject argument is in subject position at Deep Structure (DS).

Roberts states that two other phenomena which the account of agentivity allows an account of, are **secondary agentivity** and **intentional be**, which are illustrated in the examples in (30):

(30)   a.   Mary was deliberately seduced

        b.   John was being a fool

According to Roberts, example 30(a) is in actual fact a case of secondary agentivity where the word **deliberately** is understood as a property of Mary. As such this example can be glossed as **Mary deliberately got herself seduced**. The example in 30(b) is one of intentional to be. Roberts also cites the example in (31) while referring to the subject of Θ-role assignment:

(31) a. The kitchen was deliberately painted

  b. ??The concept was being a pain

Roberts maintains that 31(a) only allows a reading where deliberately is associated with the **implicit agent** because kitchen cannot be deliberate. To account for secondary agentivity, Roberts proposes that the conditions for the assignment of a structural Θ-role can be met at **Surface Structure** (SS) and Logical Form where there is not necessarily a structural assignment of an inherent Θ-role to the subject position DS.

According to Roberts it is often observed that agentivity entails eventhood and that the co-indexing between VP and the subject is mediated by Inflection. He maintains that VP is coindexed with Inflection which in turn is coindexed with the subject. This is illustrated in the construction in (32):

(32)

```
                          IP
                        /    \
                      /        \
                   NP           I¹
                              /    \
                            /        \
                          I₁          VP¹
                                       |
                                       |
                                       V¹
```
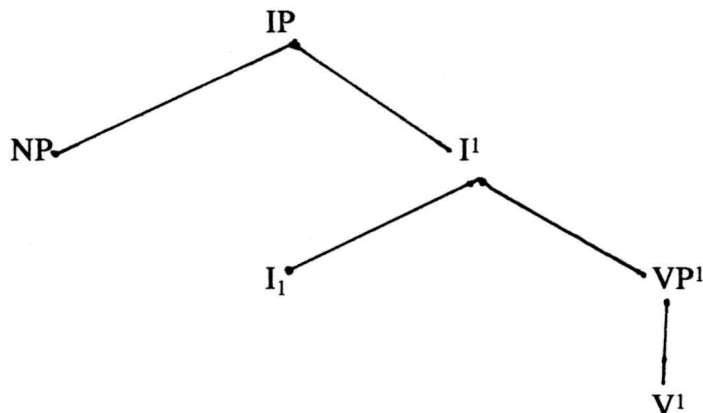
Referring to the construction in (32) Roberts maintains that where the verb assigns an Agent Θ-role to the subject, the subject Θ-role is first assigned to Inflection which transmits it to the subject. In this case V shares the index with VP, as the Θ-role originates as a lexical property of V.

Concluding this sub-section, Roberts proposes that arguments in subject position can be Θ-marked either structurally or inherently.

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2.5.3 By-phrase and implicit arguments

In this sub-section attention will be given to Roberts's proposal that passive clauses have D-structures as in (33) which by movement, first of **en**, then of the empty category in subject position, then of the object NP, give S-structure as in (34) and surface structures via a few morphological adjustments, as in (35):

(33) e_i en_j kiss Mary

(34) $Mary_i$ kiss + $en_j t_j e$

(35)   Mary was kissed

Roberts maintains that the main advantage of this approach is that the D-structure closely resembles the D-structure of an active clause, since the representation of argument structure (33) states that active and passive clauses do not differ fundamentally in argument structure. The differing positional realization of the arguments at S-structure is the result of the presence of the clitic **en**, the requirements on the clitics already outlined and of Case theory. Because of the conditions in clitic chains, the argument in the subject position moves into VP when it does. This argument may be an overt NP in which case it is realized in a by-phrase, or an empty category, a so-called **implicit argument**. In the context of this theory of passive, the term implicit argument is a misnomer, as Roberts considers these arguments to be explicitly structurally represented. He states that the IMP in the chain (en, IMP) in (1) and (2) is an empty category which is bearing the subject Θ-role. It represents a specific hypothesis about the status of the suppressed subject. In contrast with the non-realized subject arguments of middles, this empty category can be modified by certain adverbs and they can control PRO in Rationale clauses, as indicated in (36) and (37) below:

(36)   a.   The book was sold voluntarily

          b.   *The book sold voluntarily

(37)   a.   The book was sold PRO to make money

          b.   *The book sold PRO to make money

Roberts claims that IMPs differ from PRO in four main ways, viz.:

(38)   IMPs cannot bind anaphors

          a.   *?Letters were sent to themselves

          b. $They_i$ expected PRO_i to send letters to each $other_i$

(39)   IMPs cannot be predicated with/control into adjuncts

    a.   *The book was read without putting it down

    b.   They expected to read the book without putting it down

(40)   IMPs cannot be controlled

    a.   They expected malicious rumours to be spread

    b.   They$_i$ expected PRO$_i$ to spread malicious rumours

(41)   IMPs cannot be the objects of predication

    a.   *The room was left sad

    b.   They$_i$ expected PRO$_i$ to leave sad

Taking into acount the examples in (38) to (41) Roberts maintains that in 40(a) **they** cannot be interpreted as the spreaders of rumours. In 40(b) only this interpretation can be made, while the example in 41(a) cannot mean that those who left the room were sad. Roberts maintains that the central property of passive constructions is a redistribution of the arguments of a clause triggered by the appearance of **en**, which is a particular bundle of features in Inflection.

2.5.4 Implicit arguments with PP

In this sub-section the view of Roberts that another class of cases which may be relevant to determining the properties of IMPs can be analized, is considered. He attempts to see how the generalizations for the predicative adjective apply to the relevant PPs and that these PPs are optional arguments of V and that the putative implicit argument effects are the consequence of compositional Θ-role assignment to the subject, combined with inherent properties of **themes**.

Roberts further argues that the basic contrast is between causatives of Verbs of motion and action at a distance verbs. He is also of the opinion that, if locative PP appears with a member of the former class, the object of the verb is understood to be in the location specified by the PP. Roberts supports this by referring to the English examples in 42(a) and 43(b).

(42)   a.   John dragged/led/tugged/brought Bill from the attic

         b.   Bill was in the attic

With action at a distance, verbs on the other hand, the subject of the verb is understood to be in the location specified by the PP. Roberts then refers to the entailment between 42(a) and 43(b):

(43)   a.   John saw/attacked/signalled Bill from the attic

         b.   John is in the attic

Entailments 42(b) and 43(b) had been expressed in different tenses. According to Roberts this is intended to capture the fact that (42) is understood to mean that Bill was in the attic up to the time specified by the tense of the verb, while (43) is understood to mean that John's presence in the attic lasted for a period independent of the time specified by the verb. As a result the PP seems to be temporarily dependent or independent.

The above explanation suggests that PPs are just like APs in their predication possibilities, but this appears not to be the case as the passive of example (44) shows:

(44)   Bill was seen/attacked/signalled from the attic

The example in (44) no longer entails that the subject is in the attic. Instead it entails that the referent of the IMP is in the attic. The same appears to be true with overt **by**-phrase.

According to Roberts the final issue regarding these PPs, concerns the temporarily dependent readings observed in (42). He is of the opinion that if **V** requires the optional PP argument to be interpreted as if predicated of the Theme, the PP has a dependent reading.

2.5.5 Referential properties of implicit arguments

In this sub-section attention will be given to the question of the referential properties of IMPs and in less detail, **by**-phrases. It will be shown that the IMPs are variables carrying the subject Θ-role and that they are bound under existential closure in LF. To support his arguments on the referential properties of implicit arguments, Roberts cites the following English examples:

(45)   a.   They were killed

         b.   They were admired

Roberts's argument here is that 45(a) cannot mean **they committed suicide**, and 45(b) cannot mean **they admired themselves**. This, however, does not seem to be a pragmatic constraint, as the contrast between passives and middles shows in the following examples:

(46)   a.   John was shaved

         b.   John shaves easily

The equivalent Venda examples will be the following:

(47)   a.   John o vheulwa

         b.   John u a vheulea

Roberts states that in 46(a) the understood Agent cannot be **John**, while in 46(b) it can. This minimal contrast indicates that there is no pragmatic constraint ruling out these readings in (45). To support his arguments, Roberts also gives the following examples:

(48)   a.   John was met

         b.   John was shaved

In (48) Roberts argues that coreference between IMP and the subject is impossible. He states that where the **by**-phrase is coreferent with the subject, (48) has the representation as in (49):

(49) $John_i$ was meet t en t_j IMP_i

According to Roberts, the example in (49) serves as another case where no **well**-formed chain can be formed which includes **John**, which means that the Θ-criterion rules this reading out.

Lasnik, as quoted by Roberts (1987) states that there are instances of NP movement which are generally ruled out by principle but accidental coindexation of the trace with a pronoun, provides what he calls a 'loophole' in the binding theory. This is supported by the English example in (50):

(50)   a.   *$John_i$ is believed he_j likes t_i

         b.   *Bill tried $John_i$ to be believed that he_i likes t_i

Roberts argues that in both these examples the NP trace is bound in its binding domain by the subject pronoun, which is accidentally coindexed with it. The chains in these examples

are ill-informed in exactly the same way as the other cases that have been considered, i.e. there is no well-formed Θ-chain which includes exactly **John** and its trace, as the pronoun which saves the structure from Principle A prevents chain formation between these two categories.

2.5.6 Nominals

In this sub-section the interaction of derived nominals with implicit arguments, aspect and passive in NP, will be discussed. Consideration will also be given to some points which are of special interest in the light of proposals for passives and middles. In previous arguments Roberts had taken the possibility for certain modifiers to appear as an indication of the presence of implicit arguments into account. According to Roberts, for such modifiers to appear as an indication of the presence of implicit arguments, such modifiers, Class I Adverbs and Rationale clause, appear in the NP too:

(51)   a.   The deliberate destruction of the city

          b.   The city's deliberate destruction

(52)   a.   The destruction of the city to prove a point

          b.   The city's destruction to prove a point

Taking into account examples (51) and (52) Roberts argues about three potential ways of accounting for (51) and (52) viz.:

a.   Assume that **destroy**'s external Θ-role is not assigned

b.   Assume that **destroy**'s external Θ-role is assigned to the nominalizing morphology

c.   Assume that **destroy**'s external Θ-role is assigned to a structural position.

Roberts believes that if (a) is assumed, then provision for a new account for the modifiers in (51) and (52) should be made. He states that whatever form of that account, it will be difficult to see how it would fail to apply to modifiers in passives. He goes on to state that probably (b) would be parallel to his account of the passive exactly, but that the problem with this approach will be that there will be only one passive morpheme, sujbect to much morphological irregularity and suppletion.   The choice of (c) leads to a number of predictions about nominals which turn out to hold as it shall be seen.

Chomsky, as quoted by Roberts (1970) believes pairs like those in (53) have been assumed to be lexically related by a process of nominalization:

(53)   a.   destroy   destruction

       b.   reduce   reduction

       c.   invade   invasion

       d.   acknowledge   acknowledgement

       e.   give   gift

Various affixes, **t', ion, ment, -ure, -ing**, etc., mediate this alternation.   Current morphological theories hold that the affix is lexically represented as category N which selects the stem V and so attaches to it to give a derived N; certain affixes causing various phonological adjustments in the process. The structure of a derived nominal is illustrated in (54) below:

(54)

```
                          N
                        /   \
                      /       \
                   V           N
                destroy        tion
```
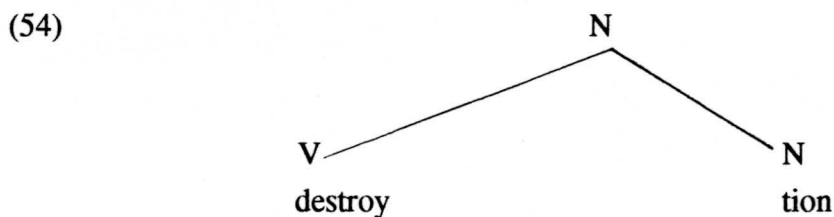
Roberts believes that nominals can be agentive and that this must be the reflex of the possibility for N to assign an inherent Agent Θ-role. According to Roberts it is clear that the arguments bearing Θ-roles are realized somewhat differently in nominals when they are compared with clauses. Roberts supports this argument by giving an illustration as in (55) where in each example the **city** is intended to be the Theme and the **barbarians** the Agents:

(55)   a.   The destruction

       b.   The destruction of the city

       c.   *The destruction of the barbarians

       d.   The destruction by the barbarians

       e.   The destruction of the city by barbarians

       f.   The barbarian's destruction of the city

       g.   The city's destruction by the barbarians

h.   The city's destruction

i.   The barbarian's destruction

Taking the examples in (55) into account, Roberts maintains that it is clear that all possible combinations of Agent and Theme-assignments appear, except Agent only. Either argument can appear in SPEC-position, since it is also possible for no argument to appear in that position, with both apparently appearing as complements to **N**. As such, Roberts states that the English examaples in (55) suggest three things, viz.:

(56)   a.   N assigns GEN; of or POSS realizes GEN

        b.   External Θ-roles do not have to be assigned. Internal Θ-roles must be assigned.

        c.   Determiners can be arguments

Example 56(a) holds because GEN is assigned by [+N] lexical heads and no structural case is available in NP.   Roberts argues that in general result nominals are incompatible with agentive modifiers but not with Agent NPs. This indicates that nominals are not like stative clauses. Result nominals are non-eventive, but allow an Agent argument. Non-eventive, agentive IPs are ruled out as V-INF.   Co-indexing is needed for structural Θ-role assignment of the AGent Θ-role, but such NPs can exist because NPs do not contain INFL and agent Θ-roles are not assigned structurally in NP.

Turning to the third property of E (Th) the possibility of implicit arguments with an event reading, is shown by examples like the following:

(57)   a.   We saw tahe deliberate destruction of the city

        b.   We saw the destruction of the city in order to prove a point

        c.   We saw the destruction of the city by the Americans

(58)   a.   We saw the city's deliberate destruction

        b.   We saw the city's destruction in order to prove a point

        c.   We saw the city's destruction by the Americans

Roberts proposes that for example (57) the implicit argument is in fact in SPEC position. This means that the Agent Θ-role is assigned to this position and not realized on a full NP but on the determiner instead. With regard to example (58) Roberts argues that it cannot be

accounted for in the same way as (57) since in (58) the SPEC position is occupied by the Theme argument.

Concluding on Roberts's views on the implicit argument, he states that passive in NP is the result of the operation of E(Th) and that implicit argument effects are not excluded in passive NPs. He believes passives to be clauses with a suppressed logical subject argument and an agentive/eventive reading, while he sees middles as clauses with a suppressed logical subject argument and a stative reading. He indicates that the structural representation of the subject in passives and its absence in the middles, follow from the assumption about the connection between aspect and structural Θ-role assignment. He is also of the opinion that both suppressed subjects are interpreted as arbitrary in reference.

2.6   ROEPER (1987)

In this section Roeper's argument that the introduction of a thematic module into linguistic theory introduces a new kind of invisible information that is beyond empty categories, will be discussed. Roeper states that thematic roles are generally represented on a thematic grid of a verb.   According to him, the Θ-criterion stipulates that thematic roles must be expressed but that thematic roles may fail to appear in explicit positions, i.e. positions that are clear and fully expressed but retain syntactic functions which he calls **implicit arguments** which, in a strict sense, are not expressed but require a revision of the Θ-criterion.   Roeper cites a case where the reality of implicit arguments is not represented as the agentless passive. He gives the following English examples:

(59)   a.   The ship sank

           b.   The ship was sunk

To Roeper every speaker of English can be aware of an implicit agent in 59(b) where none exists in 59(a). As such he is of the opinion that here the optional **by**-phrase can provide a syntactic diagnosis for its presence, e.g.:

(60)   a.   *The ship sank by Bill

           b.   The ship was sunk by Bill

Roeper maintains that the claim that the implicit agent is an argument, is in actual fact demonstrated by its capacity to function as a syntactic controller as indicated in example (61):

(61)   a.   *The boat sank to collect the insurance

         b.   The boat was sunk to collect the insurance

         c.   The boat was sunk without firing a shot

Roeper argues that 61(a) involves no Agent and as such control is impossible. In 61 (b) and (c) he maintains that the implicit AGENT functions as controller. The same holds for compounds with -**ing**, nominalizations and adjectives in -**able** where implicit agents also occur and control rationale clause, e.g.:

(62)   a.   Meat-eating to gain weight

         b.   The eating of meat to gain weight

         c.   Goods are exportable to improve profits

According to Roeper the morphological affixes play the role of an explicit trigger for the presence of implicit arguments. Regarding implicit arguments and the Head-complement Relation, Roeper is of the opinion that, compounds with simple nouns as righthand Heads, as well as bare nouns do not have thematic grids.

Roeper states that the analysis predicts that both the examples in (63) below, are ungrammatical because the thematic PPs are not licenced by sister thematic grids that have percolated to a higher node.

(63)   a.   *Signalman of a letter

         b.   *The buy of clothes

Roeper maintains that a category change introduces an extra bracket in the second example; ***[[buy] V] N of clothes**. He states that the fact that sisterhood criterion is violated can be seen in the tree structure where a new categorial node is introduced:

(64)

```
                              NI
                     /                 \
              N                          PP
              |                        /      \
              V                     of          N
              |                                 |
             buy                              clothes
           [AG,TH]
```
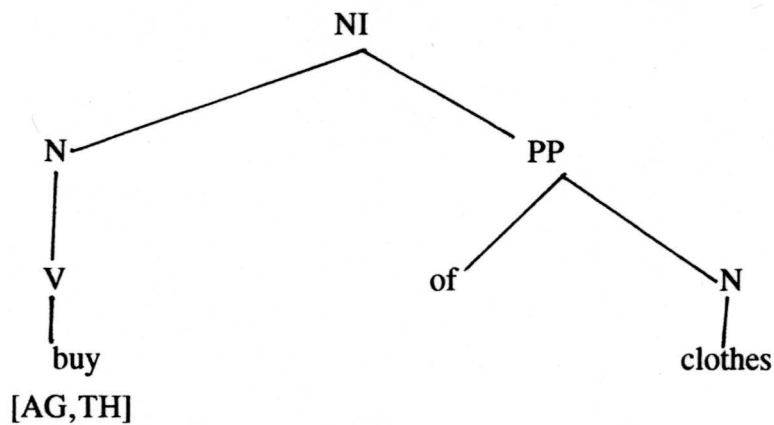
With the tree structure in (64) in mind, Roeper argues that the argument can still be assigned to an argument position. According to Roeper (1987) the thematic role is an implicit argument with the following definition:

> "An argument is implicit only if it is in a structural position to licence a thematic PP but no thematic PP occurs."

Roeper states that if a thematic grid cannot be a sister to a thematic PP, the grid contains implicit thematic roles but not implicit arguments. According to him an implicit thematic role has a corollary definition, it cannot licence a PP, nor can it control.

Roeper (1987) also states that:

> "Thematic roles are maintained throughout a lexical derivation."

Roeper argues that non-thematic affixes do not carry thematic roles and though there are a fairly large number of them, e.g. (-ist) -like, -sense, etc., they are not generally productive.

2.6.1 Syntactic implicit arguments: benefactive control

On non-affix implicit arguments, which Roeper calls prepositional benefactives, he states that the contrast between examples (65) and (66) below, can be explained if it is assumed that example (65) contains an implicit benefactive **for**-phrase:

(65)   a.   It is necessary to go

        b.   It is wise to go

        c.   It is possible to go

(66)   a.   *It is inevitable to go

          b.   *It is probable to go

          c.   *It is regretable to go

For each of the sentences in (65) and (66) Roeper argues that there is a parallel difference in the acceptability of benefactive phrases. To support this argument, he cites the following examples:

(67)   a.   It is necessary for you to go

          b.   It is wise for you to go

          c.   It is possible for you to go

(68)   a.   ?It is inevitable for you to go

          b.   ?It is probable for you to go

          c.   ?It is regrettable for you to go

Taking the examples in (67) and (68) into account, Roeper is of the opinion that contrast between these two examples can be explained by arguing that there is no implicit argument and that control is therefore impossible in (68). Roeper furthermore states that ergatives do not have implicit benefactives and that if they did, rationale clauses can be expected to be grammatical, which they are not, as shown in the example in (69) below:

(69)   *The door opens to come in

Roeper maintains that two arguments can be made against this approach. He quotes Lasnik (1994) who argues that the ungrammaticality of sentences like (69) is due not to failure of control, but rather to an incompatibility between ergatives and rationale clauses.

To conclude this sub-section on Roeper's views on implicit arguments, it can be stated that, according to him, the theory of PRO is completely unconstrained and if this approach is carried to its logical conclusion, it can lead to the following hypotheses:

(i)   All instances of PRO are instances of PRO controlled by implicit arguments

Roeper quotes Lasnik (1984) as saying that the implicit argument cannot be anything; as such it will be odd to say, **the ship was sunk to become a hero**. He argues that this

example can be rendered ungrammatical if the implicit argument is regarded as genetic or plural.

(ii)   The sinking of ship just to become heroes is what motivated the crew

Here Borer, as quoted by Roeper (1987) is of the opinion that where a subcategorized complement is involved, there will be few constraints on control.

(iii)   It was decided to become heroes by sinking the boat

(iv)   The boat was sunk by torpedo to prove a point

Sentence (iv) is observed by Lasnik as grammatical. Roeper states that taking into account example (iv), it can be stated that the Agent is on the affix, because **torpedo** is not the subject but an instrument.

2.7   CLARK (1990)

In this sub-section Clark's views on implicit arguments will be considered. Clark is mainly concerned with the role of implicit arguments during the construction of sentences. He is of the opinion that although implicit arguments are referred to as missing arguments by most linguists, they have a role to play in the interpretation of sentences.

2.7.1 The role of implicit arguments

On the role of implicit arguments, Clark maintains that the idea that syntactically unrealized arguments play a role in the interpretation of sentences, is by no means a new one. He cites one example of this kind of phenomenon as control by an implicit argument. He states that by adopting a standard analysis of passivation, it can be said that passive morphology blocks assignment of an external thematic role to the subject of IP. While this thematic role is syntactically suppressed, it is not absent from the argument structure of the verb. The external thematic role act as a controller of PRO, as the following examples show:

(70)   a.   The ship was sunk [PRO to win the war]

            b.   The building was burnt [PRO to collect insurance]

            c.   The ice was melted [PRO to provide water]

Clark argues that in each example in (70) the implicit argument of the verb is understood as the controller of the PRO in the Adjunct Clause. As such, in example 70(a) the implicit

agent who is responsible for the sinking of the ship is no winner in the war. Referring to 70(b), he states that the party responsible for the burning of the building is the one who wants to collect the insurance. In 70(c) the melter of the ice, is also the provider of the water.

Clark maintains that the examples in (70) should be contrasted with ergative constructions. According to him ergative morphology in English, destroys the external thematic role completely, meaning that the external thematic role comes to be completely absent from the argument structure of the verb that bears the ergative morphology. In short, Clark argues that there is no implicit argument available for the control of PRO. In the case of passive examples, the empty element in the subject position need not to move to the SPEC of COMP until the mapping to LF since the subject position is caseless and no selectional restrictions are placed on the adjunct clause. Clark indicates that during the mapping to LF the suppressed external thematic role may be realized. Syntactically, presumably as a variable in an A-position with an existential quantifier adjoined to the category.

2.8   CONCLUSION

The studies by Williams (1987) Safir (1987) Roberts (1987) Roeper (1987) and Clark (1990) focus entirely on the control by an implicit argument, i. e. control by an unrealized argument in NP complements. Safir is of the opinion that the external argument must actually depend on the linked internal argument if it is to be mapped onto a syntactic position. In this regard Safir talks of two kinds of implicit arguments. Roberts, on the other hand, introduces theta properties of passive. He indicates that there is a linkage between a by-phrase and an implicit argument and that, for the theta role assigned to the subject position in actives, it is re-assigned to an implicit argument in passive. Roeper claims that the thematic roles may fail to appear in explicit positions but however retain syntactic functions. He calls them implicit arguments which in a strict sense are not expressed but require a revision of the theta criterion. Lastly, Clark believes that passive morphology blocks the assignment of an external thematic role to the subject of the IP and that, while this thematic role is syntactically suppressed, it is not absent from the argument structure of the verb.

Implicit arguments should therefore not merely be taken as simply syntactically unrealized. Epstein requires the implicit argument to be syntactically realized as a PRO. Other linguists like Keyser and Roeper (1987) place no such requirement on implicit arguments which they take as present in a head's argument structure but not necessarily syntactically realized.

SECTION THREE

3. IMPLICIT ARGUMENTS IN PASSIVE AND NEUTER VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this section is to explore the occurrence of implicit arguments in passive and neuter passive constructions in Venda. The implicit argument is that kind of an external argument implied when the lexical structure is mapped onto syntax. It is this argument of the nominal, implicit or overt, that is capable of supporting an adjectival adjunct. It must be noted that the implicit argument is always assumed in passive constructions:

(1)   Ho ḓiwa u vhona nwana
       'There is being come to see the child'

In passive constructions, the PRO subject of the infinitive is left without a controller which is possibly the implicit argument which may always be assumed in passive construction. The discussion in this section is focussed on the relation between infinitival complement clauses and the passives, i.e. passive and neuter passive verb constructions. The question whether passivized intransitive-, monotransitive-, ditransitive-, weather-, experiencer- as well as motion verbs in the matrix clause take or allow the infinitival complements, will be addressed. These infinitival clauses which in most cases are relevant to the theory of the passives, are often expressed as rationale clauses. In addition, an attempt will be made to explain whether the PRO of the rationale clause can be controlled by the implicit argument. Roberts states that the implicit argument seems to be able to control the PRO of the Rationale clause. It will also be demonstrated that the implicit argument which may occur in these constructions is actually mapped onto the syntactic position of the PP in Venda. In particular, if overtly realized, this implicit argument is realized as the complement NP in PP with -**nga** in Venda. Specifically, the evidence for positing an implicit argument in passive and neuter passive constructions is provided by control properties of such implicit argument in structures with an infinitival complement clause.

Before an analysis of passive verb constructions in Venda can be made, it is advisable to look at what passive verbs are. Passive verbs are case intransitive, i.e. they cannot be followed by the NP case-marked by their active counterparts. Passsivation is seen as a term

used in the grammatical analysis of voice, referring to a sentence, clause or verb-form where the grammatical subject is typically the recipient or goal of the action denoted by the verb, e.g., **the ball was kicked by the boy**, or, **the ball is kicked by boys**. Crystal (1980:259) states that there are active sentences that do not have passive counterparts, e.g. **the boy fell, they have a car**. This is however, also the case with Venda constructions, especially when weather verbs are passivized as in **Mvula i a na** (it rains). Crystal states furthermore that passive constructions which take an agent are agentive passives as in **he was kicked (by the man)** as opposed to non-agentive or agentless passives where there is no need for an agentive phrase being added, since the speaker does not have a performer of the action in mind. In generative grammar the transformation of a sentence from its active to its passive form is known as passivation. A verb or sentence which undergoes such a process is said to passivize. It can therefore be stated that the subject argument of a passive verb is the case object argument of the corresponding active, the subject of the corresponding active is either absent or appears in a **by**-phrase, the **-nga**-phrase in Venda. Passive verbs are formed in Venda from actives by affixation of **-w-**, e.g. **rwa** + **-w** > **rwiwa** (beaten). An outline on the passive verb construction will be given in the following sub-sections.

3.2   MATRIX CLAUSE VERB [+PAS] + APPLIED -EL- AND INFINITIVAL CLAUSE VERB [-PAS]

The aim of this sub-section is to find out if a passivized matrix clause verb can allow the infinitival complement clause with an active verb.

3.2.1 Matrix clause agentive verb [+pas] + applied -el- and infinitival clause verb [-pas]

Crystal (1980) states that passive constructions which take an agent are agentive passives as in the Venda example sentences in (2) below:

(2)   a.   Bola i rengelwa PRO u raha
                  'The ball is bought to kick'

          b.   Mbudzi i todelwa PRO u thavha
                  'The goat is wanted to be slaughtered'

          c.   Mbwanana dzi tupulelwa PRO u tavha
                  'The seedlings are uprooted to plant'

    d.   Manngo a fulelwa PRO u rengisa
            'Mangoes are picked up to sell'

    e.   Rokho i rungelwa PRO u ambara
            'The dress is made to wear'

    f.   Nngu i dzhielwa PRO u thavha
            'The sheep is taken to slaughter'

    g.   Vhuswa vhu bikelwa PRO u la
            'The porridge is cooked to eat'

    h.   Munna u vhidzelwa PRO u eletshedza
            'The man is called (to ask him) to advise'

The passive verbs in constructions 2(a-h) are formed from the agentive verbs **renga**, **toda**, **tupula**, **fula**, **runga**, **dzhia**, **bika** and **vhidza**, respectively. The subject argument of the passive verb corresponds to the object argument of an active verb. The subject of a passive verb is however, optionally realized in a **by**-phrase, the **nga**-phrase in Venda. In examples 2(a-h) the internal arguments, **bola**, **mbudzi**, **mbwanana**, **manngo**, **rokho**, **nngu** and **vhuswa**, appear in the subject position of the matrix clauses. These arguments are assigned the theta role of theme. As objects or internal arguments of the constructions in 2(a-h) these arguments cannot control the PRO subject of the infinitival complement clauses. Since the implicit argument is always assumed in passive constructions if an overt agent is missing, the absence of the external arguments in 2(a-h) will result in the control of the PRO implicitly, i.e. the absence of the external arguments means that the PRO is left without a controller. The possible controller is the implicit argument which may always be assumed in passive constructions. The PRO can still be explicitly controlled by the subject which is optionally realized in a **nga**-phrase as shown in (3) below:

(3)   a.   Bola i rengelwa PRO u raha [nga mutukana]
                 'The ball is bought to kick [by the boy]'

        b.   Mbudzi i todelwa PRO u thavha [nga munna]
                 'The goat is wanted to be slaughtered [by the man]'

        c.   Mbwanana dzi tupulelwa PRO u tavha [nga rabulasi]
                 'The seedlings are uprooted to plant [by the farmer]'

        d.   Manngo a fulelwa PRO u rengisa [nga mulimi]
                 'The mangoes are picked up to sell [by the farmer]'

    e.   Rokho i rungelwa PRO u ambara [nga musadzi]
                'The dress is made to wear [by the woman]'

    f.   Nngu i dzhielwa PRO u thavha [nga vhanna]
                'The sheep is taken to slaughter [by men]'

    g.   Vhuswa vhu bikelwa PRO u la [nga musadzi]
                'The porridge is cooked to eat [by the woman]'

    h.   Munna u vhidzelwa u eletshedza [nga khosi]
                'The man is called (to ask him) to advise [by the chief]'

In the examples in 3(a-h) the **nga**-phrase can be interpreted as an adjunct phrase in that it is optional; it can be included or omitted. If it is omitted the grid of the verbs **renga**, **runga**, etc. will contain only one role of theme and there will not be an agent to control PRO. Although PRO does not receive an interpretation in these examples and does not surface in the clause, it is still present in the grid of the verbs **renga**, **runga**, etc.; it is a kind of implicit agent argument. The presence of the agent role in the grid of the passivized verb may be made explicit by means of an agentive, i.e. a **nga**-phrase. This is the reason why, in examples 3(a-h) the agentive prepositional phrase with **nga**- appears immediately after the infinitival clause verb.

The thematic representation of the argument in 3(a), i.e. the external argument in the **nga**-phrase, is that of an agent and the thematic representation of **bola** (ball) is that of theme. In 3(b) the thematic representation of the argument **munna** (man) is that of the agent, whereas the thematic interpretation of the argument **mbudzi** (goat) is that of theme. In 3(c) the thematic interpretation of the argument **rabulasi** (farmer) in the **nga**-phrase, is that of an agent and the thematic interpretation of **mbwanana** (seedlings) is that of theme. In 3(d) **mulimi** (farmer) receives the thematic representation of the argument agent and **manngo** (mangoes) gets the thematic interpretation of theme. In 3(e) **musadzi** (woman) gets the thematic interpretation of the argument agent, while the argument **rokho** (dress) gets that of a theme. In 3(f) the argument **vhanna** (men) receives the thematic interpretation of agent and **nngu** (sheep) receives the argument interpretation of theme. The argument **musadzi** (woman) in the **nga**-phrase of 3(g) receives the thematic interpretation of agent, while **vhuswa** (porridge) gets the thematic interpretation of the argument theme. Lastly, the argument **khosi** (chief) in 3(h) receives the thematic interpretation of the argument agent.

Should the agentive verbs of the matrix clauses be passivized as in 3(a-h) they will be able to alow the infinitival complement clauses. Since the arguments in the **nga**-phrases are agents, this would mean explicit control of the PRO subject of the complement clauses.

Roberts (1987) is of the opinion that implicit arguments are able to control PRO of rationale clauses. As such, in 3(a-h) PRO of the infinitival clauses will be controlled by the implicit argument only when the agentive NPs which are the complements of the P **nga**, are omitted.

Regarding the position of the external arguments in the constructions in 3(a-h) it can be stated that these constructions remain grammatical only when the **nga**-phrases are preceded by rationale clauses. Should the external agents, which are the complements of the preposition **nga** precede the rationale clauses, the grammaticality of the constructions in 3(a-h) will be affected as shown in (4) below:

(4)   a.   *Bola i rengelwa [nga mutukana] u raha
                  'The ball is bought by the boy to kick'

      b.   *Mbudzi i todelwa [nga munna] u thavha
                  'The goat is wanted by the man to slaughter'

      c.   *Mbwanana dzi tupulelwa [nga rabulasi] u tavha
                  'The seedlings are uprooted by the farmer to plant'

      d.   *Manngo a fulelwa [nga mulimi] u rengisa
                  'The mangoes are picked up by the farmer to sell'

      e.   *Rokho i rungelwa [nga musadzi] u ambara
                  'The dress is made by the woman to wear'

      f.   *Nngu i dzhielwa [nga vhanna] u thavha
                  'The sheep is taken by the men to slaughter'

      g.   *Vhuswa vhu bikelwa [nga musadzi] u la
                  'The porridge is cooked by the woman to eat'

      h.   *Munna u vhidzelwa [nga khosi] u eletshedza
                  'The man is called by the chief to give advice'

The fact that the **nga**-phrase appears immediately after the agentive applicative verb in the matrix clause of (4) causes all these example sentences to be ungrammatical. In contrast, the rationale clauses in example (3) are purpose clauses of the matrix clauses. The phrase **to kick** in sentence 3(a) serves as a good example of a purpose clause because the ball is bought by the boy to be kicked, not by him but by others. Structurally the sentence in 3(a) can be represented as follows:

(5) I"
SPEC^{I'} I'
...

Tree diagram (5):

- I" dominates SPEC^{I'} and I'
- SPEC^{I'} → NP → Object → **Bola**
- I' → VP
- VP → I, V, NP, I
- V → **rengelw-**
- NP → tⁱ (t^i)
- I → SPEC^{I'}, I
- SPEC → NP → subject → [PRO]^i → [Θ]
- I' → I → [-AGR]
- I → I', VP
- VP → V → **raha**, PP
- PP → P → **nga**, NP → **mutukana**
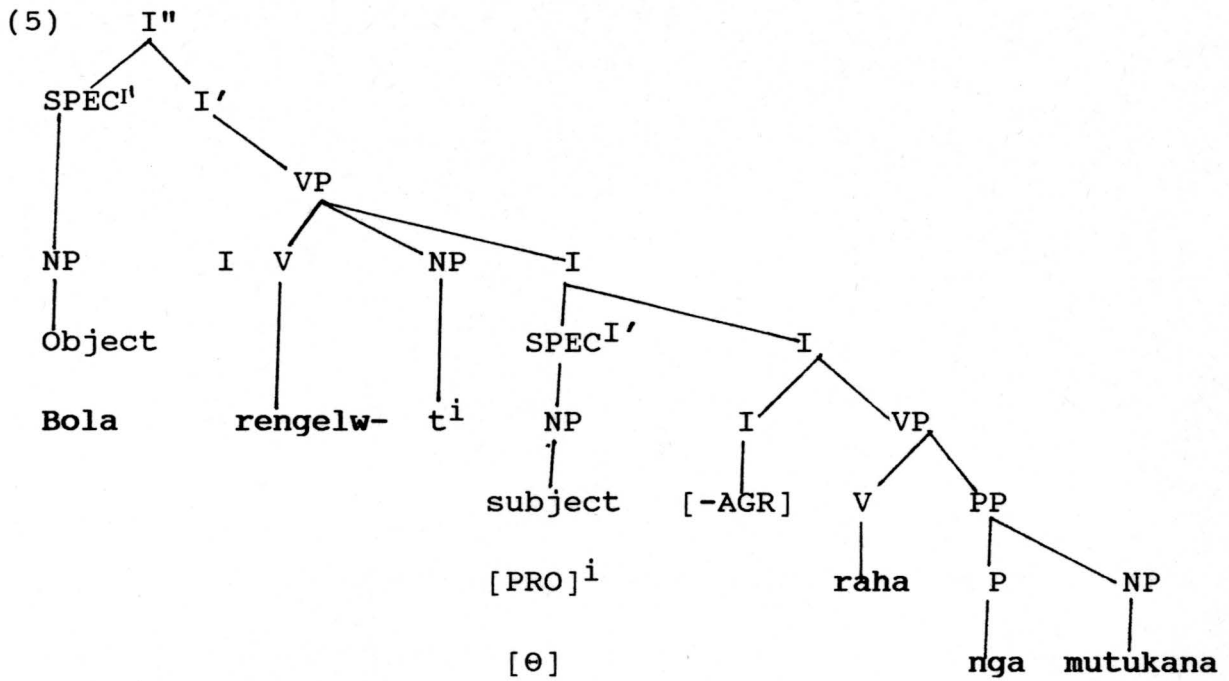
In conclusion it can be stated that in this sub-section it has been demonstrated that a passive agentive verb plus the applied -**el**- can take the purposive infinitival clause when the verb in the infinitival clause is in the active. It has also been established that the subject PRO of this infinitival complement clause, which is sometimes referred to as the rationale clause, can be controlled by the implicit argument which is always assumed in passive constructions if the external agent is missing. The presence of the external agent that is regarded as the NP complement of the preposition **nga**, will indicate explicit control of the PRO subject of the rationale clause. In the sentence, **Bola i rengelwa PRO u raha [nga mutukana]** (the ball is bought to kick by the boy) control of PRO subject of the infinitival clause is possible even when the external agent is appearing after the infinitival clause, but the problem is that this agent cannot c-command the PRO of the infinitive.

3.2.2 Matrix clause weather verb [+pas] + applied -el- and infinitival clause verb [-pas]

The aim of this sub-section is to determine whether passivized weather verbs with the applicative -**el**- can take the purposive infinitival clause. The verb of the rationale clause or purposive infinitival clause, should be in the active. Consider the examples in (6) below:

(6)   a.   Muya u vhudzulela PRO u wisa matari
               'The wind blows to cause the leaves to fall'

    b.   Makole a tibela PRO u tsira ḓuvha
                                 ^
         'The clouds covers to close the sun'

    c.   Mvula i nela PRO u ṋukadza fhasi
         'The rain falls to wet the soil'

    d.   Mvula i thathabela u na
         'The rain thunders to rain'

    e.   Makole a sikutshela u na
         'The clouds are rolling to cause it to rain'

    f.   Mvula i khou penyela PRO u dzamisa mashonzha
         'The rain is flashing to cause worms to die'

    g.   Muya u rothotela PRO u wisa mahada
                                      ^
         'The wind is cold to cause snow to fall'

In the examples in (6) the arguments **muya**, **makole**, **mvula** are referred to as weather nouns and are followed by the applicative weather verbs. The infinitive clauses in 6(a-d) and (g) are characterized by having the themes **matari** (leaves), **ḓuvha** (sun) **fhasi** (soil) and **mahaḓa** (snow). The interpretation of the weather nouns in 6(d) and (e) is that of theme. This would mean that the weather nouns in 6(a), (b), (c), (f) and (g) are external arguments that can be viewed as cause. They are interpreted as arguments that cause something to happen. The weather verbs are followed by infinitival causative verbs. With regard to 6(f) the internal argument has an interpretation of patient, for the worms are caused to die by the flashing of the rain. Taking into account the explanation above, it can be stated that the subject PRO of the infinitival clauses can be controlled by the external agents in the matrix clauses; they are co-indexed to indicate subject control.

The question can be asked whether weather verbs can allow purposive infinitival clauses. This question can be answered by taking the examples of weather verbs in example (6) into account. These verbs are applicative verbs and they are capable of allowing purposive clauses as well agentive arguments. As such, the PRO subjects of their rationale clauses can be controlled by these agents. These weather verbs can be passivized and still allow the purposive infinitival complement clauses and their agentive arguments, as illustrated by the example sentences in (7) below:

(7)   a.   Hu vhudzulelwa PRO u wisa matari [nga muya]
                                             ^
         'There is being blowing to cause the falling of the leaves by the wind'

b. Hu tibelwa PRO u tsira duvha [nga makole]
    'There is being covering to close the sun by clouds'

c. Hu nelwa PRO u dadza milambo [nga mvula]
    'There is being raining to wet the soil by the rain'

d. Hu nzwinzwimalelwa PRO u na nga makole
    'There is being overcasting to cause it to rain by the clouds'

e. Hu thathabelwa PRO u vhulaha zwifuwo [nga mvula]
    'There is thundering to cause animals to die by lightning'

f. Hu sikutshelwa PRO u na [nga makole]
    'There is rolling to cause rain to fall by clouds'

g. Hu penyelwa PRO u dzamisa mashonzha [nga mvula]
    'There is flashing to cause worms to die by the rain'

Should the active weather verbs be passivized, the subject position can be occupied by the existential **hu**. Their external agents can appear in the clauses as NP complements of the preposition **nga**. Should the NP complements of the preposition **nga** be omitted, the implicit argument will control the PRO subject of the rationale clauses. It must be noted that the occurrence of the **nga**-phrase after the rationale clause is optional rather than obligatory. Should the external agents appear or occur immediately after the purposive infinitival complement clauses, control of the PRO subject will be explicit, but the NP agent arguments will not be able to c-command the PRO as they will be appearing after the infinitival complement clauses.

It must however, be noted that weather verbs in Venda cannot be passivized. The weather verbs in the examples of (7) are applied weather verbs and as such they can allow the complement infinitival clauses. It is, however, unlikely that the agentive argument can precede the rationale clause without affecting the grammaticality of the construction or sentence, as in (8) below:

(8) a. *Hu rotholelwa [nga muya] PRO u wisa mahada
         'There is being cold by the wind to cause snow to fall'

     b. *Hu sikutshelwa [nga makole] PRO u na
         'There is being rolled by clouds to cause it to rain'

     c. *Hu nzwinzwimalelwa [nga makole] u na
         'There is being overcast by clouds to cause it to rain'

d.   *Hu nelwa [nga mvula] u ṇukadza fhasi
'There is being raining by the rain to moisten the soil'

e.   *Hu penyelwa [nga mvula] u dzamisa mashonzha
'There is being flashing by the rain to cause worms to die'

The appearance of the **by**-phrase (**nga**-phrase) immediately after the passive applied weather verbs, will cause the sentences to become ungrammatical. This means that, in instances where the weather verbs are applicative verbs, the overtly realized agentive argument will always appear after the rationale clause, as in (7) above.

3.2.3 Matrix clause motion verb [+pas] + applied -el- and infinitival clause verb [-pas]

The aim of this sub-section is to determine whether the passive applicative motion verb in the matrix clause can allow (licence) a purposive infinitival clause whose verb is in the passive. Control of the PRO of the infinitival clause by the implicit argument will also be explored. Consider the examples in (9) where the matrix clause verb first appears in the active:

(9)   a.   Munna u dzhenela nduni PRO u vhudzisa vhathu
'The man enters the house to ask the people'

b.   Musadzi u ḓela PRO u vhona nwana
'The woman comes to see the child'

c.   Nwana u takutshela PRO u vhudzisa khotsi
'The child stands to ask his father'

d.   Vhasidzana vha tsela masimuni PRO u ka muroho
'The girls go down to the fields to pick up vegetables'

e.   Vhatukana vha tutshela PRO u vhona bola
'The boys go to see the football match'

f.   Munna u gidimela banngani u vhea tshelede
'The man rushes to the bank to bank money

In examples 9(a-f) the agentive arguments occur in the subject position of the matrix clauses. These agents which are followed by the applicative motion verbs take infinitival complement clauses. The arguments **ṅwana**, **khotsi**, **muroho**, **bola** and **tshelede** are theme

arguments. The PRO subject in the infinitive clauses is controlled by the agents in the subject position, i.e. the PRO subject of the infinitival clauses can be controlled explicitly by the agents in the subject position. The agents **musadzi**, **ṅwana**, **vhasidzana** (girls) **vhatukana** (boys) **munna** (man) are coindexed with the PRO subject of the infinitival complement clauses.

Should the motion verbs of the matrix clause be passivized in (9) the external arguments, i.e. **munna** (man), **musadzi** (woman), **ṅwana** (child), **vhasidzana** (girls), **vhatukana** (boys) and **munna** (man) will be de-externalized. The subject position will be occupied by the existential morpheme **hu**. The agentive arguments can appear in the prepositional phrases as implicit arguments, as in (10) below:

(10)　　a.　　Hu dzhenelwa PRO u vhudzisa vhathu
　　　　　　　'There is being going in to ask the people'

　　　　b.　　Hu delwa PRO u vhona ṅwana
　　　　　　　'There is being coming to see the child'

　　　　c.　　Hu takutshelwa PRO u vhona khotsi
　　　　　　　'There is being standing up to see the father'

　　　　d.　　Hu tselwa masimuni PRO u ka muroho
　　　　　　　'There is being going down to the fields to pick up vegetables'

　　　　e.　　Hu tutshelwa PRO u vhona bola
　　　　　　　'There is being going away to watch the football match'

　　　　f.　　Hu gidimelwa PRO u vhea tshelede
　　　　　　　'There is being running to bank money'

The grammaticality of the constructions in (10) is fine. The passivation of the motion verbs means that the PRO is left without a controller. Lasnik (1986) states, the possible controller is the implicit argument which may always be assumed in passive constructions if an overt agent is missing. This means that in instances where the motion verbs are passivized, the PRO subject of the infinitival clause may be seen to lack control. In such cases, however, control or implicit control by the implicit argument is possible. It must be noted that explicit control of the PRO is possible if the **nga**-phrase occurs in the post-infinitival position as in (11) below:

(11)　　a.　　Hu dzhenelwa u vhudzisa vhathu [nga munna]
　　　　　　　'There is being going in to ask the people by the man'

b. Hu delwa u vhona ṅwana [nga musadzi]
'There is being coming to see the child by the woman'

c. Hu takutshelwa u vhona khotsi [nga ṅwana]
'There is being standing up to see the father by the child'

d. Hu tselwa masimuni u ka muroho [nga vhasidzana]
'There is being going down to the fields to pick up the vegetables by the girls'

e. Hu ṱutshelwa u vhona bola [nga tukana]
'There is being going away to watch the football match by the boys'

f. Hu gidimelwa u vhea tshelede [nga munna]
'There is being running to bank the money by the man'

Recall that the control theory determines referential properties of the pronominal anaphor PRO which charactistically occurs as the subject of the infinitival clause. The rule of control, which is one of the rules of construal in the Logical Form (LF) component, coindexes PRO with its antecedent NP. The feature content of PRO matches that of the antecedent by which it is controlled. This becomes evident in the example sentences in (11) in that the NP complements of the **nga** preposition are the controllers of the PRO subject of the infinitival complement clauses (explicit control of PRO). As stated above, coindexation of the PRO with its antecedent NP usually occurs when the NP complement precedes the infinitival clause. In (11) coindexation between the external agents and the PRO will also be possible even when the agentive NPs appear after PRO. Although c-commanding will not be possible, control will obtain. Structurally the examples in (11) can be represented by the following construction:

(12) Hu dzhenelwa PRO u vhona ṅwana [nga mme]
'There is being going in to see the child by the mother'

```
                              I"
               _____
          SPECI¹                        I¹
            |                 _____
           NP              Iⁱ              VP
            |               |        _____
          Subj.          [AGR]     V                  I"
                                    |          _____
                          exist.  dzhenel-  SPECI¹          I¹
                                             |         _____
                                            NP        I        VP
                                             |        |     _____
                                           subj.   -AGR   V        NP
           [-]                               |             |    _____
            θ                              PROⁱ          vhona  N      PP
            |                                |            |          _____
            |                               [θ]         nwana  P       NP
            |                                                  |        |
           Hu                                                  |        N
                                                               |        |
                                                              nga      mme
```
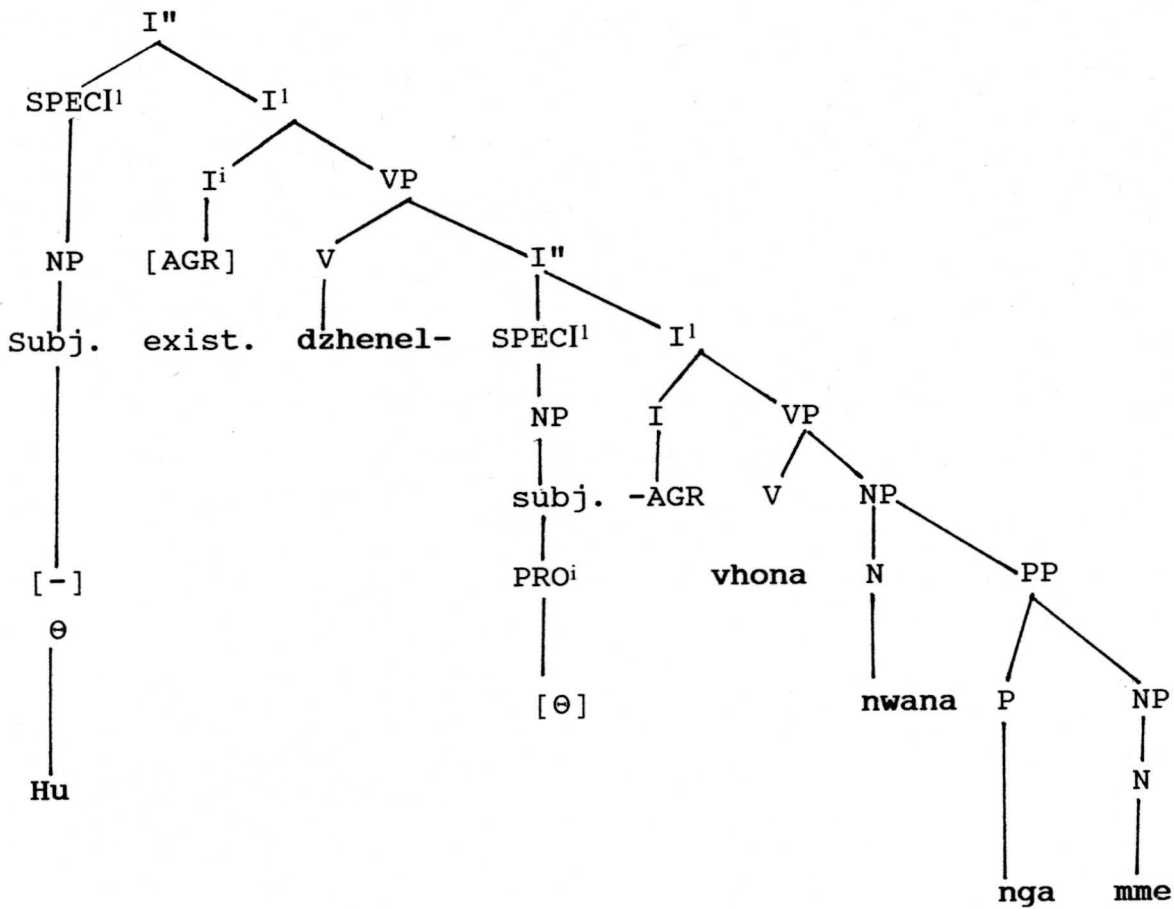
3.2.4 Matrix clause experiencer verb [+pas] + applied -el- and infinitival clause verb [-pas]

The aim of this sub-section is to determine whether the passive applicative experiencer verbs in the matrix clauses can allow a purposive complement infinitival clause with an active verb. Control of the subject PRO of the infinitival clause by the implicit argument, will be considered. Consider the constructions in (13) with active matrix clause verbs:

(13)   a.   *Munna u sinyuwa u vhona ṅwana
              'The man becomes anger to see the child'

          b.   *Vhashumi vha ṅala u vhaisa muvhuso
              'The workers become angry to harm the government'

          c.   *Vhana vha takala u sinyusa vhabebi
              'Children become happy to anger their parents'

          d.   *Vhathu vha fhumula u sinyusa khosi
              'People keep silent to anger the chief'

    e.   *Musadzi u lila u vhaisa munna
           'The woman cries to hurt the man'

The sentences in (13) cannot be grammatical because the experiencer verbs lack the applicative suffix. As such they cannot allow the purposive clause. The external agents **munna** (man), **vhashumi** (workers), **vhana** (children) **vhathu** (people) and **musadzi** (woman) cannot control the PRO due to the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (13). Control of the PRO by the implicit argument is also out of question due to the fact that the implicit argument can only be observed in passive constructions. The example sentences in (13) can be rendered grammatical if the applicative -**el**- is affixed to the experiencer verbs of the matrix clauses, as in (14):

(14)   a.   Munna u sinyutshela PRO u vhona nwana
              'The man becomes angry to see the child'

       b.   Vhashumi vha ṅalela PRO u vhaisa muvhuso
              'The workers become angry to harm the government'

       c.   Vhana vha takalela PRO u sinyusa vhabebi
              'The children become happy to anger their parents'

       d.   Vhathu vha fhumutshela PRO u sinyusa khosi
              'The people become silent to anger the chief'

       e.   Musadzi u lilela PRO u vhaisa munna
              'The woman cries to hurt the man'

In (14) the arguments **munna** (man), **vhashumi** (workers, **vhana** (children), **vhathu** (people) and **musadzi** (woman) have the thematic roles of agent. The internal argument in 14(a) has the thematic role of theme. The argument **muvhuso** (government) receives a thematic role of theme. The arguments **vhabebi** (parents), **khosi** (chief) and **munna** (man) will get thematic roles of patient. In (14) control of the PRO subject of the infinitive clauses by the external arguments, is possible. The external arguments which occur in the subject position in the matrix clauses are the antecedents of the PRO subject in the infinitival clauses. As such, these agents are co-indexed with the PRO of the infinitive. Control of the PRO by the implicit argument can only be possible if the experiencer verbs of the main clauses are passivized, as in (15) below:

(15)   a.   Hu sinyutshelwa PRO u vhona ṅwana
              'There is being angry to see the child'

    b.   Hu ṅalelwa PRO u vhaisa muvhuso

           'There is being sulking to harm the government'

    c.   Hu takalelwa PRO u sinyusa vhabebi

           'There is being happy to anger the parents

    d.   Hu fhumutshelwa PRO u sinyusa khosi

           'There is being silent to anger the chief'

    e.   Hu lilelwa PRO u vhaisa munna

           'There is being cried to hurt the man'

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1992) passive morphology suppresses the theta role assigned to the subject position of a passive verb, i.e. this subject position is a non-theta (non-Ѳ) non-argument position [Ѳ-role suppression]. The passivation of the experiencer verbs in the constructions in (15) means that PRO may be seen to lack a controller. This is where control by the implicit argument comes in. Since the implicit argument is always assumed in the passive constructions that lack an overt external argument, PRO in the constructions in (15) will be controlled implicitly by the implicit argument. Explicit control of PRO is possible if the **nga**-phrase appears in the post infinitival clausal position as in the examples in (16) below:

(16)   a.   Hu sinyutshelwa PRO u vhona ṅwana [nga munna]

           'There is being angry to see the child [by the man]'

    b.   Hu ṅalelwa PRO u vhaisa muvhuso [nga vhashumi]

           'There is being sulking to harm the government [by workers]'

    c.   Hu takalelwa u sinyusa vhabebi [nga vhana]

           'There is being happy to anger the parents [by children]'

    d.   Hu fhumutshelwa u sinyusa khosi [nga vhathu]

           'There is being silent to anger the chief [by the people]'

    e.   Hu lilelwa u vhaisa munna [nga musadzi]

           'There is being cried to hurt the man [by the woman]'

Crystal (1980:15) describes an adjunct as a term used in grammatical theory to refer to an optional or secondary element in a construction. According to him, an adjunct may be removed without the structural identity of the rest of the construction being affected. The same applies to the **nga**-phrases which appear as the complements of the infinitival clauses as in (16). Their presence is optional; their absence cannot affect control of PRO of the

infinitive in passive constructions, for PRO can still be controlled by an implicit argument. The NP complements of the preposition **nga** in the **nga**-phrase in constructions as in (16) will serve as controllers of the PRO. Structurally the constructions in (16) can be represented as follows:

(17)   Hu sinyutshelwa PRO u vhona ṅwana [nga munna]
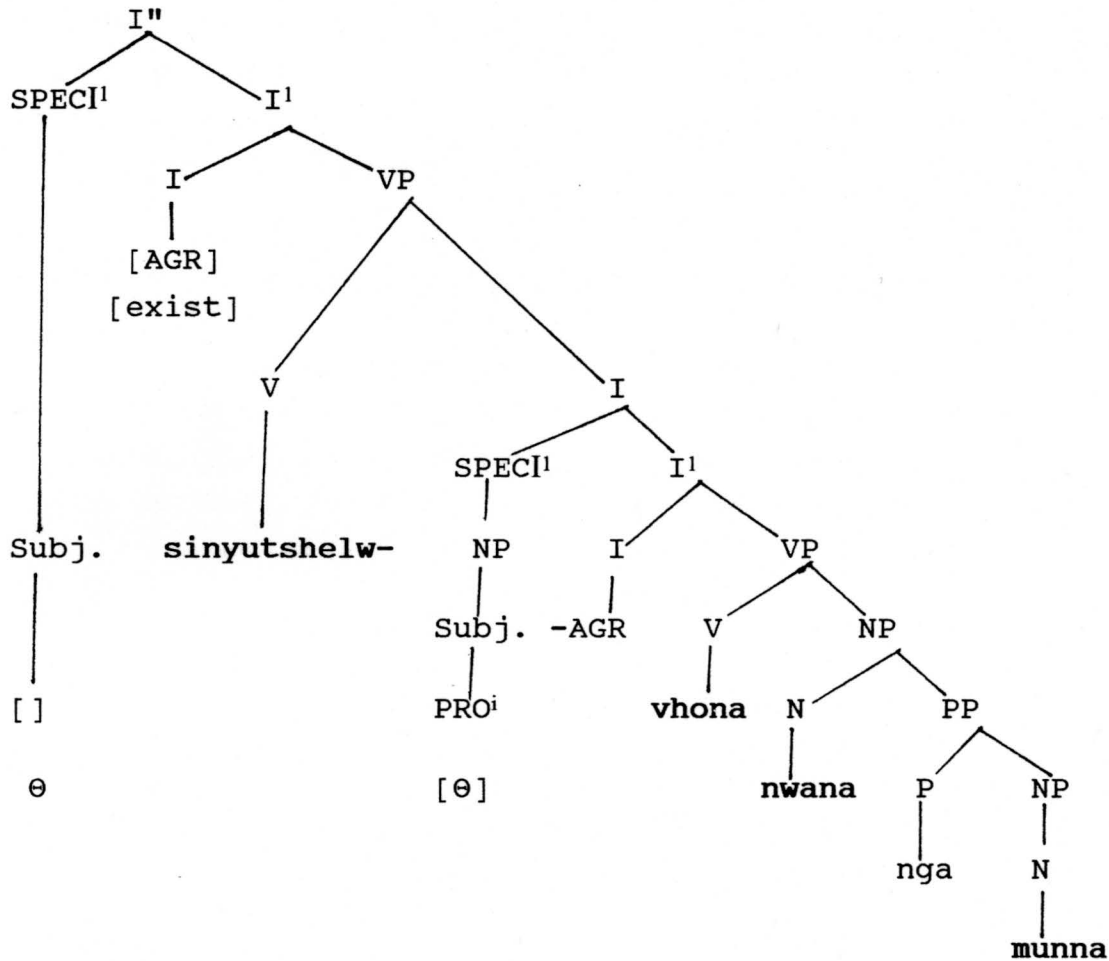
```
                    I"
           _____|_____
      SPECI¹                      I¹
        |                 _____|_____
        |              I'                  VP
        |              |            _____|_____
        |           [AGR]          V                 I
        |          [exist]         |          _____|_____
        |                          |       SPECI¹            I¹
        |                          |         |         _____|_____
      Subj.      sinyutshelw-      |        NP        I'            VP
        |                          V         |        |        _____|_____
        |                          |       Subj.    -AGR      V            NP
       [ ]                         |         |        |        |        ____|____
                                   |        PRO^i     |      vhona    N        PP
        θ                                    |       [θ]             |      ___|___
                                            [θ]                    nwana   P       NP
                                                                           |       |
                                                                          nga      N
                                                                                   |
                                                                                 munna
```

In conclusion it can be stated that in instances where the experiencer verb of the matrix clause is passivized, the external argument will appear as an NP complement of the preposition **nga-** in the **nga**-phrase. Should the **nga**-phrase be omitted, control of the PRO subject of the infinitival complement clause will be implicit, i.e. the implicit argument will serve as controller of the subject PRO in the infinitival complement clause. The presence of the **nga**-phrase will licence explicit control of PRO.

Although it has been indicated that the passivized applicative experiencer verb can take or allow the purposive infinitival clause, not all experiencer verbs in the matrix clause can be

followed by the infinitival clause, e.g. the experiencer verb -**neta** (to be tired). This verb cannot be passivized and then be followed by the infinitival clause, e.g.:

(18)   *Hu netelwa u sinyusa muvhuso nga vhashumi
        'There is being tired to anger the government by the workers'

To be tired is something that hapens to an indivudual automatically. A person cannot decide to become tired, i.e. an intention cannot be made by an individual to become tired. If a person overworks himself or herself, such a person automatically becomes tired. As such, the experiencer verb **neta** (to be tired) cannot be passivized in the matrix clause and still allow the purposive infinitival clause to appear in the post verbal position.

3.2.5 Passivation of the matrix clause verbs with the suffix -elel

The aim of this sub-section is to determine whether a passive matrix clause verb which has the suffix -**elel** can be passivized and then allow the occurrence of the infinitival complement clause in the postverbal position of the matrix clause. Implicit as well as explicit control of the PRO subject of the infinitival clause, will also be explored.

3.2.5.1   Motion verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to establish whether motion verbs which already have the suffix -**elel** can be passivized and still allow the infinitival clause, as in example (19):

(19)   a.   Munna u takutshelela ṅwana PRO u dzhia mpho
              'The man stands for the child to take the gift'

        b.   Musadzi u tshimbilelela munna PRO u hola mundende
              'The woman travels for the man to get the pension'

        c.   Mme u gidimelela nwana PRO u dzhia ripoto
              'The mother runs for the child to take the report'

In example (19) the arguments **munna** (man), **musadzi** (woman) and **mme** (mother) are agent arguments. The arguments **ṅwana** (child) **munna** (man)and **ṅwana** (child) in 19(a-c) respectives are benefactive arguments. The arguments **mpho** (gift), **mundende** (pension) and **ripoto** (school report) are all theme arguments. In the examples in (19) the action that is done by the agent in each example, is done to benefit the benefactive arguments. The agents which appear in the subject position are the controllers of the PRO subject in the

infinitive clauses. For the implicit argument to control the PRO, the matrix clause motion verbs should be passivized as in (20):

(20)   a.   Hu takutshelelwa ṅwana PRO u dzhia mpho
              'There is being standing up on behalf of the child to take the gift'

        b.   Hu tshimbileḽelwa munna PRO u hola mundende
              'There is being travelled on behalf of the man to get the pension money'

        c.   Hu gidimelelwa nwana PRO u dzhia ripoto
              'There is being running on behalf of the child to take the school report'

The passivation of the verbs in the matrix clause will result in the subject position in the matrix clause to be occupied by the existential pronominal associated with the morpheme **hu**. Control of PRO in the infinitive will be by the implicit argument. The structural representation of the examples in (20) will be as follows:

(21)   Hu takutshelelwa nwana u dzhia ripoto
        'There is being standing up on behalf of the child to take the gift'
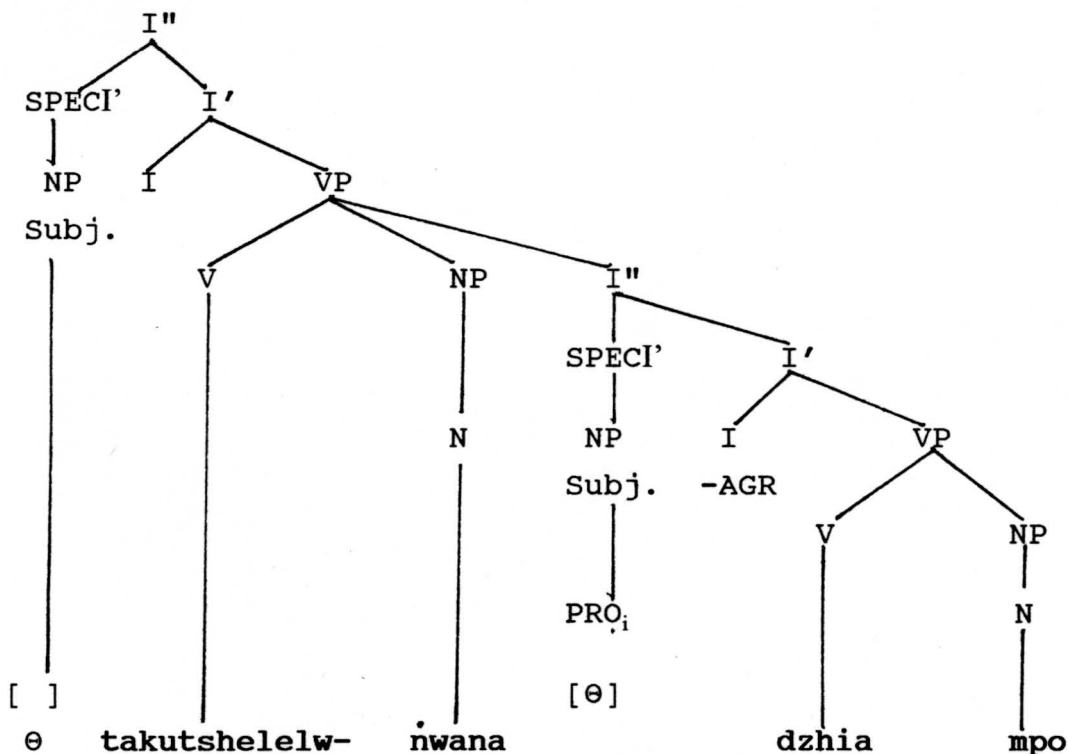
The PRO of the constructions in (21) can be controlled explicitly if the **nga**-phrase appears immediately after the infinitival clause, as in (22):

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(22)　　a.　Hu takutshelelwa ṅwana u dzhia mpho [nga musadzi]
'There is being standing up on behalf of the child to take the gift [by the woman]'

　　　　b.　Hu tshimbilelelwa munna PRO u hola mundende [nga musadzi]
'There is being travelled on behalf of the man to get the pension money [by the woman]'

　　　　c.　Hu gidimelelwa ṅwana PRO u dzhia ripoto [nga musadzi]
'There is being running on behalf of the child to take the report [by the woman]'

In the sentences in (22) PRO of the infinitive is controlled by the NP complement of the preposition **nga** in the **nga**-phrase. No c-command exists between the external agent and PRO because the external agent is appearing after the infinitival clause. Structurally the construction in (22) can be represented as follows:

(23)　　Hu takutshelelwa ṅwana PRO u dzhia mpho nga musadzi

55
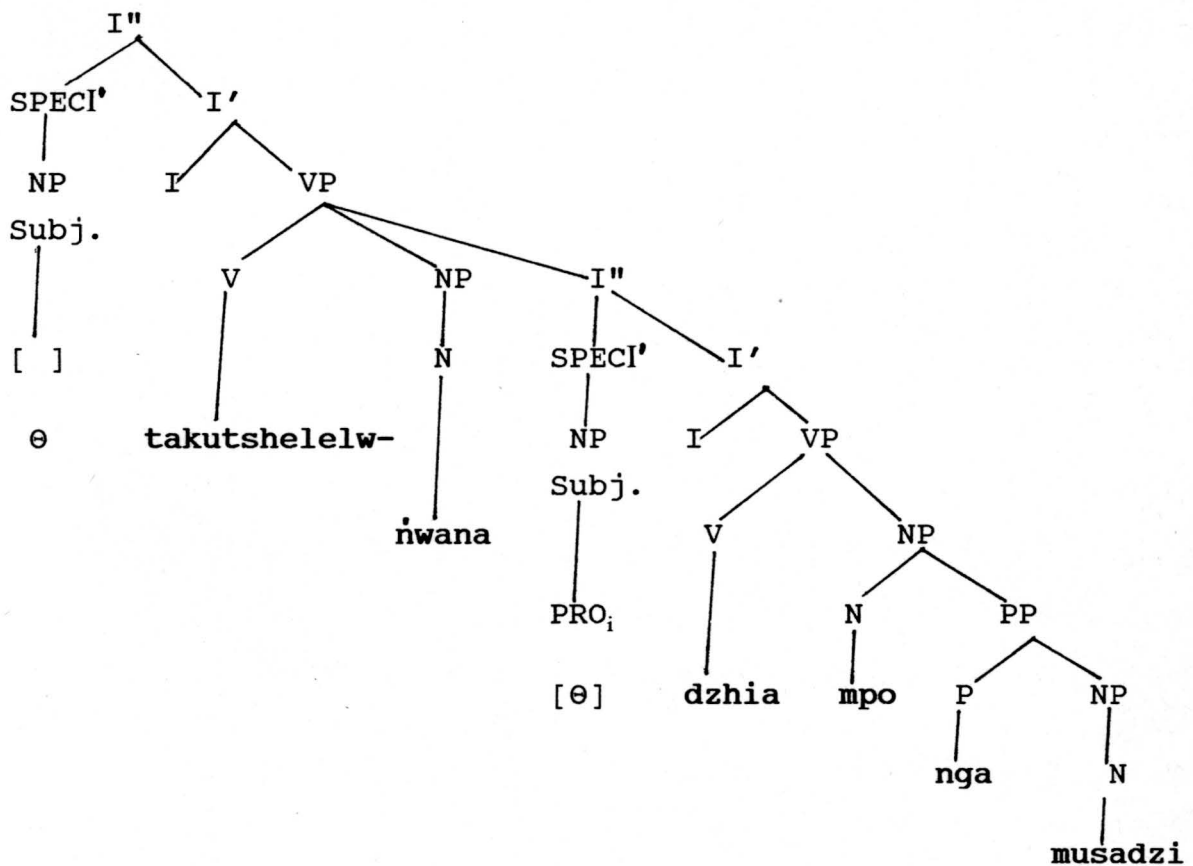
3.2.5.2   Experiencer verbs

The purpose of this sub-section is to determine whether experiencer verbs which have the suffix -**elel**- can be passivized and allow an infinitival clause to appear after the matrix clause as in (24):

(24)   a.   *Musadzi u fhumulelela munna PRO u tswa tshelede
            'The woman is silent for the man to have stolen the money'

        b.   *Hu fhumulelelwa munna PRO u tswa tshelede [nga musadzi] [Passive]

The constructions in (24) are not grammatical in that the argument, **musadzi** (woman) cannot experience a problem on behalf of the argument, **munna** (man). A person cannot experience a problem or anything on behalf of another person. As such, experiencer verbs which already have the suffix -**elel**- cannot be passivized and allow the infinitival clause.

3.2.5.3   Weather verbs

Similarly to the previous sub-section, the aim of this section is to establish whether weather verbs which have the suffix -**elel**- can be passivized and allow an infinitival clause to appear in the postverbal position of the matrix clause. Consider the examples in (25):

(25)   a.   *Muya u vhudzulelela u wisa maṱari
            'The wind blows for the leaves to fall'

        b.   *Mvula i nelela zwimela u takadza vhalimi
            'The rain rains for the plants to please farmers'

        c.   *Hu vhudzulelelwa u wisa maṱari [nga muya]   [Passive]
            'There is being blown for the leaves to fall by the wind'

        d.   *Hu nelelwa zwimela u takadza vhalimi [nga mvula]   [Passive]
            'There is being rained for the plants to please farmers by the rain'

The constructions in (25) are ungrammatical because the arguments in the matrix clauses are inanimate arguments, they do not have feelings. As such, they cannot perform an action on behalf of something. Therefore, control of the subject PRO by either the implicit or the explicit argument is not possible.

In conclusion it can be stated that experiencer and weather verbs which already have the suffix -**elel**- cannot be passivized. They also cannot allow a purposive clause to appear in the postverbal position of the matrix clause. It follows that control of PRO will not be possible.

3.2.6 Intransitive passive and neuter passive verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to determine whether intransitive and neuter passivized verbs of the matrix clause can licence the occurrence of an infinitival complement clause in the post verbal position of the matrix clause.

As mentioned earlier, passive morphology always de-externalizes the subject of the verb during the construction of the sentence in question. Passive morphology causes the external theta role to be realized somewhere as agent or theme. Should the passive affix -**w**- be added to the verb, its subject position will be empty. Agreement inflection will in actual fact receive the existential morpheme **hu** but athe subject position does not receive a theta role. The missing subject argument can however, be implied, i.e. the implicit argument may be interpreted. Intransitive passive and neuter passive constructions will be discussed in this section under the following sub-headings:

3.2.6.1   Intransitive passive experiencer verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to establish whether experiencer verbs in the matrix clause can be passivized and still allow the infinitival clause to occur in the post verbal position of the main clause, as in (26) below:

(26)   a.   *Hu takalwa u shushedza vhathu
               'There is being happy to fighten the people'

         b.   *Hu lilwa u sinyusa munna
               'There is being cried to anger the man'

         c.   *Hu ńaliwa u vhaisa muvhuso
               'There is being sulked to harm the government'

         d.   *Hu fhumulwa u sinyusa mudededzi
               'There is being kept silent to anger the teacher'

         e.   *Hu sewa u vhaisa mutukana
               'There is being laughed to hurt the boy'

In the examples in (26) the experiencer verbs **takalwa** (being happy), **lilwa** (being cried), **ṅaliwa** (being sulked), **fhumulwa** (being silent) and **sewa** (being laughed at) are derived from the verbs **takala** (happy), **lila** (cry), **ṅala** (sulk) **fhumula** (silent) and **sea** (laugh), respectively. The arguments **vhathu** (people), **munna** (man), **mudededzi** (teacher) and **mutukana** (boy) receive the thematic role of patient. The argument **muvhuso** (government) receives the thematic role of theme. All the constructions in (26) are ungrammatical. This means that if experiencer verbs in the main clauses are passivized, they will not allow infinitival complement clauses to appear in the post-verbal position. For the sentences in (26) to be grammatical, the applicative -**el**- should be affixed to the passive experiencer verbs, as in the example sentences in (27):

(27)   a.   Hu lilelwa PRO u sinyusa munna
               'There is being cried to anger the man'

        b.   Hu takalelwa PRO u sinyusa vhathu
               'There is being glad to anger the people'

        c.   Hu ṅalelwa PRO u vhaisa muvhuso
               'There is being fed up to harm the government'

        d.   Hu fhumulelwa PRO u sinyusa mudededzi
               'There is being silent to anger the teacher'

        e.   Hu setshelwa PRO u vhaisa mutukana
               'There is being laughed to hurt the boy'

The constructions in (27) are all grammatical. The PRO subject of the infinitive lacks an overt controller. The absence of the agentive arguments would mean control of the PRO implicitly by the implicit argument which is assumed to be always present in passive constructions like the ones in (27). In 27(a) it becomes clear that 'someone' is crying with the purpose of causing the man to become angry. It is this 'someone' who is missing in (27) who can serve as the possible controller of PRO. This is where the implicit argument functions. Explicit control of the PRO in the constructions in (27) is possible. Consider also the constructions in (28):

(28)   a.   Hu lilelwa PRO u sinyusa munna [nga musadzi]
               'There is being cried to anger the man [by the woman]'

        b.   Hu takalelwa PRO u sinyusa vhathu [nga mapholisa]
               'There is being happy to anger the people [by the police]'

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c.   Hu ṅalelwa PRO u vhaisa muvhuso [nga vhashumi]
      'There is being fed up to harm the government [by workers]'

d.   Hu fhumulelwa PRO u sinyusa mudededzi [nga vhana]
      'There is being silent to anger the teacher [by pupils]'

e.   Hu setshelwa PRO u vhaisa mutukana [nga vhasidzana]
      'There is being laughed to hurt the boy [by the girls]'

PRO subject in the constructions in (28) is now explicitly controlled by the arguments that appear as the complement of the prepositon **nga** of the **nga**-phrase in the infinitival clauses. In (28) the arguments **munna** (man), **vhathu** (people), **mudededzi** (teacher) and **mutukana** (boy) have the thematic role of patient, while the argument **muvhuso** (government) has the thematic role of theme.

The constructions in (28) are represented structurally as follows:

(29)   Hu lilelwa PRO u vhaisa munna nga musadzi
        'There is being cried to anger the man by the woman'
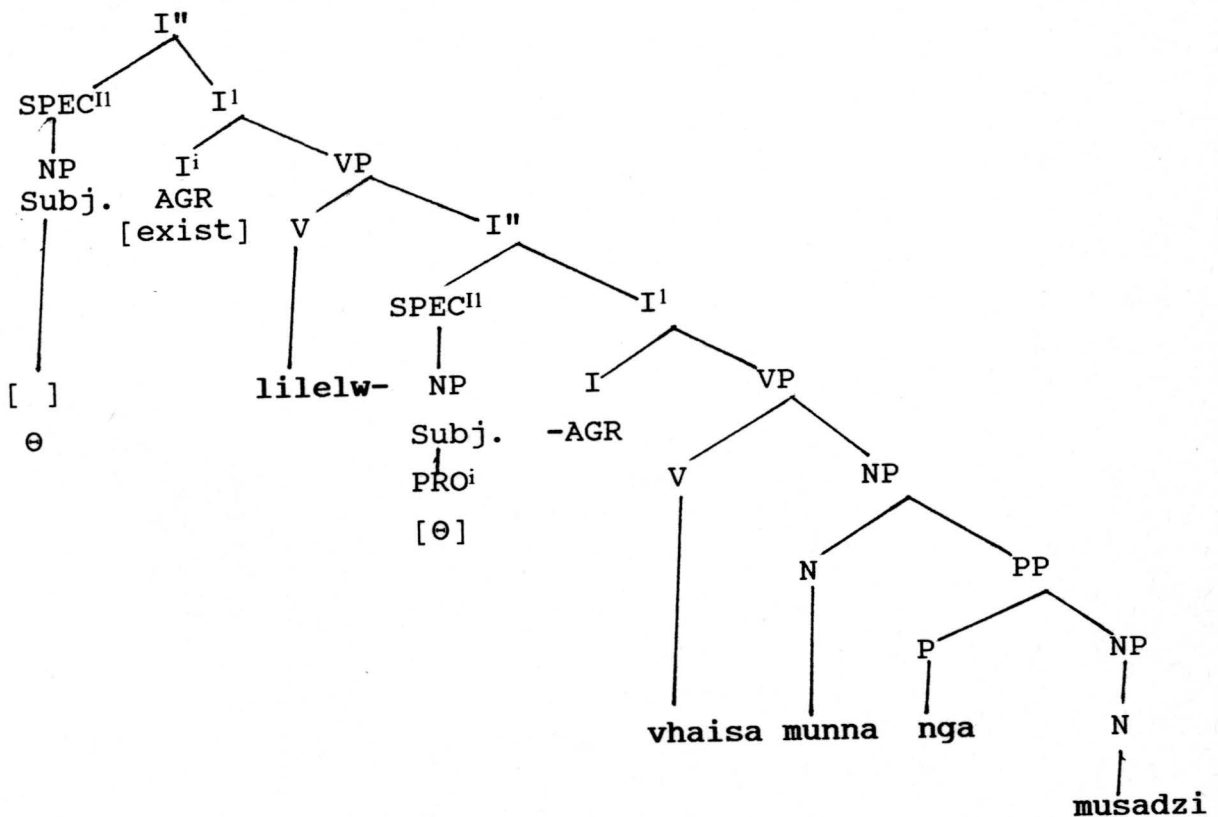
In conclusion it can be stated that intransitive weather verbs, if passivized, will need the applicative -el- to allow the purposive infinitival clause and to make it possible for subject PRO in the infinitival purposive clause to be controlled by the agentive argument now mapped onto the PP.

3.2.6.2   Intransitive passive weather verbs

The aim of this sub-section is mainly to establish if passive intransitive weather verbs can allow the infinitival complement clause. Consider the following example sentences in (30):

(30)   a.   *Hu nzwinzwimalwa PRO u na [nga makole]
                          'There is overcast to cause it to rain [by the clouds]'

            b.   *Hu penywa PRO u dzamisa mashonzha [nga mvula]
                          'There is flashing to kill the worms [by the rain]'

            c.   *Hu tibwa PRO u tsira ḓuvha [nga makole]
                          'There is covered to close the sun [by clouds]'

            d.   *Hu vhudzulwa PRO u wisa maṱari [nga muya]
                          'There is blowing to cause leaves to fall [by the wind]'

            e.   *Hu thathabwa PRO u ṱuwisa [mvula nga ndadzi]
                          'There is thundered to cause rain to stop [by lightining]'

If weather verbs are passivized, the sentences become ungrammatical, as is the case in (30). Control of PRO in the infinitival complement clauses is impossible due to the ungrammaticality of the constructions. Consider the example sentences in (31):

(31)   a.   Hu nzwinzwimalelwa u na nga makole
                          'There is being overcast (to cause it) to rain by the clouds'

            b.   Hu penyelwa u dzamisa mashonzha nga mvula
                          'There is being flashing to kill the worms by the rain'

            c.   Hu tibelwa u tsira ḓuvha nga makole
                          'There is being overcast to close the sun by the clouds'

            d.   Hu vhudzululelwa u wisa maṱari nga muya
                          'There is being blowing to cause leaves to fall by the wind'

e.   Hu thathabelwa u ṱuwisa mvula nga ndadzi
        ^   ^
     'There is being thundered to stop the rain by lightning'

Nekhumbe (1995) is of the opinion that if the verbs **nzwinzwimala** (overcast), **penya**
(flash), **tiba** (cover), **vhudzula** (blow) and **thathaba** (thunder) which are all weather verbs,
are used with the passive -**w**-, they will render the sentences ungrammatical. This means
that weather verbs do not allow the presence of the passive -**w**-. For example, when the
wind is blowing in 31(d) it cannot be said that it is blowing to cause the leaves to fall. The
wind as an inanimate argument has no thinking capacity to be able to decide to blow at a
particular time in order to cause the leaves to fall. Nekhumbe's argument that weather
                                                          ^
verbs cannot be passivized, is therefore justified.

3.2.6.3   Intransitive passive motion verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to determine whether intransitive passive motion verbs can
also take the infinitive clause, i.e. a purposive infinitival clause. It will also be investigated
whether PRO in such infinitival complement clauses can be controlled by either an implicit
or explicit argument. Consider the following example sentences in (32):

(32)   a.   *Hu iwa u hwala thundu
             'There is going straight to carry the goods'

        b.   *Hu tsiwa u takadza vhathu
             'There is going down to entertain the people'

        c.   *Hu dzhenwa u tshuwisa vhathu
             'There is going in to frighten the people'

        d.   *Hu ṱuwiwa u sinyusa khosi
                  ^
             'There is going away to anger the chief'

        e.   *Hu takuwiwa u seisa vhathu
             'There is standing up to cause people to laugh'

In (32) the passive verbs of the matrix clause cannot licence these clauses to take the
complement purposive infinitival clauses. In this regard, the motion verbs of the matrix
clauses in (32) should take the applicative -**el**- in order to allow the occurrence of the
purposive infinitival clauses, as in the example sentences of (33):

(33)   a.   Hu yelwa PRO u hwala thundu
             'There is going to carry the goods'

b. Hu tselwa PRO u takadza vhathu

'There is being going down to entertain people'

c. Hu dzhenelwa nḓuni PRO u tshuwisa vhathu

'There is being going into the house to frighten the people'

d. Hu takutshelwa PRO u sinyusa khosi

'There is being going away to anger the chief'

e. Hu takutshelwa PRO u seisa vhathu

'There is being standing up to cause people to laugh'

f. Hu livhelwa PRO u ṅwala thundu

'There is being going straight to carry the goods'

In (33), where all the sentences are grammatical, the passivized applicative verbs **yelwa**, **tselwa**, **dzhenelwa**, **ṱutshelwa** and **takutshela** have been derived from the verbs, **ya**, **tsa**, **dzhena**, **ṱuwa** and **takuwa**, respectively. All these are motion verbs expressing the state of motion, with the exception of 33(f) where the usage of the applicative -**el**- is optional in that the motion verb **livha** (go straight) can be passivized and still render the sentence grammatical, as in example (34):

(34) Ho livhiwa u hwala thundu

'There is going straight to carry the goods'

The sentences in (33) are problematic in that there is no overt controller of the PRO subject of the infinitive clauses. The PRO can, however, be controlled by the implicit argument that is always assumed in passive constructions lacking overt external argument. The control of this PRO can be explicit if the external argument which can appear as the complement of the preposition **nga**-, appears in the post infinitival position, as in the examples in (35) below:

(35) a. Hu yelwa PRO u hwala thundu [nga vhanna]

'There is being going to carry the goods [by the men]'

b. Hu tselwa PRO u takadza vhathu [nga vhaimbi]

'Therre is being going down to entertain people [by the singers]'

c. Hu dzhenelwa nḓuni PRO u tshuwisa vhathu [nga mapholisa]

'There is being going into the house to frighten the people [by the police]'

d. Hu ṱutshelwa PRO u sinyusa khosi [nga vhathu]
    'There is being going away to anger the chief [by the people]'

e. Hu takutshelwa PRO u seisa vhathu [nga vhadzia miswaswo]
    'There is being standing up to cause people to laugh [by clowns]'

The arguments **vhanna** (men), **vhaimbi** (singers), **mapholisa** (policemen), **vhathu** (people) and **vhadziamiswaswo** (clowns) in (35) are agent arguments. In 35(a) the argument **thundu** (goods) has a thematic role of theme and in 35(b) the argument **vhathu** (people) receives a thematic interpretation of benefactive. In 35(c) the argument **vhathu** (people) receives a thematic role of experiencer or patient while the argument **khosi** (chief) in 35(d) has the thematic role of experiencer. In 35(e) **vhathu** (people) receives the thematic role of benefactive or experiencer. PRO subject of the infinitival clauses in (35) will be controlled by the agentive arguments in the **nga**-phrase. The appearance of the external agents in the **nga**-phrase is optional in that, if omitted, control of PRO will be implicit. Structurally the sentences in (35) can be represented as follows:

(36) Hu takutshelwa u seisa vhathu nga vhadziamiswaswo
      'There is being standing up to cause people to laugh by the clowns'
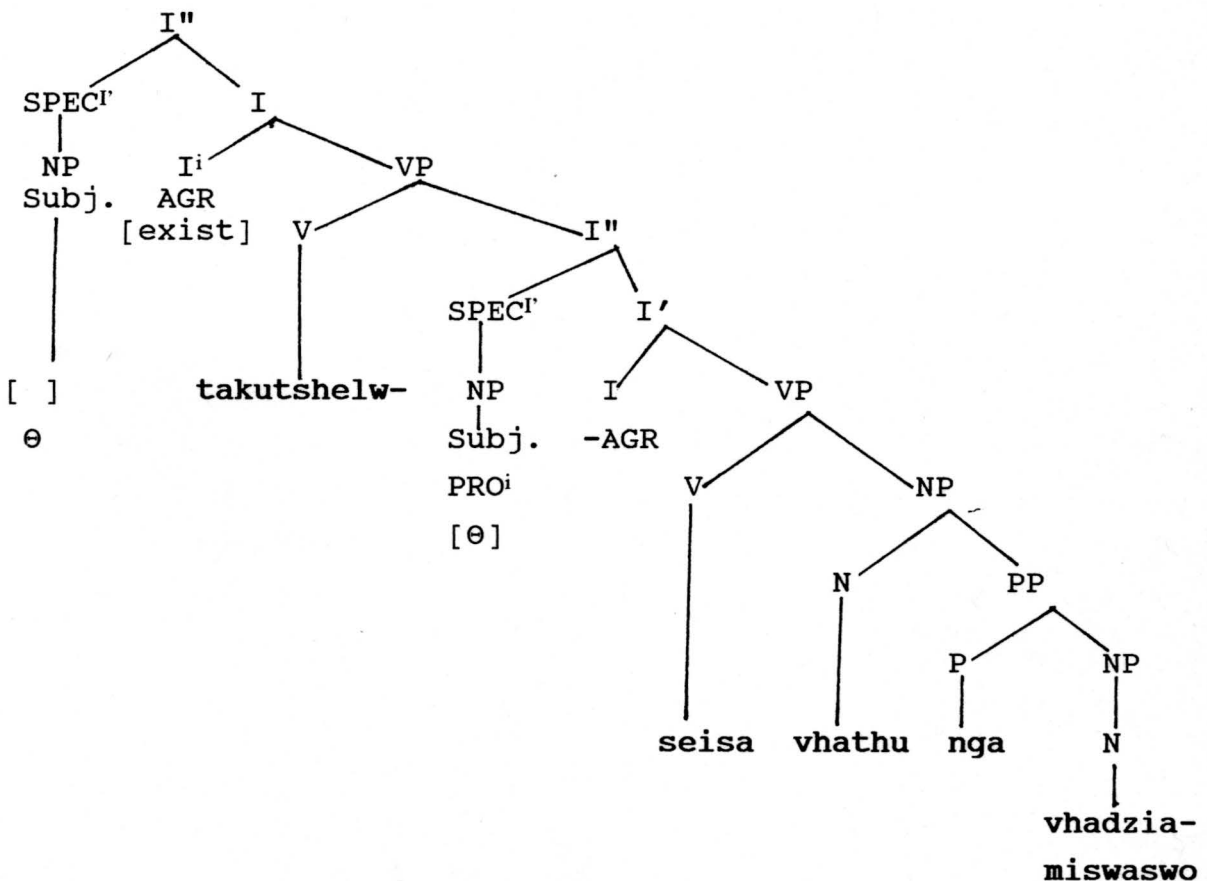
Taking into account the example sentences given in 3.2.6.3, it can be stated that the intransitive passivized motion verbs will need the applicative or causative -**el**- to allow the purposive infinitival clauses. In instances where the external agentive arguments are missing, the implicit argument will control the PRO subject of the infinitive, since the presence of the implicit argument is always assumed in passive constructions lacking an overt external argument.

3.2.6.4   Intransitive passive stative verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to explore the possibility of the passivation of the stative verbs in the matrix clauses, with the possibility to allow the purposive infinitival clauses. Control of the subject PRO in these infinitival or rationale clauses, will also be looked into. Consider the example sentences in (37) below:

(37)   a.   *Hu netelwa u vhaisa rabulasi [nga vhashumi]
                       'There is being tired to hurt the farmer [by the workers]'

              b.   *Hu ondelwa u vhaisa munna [nga musadzi]
                       'There is being tired to hurt the man [by the woman]'

              c.   *Hu sinelwa u vhaisa mulimi [nga maṱamatisi]
                       'There is being rotten to hurt the farmer [by tomatoes]'

              d.   *Hu fholelwa u takadza vhafunzi [nga mulwadze]
                       'There is being recovering from illness to please the pastor [by the patient]'

Stative verbs in (37) creates a problem if they are passivized. In the first instance, **vhathu** (people) cannot decide to become tired because this is something that comes naturally to a person. The passive applicative stative verbs in the matrix clauses in (37) appear with the purposive infinitival complement clauses in the post-verbal position. Stative verbs cannot appear with purposive infinitival clauses in the post-verbal position. It is therefore impossible to have the control of the PRO subject of the infinitival clause since no such clause will be allowed to appear in the post-verbal position of the matrix clauses.

3.2.7 Neuter passives

Neuter passive morphology has exactly the same influence on the host verb as the passive morpheme -**w**-. Du Plessis and Visser (1992) are of the opinion that intransitive verbs may also be extensively used with the neuter-passive -**ea**- as an affix to the verb. The same

observations which have been made with regard to the passive -**w**- , is applicable to -**ea**-. The subject argument is de-externalized and the existential pronominal associated with **hu**- appears as subject.

According to Poulos (1990) verbal roots that incorporate the extention -**ea**- express a significance which is best translated, in most instances, by the English -**able**, -**ible**. In Venda the verb -**vhon**- meaning see, would take on the form -**vhone**-, with the meaning of **be visible**, i.e. something that can be seen. It must be noted, however, that neuter-passive extensions, like the passive, cannot assign case to objects, hence the example sentences in (38) below are ungrammatical:

(38)   a.   *Musadzi u a funea munna
              'The woman is lovable the man'

        b.   *Nama i a ḽea mutukana
              'The meat is eadable the boy'

In 38(a) the subject argument **musadzi** (woman) originates in the Deep structure object position; it can be interpreted as theme or experiencer. The same applies to 38(b). **Nama** (meat) receives the thematic interpretation of theme; it needs to be eaten by something. **Munna** (man) and **mutukana** (boy) in 38 (a) and (b) respectively, can appear as external arguments if they become complements of the preposition **nga**-, as in (39):

(39)   a.   Musadzi u a funea nga munna
              'The woman is lovable by the man'

        b.   Nama i a ḽea nga mutukana/vhathu
              'The meat is eadable by the boy/people'

It must be noted that the issue at stake with neuter-passive verb constructions is, whether they can allow the purposive clauses to appear in the post-verbal position and whether the PRO subject of the infinitive clause can be controlled by the argument in the overt phrase or the implicit argument. In neuter-passive verb constructions, as stated earlier, the subject argument is de-externalized and the existential pronominal associated with **hu**- has to appear in the subject position.

3.2.7.1   Neuter-passive motion verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to determine whether the neuter passive motion verbs can licence a purposive infinitive clauses to appear in the post-verbal position of the main clauses. Control of the PRO subject of the infinitive clause by the implicit argument, will also be looked into. Consider the constructions in (40) below:

(40)   a.   Hu a tsea [nga vhaimbi] PRO u mvumvusa vhathu
             'The singers can go down to entertain people'

        b.   Hu a dzhenea [nga mapholisa] PRO u shushedza vhana
             'The police can get in to frighten the children'

        c.   Hu a ṱuwea [nga vhathu] PRO u sinyusa khosi
             'The people can go away to anger the chief'

        d.   Hu a takutshea [nga vhadziamiswaswo] PRO u takadza vhathu
             'The clowns can stand up to please/entertain the people'

        e.   Hu a yea [nga mapholisa] PRO u pfulusa vhathu
             'The police can go there to remove people'

In the example sentences in (40) it is clear that the subject position in (a) to (e) is a non-argument position and is occupied by the existential pronominal associated with the morpheme **hu**-. What is striking here is that the subject PRO of the infinitival clauses can be controlled by an explicit argument in the PP. In the absence of these NP complements in the PP, PRO subject of the infinitive clauses will be controlled implicitly by the implicit arguments. As such, in instances where the motion verbs allow the infinitive clause to appear in the post-verbal position of the matrix clauses, control of the PRO will be implicit. However, in instances where the infinitive clause appears after the **nga**-phrase, PRO will be controlled explicitly by the overt argument. It must be noted that, if the agent of the matrix clause appears in subject position, it is not possible for motion verbs to take the neuter-passive form and allow the purposive infinitival clause, as shown in (41) below:

(41)   a.   *Vhaimbi vha a tselea u mvumvusa vhathu
             'The singers are easy to go to to entertain people'

        b.   *Mapholisa a dzhenelea u shushedza vhana
             'The police are easy going in to frighten the children'

        c.   *Vhathu vha ṱuwelea u sinyusa khosi
             'The people are easy going away to anger the chief'

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    d.   *Vhadziamiswaswo vha takutshelea u takadza vhathu
                'Clowns are easy to stand up to to please or entertain the people'

All the sentences in (41) are ungrammatical. Grammatical sentences can result if the neuter-passive verbs are replaced by active applicative verbs in the matrix clause, as in (42) below:

(42)   a.   Vhaimbi vha tsela PRO u mvumvusa vhathu
                'The singers go down to entertain the people'

          b.   Mapholisa a dzhenela PRO u shushedza vhana
                'The police go into the house to frighten the children'

          c.   Vhathu vha ṱuwela PRO u sinyusa khosi
                'The people go away to anger the chief'

          d.   Vhatshini vha takulshela PRO u mvumvusa vhathu
                'The dancers stand up to entertain the people'

In the example sentences in (42) the verbs in the matrix clause is not in the neuter-passive. The subjects in the matrix clause bear the thematic roles of agent and as such, it is possible for these subject arguments to control PRO of the infinitive clause. This however, is not an issue to be addressed here because the matrix verbs are not neuter-passives. The issue at stake is the ability of neuter-passive verbs to allow purposive infinitive clauses, i.e. whether neuter-passive verbs in the matrix clause can allow purposive clauses so that control of PRO by the implicit or explicit argument can be possible.

3.2.7.2   Neuter-passive weather verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to establish whether neuter passive weather verbs can allow the infinitive complement clause to appear in the post-verbal position. Control of the PRO will also be looked into. Consider the following example sentences in (43) below:

(43)   a.   *Hu a nzwinzwimalea nga makole u nisa mvula
                'There can be overcasting by clouds to cause it to rain'

          b.   *Hu a penyea nga mvula u dzamisa mashonzha
                'There can (easily) be flashing by the rain to kill the worms'

           c.   *Hu a nelea nga mvula u medza zwimela
                'There can (easily) be rained by the rain to cause plants to grow'

    d.   *Hu a vhudzulea nga muya u wisa maṱari

         'There can (easily) be blowing by the wind to cause leaves to fall'

    e.   *Hu a thathabea nga mvula u vhulaha zwifuwo

         'There can (easily) be thundered by rain to kill animals'

    f.   *Hu a nelea nga mvula u ḓadza milambo

         'There can (easily) be rained by rain to flood the rivers'

The interpretation of the sentence in 43(b) is that it is possible to kill the worms by the rain. This, however, seems unlikely in that the rain cannot willingly kill the worms because it is an inanimate entity. Inanimate entities like **makole** (clouds), **mvula** (rain), **muya** (wind) and **nḓadzi** (lightning) do not have feelings or thinking capacity. Therefore, the sentences in 43(a) to (f) are ungrammatical.

3.2.7.3   Neuter-passive experiencer verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to explore whether neuter-passive experiencer verbs in the matrix clause can allow an infinitive clause to appear as complement clause of the main clause verb. Consider the example sentences in (44) below:

(44)   a.   Hu a dzulea [nga vhashumi] PRO u vhaisa muvhuso

         'It is easy to sit down by the workers to harm the government'

    b.   Hu a ḓea [nga vhaimbi] PRO u mvumvusa vhathu

         'It is easy to come by the singers to entertain people'

    c.   Hu a fhumulea [nga vhana] PRO u sinyusa mudededzi

         'It is easy to keep quiet by children to provoke the teacher'

To some speakers of Venda the sentences in 44(a) to (c) may seem ungrammatical. What must be noted here, is that neuter-passives do not require the applicative -**el**- to allow the purposive infinitival complement clauses, i.e. neuter-passive experiencer verbs do not need the applicative -**el**- to allow the infinitival clause to appear in the post-verbal position of the matrix clause. Our concern in 44(a) to (c) should be the position of the agent. The external agents in (44) have been de-externalized by the neuter-passive morphology of the verbs in the matrix clauses. The subject of the verbs in the matrix clauses are occupied by the existential morpheme proniminal associated with -**hu**. Hence, the subject arguments in the sentences of (44) must appear elsewhere, either as explicit or implicit arguments, hence the occurrence of the bracketed **nga**-phrase in the post-verbal position of the matrix clause. Exclusion of the **nga**-phrase will result in the control of PRO being implicit, while with

inclusion of the bracketed phrases the implicit argument will be explicitly expressed, as such, control will be explicit.

Concluding this section on neuter-passive verbs, it can be stated that neuter-passive verbs do not need the applicative -el- to allow the appearance of an infinitival clause in the post-verbal position. Explicit and implicit control of PRO with neuter-passive motion verbs is possible, but weather verbs do not allow the occurrence of an infinitive clause in the post-verbal position; hence, no control of PRO can occur. Experiencer verbs can allow infinitival clause complement in constructions.

3.2.8 Matrix clause monotransitive verb [+pas] + applied -el- and infinitival clause verb [-pas]

Monotransitive verbs are single object verbs. In this sub-section it will be established whether monotransitive verbs in the matrix clause can be passivized and still be in a position to allow or licence a purposive infinitival complement clause. Control properties of the subject PRO in the infinitival complement clause of the passivized monotransitive verbs will also be looked into. Consider the example sentences in (45) below:

(45)   a.   *Musidzana u bika n̠ama PRO u fusha vhathu
           'The girl cooks the meat to feed the people'

        b.   *Mulimi u ka muroho PRO u rengisela vhathu
           'The farmer picks up the vegetables to sell to the people'

        c.   *Munna u renga baisigira u takadza ṅwana
           'The man buys the bicycle to please the child'

        d.   *Musidzana u runga rokho u mangadza vhathu
           'The girl makes the dress to impress the people'

        e.   *Tshililo u litsha tshikolo u sinyusa vhabebi
           'Tshililo leaves school to anger his parents'

        f.   *Vhadzulapo vha thela muthelo u takadza muvhuso
           'The citizens pays athe tax to impress the government'

        g.   *Mukondi u sima luimbo u takadza vhatendi
           'Mukondi starts the song to please the Christians'

The verbs in the matrix clauses in (45) as well as the verbs of the complement infinitival clauses, are in the active. All the example sentences in (45) are ungrammatical. By affixing the applicative -**el**- to the matrix monotransitive verbs, the constructions can be grammatical, as in the example sentences of (46) below:

(46)   a.   Musidzana u bikela nama PRO u fusha vhathu
                'The girl cooks the meat to feed the people'

         b.   Munna u rengela baisigira PRO u fha nwana
                'The man buys the bicycle to give to the child'

         c.   Musidzana u rungela rokho PRO u mangadza vhathu
                'The girl makes the dress to impress people'

         d.   Tshililo u litshela tshikolo PRO u sinyusa vhabebi
                'Tshililo leaves school to anger his parents'

         e.   Vhadzulapo vha thelela muthelo PRO u takadza muvhuso
                'The citizens pays the tax to impress the government'

All the sentences in (46) are grammatical. The arguments **musidzana** (girl), **munna** (man), **musidzana** (girl), **Tshililo** and **vhadzulapo** (citizens) are the external arguments which occupy the subject positions in (46). These arguments are causative agents for the actions expressed by the verb which causes something to happen. The infinitival predicates in (46), except (b), are also causative verbs. The subject arguments in the matrix clauses in (46) are agents which are the antecedents of PRO subjects of the infinitive clause and they control PRO.

However, the issue at stake here is whether the subject PRO of the infinitive clauses can be controlled by an implicit argument. The subject PRO of the infinitive clauses cannot be controlled by the argument in the **nga**-phrase if the monotransitive verb in the matrix clause is in the active. Control of the PRO implicitly can only be possible if the monotransitive verbs in the matrix clause are passivized, as in (47):

(47)   a.   Nama i bikelwa PRO u fusha vhathu
                'The meat is cooked to feed the people'

         b.   Baisigira i rengelwa PRO u fha nwana
                'The bicycle is bought to give to the child'

         c.   Rokho i rungelwa PRO u mangadza vhathu
                'The dress is made to impress the people'

    d.   Tshikolo tshi litshelwa PRO u sinyusa vhabebi

          'The school is left to anger the parents'

    e.   Muthelo u thelelwa PRO u takadza muvhuso

          'The tax is paid to impress the government'

Recall that passive morphology de-externalizes the external argument. The monotransitive verbs in (47) take the applicative **-el-** plus the passive **-w-** to allow the infinitival clauses. In (47) the subject positions in the matrix clauses are occupied by the Deep Structure arguments object of the sentences. The passivation of the monotransitive verbs results in PRO being left without a controller. The possible controller is the implicit argument whose presence may always be assumed in passive constructions lacking an overt agent. The constructions in (47) can be represented structurally as follows:

(48)   Muthelo u thelelwa u takadza muvhuso

       'The tax is paid to impress the government'
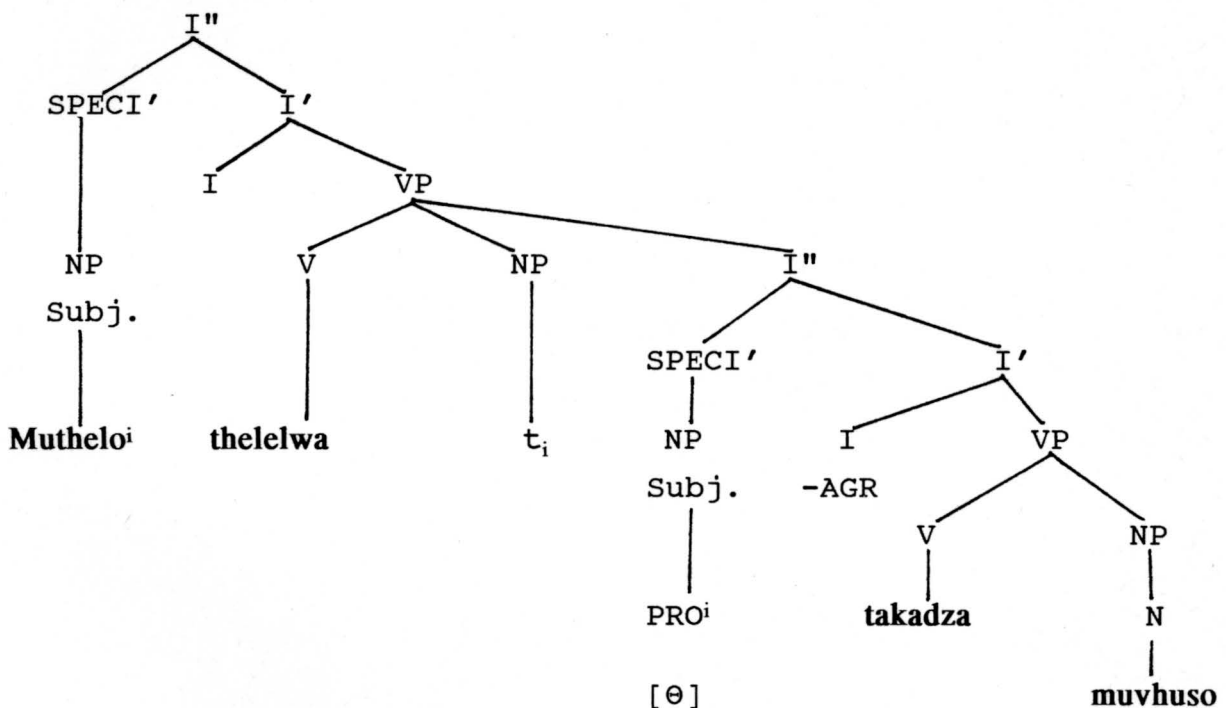
To realize the controller of PRO explicitly, the relevant NP argument may appear as complement of **nga-** in the post-infinitival position, as in the following example sentences:

(49)   a.   Ṋama i bikelwa PRO u fusha vhathu [nga musidzana]

          'The meat is cooked to feed the people [by the girl]'

    b.   Baisigira i rengelwa PRO u fha nwana [nga munna]
            'The bicycle is bought to give to the child [by the man]'

    c.   Rokho i rungelwa PRO u mangadza vhathu [nga musidzana]
            'The dress is made to impress the people [by the girl]'

    d.   Tshikolo tshi litshelwa PRO u sinyusa vhabebi [nga Tshililo]
            'The school is left to anger the parents [by Tshililo]'

    e.   Muthelo u thelelwa PRO u takadza muvhuso [nga vhadzulapo]
            'The tax is paid to please the government [by the people]'

The NPs in the complement position of the preposition **nga**- are controllers of PRO subject of the infinitive.

If the subject positions of the subjects in the matrix clauses are occupied by the existential pronominal associated with the morpheme **hu**-, the sentences are ungrammatical, as shown in (50) below:

(50)   a.   Hu bikelwa nama u fusha vhathu [nga musidzana]
            'There is being cooked meat to feed the people [by the girl]'

         b.   Hu rengelwa baisigira ufha nwana [nga munna]
            'There is being bought the bicycle to give to the child [by the man]'

         c.   Hu rungelwa rokho u mangadza vhathu [nga musidzana]
             'There is being made the dress to impress people [by the girl]'

         d.   Hu litshelwa tshikolo u singusa vhabebi [nga Tshililo]
             'There is being left school to anger the parents [by Tshililo]'

         e.   Hu thelelwa muthelo u takadza muvhuso [nga vhathu]
             'There is being paid the tax to please the government [by people]'

The example sentences in (50) do not reflect the external argument in the subject position of the matrix clause. This is the result of the passivation of the verbs and by the occurrence of the existential morpheme **hu**-; the subject position of the matrix clause is now occupied by the existential pronominal associated with the morpheme **hu**-. What is striking is that, in this type of construction, the impersonal passivation of the matrix clause allows the purposive infinitival clause. The subject PRO can be controlled implicitly by the implicit argument (in the absence of the PP with the NP complement of **nga**). To realize the

controller of PRO explicitly, the NP argument may appear as the complement of the preposition **nga**, as in (50).

To sum up this section, it can be stated that, if the monotransitive verb in the matrix clause is passivized, it will need the applicative **-el-** in order to allow or licence the purposive infinitival clause. The subject PRO in these infinitival clauses can be controlled by the implicit argument after the de-externalization of the external argument in the matrix clause. Furthermore, to realize the control of PRO explicitly, the NP argument may appear as complement of the preposition **nga-** in the post-infinitival position of the infinitival clause.

3.2.9 Matrix clause ditransitive verb [+pas] + applied -el- and infinitival clause verb [-pas]

Crystal (1980) defines a ditransitive as a term which refers to a verb which can take two objects, e.g. **give**, as in the sentence, **I gave him a book**. A ditransitive verb is usually distinguished from a monotransitive verb, such as **kick**. Du Plessis and Visser (1992) see ditransitive verbs as verbs which appear in predicates with two internal arguments, as in the example sentence of (51) below:

(51)   Munna u fha ṅwana ṋama
        'The man gives the child meat'

The predicates in this example show three arguments, including an external argument, **munna** (man). The verb **fha** (give) assigns two theta roles to its complements of which the first is usually the recipient and the second the theme.

The main aim of this sub-section is to determine whether ditransitive verbs in the matrix clause can be passivized and whether they can take purposive infinitival clauses with the verbs in the infinitival clauses in the active. An investigation of whether the subject PRO of the purposive infinitival clauses can be controlled, either implicitly by the implicit argument, or, explicitly by an overt (explicit) argument, will also be made. Consider the example sentences in (52) below:

(52)   a.   ?Musadzi u ṋea ṅwana ṋama PRO u bikela vhathu
              'The woman gives the child meat to cook for the people'

        b.   ?Mudededzi u fuṋḓedza vhana luisimane PRO u takadza vhabebi
              'The teacher teaches the pupils English to please their parents'

        c.   ?Radorobo u dzima masipala madi PRO u sinyusa vhadzulapo
              'The mayor refuses to give the municipality water to enrage the citizens'

    d.   ?Madzhisitirata u dzima phondi beili PRO u takadza vhathu
                               ^   ^
         'The magistrate refuses to give the criminal bail to please the people'

    e.   ?Munna u fha foromane tshelede PRO u fha vhashumi
         'The man gives the foreman money to give to the workers'

To some speakers of the Venda language, the sentences in 52(a) to (e) may seem to be ungrammatical, while to others they may seem grammatical. In 52(a) the argument **musadzi** (woman) occupies the subject position in the matrix clause and as such, it receives a thematic role of agent. The argument **nama** (meat) bears a thematic role of theme, while the internal argument **nwana** (child) gets a thematic role of recipient. The external agent **musadzi** (woman) is the antecedent of the PRO in the infinitive and as such, it is co-indexed with the PRO. The implicit argument is not available in the sentences of (52). For the implicit argument to play its control role, the ditransitive verbs in the matrix clauses must be passivized, as in the example sentences of (53):

(53)   a.   Nwana u netshelwa nama PRO u bikela vhathu
                          ^   ^
         'The child is given the meat to cook for the people'

    b.   Vhana vha fundedzelwa luisimane u takadza vhabebi
                             ^
         'The children are taught English to please the parents'

    c.   Madi a dzimelwa masipala PRO u sinyusa vhathu
                   ^
         'Water is refused to the municipality to anger the people'

    d.   Phondi i dzimelwa beili PRO u takadza vhathu
         'The criminal is refused bail to please the people'

    e.   Foromane i fhelwa tshelede PRO u fha vhashumi
         'The foreman is given money to give to workers'

In the example sentences of 53(a) to (e) the indirect object arguments of the matrix clauses occupy the subject position. This action does not bring ambiguity to the sentences for the subject PRO in the infinitival clauses is controlled by the implicit argument which is always assumed present in passive constructions lacking an overat agent. To realize the control of PRO explicitly, the NP arguments may appear as complements of the preposition **nga** in the post-infinitival position. See example (54) below:

(54)   a.   Nwana u netshelwa nama PRO u bikela vhathu [nga musadzi]
                          ^   ^
         'The boy is given meat to cook for the people [by the woman]'

    b.   Vhana vha fundedzelwa luisimane PRO u takadza vhabebi [nga mudededzi]

        'The children are taught English to please the parents [by the teachers]'

    c.   Madi a dzimelwa masipala PRO u sinyusa vhathu [nga radorobo]

        'The water is not given to the municipality to anger people [by the Mayor]'

    d.   Phondi i dzimelwa beili PRO u takadza vhathu [nga madzhisitirata]

        'The criminal is not given bail to please people [by the magistrate]'

    e.   Foromane i fhelwa tshelede u fha vhashumi [nga munna]

        'The foreman is given money to give to the workers [by the man]'

In (54) the Deep structure indirect object arguments occupy the subject position. The external arguments appear in the post-infinitival positions as explicit arguments. Control of the PRO by the explicit argument is possible.

Concluding this sub-section, it can be stated that, should the ditransitive verb in the matrix clause be passivized, it will need the applicative -el- to allow a purposive infinitive clause (see (46)). Passivation of the ditransitive verb in the matrix clause will result in the occurrence of the agent argument in the infinitive. What is interesting here, is that the appearance of the **nga**-phrase in the infinitive, is optional. This means that in the absence of this NP PP in the infinitive, PRO will be controlled by an implicit argument.

3.3 MATRIX CLAUSE VERB [+PAS] AND INFINITIVAL CLAUSE VERB [+PAS]

The purpose of this sub-section is to establish whether a passive matrix clause verb can allow an infinitival clause which also contains a passive verb. An investigation will be made to see whether passive intransitive, monotransitive and neuter-passive verbs can allow the complement infinitival clause, i.e. purposive clause, since the issue at stake here is the role of the implicit argument in the control of the subject PRO of infinitival clauses. This subject will be explored under the following sections:

3.3.1 Matrix clause intransitive verb [+pas] and infinitival verb [+pas]

Du Plessis and Visser (1992:64) state that intransitive verbs do in general not allow infinitives as complements but that the one major exception is to be found with motion verbs. When the intransitive verb is a motion verb, it may take an infinitive as complement, but only on condition that the verb with the infinitive is also a motion verb. The issue at

stake here, therefore, is whether the passivized intransitive verbs can take or allow infinitives with passive verbs as complements.

It must be noted that the most important effect of passive morphology on the structure of sentences is that it always de-externalizes the subject argument of the verb. The theta role may then occur in some other syntactic position as agent or theme. Intransitive verbs are one place predicates with one argument. If this argument is de-externalized and does not appear within the clause in another position, it will mean that the intransitive passive verbs will be predicates with no argument at all. Du Plessis and Visser (1992) further state that when the passive affix -**w**- is added onto the verb, its subject position will thus be empty. The agreement in inflection will then receive the feature [+existential] which is **hu**- which may never receive a theta role. Consider the example sentences in (55) below:

(55)   a.   *Ho vhuiwa PRO u diswa tshelede
             'There is being come back to bring money'

        b.   *Ho swikwa PRO u rengwa kholomo
             'There is being arrived to by the cattle'   —

        c.   *Hu tuwiwa PRO u sinyuswa khosi
             'There is being going away to provoke the chief'

        d.   *Hu sewa PRO u vhaiswa mutukana
             'There is being laughed to hurt the boy'

        e.   *Ho diwa PRO u farwa tshigevhenga
             'There is being come to arrest the criminal'

In the example sentences of 55(a) to (e) the verbs in the matrix clause as well as the infinitive clause, are passivized. When in Venda constructions both the verbs in the matrix clause and the infinitival clause are passivized, the constructions will be ungrammatical. A passivized intransitive verb in the matrix clause cannot allow an infinitive clause with a passive verb as a complement. As such the sentences in (55) are not grammatical. For grammatical sentences, the applicative -**el**- must be affixed to the passive intransitive verbs in the matrix clauses and the verbs in the infinitive complement clauses must be in the active. See the example sentences in (56):
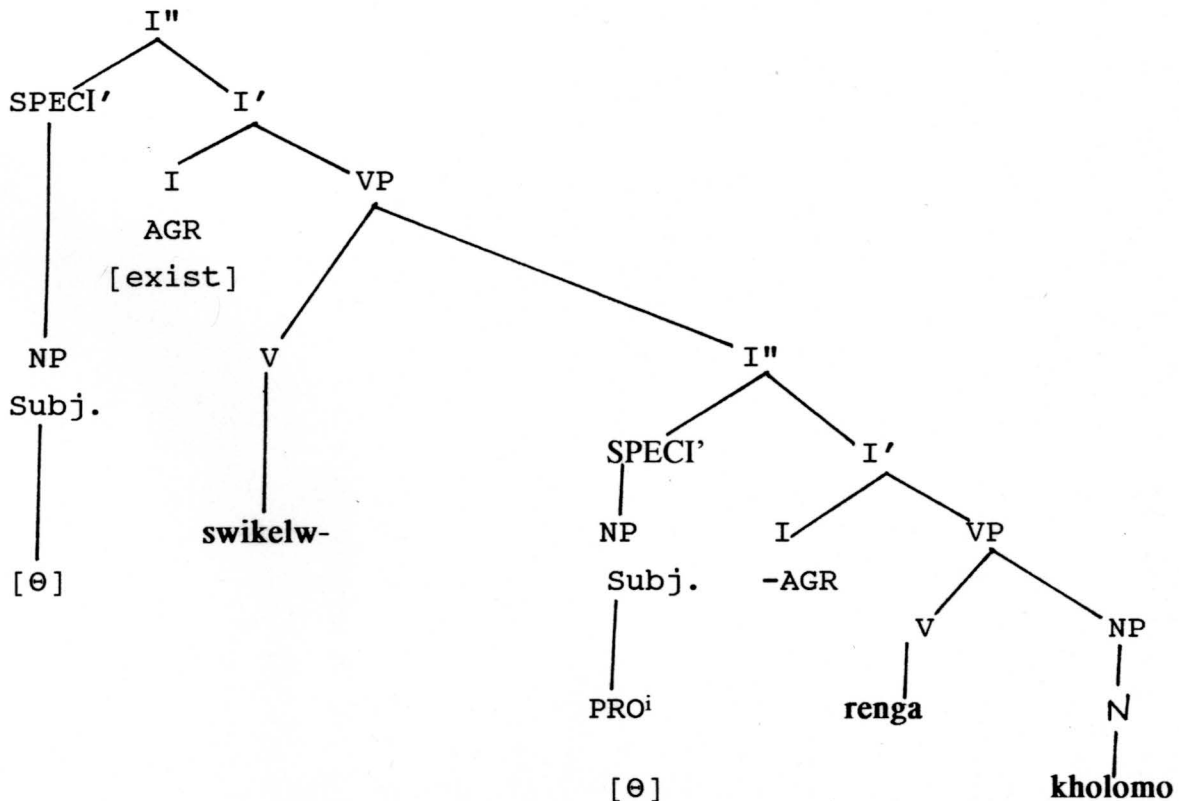
(56)   a.   Ho vhuyelwa PRO u disa tshelede
             'There is being come back to bring the money'

b.   Ho swikelwa PRO u renga kholomo
'There is being arrived to buy cattle'

c.   Hu tutshelwa PRO u sinyusa khosi
'There is being going away to anger the chief'

d.   Hu setshelwa PRO u vhaisa mutukana
'There is being laughed to hurt the boy'

e.   Ho delwa PRO u fara tshigevhenga
'There is being come to arrest the criminal'

In (56) the intransitive verbs in the matrix clauses are passive applicative verbs. The verbs in the infinitive clauses are in the active. The objects **kholomo** (cattle), **mutukana** (boy), **khosi** (chief), **tshelede** (money) and **tshigevhenga** (criminal) are objects of verbs in the infinitival clauses.

In (56) the missing external arguments are always implied. It can be said that there is an implicit argument in sentences like these in (56). The PRO in the infinitive is controlled by this implicit argument. Structurally the sentences in (56) may be represented as follows:

(57)   Hu swikelwa PRO u renga kholomo
'There is being arrived to buy cattle'

To realize the control of PRO explicitly, the NP arguments may appear as complement of the preposition **nga** in the post-infinitival position, as in the example sentences in (58):

(58)   a.   Ho vhuyelwa u disa tshelede [nga munna]
                'There is being come back to bring money [by the man]'

          b.   Ho swikelwa u renga kholomo [nga rabutshara]
                'There is being arrived to buy cattle [by the butcher]'

          c.   Hu tutshelwa u sinyusa khosi [nga vhathu]
                'There is being going away to anger the chief [by people]'

          d.   Hu setshelwa u vhaisa mutukana [nga vhasidzana]
                'There is being laughed to hurt the boy [by the girls]'

          e.   Ho delwa u fara tshigevhenga [nga mapholisa]
                'There is being come to arrest the criminal [by the police]'

Taking into account the sentences in (58) it can be said that control of PRO is explicit. Structurally the sentences in (58) can be represented as follows:

(59)   Ho swikelwa u renga kholomo nga rabutshara
        'There is being arrived to buy cattle by the butcher'
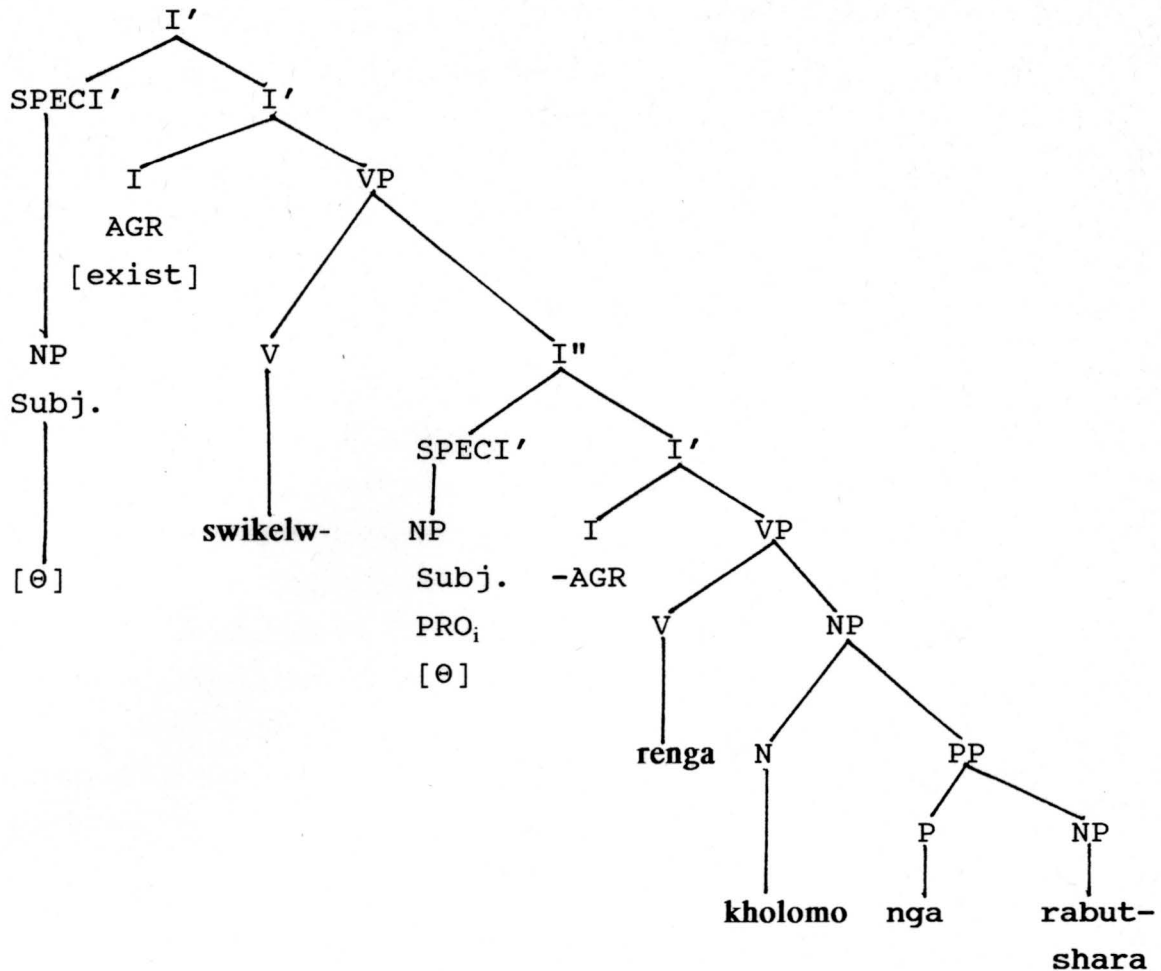
3.3.1.1   Matrix clause intransitive verb with neuter-passive -ea

The aim of this sub-section is to determine whether intransitive verbs with the neuter-passive affix can allow a purposive complement clause, as in the example sentences in (60) below:

(60)   a.   Hu a yea [nga mutukana] PRO u vhona musidzana
                'The boy can go there to see the girl'

         b.   Hu a swikea [nga rabutshara] PRO u renga kholomo
                'The butcher can arrive there to buy cattle'

         c.   Hu a ṱuwea [nga vhathu] PRO u sinyusa khosi
                'The people can go to anger the chief'

         d.   Hu a dea [nga mapholisa] PRO u fara tshigevhenga
                'The police can come to arrest the criminal'

What is striking about the examples in (60) is that if the intransitive verb takes the neuter-passive affix -**ea**, the **nga**-phrase may be removed from the post-infinitival position to the post-verbal position of the matrix clause. The NP complement of the PP in the post-verbal position now becomes the controller of the PRO. These NP complements is coindexed with the PROs in the infinitival clauses. Should the bracketed phrase be omitted, control of PRO will be implicit, i.e. the PRO will be implicitly controlled by the implicit argument which is always assumed present in passive verb constructions lacking an overt external argument.

In conclusion it can be stated that when the intransitive verb in the matrix clause appears with a neuter-passive affix, it can allow an infinitival complement clause. The arguments **musidzana** (girl) and **kholomo** (cattle) are interpreted as theme, while **khosi** (chief) is interpreted as experiencer and **tshigevhenga** (criminal) also as theme. The PRO subject of the infinitive is controlled by the implicit argument which is assumed present in passive verb constructions lacking an overt external argument. Explicit control indicates the appearance of the NP as complement of **nga** in the post-verbal position of the matrix clause. The appearance of the NP before the infinitive implies that it is the antecedent of PRO of the infinitive. PRO and the NP complement in PP are coindexed. This NP complement also c-commands PRO.

3.3.2 Matrix clause monotransitive verb [+pas] and infinitival verb [+pas]

The aim of this sub-section is to explore whether the passive monotransitive verb in the matrix clause can allow an infinitive complement clause with a passive verb. Control of the PRO implicitly as well as explicitly will also be explored. Consider the example sentences in (61):

(61)   a.   *Nama i bikwa u ḽiwa
             'The meat is cooked to be eaten'

        b.   *Rokho i rungwa u ambarwa
             'The dress is made to be worn'

        c.   *Mutukana u vhidzwa u rwiwa
             'The boy is called to be beaten'

        d.   *Nngu i vhulahwa u ḽiwa
             'The sheep is slaughtered to be eaten'

        e.   *Badzhi i dzhiwa u rengiswa
             'The jacket is taken to be sold'

It can be stated that in (61) the effect of the passive morpheme -**w**- is to de-externalize the subject argument of the passive verb so that it may occur somewhere else as agent or theme. Du Plessis and Visser (1992:72) state that the subject position of the passive verb has no theta role. Williams (1982) believes that the effect of the passive morphology in a sentence is that the object of the sentence may land in the empty position. This appears to be the case with the constructions in (61). The object arguments appear in the subject position. All the sentences in (61) are ungrammatical because, if the transitive verb in the matrix clause is passivized, it cannot allow an infinitive complement clause with a passive verb. For the transitive or monotransitive verbs in (61) to allow the infinitive clause with a passive verb, the applicative -**el**- should be affixed to these passive transitive verbs in the matrix clauses, as in (62):

(62)   a.   Nama i bikelwa PRO u liwa
            'The meat is cooked to be eaten'

       b.   Rokho i rungelwa PRO u ambarwa
            'The dress is made to be worn'

       c.   Mutukana u vhidzelwa PRO u rwiwa
            'The boy is called to be beaten'

       d.   Nngu i vhulahelwa PRO u liwa
            'The sheep is slaughtered to be eaten'

       e.   Badzhi i dzhielwa PRO u rengiswa
            'The jacket is taken to be sold'

The passive applicative verbs in 62(a) to (e) were derived from the following verbs:

       (i)   bika   >   bikelwa

       (ii)   runga   >   rungelwa

       (iii)   vhidza   >   vhidzelwa

       (iv)   vhulaha   >   vhulahelwa

       (v)   dzhia   >   dzhielwa

The affixation of the applicative -**el**- to the passive verbs, **bikwa** (cooked), **rungwa** (made), **vhidzwa** (called), **vhulahwa** (killed) and **dzhiwa** (taken), results in the arguments in the subject position not to control PRO of the infinitive clause. PRO in the infinitive

complement clauses will be controlled by the implicit argument which is assumed present in passive constructions that lack an overt external argument. To realize the control of PRO explicitly, the NP arguments may appear as NP complements in the PP, as in the examples of (63):

(63)   a.   Ṋama i bikelwa PRO u ḽiwa [nga musidzana]
               'The meat is cooked to be eaten [by the girl]'

        b.   Rokho i rungelwa PRO u ambarwa [nga musadzi]
               'The dress is made to be worn [by the woman]'

        c.   Mutukana u vhidzelwa PRO u rwiwa [nga munna]
               'The boy is called to be beaten [by the man]'

        d.   Nngu i vhulahelwa PRO u ḽiwa [nga vhanna]
               'The sheep is slaughtered to be eaten [by the man]'

        e.   Badzhi i dzhielwa PRO u rengiswa [nga mutukana]
               'The jacket is taken to be sold [by the boy]'

In (63) the NP argument which appears as the complement of the PP **nga** in the post-infinitival position, is the controller of the PRO subject of the infinitive. The fact that the NP complement of the **nga** is appearing in the post-verbal position of the infinitival clause, means that it cannot c-command the PRO. Structurally the sentences in (63) can be represented as follows:

(64)   Ṋama i bikelwa u ḽiwa nga munna
        'The meat is cooked to be eaten by the man'
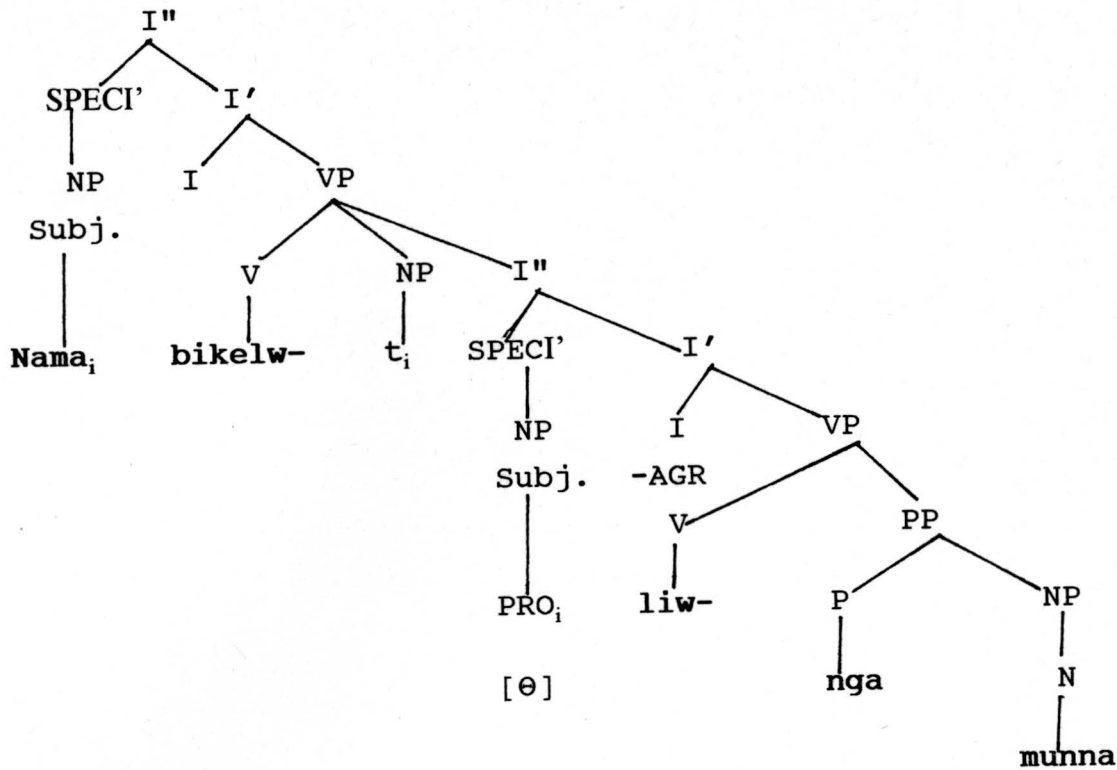
It must be noted, however, that there are some verbs that cannot be passivized in the infinitive complement clause, even if the transitive verb in the matrix clause is a passive applicative verb. See the example sentences in (65) to illustrate this fact:

(65) a. *Ṋama i bikelwa u fushwa vhathu
          'The meat is cooked to be fed the people'

      b. *Baisigira i rengelwa u takadzwa ńwana
          'The bicycle is bought to be made happy the child'

      c. *Rokho i rungelwa u mangadzwa vhathu
          'The dress is made to be impressed the people'

      d. *Muthelo u thelwa u takadzwa muvhuso
          'The tax is paid to be made happy the government'

The fact that the verbs in the infinitive clauses are in the passive, render the sentences in (65) ungrammatical.

3.3.2.1   Matrix clause transitive verb with neuter-passive -ea

The aim of this sub-section is to establish whether monotransitive verbs with the neuter-passive affix in the matrix clause can allow a purposive complement clause. Consider the example sentences in (66) below:

(66)   a.   *Nama i a bikea nga musidzana PRO u ḽiwa
'The meat is easy to cook by the girl to be eaten'

b.   *Rokho i a rungea nga musadzi PRO u ambarwa
'The dress is easy to make by the woman to be worn'

c.   *Mutukana u a vhidzea nga munna PRO u rwiwa
'The boy can be called by the man to be beaten'

e.   *Badzhi i a dzhiea nga mutukana PRO u rengiswa
'The jacket can be taken by the boy to be sold'

The constructions in (66) are ungrammatical. Hence, it can be stated that monotransitive verbs with the neuter-passive affix in the matrix clause cannot allow the purposive infinitive clause.

3.3.3 Matrix clause ditransitive verb [+pas] and infinitival verb [+pas]

The aim of this sub-section is to determine whether the passive ditransitive verb in the matrix clause can allow an infinitive complement clause with a passive verb. Control of PRO of the infinitive will also be explored. Consider the example sentences in (67):

(67)   a.   *Bugu dzi ṋewa matshudeni PRO u vhalwa [nga munna]
'The books are given to students to be read [by the man]'

b.   *Nndu dzi fhiwa vhashumi nga rabulasi PRO u takadzwa muvhuso
'The houses are given to workers by the farmer to please the government'

c.   *Tshelede i dziṅwa ṅwana nga munna PRO u sinyuswa musadzi
'The money is not given to the child by the man to anger the woman'

d.   *Tshelede i hadzinwa munna nga musadzi PRO u lixwa tshikolodo
'The money is borrowed to the man by the woman to pay for the accounts'

e.   *Hatsi vhu ṋewa kholomo nga mulisa PRO u takadzwa rabulasi
'The grass is given to cattle by the herdboy to please the farmer'

The appearance of the passive verbs in the matrix clause as well as in the infinitive clause, renders the sentences in (67) ungrammatical. Even if the applicative -el- can be affixed to the passive ditransitive verbs in the matrix clauses, this will not change the ungrammatical status of the examples in (67). See the example sentences in (68):

(68)   a.   *Nndu dzi fhelwa vhashumi [nga rabulasi] u takadzwa muvhuso
        'The houses are given to workers by the farmer to please the government'

    b.   *Tshelede i dzimelwa ṅwana [nga munna] u sinyuswa musadzi
        'The money is not given to the child by the man to anger her mother'

    c.   *Tshelede i hadzimelwa munna [nga musadzi] ubadelwa zwikolodo
        'The money is lent to the man by the woman to be paid the accounts'

The examples in (68) proof that the affixation of the applicative -el- to the passive ditransitive verbs in the matrix clauses cannot change the ungrammaticality of these sentences. This means that passivation of the ditransitive verb in the main clause will render a sentence ungrammatical if the verb in the infinitive is also passive.

3.3.3.1   Matrix clause ditransitive verb with neuter passive -ea

The purpose of this sub-section is to establish whether ditransitive verbs with the neuter-passive affix in the matrix clauses can allow purposive infinitival clauses. The issue at stake is control of the PRO by the implicit argument. Consider the example sentences in (69):

(69)   a.   *Nndu dzi a fhea vhashumi nga rabulasi u takadzwa muvhuso
        'The houses can (easily) be given to workers by the farmer to impress the government'

    b.   *Tshelede i a dzimea ṅwana nga munna u sinyuswa musadzi
        'The money cannot be given to the child by the man to anger the woman'

    c.   *Tshelede i a hadzimelea munna nga musadzi u badelwa zwikolodo
        'The money can (easily) be borrowed for the man by the woman to pay the accounts'

    d.   *Hatsi vhu a netshea kholomo [nga mulisa] u takadzwa rabulasi
        'The grass can (easily) be given to cattle [by the herdboy] to please the farmer'

e.   *Bugu dzi a netshea matshudeni u vhalwa [nga munna]
      'The books can (easily) be given to students to be read [by the man]'

The example sentences in (69) are ungrammatical. This indicates that ditransitive verbs with the neuter-passive affix cannot allow purposive infinitival clauses. Control of the PRO is also not possible due to the ungrammaticality of the sentences.

In conclusion it can be stated that, if the ditransitive verbs in matrix clauses are passivized, they cannot take a purposive infinitival clause. The subject PRO in the infinitive clause can also not be controlled by the implicit argument.

3.4   CONCLUSION

This section focussed on the question of whether the implicit argument can occur in passive and neuter-passive verb constructions with infinitival complements in Venda. One of the main findings in this section is that the implicit argument, whose presence may always be assumed in passive constructions lacking an overt agent, does occur in most of the passive and neuter-passive verb constructions in Venda.

Furthermore, the control of PRO subject by the implicit argument in infinitival complement clauses, has been explored. It has been noted that in instances where the weather verb in the matrix clause is a passive applicative, a purposive infinitive clause with an active verb is allowed. PRO subject of the infinitive is controlled implicitly by the implicit argument. The presence of the NP complement of the PP in the post-verbal position of the infinitival clause, indicates that control of PRO will be explicit. Coindexation between this NP complement of the P and PRO is possible, but the NP complement of the PP will not c-command PRO since it will not appear as an antecedent of PRO.

It has been established that in cases where the verb in the matrix clause is a passive applicative motion verb, a purposive infinitival clause is allowed. The external argument appears as a complement of **nga** in the post-verbal position in the matrix clause. In such constructions, control of PRO by the implicit argument is possibsle. The implicit argument serves as the controller of PRO in instances where the **nga**-phrase is omitted.

It has been established in this section that the infinitive clause with an active verb, can be allowed in constructions where a passive applicative experiencer verb appears in the matrix clause. The affixation of the suffix -el- to the matrix verb is obligatory, and it licences the new verb to allow the occurrence of the infinitive clause. The existential pronominal associated with **hu-** appears in the subject position, while PRO is controlled by the implicit

argument. Explicit control of PRO is also possible in constructions where the NP, as stated earlier, appears as a complement of the P in the post-verbal position of the infinitive clause.

A passive motion verb which has the suffix -elel- in the matrix clause, allows the appearance of an infinitive. Control of PRO implicitly and explicitly is also possible. The experiencer verbs that have the applicative -elel- in the matrix clause, cannot be passivized and allow a purposive infinitive clause. The same applies to weather verbs. On the other hand, should intransitive weather verbs in the matrix clause be passivized, they will need the applicative -el- to allow the purposive infinitive clause. PRO can be controlled implicitly as well as explicitly. Explicit control of PRO is only possible when the NP appears in the post-verbal position of the matrix clause as a complement of the preposition nga-.

Stative verbs cannot be passivized and allow an infinitive clause. Even if the suffix -el- is affixed to the passive matrix clause stative verb, control of PRO is not possible due to the ungrammaticality of the sentence.

Regarding the issue of neuter-passives, it can be stated that neuter-passive motion verbs in the matrix clause can allow the infinitive clause. Implicit control of the PRO is possible while explicit control can only be possible if the NP appears in the post-verbal position of the matrix clause as the complement of nga.

Neuter-passive verbs in the matrix clause can allow the infinitive clause to appear in the post-verbal position of the matrix clause verb. These constructions are ungrammatical.

In instances where the monotransitive and ditransitive verbs in the matrix clause are passivized, they will also need the suffix -el- to allow the infinitive clause. The verb in the infinitive clause should be in active to render the construction grammatical. PRO can be controlled implicitly or explicitly.

In cases where verbs in two clauses have to be passivized to find out whether the passive verb in the matrix clause will allow an infinitive with a passive verb, the monotransitive verb in the main clause remains in the passive. For the sentence to be grammatical, the verb in the infinitive clause should be in the active. The suffix -el- must be affixed to the matrix clause verb. (See (49)). PRO will be controlled by the implicit argument. Control of PRO explicitly will indicate the appearance of the NP as complement of the nga-phrase in the post-verbal position of the infinitive clause.

When monotransitive verbs in the matrix clause are passivized, e.g. as in (62), the applicative -el- should be affixed to the passivized verb for the infinitival clause to occur in the post-verbal position but the verb in the infinitive clause should also be in the passive. Control of PRO implicitly and explicitly is also possible. Similar to other constructions,

explicit control of PRO will require the occurrence of the NP as complement of the P in the post-verbal position of the infinitive clause. Generally it can be stated that, for most of the passive verbs in the matrix clause to allow purposive infinitival complement clauses, the suffix -el- should be affixed to them.

SECTION FOUR

4.   NOMINAL INFINITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Nominal infinitives in Venda have verbs and they can be considered as clausal structures dominated by an NP. The empty category PRO is subject of the infinitive clause. The NP argument which is complements of the possessive **a** is the controller of PRO subject of the nominal infinitive.

The aim of this section is to explore the occurrence of the implicit argument in nominal infinitive constructions in Venda. In particular, it will be demonstrated that an implicit argument in these constructions is projected onto the syntactic position of a genitive PP. This section will therefore explore nominal infinitive constructions with a range of verb types to consider evidence, invoking purposive infinitives, in support of the occurrence of an implicit argument. It will also be demonstrated that if the nominal infinitive verb is in active the external argument is realized as a genitive PP which occurs in the immediate post-verbal position in the nominal infinitive. When the verb of the nominal infinitive is passive, the extenal argument is realized as an NP complement of the preposition **nga**- which occurs after the purposive complement infinitival clause verb. The internal argument is realized as a genitive NP which, as in the case of active verbs, occurs in the immediate post-verbal position in the nominal infinitive.

It will also be demonstrated in this section that, if the nominal infinitive verb is in the passive, the applicative or causative -**el**- is affixed to it, to allow a purpose infinitive clause. In some instances the genitive **a** will have to occur immediately before the purposive infinitive clause. This will, however, create problems, since the presence of a genitive **a** before an infinitival clause, always nominalizes it, thereby making it impossible for the PRO subject to be controlled either implicitly by the implicit argument, or explicitly by the NP complement occurring in the post-verbal position in the nominal infinitive.

4.2.1 Nominal infinitives with intransitive verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to explore whether the nominal infinitive with an intransitive verb can allow a purposive infinitival clause. Control of the PRO will also be considered. Consider firstly, the following example sentences in the indicative mood:

(1)   a.   Munna u a shuma
              'The man works'

        b.   Munna u a lima
              'The man ploughs'

        c.   Musadzi u tsa kha goloi
              'The woman alights from the car'

        d.   Musadzi u a lila
              'The woman cries'

        e.   Munna u a penga
              'The man is mad'

In (1) the external arguments **munna** (man) and **musadzi** (woman) appear in the subject position. The issue at stake in this section, is the occurrence of nominal infinitives with the infinitival complement clauses as well as the investigation of the occurrence of the implicit arguments in the nominal infinitive constructions and whether this implicit argument can control the PRO subject of the infinitive clause. On infinitives Trask (1993:141) is of the opinion that

> "… it is a form of verb, occurring in some languages and typically serving
> to express the meaning of the verb in the abstract."

The infinitives are most often used as complements of other verbs, but can also have various other uses.

In this sub-section attention will be paid to nominal infinitives with implicit arguments. Consider the example sentences in (2):

(2)   a.   U shuma PRO u takadza minidzhere ndi havhudi
              'To work to please the manager is good'

        b.   U lima PRO u takadza rabulasi ndi havhudi
              'To plough to please the farmer is good'

    c.   U tsa khagoloi PRO u konyolola munna ho vhifha
          'To alight from the car to hurt the man is bad'

    d.   U lila PRO u sinyusa munna ho vhifha
          'To cry to anger the man is bad'

    e.   U shuma PRO u wana tshelede ndi havhudi
          'To work to get money is good'

In (2) the nominal infinitives with intransitive verbs are followed by purposive infinitive clauses. PRO subject of the nominal infinitive clause cannot be controlled by an external argument, because the external argument is missing. Roeper (1986:270) is of the opinion that the thematic grid licences a thematic PP and that, if no PP is expressed, as in (2), a thematic role on the thematic grid is an implicit argument. Roeper states that implicit arguments can control PRO under c-command.

With regard to the constructions in (2), one may say that in the absence of an external argument that may control the PRO, the implicit argument will serve as the controller of the subject PRO in the nominal infinitive constructions. The following example sentences in (3) have explicit NP arguments which serve as the controllers of PRO.

(3)   a.   U shuma [ha munna] u takadza minidzhere ho naka
                'The working [by the man] to please the manager is good'

        b.   U lima [ha munna] u takadza rabulasi ho naka
                'The ploughing [by the man] to please the farmer is good'

        c.   U tsa [ha musadzi] kha goloi] u konyolola munna ho khakhea
                'The alighting by the woman from the car to anger the man is bad'

        d.   U lila [ha musadzi] PRO u sinyusa munna ho vhifha
                'The crying by the woman to anger the man is bad'

        e.   U shuma [ha munna] PRO u wana tshelede ndi havhudi
                'The working by the man to get money is good'

Du Plessis and Visser (1995) believe that the NP which appears as a complement of **ha** may appear as an antecedent of PRO of the infinitive clause. **Munna** (man) can be interpreted as an agent, while **tshelede** (money) is interpreted as theme. This NP complement of the possessive P **ha** explicitly controls PRO subject of the nominal infinitive.

The grammaticality of the sentences in (3) can also obtain if the applicative -el- is affixed to some of the intransitive verbs of the sentences in (3) as shown in (4):

(4)   a.   U shumela [ha munna] u takadza minidzhea ndi havhuḓi
              'The working by the man to please the manager is good'

        b.   U lilela [ha musadzi] u sinyusa munna ho vhifha
              'The crying by the woman to anger the man is bad'

In (4) the affixation of the applicative -el- to the intransitive verbs in the matrix clauses, does not affect the grammaticality of the sentences. Should the bracketed arguments be omitted from the sentences in (4) PRO subject of the infinitive clause will be controlled implicitly by the implicit arguments. This is, however, because, as Roeper (1986) puts it, if no PP is expressed, a thematic role on the thematic grid is an implicit argument. If the bracketed phrase is retained as in (4) control of PRO will be explicit. It must also be noted that the applicative -el- can be affixed to the intransitive verb of the matrix clause. The purposive infinitive can be allowed to appear in the post-nominal position of the nominal infinitive clause.

4.2.2 Nominal infinitive with weather verbs

The purpose of this sub-section is to determine whether nominal weather verbs can take a purposive infinitival complement clause. Control of PRO by the implicit argument will also be looked into. Consider the following example sentences:

(5)   a.   U na [ha mvula] u ṋukadza fhasi ho takalelwa nga vhalimi
              'The raining of the rain to moisten the soil has been welcomed by farmers'

        b.   U na [ha mvula] u ḓadza milambo hu takadza vhathu
              'The raining of the rain to flood rivers pleases people'

        c.   U fhisa [ha ḓuvha] u vhulaha zwimela hu a vhaisa
              'The heat of the sun to kill plants is painful'

        d.   U rothola [ha makole] u wisa mahaḓa hu nyalwa nga vhathu
              'The freezing of the clouds to cause snow to fall is hated by people'

        e.   U vhudzula [ha dumbu] u fuḓulula dzinnḓu hu vhaisa vhathu
              'The blowing of the tornado to destroy houses pains the people'

In (5) it is shown that nominal infinitive weather verbs allow purposive infinitival clauses. The weather verbs **na** (to rain) **fhisa** (to be hot), **rothola** (cold), **vhudzula** (blowing) are referred to as causative weather verbs in that they cause action in the infinitive purposive clauses. The arguments **fhasi** (soil), **milambo** (rivers), **zwimela** (plants), **nndu** (houses) and **mahada** (snow) are interpreted as **theme** arguments. The arguments in the brackets are considered to be causative agents.

Weather nouns are inanimate. Cowper (1992:69) is of the opinion that weather verbs have no agent arguments. In intransitives they have no objects. Haegeman (1991:49) states that weather nouns are inanimate arguments. Inanimate arguments, it should by noted, are not agents with volition, but the causer of action. As such, the weather nouns in (5) are seen as the causer of action, and they can control PRO subject of the nominal infinitive.

The flooding of rivers in 5(b) is caused by the raining of the rain. If it does not rain, the rivers cannot be flooded. This means, PRO of the infinitive can be controlled by the NPs in brackets. Some of the sentences in (5) can appear with the applicative weather verbs in the matrix clause without affecting the grammaticality of the constructions, as shown in (6).

(6) a. U nela [ha mvula] u nukadza fhasi ho takalelwa nga vhalimi
'The raining of the rain to moisten the soil pleased the farmers'

b. U rotholela [ha makole] u wisa mahada hu nyalwa nga vhathu
'The cooling of the clouds to cause snow to fall is hated by people'

c. U wela [ha tshifhango] u vhula ha zwimela ho vhaisa vhalimi
'The falling of hail to kill plants hurt the farmers'

d. U nzwinzwimalela [ha makole] u na ndi havhudi
'The overcasting of the clouds to cause it to rain is good'

When the applicative **-el-** is affixed to the weather verbs of the matrix clause, as in (6) the grammaticality of the sentences in which they appear is not affected. In this regard, the bracketed weather nouns in (6) will control the PRO of the infinitival complement clauses. It must also be noted that the weather nouns in (6), i.e. **mvula** (rain), **makole** (clouds) and **tshifhango** (hail) are not agents with volition for they are inanimate. As such, they are said to be causative agents. This means, the infinitival clauses that appear with them, are believed to be purposive infinitival complement clauses. The causative agents in (6) can therefore control the PRO subject of the infinitival purposive clauses. The omission of the bracketed causative weather agents in (6) will render the constructions ungrammatical, as shown in the example sentences in (7):

(7)   a.   *U nela u ṋukadza fhasi hu a takadza
                'To rain to moisten the soil is pleasing'

        b.   *U wela u vhulaha zwimela ho vhifha
                'To fall to kill plants is bad'

        c.   *U penyela u na ndi havhuḓi
                'To flash to rain is good'

        d.   *U khebutshela u fhisa ndi havhuḓi
                'To clear to heat is good'

        e.   *U bvumela u na hu a takadza
                'To thunder to rain is pleasing'

The sentences in (7) are all ungrammatical; their meaning is unclear since the argument that renders these sentences to be grammatical, is missing.

In concluding this sub-section, it can be stated that nominal infinitives with weather verbs can allow purposive infinitive clauses, also if the applicative -el- is affixed to these weather verbs of the nominal infinitives. The weather nouns in the nominal infinitive are referred to as causative agents in that they are not agents with volition but causative agents of action. These causative agents can control PRO of the purposive infinitve. Should these agents be omitted, the sentences will become ungrammatical.

4.2.3 Nominal infinitives with motion verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to establish whether nominal infinitaive motion verbs can take a purposive infinitival clause, and if PRO subject of this infinitival clause can be controlled. Consider firstly, the example sentences in (8) with indicative matrix clauses:

(8)   a.   *Mapholisa vha dzhena tshikoloni u shushedza matshudeni
                'The police enters the school to frighten the students'

        b.   *Vhathu vha ṱuwa PRO u sinyusa khosi
                'The people leave to anger the chief'

        c.   *Vhatshini vha takuwa PRO u mvumvusa vhathu
                'The dancers stand up to entertain people'

        d.   *Vhashumi vha dzula hayani PRO u vhaisa muvhuso
                'The workers stay at home to harm the government'

    e.   *Munna u tsa hayani PRO u vhona vhana

              'The man goes home to see the children'

In (8) the arguments **mapholisa** (police), **vhathu** (people), **vhatshini** (dancers), **vhashumi** (workers) and **munna** (man) are external agents appearing in the subject position. The internal arguments **matshudeni** (students), **khosi** (chief), **vhathu** (people), **vhana** (children) and **muvhuso** (government) can be interpreted as patients.

A patient, as Trask (1993:202-203) puts it, is that semantic role borne by an NP which expresses the entity undergoing an action. The patient role is often conflated with theme. In this regard, the argument **muvhuso** (government) in 8(d) is also a theme.

The sentences in 8(b) and (c) are ungrammatical. They can only be grammatical if the applicative -**el**- is affixed to the verb **tuwa** (to go) in 8(b) and **takuwa** (stand up) in 8(c). The motion verbs **dzhena** (enter) in 8(a), **dzula** (sit down) in 8(d) and **tsa** (go down) in 8(e) cannot take the applicative form -**el**- since they are preceded by a locative NP.

The issue at stake in this section is, however, whether nominal infinitives with weather verbs can allow infinitive purposive complement clauses. In (8) the verbs **dzhena**, **tuwa**, **takuwa**, **dzula** and **tsa** are all motion verbs in the nominal infinitives, as in (9) below:

(9)   a.   Udzhena ha mapholisa u shushedza matshudeni ho vhifha

              'The going in by the police to frighten the students is bad'

     b.   U tuwa ha vhathu u sinyusa khosi ho khakhea

              'The going away of the people to anger the chief is bad'

     c.   U takuwa ha vhatshini u mvumvusa vhathu ndi havhuḓi

              'The standing up by the dancers to entertain the people is good'

     d.   u dzula ha vhashumi hayani u vhaisa muvhuso ho vhifha

              'The staying away at home by the workers to harm the government is bad'

     e.   U sala ha mutukana hayani u konyolola vhabebi a ho ngo naka

              'The staying behind of the boy at home to anger his parents is not good'

The sentences in (9) are more acceptable if the applicative -**el**- is affixed to the motion verbs in the matrix clauses, as in the example sentences of (10):

(10)   a.   U dzhenela [ha mapholisa] PRO u shushedza matshudeni ho vhifha

   'The going in by the police to frighten the students is bad'

b.   U tutshela [ha vhathu] PRO sinyusa khosi ho vhifha
      'The going away by people to anger the chief is bad'

c.   U takutshela [ha vhatshini] PRO u mvumvusa vhathu ndi havhuḓi
      'The standing up by the dancers to entertain the people is good'

The motion verbs **dzula** (sit) in 9(d) and **sala** (remain) in 9(e) cannot take the applicative -**el**- since they are appearing with a locative NP **hayani** (at home) in the nominal infinitive.

In (10) the bracketed arguments are the controllers of PRO of the infinitive clause. Should the bracketed arguments, which are the complements of the genitive **ha** be omitted, PRO of the infinitive will be controlled implicitly by the implicit argument. It is interesting to note that applicative motion verbs can take the infinitive clause. In instances where the NP complements of the genitive **ha** appear they will serve as antecedent of PRO subject of the infinitive clause. As such these NP complements of the genitive **ha** can be coindexed to the PRO of the infinitive clause. The example sentence in 10(a) can be represented structurally as follows:

(11)   U dzhenela [ha mapholisa] u shushedza matshudeni ho vhifha
        'The going in by the police to frighten the students is bad'

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                              I"
                   _____
                  /                        \
              SPEC I'                       I'
                 |                    _____/_____
                 NP          I                      VP
                 |                                   |
                 I"                                  V
         _____|_____                           |
        /                 \                        vhifha
     SPEC I'               I'
        |            _____/_____
        NP      I                  VP
        |                    _____/_____
       PRO     -AGR         /                       \
               V'                                    I"
        _____|_____                       _____/_____
       /               \                     /             \
      V               PP_GEN              SPEC I'            I'
      |            ____/____                 |         _____/_____
  -dzhenela    P           NP         NP    I                     VP
              |            |          |                       ____/____
              ha      mapholisa      PRO                     V        NP
                                                             |         |
                                                         shushedza matshudeni
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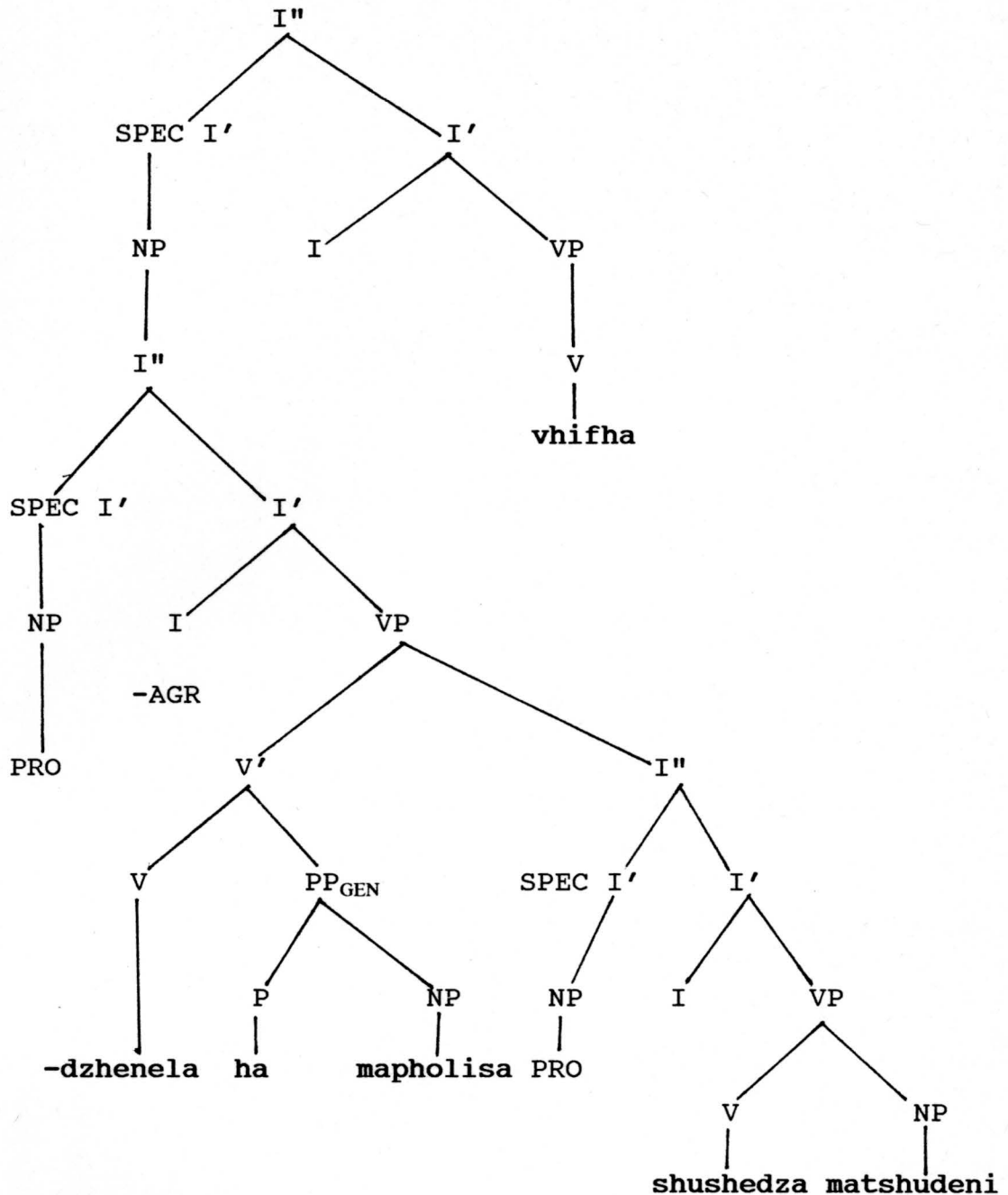
4.2.4 Nominal infinitives with experiencer verbs

The main aim of this sub-section is to determine whether nominal infinitives with experiencer verbs can allow a purposive infinitival clause, and whether PRO of the infinitive clause can be controlled by the implicit argument. See firstly, the ungrammatical example sentences in (12).

(12)   a.   *U takala ha mapholisa u shengedza vhathu ho vhifha
               'To become happy by the police to cause pain to people is bad'

b. *U fhumula ha matshudeni u sinyusa mudededzi ho vhifha
'To be silent by students to provoke the teacher is bad'

c. *U ṅala ha vhashumi u vhaisa minidzhere ho vhifha
'The refusal by the workers to hurt the manager is bad'

d. *U sea ha vhasidzana u vhaisa mutukana hu a vhavha
'The laughing by the girls to hurt the boy is painful'

The sentences in (12) may become grammatical only after affixation of the applicative **-el-** to the experience verbs of the matrix clause, as shown in (13):

(13) a. U takalela [ha mapholisa] u shushedza matshudeni ho vhifha
'The being happy by the police to frighten students is bad'

b. U fhumulela [ha matshudeni] u sinyusa mudededzi a ho ngo naka
'The being silent by students to anger the teacher is not good'

c. U ṅalela [ha vhashumi] u vhaisa minidzhere ho vhifha
'The refusal to work by workers to hurt the manager is bad'

d. U setshela [ha vhasidzana] u vhaisa mutukana hu a vhavha
'The laughing by girls to hurt the boy is painful'

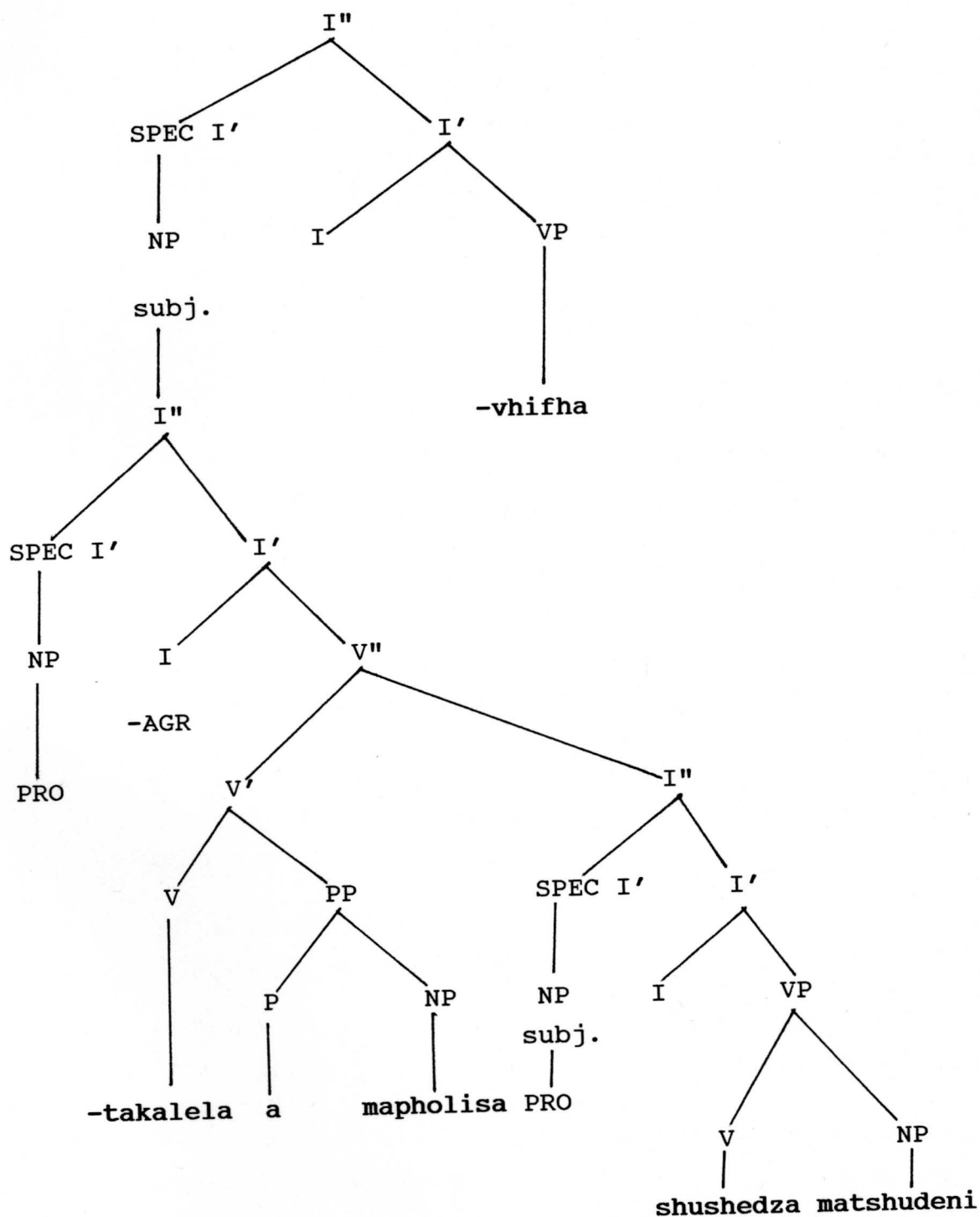The applicative experiencer verbs in (13) are derived from the following experiencer verbs:

(i)   -takala (happy) > -takalela (to be happy for)
(ii) -fhumula (silent) > -fhumulela (to be silent for)
(iii) -nala (fed up) > -nalela (to refuse to do/to be fed up for)
(iv) -sea (laugh) > -setshela (to laugh for)

The applicative experiencer verbs in (13) licence a purposive infinitive. The NP complements of the genitive **ha** in (13), i.e. **mapholisa** (police), **matshudeni** (students), **vhashumi** (workers) and **vhasidzana** (girls) are agents of the applicative verbs in the nominal infinitive clauses. The arguments **matshudeni** (students), **mudededzi** (teacher), **minidzhele** (manager) and **mutukana** (boy) are interpreted as experiencers. The experiencer verbs in brackets are therefore the controllers of PRO subject of the purposive infinitive clauses. There is co-indexation between these experiencers and PRO. Should these arguments be omitted from the constructions in (13) control of PRO will be implicit. This means that in instances where the causative experiencer verbs allow the purposive infinitive clauses, the implicit argument can control PRO subject of the infinitive. This

occurs when the bracketed agents are missing from the constructions. The sentences in (13) can be represented structurally as follows:

(14)   U takalela [ha mapholisa] u shushedza matshudeni ho vhifha
         'The being happy by the police to frighten students is bad'

```
                                    I"
                          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                      SPEC I'                    I'
                        │                ┌────────┴────────┐
                       NP               I'                 VP
                        │                                   │
                      subj.
                        │
                       I"                                -vhifha
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
          SPEC I'                  I'
            │            ┌─────────┴─────────┐
           NP            I                    V"
            │                          ┌──────┴───────────────┐
          PRO          -AGR           V'                       I"
                              ┌────────┴────────┐        ┌─────┴─────┐
                              V                 PP     SPEC I'        I'
                              │            ┌────┴───┐     │        ┌──┴───┐
                                           P        NP    NP       I     VP
                                           │        │     │               │
                                                        subj.
                              │            │        │     │           ┌───┴───┐
                         -takalela    a  mapholisa PRO                V      NP

                                                          shushedza matshudeni
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To sum up this sub-section, it can be stated that in instances where the nominal infinitive experiencer verbs are applicative, the infinitive purposive complement clause can be allowed. The PRO in the purposive infinitive can be controlled explicitly as well as implicitly.

4.3   NOMINAL INFINITIVE VERBS WITH MONOTRANSITIVE VERBS

The aim of this sub-section is to consider the occurrence of nominal infinitives with monotransitive verbs. Furthermore, an investigation will be made to determine whether nominal infinitives with a monotransitive verb can allow (licence) a purposive inflinitival complement clause. Control of PRO implicitly and explicitly will also be looked into. Consider the constructions in (15) which show the appearance of nominal infinitaives with monotransitive verbs followed by purpose infinitive clauses.

(15)   a.   *U bika ha musadzi ŋama u fha vhathu ndi havhuḓi
               'The cooking by the woman of meat to give to people is good'

         b.   *U renga ha munna bugu u fha ṅwana ho takadza
               'The buying by the man of books to give to the child was pleasing'

         c.   *U kaŋa ha vhashumi mavhele u fha rabulasi ndi havhuḓi
               'The harvesting by workers of mealies to give to the farmer is good'

         d.   *U dzhia ha rabulasi tshelede u fha vhashumi ho tea
               'The taking of the farmer of money to give to workers is fit'

         e.   *U fula ha musadzi mutshelo u fha ṅwana ho takadza
               'The picking up by the woman of the fruit to give to the child was pleasing'

         f.   *U dzhia ha musadzi thamu u rwa ṅwana ho tea
               'The taking by the woman of the stick to beat the child is fit'

         g.   *U fuka ha musadzi rokho u mangadza vhathu ho akhamadza
               'The wearing by the woman of the dress to impress people was supprising'

The constructions in (15) are ungrammatical. These constructions can become grammatical if the infinitival purposive complement clauses are preceded by the genitive **a**, thus changing

the purposive infinitive clause into a nominal (purposive) infinitival clause, as shown in (16):

(16)   a.   U bika ha musadzi ṇama ya PRO u fha vhathu ndi havhuḓi
              'The cooking by the woman of meat of giving the people is good'

        b.   U renga ha munna bugu ya PRO u fha ṅwana ho takadza
              'The buying by the man of the book of giving the child was pleasing'

        c.   U kaṇa ha vhashumi mavhele a PRO u fha rabulasi ndi havhuḓi
              'The harvesting by the workers of mealies to give to the farmers is good'

        d.   U dzhia ha rabulasi tshelede ya PRO u fha vhashumi ho tea
              'The taking by the farmer of money for giving the workers is fit'

        e.   U fula ha musadzi mutshelo wa PRO u fha ṅwana ho takadza
              'The picking up by the woman of the fruit for giving to the child was pleasing'

        f.   U dzhia ha musadzi ṱhamu ya PRO u rwa ṅwana ho tea
              'The taking by the woman of the stick for beating the child is fit'

        g.   U fuka ha musadzi rokho ya PRO u mangadza vhathu ho takalelwa
              'The wearing by the woman of the dress for impressing the people was welcomed'

It is interesting to note that the sentences in (16) are all grammatical. In these sentence structures the PRO subject of the infinitival clauses cannot be controlled by the agents in the nominal infinitive clauses due to the presence of the genitive **a** before the purposive infinitival clause. The presence of this genitive **a** before the purposive infinitive clauses, de-externalizes the external agentive arguments in the matrix clauses to an extent that it will not be possible for the PRO subject of these infinitive clauses to be controlled either explicitly or implicitly.

The PRO subject of the purposive infinitival complement clauses in (16) can be controlled by the agentive argument in the nominal infinitaive clauses if the applicative -el- is affixed to the verbs of these nominal infinitives, as shown in (17):

(17)   a.   U bikela ha musadzi ṇama PRO u fha vhathu ndi havhuḓi
              'The cooking of the woman of meat to give to people is good'

b.　U rengela ha munna bugu PRO u fha ṅwana ho tea
'The buying by the man of books to give to the child is fit'

c.　U kaṇela ha vhashumi mavhele PRO u fha rabulasi ho tea
'The harvesting by the workers of mealies to give to the farmer is fit'

d.　U dzhiela ha rabulasi tshelede PRO u fha vhashumi ho tea
'The taking by the farmer of money to give to workers is fit'

e.　U fulela ha musadzi mutshelo PRO u fha ṅwana ho tea
'The picking up by the woman of the fruit to give to the child is fit'

f.　U dzhiela ha musadzi ṱhamu PRO u rwa nwana ho tea
'The taking by the woman of the stick to beat the child is fit'

g.　U fukela ha musadzi rokho PRO u mangadza vhathu ho takalelwa
'The wearing by the woman of the dress to impress people was welcomed'

The applicative -el- appears as an affix licencing the purposive infinitive in (17). The NP complements of the genitive **ha** are causative agents. The constructions in (17) with the affixation of the suffix -el- to the monotransitive verbs in the nominal infinitaive clauses, i.e. the affixation of the suffix -el- to verbs such as **bika** (cook), **renga** (buy), **kana** (harvest), **dzhia** (take), **fula** (pick up) and **fuka** (wear) yields the grammaticality of the constructions in (17). The NP complements of the genitive **ha**, i.e. **musadzi** (woman) **munna** (man) **vhashumi** (workers) **rabulasi** (farmer) and **musadzi** (woman) are interpreted as agent arguments.

The internal arguments **vhathu** (people), **ṅwana** (child), **rabulasi** (farmer), **vhashumi** (workers) and **ṅwana** (child) are interpreted as benefactives. The argument **ṅwana** (child) is interpreted as patient, while the argument **vhathu** (people) is interpreted as experiencer.

PRO in the purposive infinitive clause is controlled by the agents in the matrix clauses (explicit control). Ommission of the bracketed agentive arguments, will result in the control of the PRO by the implicit argument which is always assumed present in constructions where the applicative verbs appear.

In conclusion, if the applicative -el- is affixed to the monotransitive verbs of the nominal infinitives, the nominal infinitives can take purposive infinitive clause complements. PRO subject of the infinitive clause can be controlled by the NP complement of the genitive **ha**. Omission of the bracketed phrase in (17) indicates that the PRO will be controlled by the implicit argument. The constructions in (17) can be represented structurally as follows:

(18)   U bikela ha musadzi ṇama u fha vhathu ndi havhuḓi
       'The cooking of the woman of meat to give to people is good'
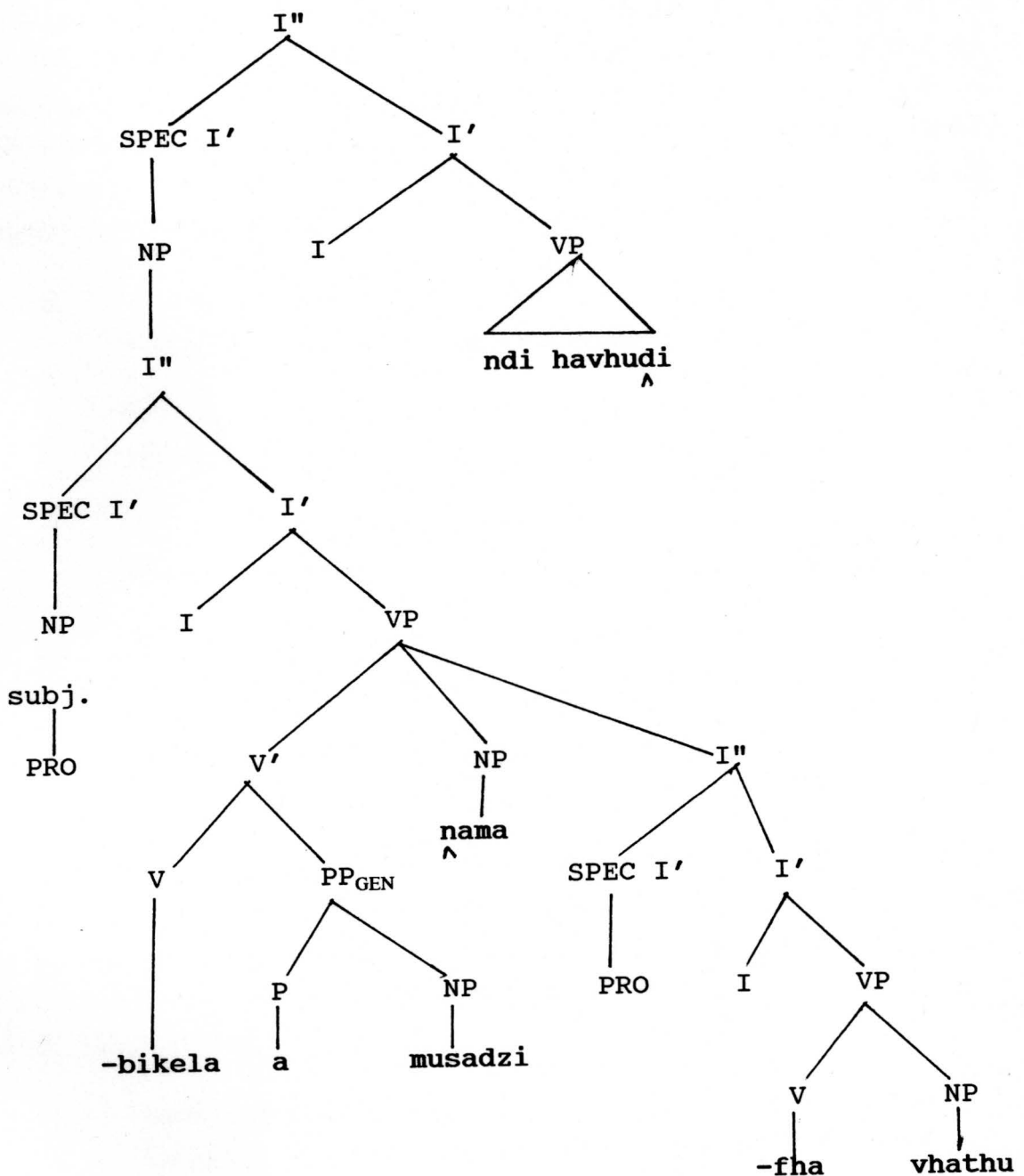
4.4   NOMINAL INFINITIVES WITH DITRANSITIVE VERB

The purpose of this sub-section is to explore the possibility of the occurrence of the nominal infinitive with ditransitive verbs. Trask (1993:85) states that a ditransitive verb is a verb which sub-categorizes for two objects, such as **give** as in, **she gave me a kiss**. An investigation will be made to determine whether the nominal infinitive with ditransitive verbs can allow a purposive clause, and the possibility of implicit control of PRO. Consider the following example sentences in (19):

(19)   a.   *U ruma mutukana tshikoloni u badela tshelede ho thusa
              'Sending the boy to school to pay the money helped'

        b.   *U badela vhashumi tshelede u takadza muvhuso ndi havhudi
              'Paying the workers money to please the government is good'

        c.   *U nea nwana nama u bikela vhathu ho takalelwa
              'Giving the child meat to cook for the people was wellcomed'

        d.   *U dzima mutukana tshelede u sinyusa vhathu ho vhifha
              'Refusing to give the boy the money to anger the people is bad'

        e.   *U fha musidzana malegere u nea vhana ho takalelwa
              'Giving the girl sweets to give to children was welcomed'

The sentences in (19) contain nominal infinitives and purposive infinitive clauses. With the exception of 19(b) the sentences in (19) are problematic in that, without the suffix -**el**-, the verbs in the nominal infinitive clauses cannot allow purposive infinitives. Should the suffix -**el**- be affixed to the ditransitive verbs of the nominal infinitives, they will allow purposive infiniatives. Consider (20):

(20)   a.   U ambadzela muselwa rinngi PRO u takadza vhabebi ho tanganedzwa
              'The giving of the bride the ring to please the parents was welcomed'

        b.   U badela vhashumi tshelede PRO utakadza muvhuso ndi havhudi
              'The paying of the workers money to please the government, is good'

        c.   U netshela nwana nama PRO u bikela vhathu ho tanganedzwa
              'The giving to the child meat to cook for the people was accepted'

        d.   U dzimela mutukana tshelede PRO u sinyusa vhathu ho vhifha
              'The refusal to give the boy money to anger the people is bad'

    e.   U fhela musidzana maḽegere PRO u ṋea vhana ho takalelwa

          'The giving to the girl sweets to give to children was welcomed'

    f.   U nwalela muvhuso vhurifhi PRO u thusa lushaka ho takalelwa

          'The writing to the government of the letter to help the community was welcomed'

The argument **muselwa** (bride) in 20(a) as well as the arguments **vhashumi** (workers) and **ṅwana** (child) in 20(b) and (c) respectively, are interpreted as recipient. The argument **mutukana** (boy) in 20(d) is interpreted as patient. The arguments **musidzana** (girl) and **muvhuso** (government) are interpreted as recipient. The PRO subject of the infinitive in each sentence will be controlled by an implicit argument. Explicit control of PRO is possible in the following sentences in (21):

(21)   a.   U ambadzela [ha muṱhannga] muselwa rinngi u takadza vhabedi ho

          ṱanganedzwa

          'The putting on the bride by the youngman of the wedding ring to wear to please his parents was welcomed'

    b.   U badela [ha rabulasi] vhashumi tshelede u takadza muvhuso ndi havhuḓi

          'The paying by the farmer of the workers money to please the government is good'

    c.   U ṋetshela [ha musadzi] ṅwana ṋama u bikela vhathu ho takalelwa

          'The giving to the child by the woman of meat to cook for people was welcomed'

    d.   U dzimela [ha muvhuso] mutukana tshelede u sinyusa vhathu ho vhifha

          'The refusal to give the boy by the government of the money, to anger the people is bad'

    e.   U fhela [ha musadzi] musidzana maḽegere u fha vhana ho takalelwa

          'The giving by the woman of sweets to the girl to give to the children was welcomed'

    f.   U ṅwalela [ha munna] muvhuso vhurifhi u thusa lushaka ho takalelwa

          'The writing by the man to the government of the letter to help the community was welcomed'

The issue at stake is subject control of PRO. In (21) the arguments **muṱhannga** (youngman), **rabulasi** (farmer), **musadzi** (woman), **muvhuso** (government) and **munna**

(man) are interpreted as agents. They are external agents of the nominal infinitive verbs. These agents in (21) are external agentive arguments which are realized as genitive NPs in the immediate post-verbal position in the nominal infinitive verb. They are the complements of the genitive **ha**. These genitive NPs serve as the controllers of PRO in the purposive infinitives, i.e. in the infinitival complement clauses of the nominal infinitive clauses. They are the antecedents of PRO and as such, these agents can c-command the PRO in the purposive infinitival complement clauses. They are co-indexed with PRO.

Should the direct objects, i.e. **nama** (meat), **tshelede** (money), **rinngi** (ring), **tshelede** (money), **malegere** (sweets) and **vhurifhi** (letter) in 21(a-f) appear in the immediate post-genitive NP position in the nominal infinitives, thus preceding the indirect object arguments, the grammaticality of the sentences will be affected. See the ungrammatical example sentences in (22) in this regard:

(22)   a.   *U ambadzela [ha muthannga] rinngi muselwa u takadza vhabebi, ho tanganedzwa
'The putting on by the youngman of the ring to the bride to please his parents was welcomed'

        b.   *U badela [ha rabulasi] tshelede vhashumi u takadza muvhuso ndi havhudi
'The paying by the faramer of money to the workers to please the government is good'

        c.   *U netshela [ha musadzi] nama nwana u bikela vhathu, ho takalelwa
'The giving by the woman to the child of the meat to cook for the people was welcomed'

        d.   *U dzimela [ha muvhuso] tshelede mutukana u sinyusa vhathu ho vhifha
'The refusal by the government to give money to the boy to anger the people is bad'

        e.   *U fhela [ha musadzi] malegere musidzana u nea vhana ho takalelwa
'The giving by the woman of the sweets to the girl to give to the children was welcomed'

        f.   *U nwalela [ha munna] vhurifhi muvhuso u thusa lushaka ho takalelwa
'The writing by the man of the letter to the government to help the community was welcomed'

The constructions in (21) are represented in the following diagram:

(23) U ambadzela ha muthannga muselwa riingi u takadza vhabebi ho tanganedzwa
'The putting on the bride by the youngman of the wedding ring to wear to please his parents was welcomed'
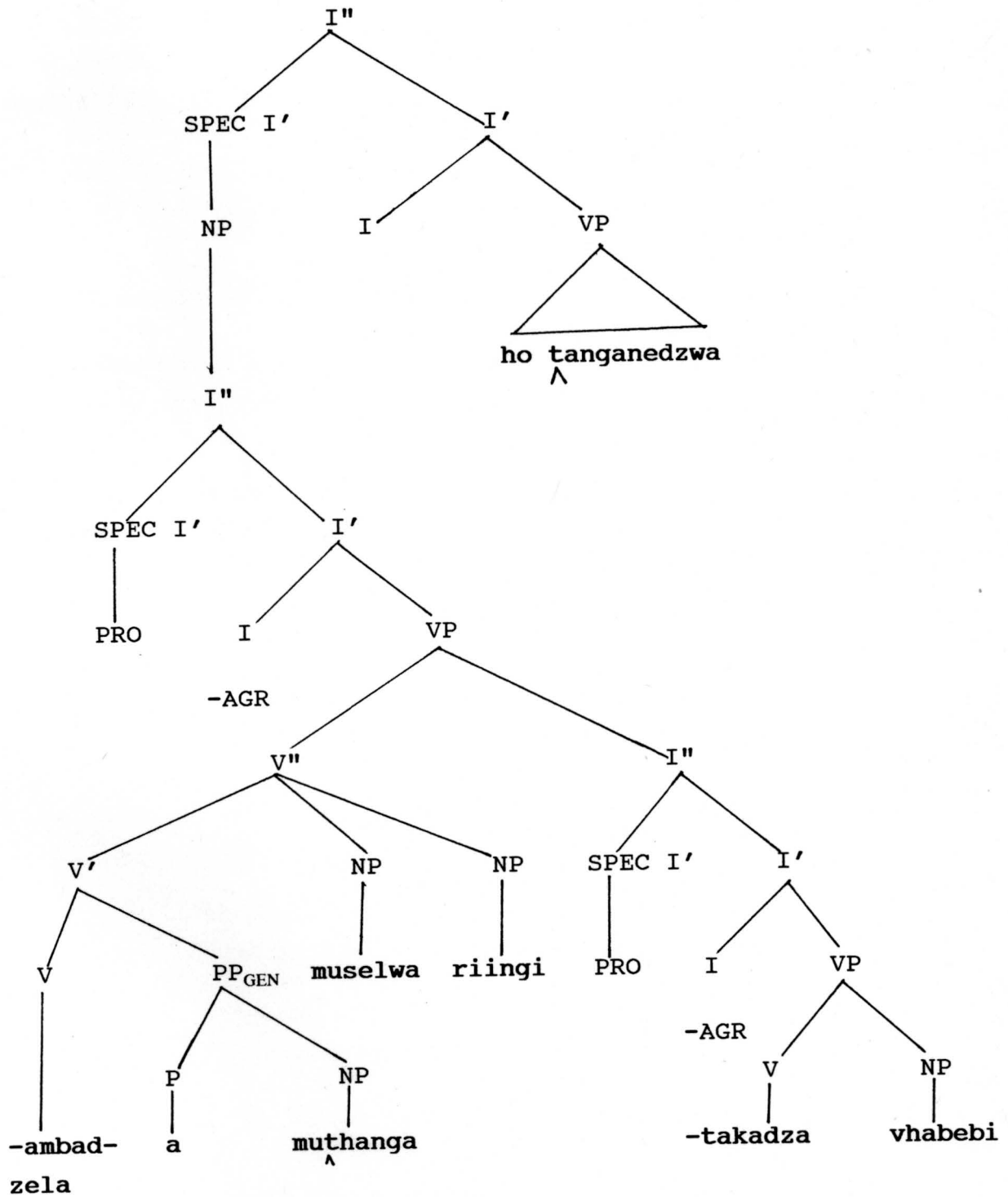
4.5   THE NOMINAL INFINITIVE VERB IS PASSIVE

In the previous sections it has been indicated that, if the nominal infinitive verb, e.g. weather, motion, experiencer, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs, is active, it will need the applicative -el- to licence or permit the purposive infinitival complement clause. In most instances it has been indicated that control of PRO subject of the purposive infinitive by an implicit argument is possible. The presence of an overt NP genitive would mean control of PRO explicitly.

The main aim of this sub-section is to determine whether the infinitival purposive complement clause can appear with the passivized nominal infinitive verb.

4.5.1 The nominal infinitive verb is intransitive

In this sub-section the possibility of the occurrence of an infinitive clause in the post-verbal position of nominal infinitive with a passive verb, will te explored.

4.5.1.1   The nominal infinitive passive with weather verb

In this section the question of whether passivized weather verbs in nominal infinitives can allow a purposive complement infinitival clause, will be looked into. Consider the following example sentences in (24):

(24)   a.   *U niwa nga mvula u dadza milambo ndi havhudi
                 'To be rained by the rain to flood rivers is good'

          b.   *U fhiswa nga duvha u vhulaha zwimela hu a khakha
                 'To be hot by the sun to kill plants is not good'

          c.   *U vhudzulwa nga muya u wisa matari ndi ha vhudi
                 'To be blown by the wind to cause leaves to fall is bad'

          d.   *U rotholwa nga makole u wisa mahada ho vhifha
                 'To be cold by clouds to cause snow to fall is bad'

It should be noted that weather verbs do not allow the presence of the passive -w-, therefore, the sentences in (24) are ungrammatical. Even if the applicative -el- is affixed to the passive weather verbs, the sentences in which they appear will still be ungrammatical. Consider (25):

(25)   a.   *U nelwa nga mvula u ḓaḓza milambo ndi havhudi
                  'To be raining by rain to flood rivers is good'

            b.   *U fhiselwa nga ḓuvha u vhulaha zwimela hu a vhaisa
                  'To be hot by the sun to kill plants is painful'

            c.   *U vhudzulelwa nga muya u wisa maṱari ndi havhuḓi
                  'To be blown by the wind to cause leaves to fall is good'

            d.   *U rotholelwa nga makole u wisa mahaḓa ho vhifha
                  'To be cold by the clouds to cause snow to fall is bad'

It is thus clear that weather verbs do not allow the presence of the passive -**w**- and even if the applicative -**el**- is affixed to the passive weather verbs, this cannot change the ungrammaticality of the sentences in which they appear. As such, the constructions in (25) remain ungrammatical.

4.5.1.2   Nominal infinitive with passive motion verbs

The aim of this sub-section is to establish whether a nominal infinitive with a passive motion verb can licence a purposive infinitival complement clause. Consider (26) below:

(26)   a.   *U tshimbilwa nga vhathu u toḓa mushumo hu a vhavha
                  'To be walked by people to look for a job is painful'

            b.   *U gidimiwa nga vhana u winisa tshikolo ndi ha vhuḓi
                  'To be run by children to make it possible for the school to win is good'

            c.   *U tuwiwa nga vhathu u sinyusa khosi ho vhifha
                  'To be gone by people to anger the chief is bad'

            d.   *U takuwiwa nga vhatshini u mvumvusa vhathu ho takadza
                  'To be standing up by the dancers to entertain the people was pleasing'

The passivation of motion verbs seems to have problems too. The sentences in (26) are ungrammatical due to the passivation of the motion verbs in the nominal infinitives. Affixation of the applicative -**el**- to these verbs also cannot result in grammaticality, as shown in (27):

(27)   a.   *U tshimbilelwa nga vhathu u toḓa mushumo hu a vhavha
                  'To be walked by people looking for a job is painful'

b.   *U gidimelwa nga vhana u winisa tshikolo ndi ha vhuḓi
'To be run by children to make it possible for the school to win is good'

c.   *U ṱutshelwa nga vhathu u sinyusa khosi ho vhifha
'To be gone by people to anger the chief is bad'

d.   *U takutshelwa nga vhatshini u mvumvu sa vhathu ho takadza
'To stand up by dancers to entertain the people was pleasing'

The affixation of the applicative -el- to the passive motion verbs of the nominal infinitives cannot change the ungrammaticality of the constructions in (27); they remain ungrammatical.

4.5.1.3   The nominal infinitive passive experiencer verb

The aim of this sub-section is to explore the possibility of the occurrence of passive experiencer verbs in the nominal infinitive and to determine whether these passive experiencer verbs can allow purposive infinitive complement clauses. Consider the example sentences in (28):

(28)   a.   *U fhumulwa nga matshudeni u sinyusa mudededzi ho vhifha
'To be silent by students to anger the teacher is bad'

b.   *U ṱungufhalwa nga musadzi u vhaisa munna ho vhifha
'To be sad by the woman to hurt her husband is bad'

c.   *U sewa nga vhasidzana u vhaisa mutukana hu a vhavha
'To be laughed by girls to hurt the boy is painful'

d.   *U ṅalwa nga vhashumi u vhaisa muvhuso ho vhifha
'To refuse to work by workers to harm the government is bad'

The sentences in (28) are characterized by having the passive experiencer verb in the nominal infinitive. In the constructions in (28) the passivation of the verb of the nominal infinitive clause causes the constructions to be ungrammatical. Control of the PRO subject of the infinitival complement clause is impossible due to the ungrammaticality of the sentences. Should the applicative -el- be affixed to the passive experiencer verbs of the nominal infinitives, the sentences in which they appear will still be ungrammatical, as in (29) below:

(29)   a.   *U fhumutshelwa nga matshudeni u sinyusa mudededzi ho vhifha
                'To be silent by the students to anger the teacher is bad'

         b.   *U tungufhalelwa nga musadzi u vhaisa munna ho khakhea
                'To be sad by the woman to hurt her husband is bad'

         c.   *U setshelwa nga vhasidzana u vhaisa a mutukana hu a vhavha
                'To be laughed by the girls to hurt the boy is painful'

         d.   *U ṅalelwa nga vhashumi u vhaisa muvhuso ho vhifha
                'To refuse to work by workers to hurt the government is bad'

The affixation of the applicative -el- to the passive experiencer verbs in the nominal infinitives, does not change the ungrammaticality of the constructions in (29). Should the purposive infinitival complement clauses appear in the immediate post-verbal position in the nominal infinitive, this will not change the ungrammaticality either. See the example sentences in (30):

(30)   a.   *U fhumutshelwa u sinyusa mudededzi nga matshudeni ho vhifha
                'To be silent to anger the teacher by students is bad'

         b.   *U tungufhalelwa u vhaisa munna nga musadzi ho khakhea
                'To be said to anger the man by the woman is not good'

         c.   *U setshelwa u vhaisa mutukana nga vhasidzana ho khakhea
                'To be laughed to hurt the boy by the girls is bad'

         d.   *U ṅalelwa u vhaisa muvhuso nga vhashumi ho vhaisa
                'To refuse to work to harm the government by workers was bad'

In (30) the passive applied verbs in the nominal infinitive clauses are followed by the purposive infinitival complement clauses. This order does not change the ungrammaticality of the sentences.

One may conclude that if the intransitive verb of the nominal infinitive is passivized, the sentence in which this passivized verb appears, will be ungrammatical. This indicates that the passivized intransitive verbs of the nominal infinitive clause cannot allow the purposive infinitival complement clause. Control of PRO subject of this infinitival complement clause by either the implicit argument or the NP complement of the PP (external agentive argument) is hence not possible.

4.5.2 The nominal verb is monotransitive

The purpose of this sub-section is to establish whether in constructions with a nominal infinitive monotransitive verb, the infinitive purposive clause can occur in the post-nominal position. Control of the PRO subject implicitly as well as explicitly will also be explored. Consider the examples in (31):

(31)   a.   *U bikwa ha nama u fusha vhathu ndi havhudi
              'The cooking of the meat to feed the people is good'

         b.   *U rahwa ha bola u takadza vhataleli ndi havhudi
              'The kicking of the ball to please the spectators is good'

         c.   *U kanwa ha mavhele u fha rabulasi ho takalelwa
              'The harvesting of the mealies to give to the farmer was welcomed'

         d.   *U fukwa ha rokho u mangadza vhathu ho naka
              'The wearing of the dress to impress people was good'

         e.   *U simwa ha luimbo u takadza vhatendi ndi havhudi
              'The starting of the song to please christians is good'

The sentences in (31) are all ungrammatical in that the monotransitive verbs in the nominal infinitives are passivized. These sentences can be rendered grammatical if the infinitive complement clauses are preceded by the genitive **ya**, as in the example sentence structures of (32):

(32)   a.   U bikwa ha nama **ya** PRO u fusha vhathu ndi havhudi
              'The cooking of the meat of feeding the people is good'

         b.   U kanwa ha mavhele **a** PRO u fha rabulasi ndi hafhudi
              'The harvesting of the mealies of giving the farmer is good'

         c.   U dzhiwa ha thamu **ya** PRO u rwa ṅwana ho tea
              'The taking of the stick of beating the child is good'

          d.   U siṅwa ha luimbo **lwa** PRO u takadza vhatendi ndi havhudi
              'The starting of the song of pleasing the christians is good'

         e.   U fukwa ha rokho **ya** PRO u mangadza vhathu honaka
              'The wearing of the dress of impressing the people is good'

The examples given in (32) are all grammatical. The infinitive complement clauses in (32) are all preceded by the genitive **ya**. Even though the sentences in (32) are grammatical, the external agentive arguments are missing. It must be noted that the issue at stake is the occurrence of the implicit argument in different constructions as well as the control of the PRO subject of the infinitive purposive complement clauses by the implicit argument. With regard to the sentences in (32) control of PRO by the implicit argument is not possible due to the fact that the purposive infinitival complement clause of the constructions in (32) is preceded by the **genitive ya**. The occurrence of the genitive **ya** before the purposive infinitival complement clause, **de-externalizes** the external theta role assigned by the purposive infinitive verb. Control of PRO of the infinitive clauses in (32) can be made possible by affixing the applicative -**el**- to the passive monotransitive verbs in the nominal infinitives, as shown in the sentences in (33) below:

(33)　　a.　　U bikelwa ha ŋama PRO u fusha vhathu ndi havhudi
　　　　　　　'The cooking of the meat to feed people is good'

　　　　b.　　U rahelwa ha bola PRO u takadza vhaṱaleli ndi havhudi
　　　　　　　'The kicking of the ball to please spectators is good'

　　　　c.　　U kaŋelwa ha mavhele PRO u fha rabulasi ndi havhudi
　　　　　　　'The harvesting of the mealies to give to the farmer is good'

　　　　d.　　U fukelwa ha rokho PRO u mangadza vhathu ndi havhudi
　　　　　　　'The wearing of the dress to impress people is good'

　　　　e.　　U simelwa ha luimbo PRO u takadza vhaṱendi ndi havhudi
　　　　　　　'The starting of the song to please the christians is good'

With the affixation of the applicative -**el**-, which can also be referred to as the purposive -**el**-, to the passive monotransitive verbs in (33), the sentences are grammatical. The PRO subject of the infinitive purposive clauses is controlled by the implicit argument due to the fact that the external arguments are missing from the sentences in (33). PRO can be explicitly controlled if the NP becomes the complement of the PP **nga**, as in the example sentences in (34):

(34)　　a.　　U bikelwa ha ŋama PRO u fusha vhathu nga musadzi ndi havhudi
　　　　　　　'The cooking of the meat to feed people by the woman is good'

　　　　b.　　U rahelwa ha bola PRO u takadza vhaṱaleli nga vhatukana ndi havhudi
　　　　　　　'The kicking of the ball to please the spectators by the boys is good'

    c.   U kaṇelwa ha mavhele PRO u fha rabulasi nga vhashumi ho tea
'The harvesting of mealies to give the farmer by workers is good'

    d.   U simelwa ha luimbo PRO u takadza vhatendi nga musadzi ndi havhudi
'The starting of a song to please the christians by the woman is good'

    e.   U fukelwa ha rokho PRO u mangadza vhathu nga musadzi ndi havhudi
'The wearing of the dress to impress the people by the woman is good'

In the example sentences of (34) the arguments **ṇama** (meat), **bola** (ball), **mavhele** (mealies), **luimbo** (song) and **rokho** (dress) are interpreted as agent. In these examples PRO subject of the purposive infinitive clause is controlled explicitly by the NP complements of the preposition **nga** which occur in the infinitival complement clauses. These agents are, **musadzi** (woman), **vhatukana** (boys), **vhashumi** (workers) and **musadzi** (woman). In (34) there is no c-commanding that exists between the external agentive arguments and PRO of the infinitive clauses because the agentive arguments appear in the post-verbal position in the infinitive clauses.

If the **nga**-phrase (PP) appears in the immediate post-verbal position in the nominal infinitives, the sentences will be ungrammatical. To illustrate this fact, consider the following example sentences in (35):

(35)   a.   *U bikelwa nga musadzi ha ṇama u fusha vhathu ndi havhuḍi
'The cooking by the woman of the meat to feed the people is good'

    b.   *U rahelwa nga vhatukana ha bola u takadza vhaṭaleli ndi havhuḍi
'The kicking by the boys of the ball to please spectators is good'

    c.   *U kaṇelwa nga vhashumi ha mavhele u fha rabulasi ho tea
'The harvesting by the workers of mealies to give to the farmer is good'

The example sentences in (35) are all ungrammatical. Structurally the sentences in (34) can be represented as follows:

(36)   U bikelwa ha ṇama u fusha vhathu [nga musadzi] ho takadza
'The cooking of the meat to feed people by the woman was pleasing'
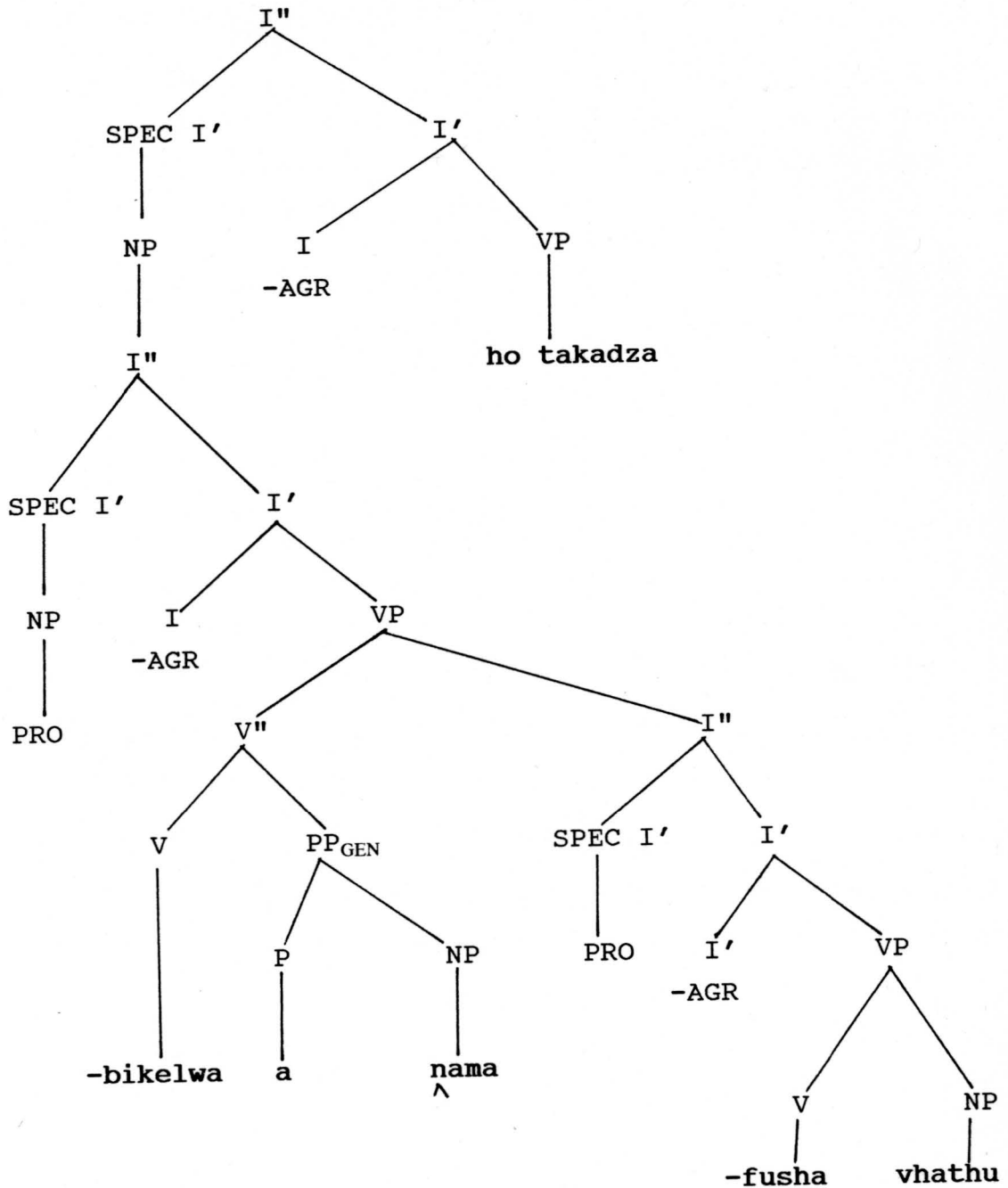
In summing up this sub-section it can be stated that, should a monotransitive verb in the matrix clause of the nominal infinitive be passivized, it cannot take anpurposive infinitival clause. For such a construction to be grammatical, the applicative or causative -el- should be affixed to the passive monotransitive verb in the nominal infinitive clause. Should the external agent be omitted from such a construction, implicit control of PRO subject of the infinitival clause by the implicit argument, will be possible. However, if the external argument is retained explicit, control of PRO will occur.

4.5.3 The nominal infinitive verb is ditransitive

The aim of this sub-section is to establish whether, in constructions where the nominal infinitive verb is ditransitive, an infinitive purposive clause can occur as complement of the nominal infinitive clause. Control of PRO subject by the implicit argument will also be explored. Consider the following example sentences in (37):

(37)   a.   *U ṇewa ha ṅwana ṇama u bikela vhathu ndi havhudi
             'The giving of the child meat to cook for the people is good'

      b.   *U fhiwa ha musidzana bugu u mutakadza ndi havhudi
             'The giving of the girl the book to please her is good'

      c.   *U dziṅwa ha mutukana tshelede u sinyusa vhathu ho vhavha
             'The refusal to give the boy the money to anger the parents was painful'

      d.   *U funzwa ha vhana luisimane u takadza vhabebi ndi havhuḓi
             'The teaching of the children of English to please their parents is good'

      e.   *U hadziṅwa ha musadzi tshelede u badela tshikolodo ndi havhudi
             'The borrowing to the woman of the money to pay the accounts is good'

All the sentences in (37) are ungrammatical and control of PRO of the purposive infinitive by the implicit argument is not possible. The sentences in (37) can become grammatical if the infinitive clause is preceded by the genitive **ya** as in the example sentences of (38) below:

(38)   a.   U ṇewa ha ṅwana ṇama ya u bikela vhathu ndi havhudi
             'The giving of the child meat to cook for the people is good'

      b.   U fhiwa ha ṅwana bugu ya u mu takadza ndi havhuḓi
             'The giving of the child the book to please him is good'

Note that there are some of the constructions that will not allow the genitive **ya** to precede the purposive infinitive clause, as shown in (39):

(39)   a.   *U dziṅwa ha mutukana tshelede **ya** u sinyusa vhathu ho vhavha
             'The refusal to give the boy money of causing the people to become angry is bad'

      b.   *U funzwa ha vhana luisimane lwa u takadza vhabebi ndi havhudi
             'The teaching of the children English of pleasing the parents is good'

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The sentences in (39) are grammatical but PRO cannot be controlled by an implicit argument because the genitive **ya** which is preceding the purposive infinitive complement clause, nominalizes this infinitive. The genitive **ya** prevents the control of PRO subject of the purposive infinitive since it dethematizes the subject theta role of this infinitive. By affixing the applicative **-el-** to the ditransitive verb in the matrix clause of the nominal infinitive, control by the implicit argument can be observed, as shown in (40):

(40)   a.   U netshelwa ha nwana nama PRO u bikela vhathu ndi havhudi
             'The giving to the child of the meat to cook for the people is good'

        b.   U fhelwa ha nwana bugu PRO u mutakadza ndi havhudi
             'The giving to the child of the book to please him is good'

        c.   U dzimelwa ha mutukana tshelede PRO u sinyusa vhathu ho vhifha
             'The refusal to give the boy money to anger teh people is bad'

        d.   U badelwa ha vhashumi tshelede PRO u takadza muvhuso ndi havhudi
             'The paying of the workers money to please the government is good'

        e.   U hadzimelwa ha musadzi tshelede PRO u badela tshikolodo ho tea
             'The borrowing for the woman of the money to pay the accounts is good'

In (40) the purposive infinitive complement clause can appear with the nominal infinitive. This is due to the affixation of the applicative **-el-** to the ditransitive verb in the nominal infinitive.   In (40) PRO subject of the purposive infinitive is left without an overt controller, but in this instance the possible controller is the implicit argument.   Therefore, in instances where the applicative **-el-** is affixed to the ditransitive verb in the nominal infinitive, control of PRO subject of the purposive infinitive clause is possible. This PRO can also be explicitly controlled by the external agent which is the complement of the PP **nga**, as in (41):

(41)   a.   U netshelwa ha nwana nama PRO u bikela vhathu [nga musadzi] ndi ha vhudi
             'The giving of the child meat to cook for the people by the woman is good'

        b.   U fhelwa ha nwana bugu PRO u mu takadza [nga musadzi] ndi ha vhudi
   'The giving of the child the book to please him by the woman is good'

c. U dzimelwa ha mutukana tshelede PRO u sinyusa vhathu [nga muvhuso] ho vhaisa

'The refusal to give the boy money to anger the people by the government was painful'

d. U badelwa ha vhashumi tshelede PRO u takadza muvhuso [nga rabulasi] ndi havhuḓi

'The paying to the workers of the money to please the government by the farmers is good'

e. U hadzimelwa ha musadzi tshelede PRO u badela tshikolodo [nga munna] ho takadza

'The borrowing of/to the woman of the money to pay for the accounts by the man is good'

The arguments **musadzi** (woman), **muvhuso** (government), **rabulasi** (farmer) and **munna** (man) in (41) are interpreted as agents. PRO in the purposive infinitives of the sentences of (41) is controlled explicitly by these agents which appear as NP complements of the preposition **nga**. Although the NP complement of the PP cannot c-command PRO, it is co-indexed with PRO.

The structure of the sentences given in (41) can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

(42) U fhelwa ha ṅwana bugu PRO u mu takadza [nga musadzi] ndi havhuḓi

'The giving of the child the book to please him by the woman is good'
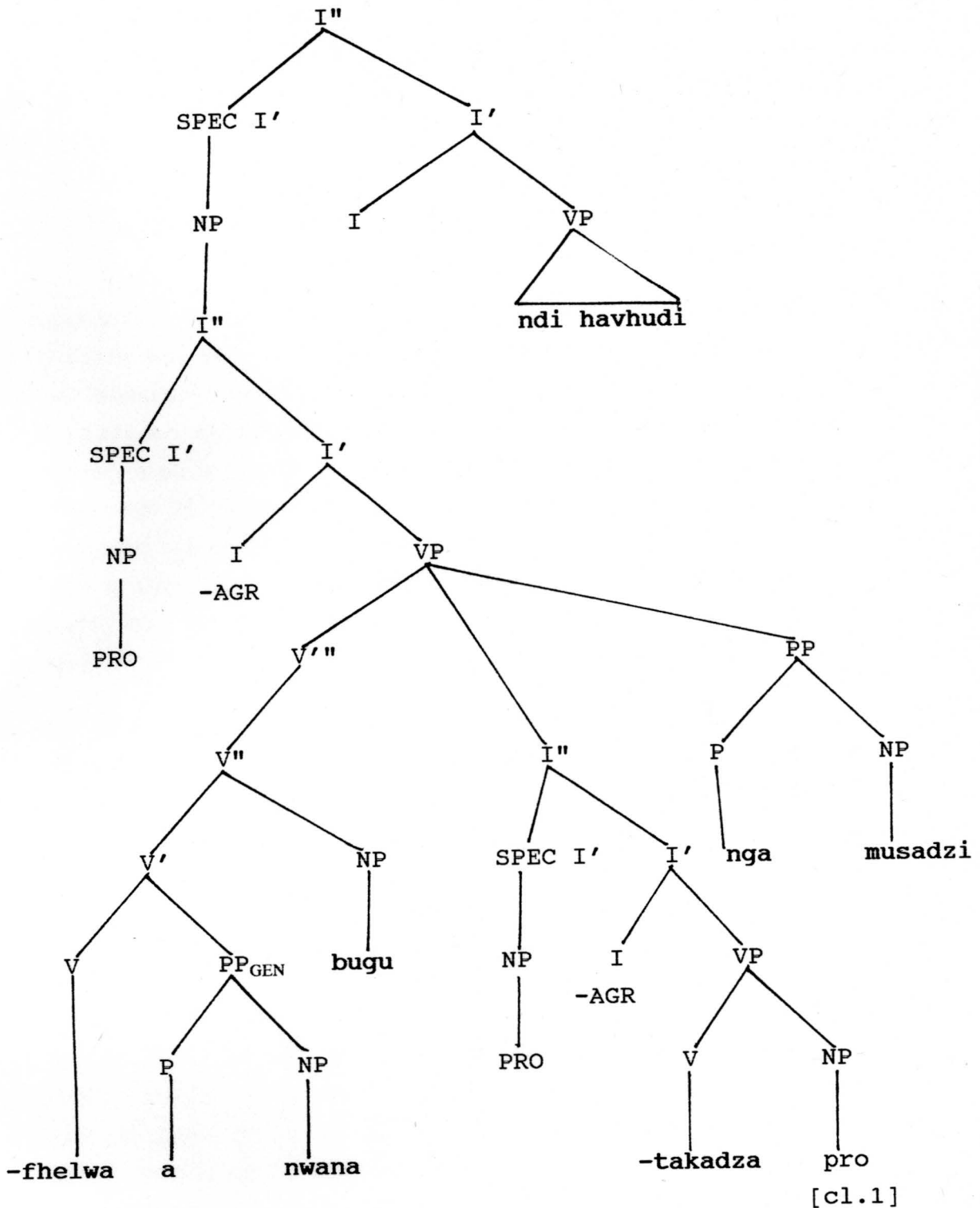
In summing up this sub-section, it may be stated that ditransitive verbs in the nominal infinitive can be passivized but they cannot take a purposive infinitive complement clause. For a nominal infinitive clause with a ditransitive verb to allow the purposive infinitival complement clause, the applicative -el- must be affixed to the nominal infinitaive verb. It has also been established that, in the absence of the NP complement of the PP in the post-

nominal position of the nominal infinitive clause, PRO will be controlled by the implicit argument which is always assumed present in passive constructions lacking an overt external argument.

4.6   CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be stated that an implicit argument can occur in nominal infinitive constructions with a purposive infinitival complement in Venda. In instances where the nominal infinitive verb is in the active, the applicative -el- has to be affixed to this verb to allow the implicit argument to control PRO of the purposive infinitive. In cases where the external argument is omitted, as in (4) it was indicated that PRO subject of the purposive infinitive could be controlled by an implicit argument. In instances where the nominal infinitive verb is a weather verb in the active, as in (6) it is realized that, for the nominal infinitive to allow the purposive infinitive clause, the active weather verb has to take the applicative -el-. In examples where the external agent is missing, PRO subject is controlled implicitly by an implicit argument.

In cases where the verb in the nominal infinitive is a motion verb, as in (8) the applicative -el- has to be affixed to the verb in the nominal infinitive in order to licence it to allow the purposive clause. Also in these sentences, the implicit argument can control PRO. Explicit control of PRO becomes possible when the NP complement of the genitive **ha** appears in the post-verbal position in the nominal infinitive clause. With experiencer verbs in the nominal infinitive, the applicative -el- has to be affixed to the verb. PRO of the infinitival purposive clause can be controlled by the implicit argument.

In sentences where the verbs of the nominal infinitive are monotransitive, as in (17) and ditransitive, as in (19), the applicative -el- must be affixed. Control by an implicit argument is possible. In instances where the genitive **ya** precedes an infinitival purposive complement clause, control of PRO by the implicit argument is impossible because the genitive **ya** nominalizes the purposive infinitive clause, thereby de-thematizing the subject theta-role of the infinitive verb. This genitive **ya** agrees with the nominalized verb, thereby preventing the control of PRO subject of the infinitive by the implicit argument. Explicit control of PRO will also be impossible.

It was also indicated in this section that, when the verb of the nominal infinitive is in the passive, especially in instances where the nominal infinitive verb is a passive intransitive verb (weather verb (24), motion verb (26) and experiencer verb (28)) all constructions become ungrammatical. It follows that the passivized intransitive weather, motion and

experiencer verbs of the nominal infinitive cannot allow the purposive clause. Control of PRO, either implicitly or explicitly, is also impossible in such constructions.

However, with regard to the passivation of a monotransitive and ditransitive verb of the nominal infinitive clause, it can be stated that the applicative -**el**- must be affixed to make it possible for the purposive infinitival clause to appear as the complement of the nominal infinitive clause. Control of subject PRO of the purposive infinitive by an implicit argument, as well as explicit control of PRO of the infinitive clause by the NP complement of the PP in the post-verbal position in the infinitive clause, is also possible.

Finally, one may indicate that with regard to nominal infinitive constructions in Venda, the applicative -**el**- has a role to play during the construction of sentences in that it licences purposive infinitives when it is affixed to nominal infinitive verbs.

SECTION FIVE

5.   DEVERBAL EVENT NOMINALS

5.1   INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this section is to explore the occurrence of deverbal event nominals with a purposive infinitival complement clause, hence, to establish whether a verb in the deverbal event nominal clause can allow a purposive infinitival complement clause.

According to Trask (1993:81) a deverbal nominal is a word denoting a lexical item of another class derived from a verb or a verbal stem. For example, **realization** is a deverbal noun derived from the verb **realize**.   Louwrens (1994:53) is of the opinion that a deverbative noun is a term used to refer to a noun which is derived from a verb root. According to him, this derivational process involves the adding of a class prefix to the **verb root**, as well as the suffixing of one of the deverbative suffixes like -**i**, -**a** or ô in North Sotho. This will depend mainly on the meaning of the deverbative, i.e. whether it refers to a human or a non-human object, or to the result of an action, etc.

Taking into account Trask and Louwrens's views on deverbal nominals, it must be noted that the relevant question concerns   the position of the purposive infinitival complement clause in instances where such an infinitival complement clause appears with the deverbative event nominal clause. Control of the PRO subject of the infinitival complement clause will be explored. The issue of the occurrence of PPs with the possessive preposition **nga** before purposive infinitival complement clause will be looked into.

The occurrence of the deverbal event nominals with monotransitive and intransitive verbs will be explored. In these constructions the position of the PP with the genitive **a**, will be looked into.   An investigation to determine whether the occurrence of this possessive preposition in the pre-infinitival position is obligatory or optional, will be made. The role of the implicit argument in the control of PRO subject will be considered, i.e. it will be established whether the PRO subject of the infinitive clause can be controlled explicitly or implicitly.

5.2   DEVERBAL EVENT NOMINALS WITH AN INTRANSITIVE BASE VERB

The purpose of this sub-section is to determine whether the deverbal event nominal with an intransitive verb base, can allow a purposive infinitival complement clause, and to examine whether PRO in the infinitival clause can be controlled by the implicit argument. The issue here is whether the intransitive verb base in the deverbal event nominal can allow an infinitive clause as its complement. Louwrens (1994) is of the opinion that the intransitive verb is a verb which denotes processes or actions which cannot affect objects. Du Plessis and Visser (1992) state that intransitive predicates are regarded as a one-place predicate, i.e. predicates that assign only one theta role to a linguistic expression such as a noun phrase or a clause.

Taking into account Louwrens, Du Plessis and Visser's argument on intransitive verbs, the following example sentences in (1) can first be considered to indicate the syntactic projection of the argument with the deverbal event nominals that are related to intransitive verbs.

(1)   a.   **Vhashumi** vha khou **gwalaba**
             'The workers are protesting'

        b.   **Vhana** vha khou **semana**
             'Children are quarreling'

        c.   **Vhana** vha **enda** nga bisi
             'Children are commuting by bus'

        d.   **Vhathu** vha khou **rembuluwa**
             'People are repenting'

        e.   **Maviavhathu** a khou **shavha**
             'The ritual murderers are running away'

In the example sentences given in (1) the external arguments appear in the subject position of the constructions. In 1(a) the verb **gwalaba** (protest) assigns an agent theta role to the argument **vhashumi** (workers). In 1(b) the verb **sema** (to swear) assigns an agent theta role to the argument **vhana** (children) while in 1(c) the verb **enda** (walk) assigns an agent theta role to the agent **vhana** (children). The verb **tshina** (dance) in 1(d) assigns an agent theta role to the argument **vhaimbi** (dancers) and in 1(e) the verb **rembuluwa** (report) assigns an agent theta role to the argument **vhathu** (people. In 1(f) the verb **funzwa** (teach/preach) assigns an Agent theta role to the argument **vhathu** (people. The argument **vhasadzi** in 1(f)

is assigned a recipient theta role by the verb **funzwa** (taught). The verb **shavha** (run away) in 1(g) assigns an agent theta role to the argument **maviavhathu** (ritual murderers).

From the intransitive verbs, i.e. verbs that assign one argument only, deverbal event nominals can be formed, as in (2):

(2)		**Transitive verb**		**Deverbal nominal**
	a.	Gwalaba (protest)	>	mugwalabo
	b.	Semana (quarrel)	>	Tsemano
	c.	Enda (walk)	>	lwendo
	d.	Tshina (dance)	>	mutshino
	e.	Rembuluwa (repent)	>	thembuluwo
	f.	Shavha (escape)	>	mushavho

The examples of deverbal nominals given in (2) can be used in the following sentences:

(3) a. Mugwalabo wa PRO [u thithisa mulalo];wo vhifha
         'The protest to disturb peace is bad'

     b. Tsemano ya PRO [u sinyusa vhabebi] yo vhifha
         'The quarrel to anger the parents is bad'

     c. Lwendo lwa PRO [u endedza vhathu] lwo lapfa
         'The trip to transport people is long'

     d. Mutshino wa PRO [u mvumvusa vhathu] wo takadza
         'The dance to entertain the people is beautiful'

     e. Thembuluwo ya PRO [u takadza mudzimu] i a todea
         'The conversion to please God is needed'

     f. Mushavho wa PRO [u takadza vhathu] ndi wa vhudi
   'The escape to please the people is good'

The sentences in (3) are characterized by having **deverbative event nominals** in their subject positions. The external arguments of these event nominals are missing. In (4) the deverbal event nominal is followed by an infinitival clause which is the complement of the deverbal event nominal. Since the external arguments are missing from the sentences in (3)

the question arises as to whether PRO subject of the purposive infinitive can be controlled by an implicit argument. In response to this question, one may indicate that the infinitival clauses of the constructions in (3) are preceded by a PP with the possessive preposition. The occurrence of the possessive preposition before the purposive infinitival complement clauses nominalizes the infinitival clause and dethematizes the subject position of this infinitival clause verb so that the subject position is no longer a theta-position. This means that the implicit argument will not be able to control the PRO of the infinitive clause. The omitted external argument in (3) may overtly occur in the constructions as shown in (4):

(4)   a.   Mugwalabo wa vhashumi wa u thithisa mulalo ndi muvhi
              'The protest of workers to disturb peace is bad'

      b.   Tsemano ya vhana ya u sinyusa vhabebi yo vhifha
              'The quarrel of the children to anger their parents is bad'

      c.   Lwendo lwa bisi lwa u endedza vhathu lwo lapfa
              'The trip of the bus to transport people is long'

      d.   Mutshino wa vhaimbi wa u mvumvusa vhathu wo takadza
              'The dance of the singers to entertain the people was interesting'

      e.   Thembuluwo ya vhathu ya u takadza mudzimu i a todea
              'The repentance of the people to please God is needed'

      f.   Mushavho wa maviavhathu wa u takadza vhathu ndi wavhudi
              'The escape of the ritual murderers to please the people is good'

      g.   Pfunzo ya mufunzi ya PRO u rembulusa vhathu ndi yavhudi
              'The sermon of the pastor to convert the people is good'

The sentences in (4) differ from those in (3) in that the external arguments of (4) are appearing in a post-nominal position of the deverbal nominals as complements of the possessive preposition. The fact that the purposive infinitival clauses are preceded by the possessive preposition **a** gives rise to the problem in that PRO of the infinitive will not be controlled by the external agent arguments of the event nominals. The constructions in (4) can be represented diagrammaticaly as follows:

(5)   Mugwalabo wa vhashumi wa PRO [u thithisaha mulalo] ndi muvhi
           'The protest of the workers to disturb the peace is bad'
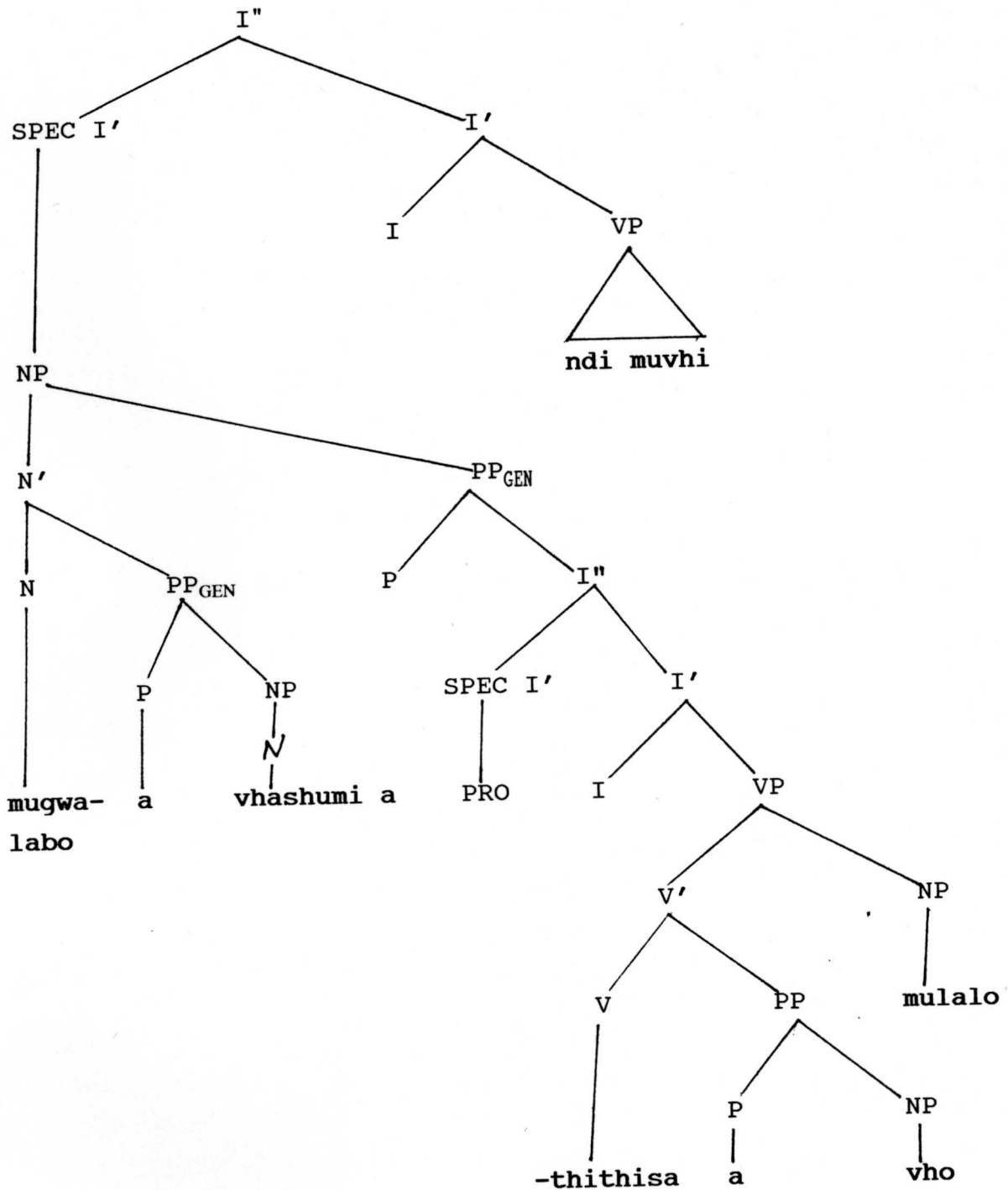
The possessive preposition **wa** in the immediate post-nominal position of the deverbal nominals can be replaced by **nga**, as in (6):

(6)   a.   Mugwalabo nga vhashumi wa PRO u thithisa havho mulalo wo vhifha
                       'The protest by the workers of disturbing the peace is bad'

b.   Tsemano nga vhana ya PRO u sinyusa vhabebi yo vhifha

'The quarrel by children to anger their parents is bad'

c.   Lwendo nga bisi lwa PRO u endedza vhathu lwo lapfa

'The trip by the bus of transporting people is long'

d.   Mutshino nga vhaimbi wa PRO u mvumvusa vhathu wo takadza

'The dance by the singers of entertaining the people was interesting'

e.   Thembuluwo nga vhathu ya PRO u takadza mudzimu i a toḓea

'The repentance by the people to please God is needed'

f.   Mushavho nga maviavhathu wa PRO u takadza vhathu ndi wavhuḓi

'The escape by the ritual murderers of pleasing the people is good'

g.   Pfunzo nga mufunzi ya PRO u rembulusa vhathu ndi yavhuḓi

'The sermon by the pastor to convert people is good'

In the example sentences in (6) the external arguments appear in the post-nominal position of the deverbal nominals as complements of the preposition **nga**. The sentences in (6) are all grammatical but PRO subject of the infinitival complement clauses cannot be controlled by the NP complements of the preposition **nga** due to the nominalization of the infinitive clauses by the genitive **a**, i.e. the possessive prepositions, which gives rise to dethematization of the subject position of the purposive infinitive since the latter is nominalized by the genitive -**a** preceding it.

In conclusion, it can be indicated that in instances where the deverbal nominal appears with a purposive infinitival complement clause, the PRO subject in these clauses will not be controlled. That is, the NP complement of the genitive **a** or of the preposition **nga** cannot serve as controller of PRO subject of the purposive infinitival clause, because of the presence of the possessive prepositions **ya**, **wa**, etc. which nominalizes this purposive infinitival clause. Hence, no co-indexation is possible between the overt arguments and the PRO subjects of the infinitival clause. An overt phrase may appear in the post-nominal position of the deverbal nominal. However, the NP complement of the preposition **nga** cannot control PRO subject of the infinitival clause due to the occurrence of the preposition **ya** before the infinitival complement clauses.

5.3 DEVERBAL EVENT NOMINALS WITH A MONOTRANSITIVE BASE VERB

Louwrens (1994) refers to monotransitive verbs as single transitive roots. He states that monotransitive verbs are verbs which take only one object. The aim of this section is to determine whether deverbal event nominals with a monotransitive verb base, can allow a purposive infinitival complement clause. The position of the implicit argument in such constructions will also be considered.

The syntactic projection of arguments of deverbal nominals

Consider the example sentences in (7) in this regard:

(7) a. Ngudo ya mavu ya PRO [u khwiṇisa vhulimi] ndi yavhuḍi
   'The study of the soil [to improve farming] is good'

  b. Ndifhedzo ya mavemu ya PRO [u takadza vhabebi] yo takalelwa
   'The revenge of the criminals [to please parents] was welcomed'

  c. Thambudzo ya maravhele ya PRO [u takadza vhadzulapo] yo tanganedzwa
   'The interrogation of the terrorists [to please the citizens] was welcomed'

  d. Mudio wa maravhele wa PRO [u takadza vhadzulapo] wo takalelwa
   'The attack of the terrorists [to please the citizens] was welcomed'

  e. Mufafadzelo wa vhunyunyu wa PRO [u fhungudza malwadze] ndi wa vhuḍi
   'The spraying of the mosquitos [to reduce disease] is good'

  f. Thambo ya vhathu ya PRO [u takadza khosi] ndi ya vhuḍi
   'The invitation of the people [to please the chief] is good'

In sentence 7(a) the argument **mavu** (soil) is assigned a theta role of theme, while the argument **mavemu** (criminals) in 7(b) gets a theta role of patient. In 7(c-d) the argument **maravhele** (terrorists) gets a thematic interpretation of patient, while in 7(e) **vhunyunyu** (mosquitos) gets a thematic interpretation of patient and the argument **vhathu** (people) in 7(f) is assigned a theta role of theme. With regard to the construction in (7) it may be stated that the external arguments of the event nominals are missing. The absence of this external argument does, however, not licence the implicit argument to control PRO in the infinitive

clauses due to the presence of the genitive **a** in preceding the purposive infinitive and nominalizing it, with the result that the subject position of this infinitive is dethematized.

The ommitted external arguments in (7) may occur as overt phrases in the ungrammatical sentences of (8) below:

(8)   a.   *Ngudo ya vhalimi ya mavu ya PRO u khwiṇisa vhulimi ndi yavhudi
                  'The study by the farmers of the soil to improve farming is good'

      b.   *Ndifhedzo [ya vhana] ya mavemu ya [u takadza vhabebi] yo takalelwa
                  'The revenge by the children of the criminals to impress the parents was welcomed'

      c.   *Thambudzo [ya mapholisa] ya maravhele ya [u takadza vhadzulapo] yo tanganedzwa
                  'The interrogation by the police of the terrorists to please the citizens was welcomed'

      d.   *Mudio [wa maswole] wa maravhele wa [u takadza vhadzulapo] wo tanganedzwa
                  'The attack by the soldiers of the terrorists to please the citizens was welcomed'

      e.   *Mufafadzelo [wa rabulasi] wa vhunyunyu wa [u fhungudza malwadze] wo tanganedzwa
                  'The spraying by the farmer of mosquitos to reduce the disease was welcomed

      f.   *Thambo [ya mukoma] ya vhathu ya [u takadza khosi] ndi yavhuḓi
                  'The invitation by the headman of the people to please the chief is good'

The constructions in (8) are all ungrammatical. It has been indicated in (7) that without the external argument which appears as the complement of the possessive preposition after the deverbal nominal clause, the implicit argument occurs. However, the presence of the implicit argument does not entail that PRO subject in the purposive infinitive complement clause, will be controlled by it. This is due to the occurrence of the possessive preposition before the infinitival clause. This possessive preposition nominalizes the infinitival clause, thereby resulting in the dethematization of the external argument. The sentences in (8) above can only be grammatical if the NP appears as a complement of the preposition **nga** in the pre-infinitival position, as in (9):

(9) a. Ngudo ya mavu nga vhalimi ya u khwiṇisa vhulimi ndi yavhuḓi
    'The study of the soil by the farmers to improve the farming is good'

  b. Ndifhedzo ya mavemu nga vhana ya u takadza vhabebi yo takalelwa
    'The revenge of the criminals by children to please their parents was welcomed'

  c. Thambudzo ya maravhele nga mapholisa ya u takadza vhadzulapo yo ṱanganedzwa
    'The interrogation of the terrorists by the police to please the citizens was welcomed'

  d. Mudio wa maravhele nga maswole wa u takadza vhadzulapo wo ṱanganedzwa
    'The attack of the terrorists by the soldiers to please the citizens was accepted/welcomed'

  e. Mufafadzelo wa vhunyunyu nga rabulasi wa PRO [u fhungudza malwadze] wo ṱanganedzwa
    'The spraying of the mosquitos by the farmer to reduce disease was welcomed'

  f. Thambo ya vhathu nga mukoma ya PRO [u takadza khosi] yo takalelwa
    'The invitation of the people by the headman to please the chief was welcomed'

The NP complement of the preposition **nga** in the above examples appears in the post-nominal position of the deverbal nominal. The possessive preposition **ya** appears in the pre-infinitival position of the puraposive infinitival complement clause, thereby nominalizing this infinitive which results in the dethematization of the subject position of this infinitive, and hence prevent control of PRO. This would mean therefore, that PRO of the sentences in (9) cannot be controlled by an explicit or implicit argument.

The genitive **ya** that precedes the theme and patient arguments in the sentences in (9) can be replaced by the preposition **kha**, but the **nga**-phrase must now appear in the immediate post-deverbal nominal position, as in (10):

(10) a. Ndifhedzo nga vhana kha mavemu ya PRO [u takadza vhabebi] ndi yavhuḓi
    'The revenge by the children to the criminals to please their parents is good'

b.   Mudio nga maswole kha maravhele wa PRO [u takadza vhadzulapo] wo
tanganedzwa
'The attack by the soldiers to the terrorists to please the citizens was
welcomed'

c.   Thambo nga mukoma kha vhathu ya PRO [u takadza khosi] yo
tanganedzwa
'The invitation by the headman to people to please the chief was
welcomed'

It must be noted that in 9(a) and (b) the genitive **ya** must be retained. Should it be replaced
by the preposition **kha**, the sentences will be ungrammatical, as in (11):

(11)   a.   *Mufafadzelo nga rabulasi kha vhunyunyu wa PRO [u fhungudza
malwadze] wo takalelwa
'The spraying of the mosquitos by the farmer to reduce diseases was
welcomed'

          b.   *Ngudo nga vhalimi kha **mavu** ya PRO [u khwinisa vhulimi] ndi yavhudi
'The study to the soil by the farmers to improve farming is good'

In 11(a) the argument **vhunyunyu** (mosquitos) which is assigned a theta role of patient, is
preceded by the preposition **kha**. In 11(b) the argument **mavu** (soil) which is assigned a
theta role of theme, is also preceded by the preposition **kha**. The occurrence of the
preposition **kha** before these two arguments, makes the relevant sentences ungrammatical.
The sentences in (9) can therefore be represented diagrammatically as follows:

(12)   Ndifhedzo [ya mavemu] nga vhana ya PRO [u takadza vhabebi] ndi yavhudi
'The revenge of the criminals by the children to please their parents is good'
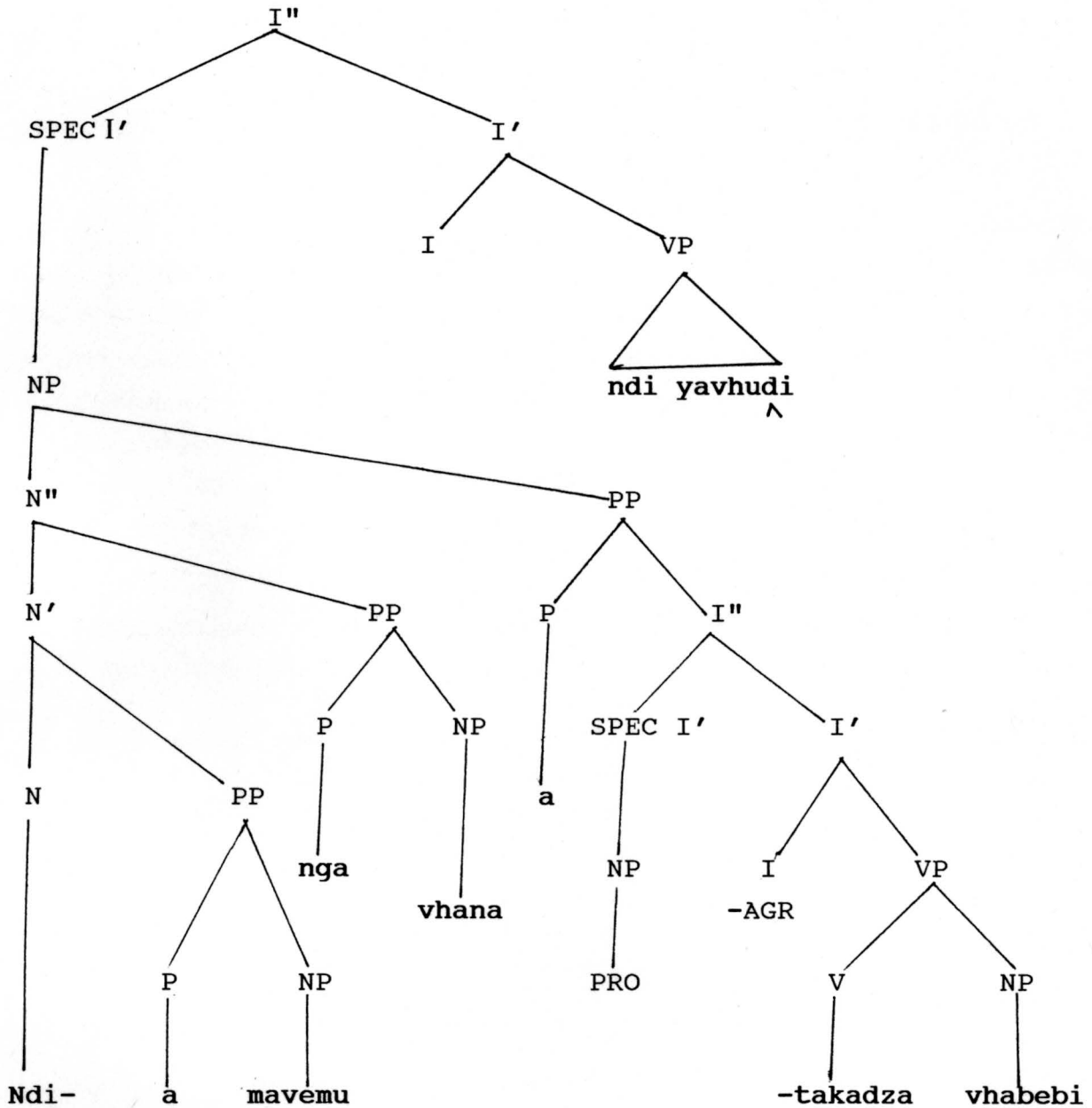
In conclusion it can be stated that a deverbal nominal with a monotransitive verb base, can allow a purposive infinitival complement clause. What is interesting in this case is that the genitive **a**, i.e. the possessive preposition, should always occur before the purposive infinitival complement clause in order to render the construction in which it appears, grammatical. PRO subject of the infinitival complement clause cannot be explicitly controlled by the NP complement of the PP **nga** which is an external argument. There cannot be a control of PRO in the infinitival purposive clause by the external argument of the event nominal which occurs as the NP complement of the preposition **nga** or the possessive preposition **ya**, since the purposive infinitive is nominalized if preceded by the genitive **a**, resulting in the dethematization of its subject position.

In instances where the NP complement of the PP is missing, control by the implicit argument will also be impossible.

5.4   DEVERBAL EVENT NOMINALS WITH A DITRANSITIVE VERB BASE

The aim of this sub-section is to establish whether a deverbal event nominal construction with a ditransitive verb base, can allow a purposive infinitival complement clause. As in the case of a deverbal nominal clause with a monotransitive verb base, the occurrence of a genitive **a** before the purposive infinitival complement clause, will be looked into. An investigation will be made to find out whether the occurrence of the genitive **a** before any purposive infinitival clause is obligatory or optional. Effects of the presence of this genitive **a** on the grammaticality of a sentence will be considered. The position of the implicit argument will also be explored.

5.4.1 The syntactic projection of the arguments of the deverbal nominal with a ditransitive verb

Consider the example sentences in (13):

(13)   a.   Muphuresidennde u fha vhana zwifhiwa
'The president gives gifts to children'

b.   Muvhuso u fha vhana basari
'The government gives bursaries to children'

c.   Musadzi u humbela munna tshelede
'The woman asks money from the man'

d.   Lekitshara u ṭalutshedza matshudeni mbalo
'The lecturer explains the arithmetic to students'

e.   Ramavhengele u hadzima munna tshelede
'The businessman lends the money to the man'

f.   Giratshi i vhila rathekhisi tshelede
'The garage demands money from the taxi owner'

In 13(a) the verb **fha** (give) assigns an agent theta role to the argument **muphuresidennde** (president), while in 13(b) the verb **fha** (give) assigns an agent theta role to the argument **muvhuso** (government). The argument **musadzi** (woman) is assigned an agent theta role by

the verb **humbela** (request) while the argument **lekitshara** (lecturer) is assigned the theta role of agent by the verb **talutshedza** (explain) in 13(d). In 13(e) the verb **hadzima** (lend) assigns a theta role of agent to the argument **ramavhengele** (businessman), and finally the verb **vhila** (demand) in 13(f) assigns an agent theta role to the argument **giratshi** (garage).

The argument **vhana** (children) in 13(a) is assigned a theta role of recipient by the verb **fha** (give), while in 13(b) this verb assigns a recipient theta role to the argument **vhana** (children). The argument **munna** (man) is assigned a theta role of source by the verb **humbela** (request). In 13(c) the verb **talutshedza** (explain) assigns a beneficiary theta role to the argument **matshudeni** (students). In 13(e) the verb **hadzima** (lend) assigns a theta role of recipient to the argument **ramavhengele** (businessman) while in 13(f) the verb **vhila** (demand) assigns a patient theta role to the argument **rathekhisi** (taxi owner).

From the verbs given in the constructions in (13) the following deverbal event nominals are derived:

(14)　　a.　　fha (give) >　　mpho (gift)

　　　　b.　　fha (give) >　　mpho (gift)

　　　　c.　　humbela (ask)　　>　　khumbelo (request)

　　　　d.　　talutshedza (explain)　　>　　thalutshedzo (explanation)

　　　　e.　　hadzima (lend)　　>　　khadzimo (lending)

　　　　f.　　vhila (demand)　　>　　mbilo (demand)

Consider next the examples of deverbal event nominals given in (14) can be used in the following ungrammatical sentences:

(15)　　a.　　*Mpho ya muphuresidennde ya zwifhiwa ya vhana ya PRO u takadza vhathu ndi yavhudi
　　　　　　'The gift of the president of gifts of children of pleasing the people is good'

　　　　b.　　*Mpho ya muvhuso ya basari ya vhana u takadza vhathu ndi yavhudi
　　　　　　'The gift of the government of the bursary of children to please the people is good'

c.   *Khumbelo ya musadzi ya tshelede ya munna u badela tshikolodo yo pfala

'The request of the woman of money of the man to pay the accounts was heard'

d.   *Thalutshedzho ya lekitshara ya mbalo ya matshudeni u takadza vhabebi ndi yavhudi

'The explanation of the lecturer of the arithmetic of the students to please the parents is good'

e.   *Khadzimo ya ramavhengele ya tshelede ya munna u thusa vhana vhawe ndi yavhudi

'The lending of the businessman of the money of the man to help his children is good'

f.   *Mbilo ya giratshi ya tshelede ya rathekhisi u shonisa muta wawe yo khakhea

'The demand by the garage of the money of the taxi owner to embarass his family is wrong'

g.   *Phuluphedziso ya muthannga ya mbingano ya musidzana u takadzadza vhabebi yo takalelwa

'The promise of the young man of the wedding of the lady to please the parents was welcomed'

The sentences given in (15) are all ungrammatical. Grammatical sentences can only be formed if the arguments **vhana** (children), **munna** (man), **matshudeni** (students), **munna** (man), **rathethisi** (taxi owner) and **musidzana** (lady) are preceded by the preposition **kha** instead of the genitive **ya**, as in the following sentences in (16):

(16)   a.   Mpho ya muphuresidennde ya zwifhiwa kha vhana ya PRO [u takadza vhathu] ndi ya vhudi

'The giving from the president of gifts to children to please people is good'

b.   Mpho ya muvhuso ya basari kha vhana ya u takadza vhathu ndi yavhudi

'The giving from the government of the bursary to children to please the people is good'

c.   Khumbelo ya musadzi ya tshelede kha munna ya u badela tshikolodo yo pfala

'The request of the money from the man by the woman to pay for the accounts was accepted'

    d.   Thalutshedzo ya ḽekitshara ya mbalo kha matshudeni ya u takadza vhabebi ndi yavhuḓi

        'The explanation of the arithmetic to the students by the lecturer to please parents is good'

    e.   Khadzimo ya ramavhengele ya tshelede kha munna ya u thusa vhana ndi yavhuḓi

        'The lending of the money to the man by the businessman of helping children is good'

    f.   Mbilo ya giratshi ya tshelede kha rathekhisi ya PRO u shonisa muṱa wawe yo khakhea

        'The demand by the garage of the money from the taxi owner to embarrass his family is bad'

    g.   Phuluphedziso ya muṱhannga ya mbingano kha musidzana ya PRO u takadza vhabebi yo takalelwa

        'The promise by the young man of the wedding to the lady to please the parents was welcomed'

After replacement of the third genitive **ya** of the sentences in (15) by the preposition **kha**, the sentences in (16) now have two post-nominal genitive NPs and they are all grammatical.

It must be noted that the issue at stake here is control of PRO subject of the purposive infinitival complement clause. In (16) the external arguments of the event nominals **muphuresidennde** (president) **muvhuso** (government) **musadzi** (woman) **ḽekitshara** (lecturer) **ramavhengele** (businessman) **rathekhisi** (taxi owner) and **muthannga** (youngman) appear as the complements of the post-nominal genitive **ya**. The presence of the possessive preposition before infinitival clauses of the sentences in (16) nominalizes this purposive infinitive and prohibits the NP complement of the genitive **ya** to control PRO subject of this purposive infinitival complement. Even with the omission of the external agents in sentences in (16) the implicit argument cannot control PRO subject of the purposive nominal infinitive.

It must be noted that the genitive **ya** that precedes the external agents in (16) can be replaced by the preposition **nga** with the result in the external agent becoming the complement of **nga**. These external agents are unable to serve as controllers of PRO subject of the infinitival complement clauses. Consider the sentences in (17):

(17) a. Mpho [nga muphuresidennde] ya zwifhiwa kha vhana ya PRO^i [u takadza vhathu] ndi yavhudi
      ∧
'The gift by the president of gifts to children of pleasing the people is good'

b. Mpho [nga muvhuso] ya basari kha vhana ya PRO^i [u takadza vhathu] ndi yavhudi
    ∧
'The gift by the government of the bursary to children of pleasing the people is good'

c. Khumbelo [nga musadzi] ya tshelede kha munna ya PRO u badela tshikolodo yo pfala
'The request by the woman of money to pay the accounts from the man was accepted'

d. Thalutshedzo [nga lekitshara] ya mbalo kha matshudeni ya PRO^i u takadza
    ∧   ∧
    vhabebi ndi yavhudi
                    ∧
'The explanation by the lecturer of the arithmetic to students of pleasing the parents is good'

e. Khadzimo [nga ravhengele] ya tshelede kha munna ya PRO [u thusa vhana] ndi yavhudi
                                                                            ∧
'The lending of money to the man by the businessman to help the children is good'

f. Mbilo [nga giratshi] ya tshelede kha rathekhisi ya PRO [u shonisa muta
                                                                       ∧
    wawe] yo khakhea
'The demand from the taximan of the money by the garage to embarrass his family is bad'

g. Phuluphedziso [nga muthannga] ya mbingano kha musidzana ya PRO^i [u
                            ∧
    takadza vhabebi] yo takalelwa
'The promise of the wedding to the lady by the youngman to please the parents is good'

In (17) the NP complements of the **nga** preposition, **muphuresidennde** (president) **muvhuso** (government) **musadzi** (woman) **lekitshara** (lecturer) **ramavhengele** (businessman) **giratshi** (garage) and **muthannga** (youngman) appear as the complements of the **nga** phrase and occur in the post-deverbal nominal position. Should the PP with **nga** be omitted, the implicit argument occurs. The presence of the PP with the external arguments would mean that the control of the PRO subject will be explicit. The grammaticality of the

sentences in (17) cannot be affected by the appearance of the NP complements of the preposition **nga** after the deverbal nominal. Even in (17) the appearance of the possessive preposition **ya** before the infinitival clauses, prevents control of PRO by the implicit argument as well as by the explicit NP complements of the preposition **nga .** Should the possessive preposition **ya** be ommitted, the sentences will be ungrammatical.

Finally, the answer to the question whether the deverbal event nominal constructions with a ditransitive verb base need the genitive **a** to appear before the purposive infinitival complement clauses, can be found after looking into the ungrammatical example sentences in (18):

(18)   a.   *Mpho ya zwifhiwa [nga muphuresidennde] kha vhana PROⁱ [u takadza vhathu] ndi yavhuḓi
'The giving of gifts by the president to children to please the people is good'

    b.   *Mpho ya basari [nga muvhuso] kha vhana PROⁱ [u takadza vhathu] ndi yavhuḓi
'The giving of the bursary to children by the government to please people is good'

    c.   *Khumbelo ya tshelede [nga musadzi] kha munna PROⁱ [u badela tshikolodo] yo pfala
'The request by the woman of the money from the man to pay the accounts was accepted'

    d.   *Ṱhalutshedzo ya mbalo [nga lekitshara] kha matshudeni PROⁱ [u takadza vhabebi] ndi yavhuḓi
'The explanation of the arithmetic by the lecturer to students to please the parents is good'

    e.   *Khadzimo ya tshelede [nga ramavhengele] kha munna PRO [u thusa vhana] ndi yavhuḓi
'The lending of the money to the man by the businessman to help the children is good'

    f.   *Mbilo ya tshelede [nga giratshi] kha rathekhisi PROⁱ [u shonisa muta wawe] yo khakhea
'The demand from the taximan of money by the garage to embarrass his family is bad'

g. *Phuluphedziso [ya mbingano] nga muthannga kha musidzana PRO^i [u takadza vhabebi] yo takalelwa

'The promise to the lady of the wedding by the youngman to please the parents is good'

The sentences in (18) demonstrate that, without the presence of the possessive preposition **a** before each of the purposive infinitival complements, the constructions are ungrammatical.

Hence, the absence of the genitive **ya** before the purposive infinitival complements, is evident in the sentences in (18). The absence of this genitive preposition renders all the sentences in (18) ungrammatical. This serves as proof that in deverbal event nominal constructions with a ditransitive verb base, the occurrence of the genitive **ya** before the purposive infinitival complement clauses is obligatory. Its presence, as has been indicated, nominalizes the purposive infinitival complement resulting in PRO subject of the infinitival clause not being controlled by the implicit argument or the NP complement of the preposition **nga**.

5.5   CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be stated that deverbal event nominals with a monotransitive or ditransitive verb base, can allow purposive infinitival complement clauses as well as non-purposive clauses. These infinitives must however, be nominal infinitives preceded by the genitive -**a**-. For the deverbal event nominal constructions that allow the infinitival purposive clause to be grammatical, the genitive **a** or the possessive preposition **ya** should appear before the purposive infinitival clause. The occurrence of the genitive **a** is not optional, but obligatory. The appearance of this possessive preposition **ya** or genitive **a** before the purposive infinitival complement, nominalizes it resulting in the external argument of the event nominal being unable to control PRO subject of the purposive infinitival clause.

These findings indicate that in deverbal event nominal constructions, the external argument or NP complement of the P is not capable of explicitly controlling the PRO subject of the infinitival purposive clause which is preceded by the genitive **a**. In instances where the NP complement of the P is missing, the implicit argument will not be able to control PRO.

SECTION SIX

6.   EXPLETIVE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

6.1   INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this section is to determine to what extent the impersonal (expletive) verb of the main clause verb can allow a purposive infinitival complement clause. According to Louwrens (1994) the term impersonal (expletive) is used to refer to nouns which designate non-human objects and things. Trask (1993) sees impersonal constructions as any of the various constructions occurring in certain languages in which the verb stands in an invariable third person form (an impersonal verb) and the NP, which might be regarded as the subject on semantic or psychological grounds, stands in an oblique case. Taking into account Trask and Louwrens's views, one may state that impersonal constructions have to do with a meaningless or an empty subject word like **it** in English. Rain is an impersonal or expletive verb in a sentence like **it rained**.

Our concern in this section is, however, to determine whether expletive verb constructions in Venda can allow an infinitival purposive complement clause. Expletive verb constructions without the external agentive subject will be explored, to determine whether in constructions where the external subject argument is omitted, PRO subject of the infinitive can be controlled.

A comparison will be made between constructions where the morpheme **-ni** has been affixed to the external argument of the matrix clause verb and constructions where the morpheme **-ni** is omitted but replaced by the locative preposition **kha** which precedes the external NP argument of the main clause. The role of the implicit argument in these constructions will also be explored, i.e. that in constructions where the agent argument is missing, PRO subject of the infinitival complement is implicitly controlled.

Lastly, the alternate usage of **kha** and **ha** with the external argument in expletive verb constructions will be looked into, i.e. whether **kha** and **ha** can be used alternately in the expletive verbal constructions without affecting the meaning of the sentence or constructions in which they appear. Furthermore, the alternate usage of **hu** and **zwi** in expletive verbal constructions will also be examined.

6.2   EXPLETIVE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS WITHOUT THE ARGUMENTATIVE AGENT

The purpose of this sub-section is to establish whether expletive verb constructions without explicit agent arguments can appear with an infinitive clause.   Consider the following example sentences in (1):

(1)   a.   Hu a ḓifha PRO u ṋamedzwa bupo
                  'It is nice to board an aeroplane'

          b.   Hu a takadza PRO u bambela
                  'It is interesting to swim'

          c.   Hu a vhavha PRO u sa shuma
                  'It is bad not to work'

          d.   Hu a takadza PRO u ṋewa mpho
                  'It is interesting to be given a gift'

          e.   Ho vhifha PRO u vhulahana
                  'It is bad to kill one another'

          f.   Hu a konḓa PRO u tshimbila
                  'It is difficult to work'

          g.   Ndi zwavhuḓi PRO u rabela mudzimu
                  'It is good to pray God'

          h.   Ndi zwavhuḓi PRO u shuma
                  'It is good to work'

In the sentences in (1) PRO subject of the infinitival clauses lack a controller. The transitive verbs in the matrix clause in 1(a) to (f) have the existential subject morpheme **hu**. This morpheme is associated with the empty subject existential pronominal which cannot serve as controller of PRO because it is a non-argument.   In examples (g) and (h) an empty pronominal subject occurs in the copular verb matrix clauses. It must be noted, however, that an implicit argument in the matrix clause can actually be considered as controller of PRO subjects of the infinitival clauses of the matrix clauses.   The absence of overtly realized external arguments in the sentences in (1) indicates that an interpretation of an implicit argument obtains.   The PRO of the infinitival complement clause is controlled implicitly by the implicit argument.

The existential pronominal associated with the morpheme **hu** in (1) appears in the subject position of the sentences and can be replaced by another existential morpheme, **zwi**, as in the sentences in (2):

(2)   a.   Zwi a djfha PRO^i u ŋamedzwa bupo
                'It is nice to board a plane'

        b.   Zwi a takadza PRO^i u bambela
                'It is nice to swim'

        c.   Zwi a vhavha PRO^i u sa shuma
                'It is bad not to work'

        d.   Zwi a takadza u ŋewa mpho
                'It is interesting to be given a gift'

        e.   Zwo vhifha u vhulahana
                'It is bad to kill each other'

        f.   Zwi a konḓa u tshimbila
                'It is difficult to walk'

In the sentences in (2) the existential morpheme **zwi** replaces the existential morpheme **hu** of the sentences in (1). The replacement of the morpheme **hu** by the morpheme **zwi** is interesting, because even though there seems to be no difference in meaning when the morphemes replace each other, the point is, there is in fact a difference. Considering the interpretation of the sentences in 1(a) and 2(a) it can be stated that in the first sentence the existential morpheme **hu** refers to a **situation** or a **locality**, in which the children find themselves, namely that of boarding a plane is nice. In the second sentence **zwi** from **zwiito** (event) refers to the event, i.e. the manner in which the event, the boarding of the plane, is taking place is nice. The same remark applies to other constructions as well.

With regard to the sentences in (2) it can be indicated that the subject PRO of the infinitive has no specific controller, but there is an implicit argument in the matrix clause which may actually be presumed to be the controller of PRO.

An explicit argument may appear as controller of PRO if the NP argument appear as a complement of the preposition **kha** in the post-verbal position of the matrix clause verb in expletive verb constructions, as in (3):

(3)   a.   Hu a vhavha [kha matshudeni] PRO u dziṅwa basari
                'It is painful to students not to be given bursaries'

b.   Ho luga [kha vhaṱereki] PRO u thathwa arali vha sa shumi
'It is good for the strikers to be expelled if they do not work'

c.   Hu a difha [kha vhana] PRO u namedzwa bupo
'It is nice to children to board a plane'

d.   Hu a vhavha [kha vhathu] PRO u sa shuma
'It is painful to people not to work'

e.   Hu a takadza [kha vhana] PRO u bambela
'It is interesting to children to swim'

f.   Ho vhifha [kha vhathu] PRO u vhulahana
'It is bad for people to kill each other'

g.   Ndi zwavhuḓi [kha vhathu] PRO u shuma
'It is good for people to work'

In (3) the explicit argument which appears as NP complement of the prepositon **kha**, in the post-verbal position in the matrix clause of the explicit verb construction, becomes the controller of PRO.

In the sentences in (3) the existential morpheme **hu** in the matrix clause can be replaced by **zwi-**, as in (4):

(4)   a.   Zwi a vhavha [kha matshudeni] u dzinwa basari
'It is painful to students to be refused bursaries'

b.   Zwo luga [kha vhaṱereki] u thathwa a rali vha sa shumi
'It is good for the strikers to be expelled if they don't work'

c.   Zwi a difha [kha vhana] PRO u namedzwa bupo
'It is nice for children to board a plane'

d.   Zwi a vhavha [kha vhathu] u sa shuma
'It is painful to people not to work'

e.   Zwi a takadza [kha vhana] u bambela
'It is interesting to children to swim'

f.   Zwo vhifha [kha vhathu] PRO u vhulahana
'It is bad to people to kill each other'

In the example sentences of (4) the NP complements of the preposition **kha**, i.e. **matshudeni** (students) **vhatereki** (protesters) and **vhana** children) **vhathu** (people) are the explicit controllers of PRO subject of the infinitival clauses. In some instances the morpheme -**ni** may be affixed to the external agent argument appearing in the post-verbal position in the matrix clause of the expletive verb construction, as will be shown in the next sub-section.

6.3 IMPERSONAL SUBJECT OF THE MAIN CLAUSE WITH THE MORPHEME -NI

The aim of this sub-section is to demonstrate the occurrence of the controller NP of PRO in the main clause of the expletive verb construction, where the locative morpheme -**ni** is affixed to this controller N, as in (5):

(5)   a.   Zwo vhifha [vhathuni] PRO u vhulahana
                 'It is bad to people to kill each other'

         b.   Ndi zwavhudi [vhathuni] PRO u vouta
                 'It is good to the people to vote'

         c.   Ndi zwavhudi [vhatendini] PRO u rabela mudzimu
                 'It is good to chiristians to pray God'

         d.   Ndi zwavhudi [vhathuni] PRO u shuma
                 'It is good to people to work'

         e.   Zwi a takadza [vhakeguluni] PRO u ho la mundende
                 'It is interesting to old women to receive their pensions'

In the example sentences in (5) the locative morpheme -**ni** is affixed to the nouns in the bracketed phrases. Affixation of the morpheme -**ni** to these nouns denotes locality. The nouns in brackets serve as controllers of PRO subject of the infinitival clauses. Should the morpheme -**ni** be omitted from the controller in the constructions in (5) this controller noun will appear in the post-verbal position of the matrix clause as complement of the preposition **kha**, as in (6):

(6)   a.   Zwo vhifha [kha vhathu] u vhulahana
                 'It is bad to people to kill each other'

  b. Ndi zwavhuḓi [kha vhathu] u shuma

     'It is good to people to work'

  c. Zwi a takadza [kha vhakegulu] u hola munfende

     'It is interesting to the old women to receive their pension'

In the sentences in (6) the morpheme -**ni** to the controller noun has been replaced by the preposition **kha** which precedes the agentive argument. The replacement of the morpheme -**ni** by the preposition **kha** which precedes the nouns **vhathu** (people) and **vhakegulu** (old ladies) does not affect the grammaticality of the sentences in (6). The NP complements of **kha**, i.e. **vhathu** (people), **vhakegulu** (old women), etc. are explicit controllers of PRO subject of the infinitive.

6.4 EXPLETIVE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE RATIONALE CLAUSE

In this sub-section the question will be considered whether a purposive infinitival clause can occur as complement of the infinitive and what the position of the overt argument is. Consider the example sentences in (7) below:

(7)   a. Ndi zwavhuḓi [kha vhana] u bambela PRO u onyolosa mivhili yavho

       'It is good to children to swim to exercise their bodies'

    b. Ndi zwavhuḓi [kha vhana] u dzhena tshikolo u takadza vhabebi vhavho

       'It is good to children to attend school to please their parents'

    c. Ndi zwavhuḓi [kha vhasadzi] u renga zwiambaro u ḓinakisa

       'It is good to women to buy clothes to beautify themselves'

    d. Ndi zwavhuḓi [kha munna] u shuma u takadza muṱa wawe

       'It is good to the man to work to please his family'

    e. Zwo naka [kha rabulasi] u holela vhashumi u takadza muvhuso

       'It is nice to the farmer to pay his workers to please the government'

    f. Zwo vhifha [kha vhana] u litsha tshikolo u sinyusa vhabebi

       'It is bad to children to leave school to anger their parents'

The existential clause **zwo naka** can be substituted by the copular verb clause **ndi zwavhuḓi** in the matrix clause of the sentences in (7) without affecting the grammaticality of these constructions, as shown in (8):

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(8)   a.   Zwo naka [kha vhana] u bambambela PRO u onyolosa mivhili
             'It is good to the children to swim to exercise their bodies'

       b.   Zwo naka [kha vhasadzi] renga zwiambaro u dinakisa
             'It is good to the women to buy clothes to beautify themselves'

       c.   Zwo naka [kha vhana] u dzhena tshikolo PRO u takadza vhabebi vhavho
             'It is good to the children to go to school to please their parents'

       d.   Zwo naka [kha munna] u shuma PRO u takadza muta wawe
             'It is good to the man to work to please the family'

       e.   Zwo naka [kha rabulasi] PRO u holela vhashumi u takadza muvhuso
             'It is good to the farmer to pay his workers to please the government'

       f.   Zwo naka [kha vhalanda] PRO u thela muthelo PRO u takadza khosi
             'It is good to the people to pay tax to please their chief'

The sentences in (7) and (8) differ from those in (6) in that they are characterized by having purposive or rationale clauses. The bracketed arguments serve as the explicit controllers of PRO subject of the infinitival purposive clauses. Hence, in (7) and (8) the NP complements of the locative preposition **kha**, serve as the controllers of PRO subject of the purposive infinitival clauses.

6.5   CONCLUSION

Taking into account the sentences explored in this section, particularly in sub-sections 6.2 and 6.3, one may conclude that these constructions are characterized by having an empty expletive (existential) subject pronominal that is associated with the impersonal subject concords **hu**, **zwi**, or empty pronominal subject of a copular verb.

It has been demonstrated in these examples that the implicit argument is projected onto the syntactic position of the preposition **kha**. From the example sentences given in sub-section 6.2, it can be consluded that, in Venda, the expletive verbal construction can allow an infinitive clause. PRO subject of the infinitival clause can be controlled implicitly by the implicit argument in constructions. PRO can also be explicitly controlled in instances where the controller is realized explicitly by an NP appearing as a complement of **nga**.

In some instances the affixation of the morpheme **-ni** to the subject argument can render the construction to be ungrammatical:

(9)   *Zwi a pfisa vhuṱungu vho rapolotikini PRO u lwa
         'It is bad for the politicians to fight'

In 6.3 it was shown that the affixation of the morpheme -**ni** to the controller noun may bring distortion to the grammaticality of the sentence:

(10)   Ndi zwavhuḓi [vhathuni] u shuma
         'It is good in people to work'

It has also been indicated that in expletive verbal construction the controller noun can be preceded by the locative preposition **kha**:

(11)   Zwi a takadza [kha vhathu] PRO [u shuma]
         'It is nice to people to work'

In sub-section 6.4 it was indicated that the purposive clause, is an infinitival clause and that PRO subject of this clause can be controller, either explicitly or implicitly.

Lastly, in sub-section 6.5 it was indicated that there is a slight difference in meaning between sentences 1(a) and 2(a) when the existential **hu** is replaced with **zwi**. It was indicated that **zwi** refers to the **manner** or **event** in which the action is taking place, whereas **hu** refers to the **situation** or **locality** in which the action is taking place.

Finally, it was indicated that expletive verbal constructions differ from other forms of constructions in that their subject position is always occupied by the existential morphemes **hu**, **ndi**, **ho** and **zwi**.

SECTION SEVEN

7.   CONCLUSION

This section will focus on the main findings of the study. The main aim of this study was to explore the implicit argument constructions in Venda. It is realised that an implicit argument is a kind of argument assumed in passive constructions.

In Section two the main concern was to review the proposals by different linguists like, Williams, Jaeggli, Safir, Roberts, Roeper and Clark as regard explanations on the implicit argument. Proposals by these linguists are largely concerned with control of the subejct PRO or PRO subject of the infinitive clause by the Implicit Argument, i.e. control of PRO subject of the Rationale clause by the Implicit Argument.

Safir is of the opinion that the external argument must actually depend on the linked internal argument if it is to be mapped onto a syntactic position. Roberts, on the other hand, indicates that there is a linkage between the by-phrase and an implicit argument and that, for the theta-role assigned to subject position in actives, it is reassigned to an implicit argument in passive.

Roeper claims that the thematic roles may fail to appear in explicit positions, but that they retain syntactic functions. He refers to such arguments as implicit arguments, which in a strict sense, are not expressed but require a revision of the theta criterion. Clark states that passive morphology blocks the assignment of an external thematic role to the subject of IP and that, while this thematic role is syntactically suppressed, it is however not absent from the argument structure of the verb.

The aim of Section three was to explore the occurrence of the implicit argument in passive and neuter passive constructions in Venda. From illustrations given in this secton, i.e. in instances where the experiencer verb of the matrix clause is passivized, the external argument cannot appear in the subject position any more, but will appear as an NP complement of the preposition **nga**- in the **nga**-phrase. Should the **nga**-phrase be omitted, control of PRO subject of the infinitival complement clause will be inplict. The presence of the **nga**-phrase will actually mean explicit control of PRO. From examples in 3.2.5.1 it can be concluded that the experiencer and weather verbs which already have the suffix -**elel**-, cannot be passivized. They can also not allow a purposive clause to appear in the post-verbal position of the matrix clause, meaning that control of PRO will not be possible.

The aim of this section was also to determine whether intransitive and neuter-passive verbs of the matrix clause can licence the appearance of the complement clause in the post-verbal position of the matrix clause. From examples in 3.2.6.2 it can be concluded that the weather verbs, if passivised, will need the applicative -**el**- to allow the purposive infinitival clause to make it possible for the subject PRO in the infinitival purposive clause to be controlled by the agentive subject now mapped onto the PP, e.g.:

(1)   Hu tibelwa u tsira duvha nga makole
        'There is being overcast to cover the sun by the clouds'

(2)   Hu vhudzulelwa u wisa matari nga muya
        'There is being blowing to cause leaves to fall by the wind'

In this section it was realised that the intransitive motion verbs will also need the applicative or causative -**el**- to allow the purposive infinitival clause, e.g.:

(3)   Hu yelwa u hwala thundu nga vhanna
        'There is being going there to carry the goods by the men'

In cases where the external agentive arguments are missing, the implicit argument will control the PRO subject of the infinitive, since it is always assumed present in passive constructions. It can also be concluded that the neuter-passive verbs do not need the applicative -**el**- to allow the appearance of the infinitival clauses in post-verbal positions. Control of PRO explicitly and implicitly in neuter-passive motion verbs, is possible but weather verbs do not allow the occurrence of the infinitive clause in the post-verbal position. Control of PRO is not possible here. In this section it was also noted that for most of the passive verbs in the matrix clauses to allow purposive infinitival complement clauses, the suffix -**elel**- should be affixed to the verb.

Section four explored the occurrence of the implicit argument in nominal infinitive constructions in Venda. In particular, it demonstrated that an implicit argument in these constructions is projected onto the syntactic position of the genitive PP. Nominal infinitive constructions with a range of verb types, were explained for evidence in support of the occurrence of an implicit argument. From examples given it was concluded that in instances where the nominal infinitive experiencer verbs are applicative, an infinitive purposive complement clause can be allowed. The affixation of the applicative causative -**el**- to these experiencer verbs licences a purposive infinitival clause. The PRO subject of this purposive infinitive can be controlled explicitly or implicitly. Where the applicative -**el**- was affixed to monotransitive verbs of the nominal infinitives in this section, it was found that the nominal infinitive can take purposive clauses. PRO subject of the infinitive clause can be

controlled by the NP complements of the genitive -**ha**. Omission of the bracketed phrase in examples, will mean that PRO will be controlled by the implicit argument. Finally, it may be noted that, with regard to the nominal infinitive constructions in Venda, the applicative -**el**- has a greater role to play during the construction of sentences, because it makes it possible for the ungrammatical constructions to become grammatically correct, especially if it is affixed to nominal infinitive verbs. As such, control of the subject PRO of the infinitive by the implicit argument, is also possible.

The aim of Section five was to explore the occurrence of the deverbal event nominals with the purposive of the deverbal event nominals with the purposive infinitival complement clauses. As such, from all the examples given in this section, ita became clear that deverbal event nominals with a monotransitive orditransitive verb base, can take or allow purposive infinitival complement clauses as well as non-purposive clauses. It can be concluded that for teh deverbal event nominal constructions that allow or take the infinitival purposive clause to remain, or to be grammatical, the genitive -**a**- or the possessive -**ya**- should appear in the pre-infinitival position of the infinitival clause. It was concluded that the occurrence of the genitive preposition -**a**- is obligatory. The appearance of the possessive preposition -**ya**- ora geniative -**a**- before the infinitival complement clause, nominalizes it. As indicated in this section, the external argument assigned a theta-role of agent which can appear in the post-deverbal nominal position in the deverbal nominal clause, will not be able to control the PRO subject of the infinitival clause.

This section concluded by stating that in deverbal event nominal constructions, the external argument or NP complement of the PP is not capable of explicitly controlling the PRO subject of the infinitival purposive clause which is preceded by the genitive -**a**-. In instances where the NP complement of the PP is missing, the implicit argument will not be able to control PRO, but in cases where the infinitive is regarded as a bare infinitive, control of the PRO subject of the infinitive by the implicit argument as well as the NP complement of the P can be possible.

The purpose of Section six was to determine to what extent the impersonal (expletive) verbs of the main clause verbs can allow the purposive infinitival complement clause. The role of the implicit argument was looked into, i.e. in constructions where the argument agent is missing, the PRO subject of the infinitival clause is controlled implicitly by the implicit argument.

Taking into account the examples illustrated in sub-sections 6.2. and 6.3, it can be concluded that they are characterized by having an expletive (existential) subject PRO that is associated with the subject concord **hu**, **zwi** and the empty pronominal in copular verb constructions in Venda. It was also concluded that the expletive verbal constructions can

allow an infinitive. The PRO subject of the infinitival clause is controlled implicitly by the implicit argument in constructions where the agentive argument is missing. PRO can also be explicitly controlled in instances where the implicit argument may be realized explicitly by an NP argument appearing as a complement of **nga**.

It can finally be stated that the expletive verbal constructions differ from other forms of constructions in that their subject position is always occupied by the existential pronominal associated with the morpheme **hu** or **zwi**.

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