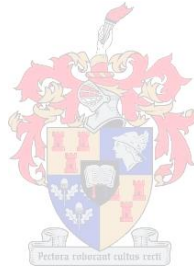Active, Passive and Neuter-Passive verb constructions in Oshindonga:
Argument alternation and event structure properties

By

SIMON SHIWANDA

Research assignment presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of African Languages (linguistics) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Science at Stellenbosch University

Supervisor: Professor Marianna W. Visser

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Declaration

By submitting this research assignment electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the argument alternations and event structure properties of active, passive and neuter-passive of various verb classes in *Oshindonga* and also to develop a more formal syntactic and semantics approach which is equally relevant in differentiating the passive from the neuter-passive. This study take into account the traditional aspectual semantic classification postulate in Vendler (1957) further developed in (Smith, 1997). These aspectual approaches are invoked for the reason that the two alternants in the neuter-passive and passive alternation in *Oshindonga* are associated with aspectual verb class differences. The syntactic decomposition approach is employed in order to provide a principled account for the phenomena in which arguments in passive and middles are assumed to be derived from the common detransitivisation base. The middle and passive variants are supposed not to represent each other in a deriviational relationship. This approach, however, assumes that the event structure of word meanings is constructed from two major elements; the eventive predicates indicating causation (CAUSE), action (ACT) and change of state (BECOME) and the other element is indicating idiosyncratic aspects (Beaver, 2012:332). The data contained in this study includes sentences constructed using various verb classes as proposed by Levin (1993), viz. verbs of change, verbs of communication, verbs of existence, experiencer verbs, verbs of contact, motion verbs, verbs of creation and weather verbs (cf. Du Plessis 1998). The findings of the study reveals that two types of alternations are identified in *Oshindonga*. These alternations are decided by the verb roots, and not by thier semantic classes. The first alternates comprise of the subject argument that appears with subject NPs. The second alternates, the subject argument NPs are not morphlogically marked, thus they appears with null subject. The findings of the present study demonstrate that in *Oshindonga* a single verb displays distinct aspectual behavior when used in passive and neuter-passive alternations, regardless of their common properties in terms of argument realization and alternations. The findings of the study further revealed that the classification of verbs roots in *Oshindonga* is semantic since different verbs classes are distinguished by the different properties of the events in their denotations. In addition, other sentence elements such as; tense aspects and predicate modifications play an important role in deciding the aspectual classes of the verb. However, this study has established that although some non-alternate verbs in Oshindonga such as *pya,* do not alternate, others such as *pepa* have satisfied the diagnostic test.

OOPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die argumentasie-alternatiewe en gebeurtenisstruktuur eienskappe van aktiewe, passiewe en onsydig-passiewe eienskappe van verskeie werkwoorde in Oshindonga en ook om 'n meer formele sinaktiese en semantiese benadering te ontwikkel wat ewe belangrik is om die passiewe van die onsydig-passiewe te onderskei. In hierdie studie word rekening gehou met die tradisionele aspekte-semantiese klassifikasie postulaat in Vendler (1957) wat verder ontwikkel is deur Smith (1997). Hierdie aspeklike benaderings word aangevoer, omdat die twee alternatiewe in die onsydig-passiewe en passiewe alternasie in Oshindonga geassosieer word met aspek-werklike klasverskille. Die sintaktiese ontbinding benadering word aangewend om 'n beginselverklaring te gee vir die verskynsel waarin argumente wat in passiewe en middels uitgereik word van die gemeenskaplike detransitiviseringsbasis afgelei word. Die middel- en passiewe variante is veronderstel om mekaar nie in 'n afleidingsverhouding te verteenwoordig nie. Hierdie benadering veronderstel egter dat die gebeurtenisstruktuur van woordbetekenis uit twee hoofelemente opgebou word; die voorlopige voorspellings dui op veroorsaking (oorsaak), aksie (DAAD) en verandering van die staat (WORD/RAAK) en die ander element dui op idiosinkratiese aspekte (Beaver, 2012: 332). Die data wat in hierdie studie vervat is, sluit in sinne wat saamgestel is deur die gebruik van verskillende werkwoord kategorieë soos voorgestel deur Levin (1993), naamlik werkwoorde van verandering, werkwoorde van kommunikasie, werkwoorde van bestraan, ervare werkwoorde, werkwoorde van aanraking, bewegende werkwoorde, werkwoorde van skepping en weer werkwoorde (vgl. Du Plessis 1998). Die bevindings van die studie toon dat twee tipes alternatiewe in Oshindonga geïdentifiseer word. Hierdie alternatiewes word deur die werkwoordwortels bepaal, en nie deur hulle semantiese klasse nie. Die eerste tipe bestaan uit die vakargument wat voorkom met vak NP's. Die tweede tipe, die vak argument NP's is nie morflogies gemerk nie, dus verskyn hulle met nul onderwerp. Die bevindinge van die huidige studie toon aan dat in Oshindonga 'n enkele werkwoord afsonderlike aspektiewe gedrag toon wanneer dit in passiewe en neutrale-passiewe alternatiewe gebruik word, ongeag hulle algemene eienskappe in terme van argumentrealisering en afwisseling. Die bevindings van die studie het verder aan die lig gebring dat die klassifikasie van werkwoorde in Oshindonga semanties is aangesien verskillende werkwoord kategorië onderskei word deur die verskillende eienskappe van die gebeure in hulle denotasies. Weereens, ander sin elemente soos; gespanne aspekte en predikaat veranderinge speel 'n belangrike rol in die bepaling van die aspesuele klasse van die werkwoord. Hierdie studie het egter vasgestel dat alhoewel sommige nie-

alternatiewe werkwoorde in Oshindonga soos "pya" nie afwissel nie, het ander werkwoorde soos "pepa" die diagnostiese toets bevredig.

DEDICATION

In memory of my sister Saveria

To my grandmother, my brother Junias and my cousins Martin, Simaneka and Iipinge

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ABBREVIATION AND SYMBOLS

AGR	Agreement
APPL	Applicative
Asp	Aspect
AspP	Aspect phrase
CAUS	Causative
DP	Determiner Phrase
DP_{EA}	Determiner Phrase denote external argument
EXPL	Expletive
f	functor
FV	Final vowel
HAB	Habitual
I	Inflection
Ind	Indicative
INF	Infinitive
IP	Inflectional phrase
LMT	Lexical Mapping Theory
LOC	Locative
N	Noun
N.Act	Non-active
NEG	Negative
NEUT	Neuter
NOM	Nominal
NP	Noun phrase
NT	Neuter
Numbers	represent class prefix

-o	external causer
PASS	Passive
PassiveP	Passive Phrase
PERF	Perfect tense
POS	positive
PP	Prepositional phrase
Pres	Present tense
PRO	Pronoun
PST	Past tense
-r	caused argument
RED.NEUT	Reduplicate neuter
RootP	Root Phrase
S	Sentence
SC	Subject concord
SM	Subject Marker
STAT	Stative
SUBJ	Subject
t	trace
Th	Theme
V	Verb
VoiceP	Voice Phrase
VR	Verb root
Ɵ	morphologically unrealized class prefix
θd	no theta marking
θg	theta-marking
VP	Verb phrase

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The primary aim of this study is to present the theoretical characterization of active, passive and Neuter passive voices and address the cross-linguistic semantics variation in understanding these voices in Oshindonga. Furthermore, this study will take into consideration the argument alternations and the event properties of both passive and neuter-passive voices. The paper takes into account the aspectual approach proposed by Vendler (1967) further developed by Smith (1997) with the view that the alternations in the active, passive and neuter passive constructions in *Oshindonga* are associated with aspectual verb class differences. Thus, aspectual classes as demonstrated Smith (1997) are essential in understanding the semantic implications of the circumstance sort. Thus, this study will integrate various linguistic theories and show how they are realized by semantic structures and pragmatics conventions in Oshindonga.

1.2 METHODS OF THE RESEARCH

This study refers to recent works by different scholars. These works present me with theories which I have used to analyze the aspectual properties of active, neuter-passive and passive constructions in Oshindonga. The data contained in this study includes sentences constructed using various verb classes as proposed by Levin (1993), viz. verbs of change of state, verbs of communication, verbs of existence, experiencer verbs, verbs of contact, motion verbs, verbs of creation and weather verbs (cf. Du Plessis 1998). Moreover, these verbs appear with various NP complements including animate, inanimate, abstract and concrete respectively. Various types of verbs have been considered since they are important in establishing the thematic relation with their NPs. The expletive sentences were also taken into consideration hence the expletive verbs assign no external theta roles to their subjects. Along these line, the neuter-passive and the passive morphemes as well as the perfect tense morphemes form part of the data of this study hence they are significant in differentiating states from events and they are also considered in order to grasp their semantics meaning differences. In some instances, the combination of both neuter-passive and passive suffixes showed up.

1.3 THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

Neuter passive is typically confined to a type of the verb signifying disposition, (Alexiadou 2012 and Alexiadou et.al 2015). This concurs with (Mchombo 2004, Ackema and Schoorlemmer 1994, Khumalo 2009, Dubinsky and Simango 1996, Rapport 1999), who suggest that the stative or middle behaves like an "ordinal intransitive verb" and in that it deletes the agent of the predicate. The study conducted by Ackema and Schoorlemmer (1994) indicates that the stative or middle cannot have externalized a designated argument. This study, however, underpins the contention by Alexiadou (2012) that recent literature has failed to define or to find a consistent definition to stative or middle voice. Several studies examine the middle or stative voice and endeavor to give a depiction of its semantics. However, it should be noted that in spite of the fact that the studies conducted have demonstrated hard to refine and elucidate in hypothetical terms, it is in any case striking that similar characteristics rehash themselves in the depictions of the middle or stative voice from different languages of various families. Thus, the treatment to neuter-passive may vary from language to language, hence the generalization is entirely arbitrary. One factor convoluting the issue as highlighted in Alexiadou (2012) is that in some languages, both passive and neuter passive share a similar morphology, while in other languages the two voices are treated individually. The Neuter-passive and passive in the language which motivates this study thus is no exemption to this approach, either may be treated to share the same non-active morphology or they may be treated as individual voices. Therefore, the incentive behind this study is to examine the the argument alternations and event structure properties of active, passive and neuter-passive in *Oshindonga* and also to develop a more formal syntactic and semantics approach which is equally relevant in differentiating these voices. This study will take into consideration the traditional aspectual semantic classification such as state, activity and event (Smith, 1997). These aspectual classes are significant in understanding the semantic aspectual verb class differences between active, passive and neuter passive alternations. Subsequently, Du Plessis (1998:12) emphasizes that "the verbs and verb phrases differs in the kinds of eventualities in the world they denote". In that, it is pertinent to say that the aspectual meaning is frequently available to the speaker (Smith, 1997). Along these lines this study will incorporate a linguistic theory and shows how they are passed on by semantic structures and pragmatics traditions.

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The broad general theoretical framework assumed in this study is the government binding theory (GB) developed by Chomsky (1981) as adopted in Stalmaszczyk (1996). The principles that are particularly invoked in this study are theta theory, case theory and the parameters of verbal aspect. The government binding (GB) is incited in understanding the semantics roles of event participants by taking into account the logical subject and the logical object arguments in a given construction. In addition, attention is given to the semantics of aspect in understanding their formal structure of aspectual system and their inherent meaning. The types of aspectual meaning as discussed in Smith (1997) and Comrie (1976) are composite of the information components of viewpoints and situation types.

The syntactic decomposition approach provides a principled account for the phenomena in which arguments in passive and middles are assumed to be derived from the common detransitivisation base. The middle and passive variants are assumed not to represent each other in a deriviational relationship. This view, however, assumes that the event structure of word meanings is constructed from two major elements; the eventive predicates indicating causation (CAUSE), action (ACT) and change of state (BECOME) and the other element is indicating idiosyncratic aspects, Beaver (2012:332). Thus, it is significant that these issues be explored for Bantu languages like Oshindonga. Levin and Rapport (1998) proposed that the event structure typology where individual or an action can be the causer argument of the Causer operator. Alexiadou and Doron (2012) assert that the the middle and passive involve two syntactic Voice heads which is realized in morphology. Alexiadou (2006, 2015) proposes two decomposition of argument alternation, i.e., Voice and vCAUS heads. Since most of the study conducted were particular in Germanic and Romance languages, it is thus crucial that these questions be explored for Bantu languages like *Oshindonga*.

1.5 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

In the recent years, there has been growing concern with the semantic arguments of both neuter-passive and passive voices. In most African languages the Neuter-passive is expressed by [-ik-] or [-ek] and the passive is expressed by [(-i) w-], (Khumalo 2009, Fourie 1990 and Fivaz 1986). The Neuter-passive is assumed to give an intransitive meaning to the verb stem as opposed to the transitive meaning of the predicate in an active voice. Similarly, the agentive

phrase is presumed to be absent in the passive construction (Klingvall 2005, Alexiadou 2015 et. al, Fourie 1990 and Khumalo 2009). In their study Alexiadou et.al 2015 argue that the functional category voice is responsible for assigning the external argument hence the external arguments are not the true arguments of the lexical verbs. In that, it is pertinent to point out that the neuter-passive and passive predicates standardly differ with respect to their lexical semantics. Cross-linguistically, in both passive and neuter-passive the patient bears the subject function, while the agent if syntactically expressed has the grammatical status of an adjunct (Khumalo 2009:158). This is illustrated in the example (1 and 2) below (adapted from Fourie, 1999:145).

(1)   Omwe-elo ogwa pat-w-a (ku-u-nona)

        3-door   SC-3 lock-PASS (by-14-children)

        'The door is locked (by the children)'

(2)   Omwe-elo ogwa pat-ek-a (*ku-u-nona)

        3-door SC-3 lock-NEUT (*by-14-children)

        'The door is locked (by the children)'

In the example in (1) above the verb has been argued to constitute the passive morpheme, thus it is responsible for assigning the external argument. The same is observed with the example in (2). In (2) the appearance of the agent phrase is ungrammatical. This view agrees with Ackema and Schoorlmmer (1995), Alexiadou (2012) and Kratzer (2000) who claim that the syntactically agent phrase is absent in the middle or stative voice. Contrary to this Fourie (1990: 146) has shown the syntactical acceptance of the agent phrase which is optional or in passive. In English the agentive phrase in the middle appears with sentences that contain a "for-PP", (Rapport, 1999).   This is illustrated in the example (3a-b) below:

(3) a.   French books read easily for educated people.

    b.   English texts do not translate easily for bill.

Klingvall (2005:92) argues that the logical subject in both middle and passive sentences is usually assigned a designated argument which appears as an object in the corresponding active sentence. In English passive the latter e.g. (logical subject) of the corresponding active sentence may appear as an adjunct or as an oblique phrase which may be optional. However, Klingvall (2005) has unequivocally censured the use of by-phrase in the middle sentence. With these

views, it is then established that the middle and passive sentences differs in the way they translate. Consider the following examples as adopted in Baker et.al. (1989:224):

(4) a.   John shaves (easily)

b.   John was shaved

The sentence in (4a) above says something about *John* in relation to the implied agent, viz., about shaving of John by an unspecified agent. On the other hand (4b) only says something about John e.g. the state of his hair. Therefore, it is possible that the sentence in (4a) may appear with the optional agentive phrase but, the sentence in (4b) does not allow it. According to Iwati (2013:529) a sentence such as (4a) have an 'adverbial effect' and in some languages if such adverbial is not present than the sentence is unacceptable.

1.6 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

Section 1 gives the rationale for the study, a brief overview of current debates on the active, passive and neuter-passive alternations in the linguistic literature and the reason for choosing the topic. In addition, it addresses issues relating to the statement of the research problem, the research methods and the theoretical framework.

Section 2 draws an overview of the existing theories and research on thematic role and aspectual verb classes in order to characterize the event structure of the example sentences discussed in section 4**.** This Section is divided into three major parts. The first part reviews scholars' perspectives on aspectual verb class semantics taking into account the views by Smith (1997). In this part, four competing approaches are discussed (i.e. Viewpoint, temporal features and the situation types). The second part explores scholars' perspective on approaches to passive construction and the third part reviews scholars' perspective on approaches to middle construction. Three views on middle constructions are identified (i.e. the Pre-syntactic analyses, Syntactic analyses and post-syntactic analyses).

Section 3, gives an overview of earlier research on the passive and middle construction, particularly in African Bantu languages, including the analysis by Alexiadou (2015). Fundamental concepts such as unaccusativity, anticausativity, ergativity, and expletive receive close attention.

Section 4 focuses on the analysis on the argument realization and event semantics of active, passive and neuter-passive of different verb classes in *Oshindonga*. In this section at least ten verb classes as postulated by Levin (1993), namely; verbs of change of state, verbs of communication, verbs of existence, experiencer verbs, and verbs of contact, motion verbs, and verbs of creation and weather verbs were examined. The chapter begins with the introduction followed by analyzes on the properties of the constructions, and presents the findings based on the adopted theoretical assumptions of the study. A range of diagnostic tests has been employed, relating to the acceptability of neuter-passive and passive, expletive subjects, instruments and other predicate modifications in *Oshindonga*. Additional diagnostics are also used to determine the status of predicates, including both passive and neuter-passive predicates that appear in with perfect tense properties. The key concepts like state verbs, telic/atelic, agentivity, events among others, receive close attention.

Section 5 summarizes major findings of the study. It also provides conclusions reached based on the study findings. The last part of the chapter outlines further areas of research in *Oshindonga* and other Bantu languages at large.

SECTION 2

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH ON ARGUMENT STRUCTURE AND ASPECTUAL VERB CLASSES

2.1 Introduction

The Middle and passive constructions have received considerable attention in literature with regard to their lexical semantics and event structures. This section seeks to present different views in theoretical and typology, have been advanced in relation with lexical semantics of the verb and its argument realization. Given that Oshindonga is a relatively undocumented language, this study is largely relying on the available studies in other African Bantu languages. The available studies were reflected and exhaustively studied to obtain some of the data employed in this study. Furthermore, this section presents a unified theoretical analysis on aspectual approaches as invoked in Vendler's (1957) study and further developed in Smith (1997). The aspectual approaches are discussed in subsection (2.2). The focus here is mostly on aspectual verb class semantics and their semantics relations in argument alternations of active, passives and middles. This is done in order to provide a suitable description of their syntactic behaviors. Apart from that, the semantics of verbs is discussed in relation to their lexical decomposition. It generally understood that the compositional operation of events gives a formal distinction between causation and events semantics (Dowty 1986 and Hout and Roeper 1998, among others). Furthermore, subsection (2.3) discussed the approaches to passive construction particularly on the properties of passive and adjectival passive (Baker et al 1989, Embick 2004 and Hallman 2012 among others). In theoretical perspective, the middle construction is analyzed in terms of three different views, viz., presyntactic, syntactic and post-syntactic analyses (Massam 1992, Iwata 1999 and Kingvall 2005 among others). These analyses are discussed in subsection (2.4) respectively. The middle construction as opposed to passive construction can be identified by its distinctive properties such as genericity, grammatical subject, logical subject, and verb morphology (Fagan 1989, Keyser and Roeper 1989, Li 2014 and Smith 1997).

2.2 Smith (1997)

Smith has examined the parameter of aspect of five languages taking into consideration Discourse representation theory. The data were collected from three various language families and the languages studied includes, English, French, Russia, Mandarin Chinese and Navajo. Discourse representation theory is employed for two fundamental reasons: (i) it gives a semantic representation that allows the understanding of "conceptual and truth-conditional level of meaning and procedural, process-orientated treatment". (ii) "It also allows the incorporation of aspect with other semantic features of the sentences". Smith proposes two views on aspectual information, viz. She proposed that a situation may be understood from a particular viewpoint and or it may be understood as a state or event of the certain type.

2.2.1 Viewpoint

2.2.1.1 Perfective viewpoint

Smith (1997) points out that the perfective sees a situation as a single whole and it is perceived to have a clear beginning and endpoints. Smith further adds that the perfective viewpoints are both syntactically and morphological expressed by an overt prefix (cf. Comrie 1976). Moreover, Smith mantains that when the perfective view point is used in situation type, it is also possible that the imperfective view point may be used. However, she discards the use of perfective when the situation type warrants the use of imperfective. The following example as indicated in Smith illustrates the perfective viewpoint:

(5) John and Marry built a rock garden last summer.

The event in (5) above is said to be presented as whole. This means that the event has a well-defined beginning and endpoint, hence, the event of building the house is understood to have been terminated.

2.2.1.2 Imperfective Viewpoint

According to Smith the imperfective views part of the situation other than the situation as whole. This means that the imperfective view may only present one part of the event including neither the initial nor the endpoint (cf. Comrie 1976). Shee, however, elaborates that imperfective and perfective both varies in their meanings. However, what she has found to be similar between these two viewpoints is that they are both morphologically expressed by

affixes and other designated morphemes which occur in the verb-inflectional system of the language. The example in (6) below shows how imperfective differs from the perfective as indicated in (5) above:

(6) John and Mary were building a rock garden last summer.

The sentence in (6) above denotes only part of the building event, that, the building event was in progress. However, it is not known if this building event was completed. Smith concludes that the meanings in viewpoint are conveyed by what he referred to as aspectual viewpoint.

2.2.2 Temporal features

Smith observes the presence of internal temporal features in the situation types. She further argues that these temporal features are crucial in classification of situation. Moreover she maintains that the situation types are carried over by the verb, its argument and the verb constellation. Smith further reviews six temporal properties distinguished by other scholars namely: static, dynamic, states, events, telicity and duration and shows their distinctions. A similar understanding is embraced in Levin (2000:414) who noted that events are characterized by their temporal futures:

The first temporal feature she dealt with is state. Smith claims that states are a situation type that occurs in time although they do not have duration of time. This means a state expresses a particular condition in time. Different from state, Smith argues that events are situations that occur, happen or take place in time.

On the point of telicity, Smith has identified two types of telicity events: telic and atelic. She defined telic events as events that constitute a change of state and usually they have desire outcome or goal. Smith has further indicated that a telic event includes a category of events that are non-agentive and they have natural final endpoint (see also Travis 2005). Conversely, atelic is said to present process event that can stop at any time. These types of events are perceived to have arbitrary final endpoint. The data of her study has revealed the presences of telic and atelic events in English, French, Russia and Chinese, where Navajo is said to have a different treatment.

The other temporal feature that Smith dealt with is Durative. She claims that durative involves instantaneous events which are generally an idealization. The data of her study has shown that this property is present in all languages studied. Smith has made the following conclusion regarding the temporal features of situation types (1997:20):

(7)	Situations	Static	Durative	Telic
	States	[+]	[+]	[-]
	Activity	[-]	[+]	[-]
	Accomplishment	[-]	[+]	[+]
	Semelfactive	[-]	[-]	[-]
	Achievement	[-]	[-]	[+]

2.2.3 Situation types

Smith has given semantic characterization to the situation types of basic level and derived cases. Her focus was particularly on four situation types: Activity, accomplishment, semelfactive and achievement. She noted that, situation types may not be used in isolation hence they are being distinguished by their temporal properties (cf. Mourelatos 1978 and 1981). The four situation types of Smith (1997) are discussed below:

2.2.3.1 Activities

Smith defined activities as events that are entirely go on in process. It is temporal features are as shown in (7) above. She, however, proposed what she called "entailment pattern for activities". Thus Smith proposes that "*If an activity event A holds at interval I, then the process associated with that event holds at all intervals of I, down to intervals too small to count as A*" . She additionally expresses that activities cannot be said to occur rapidly at small interval. Apart from that, Smith has found activities to be independently bound which has a transformative effect on the verb constellation. It is further noted that, the time adverbial may results the verb constellation to produce sentences that have telic properties. Smith (1997:23) uses the following examples to support her arguments:

(8)   a. We fed the puppy for an hour

  b. They are widening the road

  c. They widened the road

The example (8a) denotes a single event that includes a series of feeding. In (8b) and (8c) there is a continuous change to a situation yet it does not hold up at an intervals. According to Smith such predicates are 'vague predicate'. This gradual change in the road does not have a natural endpoint.

On the point of entailment pattern activities, Smith proposed that entailments can be presented by sentences with both perfective and Imperfective viewpoint. Such sentences are believed to have either a present event as whole or present part of it. Her assumption is that if the imperfective is true at interval I, the corresponding perfective sentence is also true. The following examples are shown in Smith (1997:25):

(9) a. Mary began to run

    b. Suddenly Mary ran. An hour later she was still running.

The examples in (9) above are said to present a change of state into an activity. Activities are said to be implicitly bounded with arbitrary endpoint or they are presented as ongoing unbounded as in (9b).

2.2.3.2   Accomplishment

Smith argues that accomplishments are events that have a process and outcome or sometimes it may include a change of state which denotes a completion of the process. It is temporal features are as illustrated in example (7) above. Events are said to reach their natural final endpoint when they are finished or are completed. Shee, however, argued that in some instance accomplishments are assumed to have a progressive viewpoint. Bassac and Bouillon (2002) maintain that transitive or middle alternation is only compatible with verbs that have theevent structure and which do not have a complex event structure. Nevertheless, the temporal properties of accomplishment continue to be adopted in the work of Levin (2000). In her study, Levin (2000:424) has captured fundamental distinctions between accomplishments and causative events. Although her study shows an overlap between the two events, she has equivocally argued that the two notions should be treated independently. By contrast, Smith distinguishes a formal relation between process and outcome of accomplishment known as non-detachability by adopting his "entailment pattern" approach. According to Smith the entailment pattern of accomplishment entails that "*if event A occurs at interval I, then the process associated with A occurs during the internal stages of that interval*". The following examples as indicated in Smith (1997:26) illustrate:

(10) a.   John wrote a letter

    b.   Marry was crossing the street

The example in (10a) is said to express a complete accomplishment that has a natural end point. Where, the example in (10b) is said with the progressive viewpoint. In that, Smith has point out that such events indicate a situation that is going on including the intention of the participants.

2.2.3.3 Semelfactive

Smith (1997); Levin (2007) and Rothstein (2008) define semelfactive as single-stage events that are intrinsically bounded but they have no results or outcome. They further argue that semelfactive and activities predicates are perceived to be homonymous. In regard to Navajo, Smith observes that semelfactive may only appear in morphology but not in semantic, hence Navajo has durative events. Nevertheless, both Smith and Rothstein mantain that this types of event are atelic with temporal features and they occur instantaneously. Smithfurther explains that semelficative events include bodily events such as cough, blink. However, the verb constellation of semelfactive is said to have restriction on the distribution and control properties. Hence, they do not appear in sentence with imperfective viewpoint, with durative adverbial. Smith has made it clear that the verbs constellations that have durative features are considered to be grammatical and they may be interpreted as "multiple-event activities":

> (11)   Mary coughed for an hour.

The example in (11) above, the verb constellation appears with a durative adverbial and it shows repetitive sequences of cough although it happens as a single event.

2.2.3.4 Achievement

Smith characterizes achievements as instantaneous events that result in a change of state. Its proprieties are as shown in the example (7) above. She, however, states that achievement may involve a preliminary process in achieving the desired outcome, viz. "to win a race one must run". Smithfurther claims the agent oriented adverbs to be conventional or unconventional when they appear with achievement sentences. This differs with Levin (2007) who argues that the agent-oriented is not tolerated in achievement. Bassac and Bouillon (2002:40) observe that achievement events have a complex structure that involves and state event. The following examples as indicated in Smith (1997:31) illustrate, (cf. Levin 2007:11):

> (12) a. John accidentally lost his watch

b. Abigail deliberately hit the target

These sentences are said to be less odd when one put into consideration the nature of the event they present.

2.2.3.5 States

Smith describes statives as a stable situation which holds for a moment or an interval. This follows the assumption by Dowty (1986) who proposes that "the sentence A is stative if it allows from the truth of A at an interval I that A is true at all subinterval". Smith further states that states are non-dynamic and their initial or the final endpoint does not form part of it. They consists of changes of state, however, it differs from other situation types. Smith further develops an entailment pattern of stative later adopted in Kratzer (2000) which states that "*when the state holds for an interval it holds for every sub-interval of the interval*". Smith's perception on stative predicates is grounded on the idea of Carlson (1977) who establishes a formal distinction between stative predicates. She assumes that predicates which signify comparatively stable properties, hold of individual are "individual level", viz., [be a beaver]. Where, "Stage level predicate" are predicate that signifies a transitory properties, viz., [be available]. Smith has, however, noted that some verb constellation may allow the progressive viewpoint with a static, resultative interpretation. Consider the following:

(13) a. Steve is sitting on the chair

b. The picture is hanging on the wall

Apart from that, Smith has also observed the generic predication of stative derived verbs. She states that the verb constellations that have generic predication are those of the individual-level predicate and they ascribe a property to a class or kind. Nonetheless, Iwata (1999:527) indicates that such genericity is not an integral property of middle but merely understood to be typical. Consider the following examples as indicated in Smith:

(14) a. The tigers are stripped.

b. Tigers eat meat.

c. Dinosaurs are extinct

In conclusion Smith has establishes a formal distinction which gives a semantic characterization of situation types taking into consideration of their internal temporal features.

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These semantic characterizations include five situation types which are discussed in this section. She uses the schema to define the possible meanings of aspectual situation types and viewpoints. With these views it is assumed that aspectual categories have the same basic properties across the languages.

2.3 Approaches to passive construction

2.3.1 Barker, Johnson and Roberts (1989)

Baker et al, conduct a study on aspects of syntax in passive construction by taking into account the properties of argument –*en* with respect to theta theory and Case theory. In their study Baker et al. examine the structural representation of the argument –*en* at various level of derivation and show how it interacts with other aspects of the English verb-auxiliary system. They suggest that the passive argument -*en* is based generated under inflection. They, however, concede that this passive –*en* is indeed an argumental affix which is linked to the inflectional node. The following examples show the S-Structure and the D-Structure representation of passive argument -*en* as indicates in Barker et al. (1989:220,222):

(15) a.   S   b. S (or,   IP)

          NP   I´   NP   I´

              I   VP   I   VP

          -en   V   XP   V   NP

                                              [   ] + en t_i
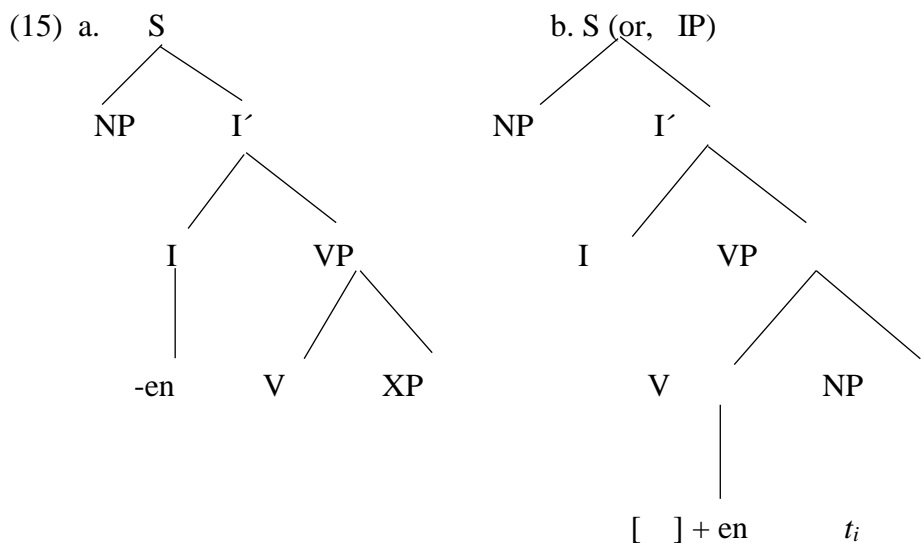
The example in (15a) shows the D-Structure representation of the passive clause, where, the example in (15b) shows the S-Structure. The VP in (15) is only capable of assigning one argument. Therefore the example in (15a) the subject position is not assigned a theta role, as a result it cannot be occupied by an argument at D-Structure. Thus, the subject position in passive construction is assumed to be a landing site for the NP movement. In case where the NP is not present this position will be occupied by expletive. The condition of the theta-criterion requires that all theta-marked should be syntactically present in order to be assigned a theta-role.Case

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is assigned abstractly. Baker et al. has however claimed that some verbs may lack the capacity to assign an accusative as the matter of fact the passive morpheme will not be case marked.

2.3.2 Embick (2004)

Embick (2004) examines the properties of resultative participles in English passive constructions. He makes the distinction between two categories of particles viz., adjectival passive and verbal passive. He argues that adjectival passive differs from verbal passive that the adjectival passive are found in lexicon, whileverbal passives are found in syntax. This understanding correlates with Hallman (2012) and Emond (2012). Embick has identified the distinction between resultative and stative. He argues that resultatives are compatible with manner and other adverbial modification, which is believed not to be the case with stative. Levin (2008) indicates that the manner and results are in complementary distribution. The example in (16) illustrates:

(16) a.   This door was built open (Embick 2014:357)

    b.   *This door was built opened

The example in (16b) above is rejected in Embick. The sentence in (16a) describes a simple state and the environment in which it appears. The example in (6b) is different because *opened* refers to a resultative state that requires a previous event. However, he argues that it is possible that the verb can appear with the resultative interpretation, as illustrate in (17) below:

(17)   The package remained carefully closed

Embick proposed the following structures for verbal passive and adjectival passive:

(18) a. Verbal passive

AspP   [Emond 2012:362)

Asp   vP

15

```
        v                    √RootP
                              /\
                             /  \
                            /____\
                             ….
```
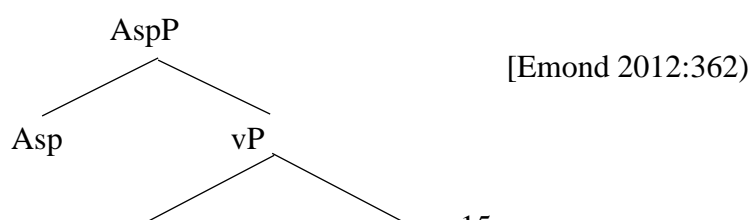
b. Adjectival Passive

```
            Asp
           /  \
          /    \
         /      \
       Asp     √RootP
                 /\
                /  \
               /____\
              . . . . .
```
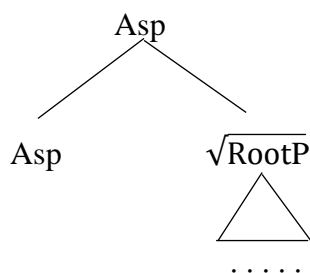
The structure as shown in (19a) is said to be productive with eventive and agentive conforming to the verbal passive. Where, the attachment to the root (√RootP) as in (18) prevents the appearance of v, as a result it lacks the eventivity and agentivity associated with v, conforming to the adjectival passive. Embick concludes that the formation of de-adjectival verbs and stative participles occur in the lexicon while the formation of verb phrases with resultative secondary predicates should be syntactic.

2.3.3 Hallman (2012)

Hallman examines the distinctive properties of adjectival passive and verbal passive, focusing on the externalization of their internal argument. Hallman maintains that the externalization of internal argument is only applicable with the verbal passive, where in adjectival passive is said to be absolutely impossible. He admits that in verbal passive, the movement of arguments is controlled by the passive morphology. This means that the internal argument is raised to the subject position [Spec, TP] position where it serves as the subject argument to the verb. In the adjectival passive on the other hand, the internal arguments moves over the agent in the [Spec, VP] and itself bound b in the [spec, PrP]. In this respect the subject is linked to the internal theta role without the movement of the subject itself. The following examples illustrate:

(19) a.   This ship appears damaged and the dock appears done so, too

     b.   * The ship was damaged, and the dock was done so, too

The contrast in the vicinity of (19a) and (19b) is that the *damage* is translated adjectivally. The non-verbal predicate anaphor *so* surface in the second clause instead of the verbal *do so*. However, both (19a) and (19b) attribute the theme theta role of the underlying verb *damage* to the ship. In (19a) the dock is not able to be interpreted as the theme of damage, because to be so construed. The conclusion drawn by Hallman is that sentential idioms are not productive with adjectival passivation, where the unaccusative and agent-incorporated transitives are said to be productive but not with verbal passive.

2.3.4 Jaeggli (1986)

Jaeggli (1986) examines the properties of passive constructions of English. The primarily purpose of his study was to examine the representation of passive properties in English syntactic, taking into perspective the morphological process and syntactic process. Furthermore, he says that the passive construction have no single rule and it happens thus because of morphological and syntactic interaction. The first requirement proposed by Jaeggli on the level of syntactic representation, is that every syntactic position that is linked to the theta role must be assigned an argument occupying that position and by so doing the theta criterion is satisfied (cf. Stalmaszcyk 1996, Chomsky 1993,1981). Jaegglifurther argues that the external theta role of the verb is absorbed by the verb in the passive construction; therefore, it is being prevented from assigning object case. The second requirement proposed by Jaeggli is inspired by consideration of cases as shown in (15) below:

   (20) John ate it/there

The sentence such the one in (20) above, is said to be impossible with expletive *it/there* interpretation, although the lexical items *it/there* are believed to be expletives in other sentences. The sentence in (20) cannot mean "John ate". Thus, Jaeggli suggests that the theta criterion should not force the assignment of theta-role to *it/there*. Henceforth, the requirement for the prerequisite that all subcategorized components is assigned a theta-role. He, however, states that if all subcategorized positions are theta-marked, these facts are instantly accounted for. He further maintains that incase where the optionally subcategorization position are absent in the deep structure, it is assumed that the theta-role assigned to that position is also missing from the predicate lexicon. Consequently, these theta-roles are considered optional. Consider the following example:

(21)   seem: θd = [_____S']

            (θg = [_____to NP])

In (21) above, indicates the lexical representation of the verb seems which appears with optionally goal NP. Assignment of *θg* is subjected to theta-criterion. According to Jaeggli the lexical subcategorization of argument will be as follows:

  i.   X = NP is an argument of Y if X is assigned a θ-role listed in the lexical entry of Y by Y or by a projection of Y.

  ii.   X is an internal argument of Y if X is an argument of Y and X occupies a position mentioned in the lexical entry of Y.

  iii. X is an external argument of Y if X is an argument of Y and X is not an internal argument of Y.

On the issue of theta-roles absorption, Jaeggli argues the case where the [NP,S] does not receive a theta-role is observed with passive sentence where preposing has not occurred:

 (22)   It was believed that the conclusion was false

The sentence such as the one in (22) above the [NP, S] position is said to be occupied by the expletive element i.e. *it*. Thus, this position does not receive a theta role. He further argues that the suffix *-en* that in most cases appear with passive verb behaves as the recipient of the external theta-role of the predicate. Once it is assigned to this suffix, it can no longer be assigned to [NP, S] position. Henceforth, [NP, S] position is not assigned a theta-role in a passive construction. Jaeggli claims that the external theta roles in the passive construction are interpreted as bearing the external theta-role of passive predicate. This external theta role is said to have the thematic reading of Agent only when the external theta-role of the passive predicate has the thematic role of Agent. It is possible that this position may appear with arguments that have different thematic interpretation.

2.2.3 Kiparsky (2012)

Kiparsky (2012) argues that there are no specific syntactic proprieties regarding the passive clause. He further states that the passives are derived from the language's active sentences and these derived predicate are usually produced by the passive morpheme. Kaspersky further debates that the passive morpheme and the Case properties are merely defining features and

cannot be the characteristics of passive, since they do not have any other function in the language.

He admits that English is one of those languages that optionally take a Case if available. This is because some verbs in English cannot receive a case from their corresponding active sentence. The examples in in (23) below illustrate:

(23) a.   It was hoped that John would leave

     b.   * I hope it

In example in (23) above the impersonal passive occurs with a casual complement and is formed from intransitive. It appears that in (23) the verb does not assign a case. The impersonal passives are restricted to verbs with causal complement. Impersonal passive of both transitive and intransitive verbs allow the passivation of transitive and unergative verbs. He nonetheless disputes that unergative verbs do not assign accusative case, but they maintain contain an external theta-role that can be assigned to passive. The unaccusative, however, may not in any case participate in passive. He concludes that the distribution of agent-phrase in passive construction is depends on the language-specific lexical semantics of their heads and they are subjected to structural constrains.

2.4 Neuter-Pasive construction

There is little discussion in literature concerning the occurrence of both neuter-passive and passive verb morphology. Thus, is not surprising that a combination of both neuter and passive morpheme in some languages may occur. I have discussed this issue further in subsection (3.2.6, 4.3, 4.4, 8.6 and 10.3). The question is then, in what order this combination is manifested in the verbal morphology. Mchombo (1993) indicated that the combinations of Neuter-passive and passive-neuter are not possible in Chewa. Consider the following examples:

(24) a.   *-pind-idw-ik-a   (Mchombo 1993:9)
             -bend-PASS-NT-FV

     b.   *-kwiny-idw-ik-a
             -crease-PASS-NT-FV

However, Dom (2014) argues that the combination of neuter-passive is grammatical. Dom (2014) and Khumalo (2009) did not indicate whether the combination of passive-neuter in Ndebele is possible. The following examples illustrate:

(25)   -luny-ek-w-a   (Khumalo 2009 in Dom 2014:78)
            -bite-NT-PASS-FV

Seidl and Dimitriadis (2002), as cited in (Dom 2014:78), assert that the combination of neuter-passive allows oblique agentive phrase:

(26)   Sydna Abubakr a-ka-mimin-ik-w-a na machozi kwa furaha […].
            Sydna Abubakr SM1-pour-NT-PASS-FV by tears of happiness
            'And Sydna Abubakr was trickled down upon by tears of happiness […].'

2.5 Views on the middle construction

This subsection is concerned with present views on the agentivity in the middles, as argued in the literature. The issue at hand that prompts the analyses of agentive in the middles is that the middles are said to contain 'agentive flavour' (Klingvall 2005). In the event that agentive flavour does not involve an Agent argument, it must be inspected what it rather comprises and how it is structurally realized. With these views, the middle formation can be examined in three different ways viz., the pre-syntactic, syntactic and post syntactic.

2.5.1   The Pre-syntactic analyses

The Pre-syntactic analyses argue that the agent argument in the middles is present in the lexicon and in the interpretative component but not in the syntactic structure. Fagan (1992) and Massam (1992) challenge this view, saying that, middle should be defined in terms of genericity and modality. Conversely, Iwata (1999) among others negated this view by claiming that the implicit argument is indeed the defining characteristics of middles. The pre-syntactic analyses entail that although an Agent theta role is not structurally expressed it has been argued that it is always implied. This means that the logical subject argument in the middle construction is always present in the lexicon (semantically). Klingvall (2005) among others has noted that the agent theta role is assigned an arbitrary argument in the lexicon which is being saturated. In that, the theta criterion and the Projection Principles will be met when thematic roles are saturated.

In view of the above facts, one might be able to reach the conclusion that if argument can be saturated in lexicon, it should be understood that there must be a connection between the lexicon and interpretation, thus, the argument need not to appear in syntax.

2.5.2 Syntactic Analyses

The pre-syntactic and syntactic analyses both claim the involvement of agentive interpretation of middle at some stage of derivation (Klingvall 2005:97). On an observational level, these two analyses differ in the sense that the syntactic analyses do not claim the presences of the argument in the middles. Furthermore, the syntactic analyses see that the agentive must be syntactical present as a convert element in order to appear in the interpretation. Stroik (1992, 1995, 1999) accepts that the semantic arguments are obligatory projected in the middle construction. Thus, it is argued that the external argument is assigned to PRO which appears in the adjunct position as shown in (15) below:

(27) a. Bureaucrats bribe easily

b. [IP bureaucrats $_i$ [I' [VP [VP [v' bribe t_i easily]] PRO]]]]

Stroik has shown that the demoted NP can be overtly expressed in the adjunct position and Case -lincesed with the PP. It is assumed that this external argument can be realized as for – phrase, just like a by-phrase in the passive.

2.5.3 Post-syntactic analyses

The post-syntactic analyses entails that the middles include neither the argument demotion nor deletion. This follows the claim made by Candoravi (1989) who states that the agentive in middles is not represented at all level (i.e. syntactic, semantic and argument structure). She further claims that there is no existing rule in middles regarding the agent deletion. Rather, she asserts that "the agent can be had as an entailment of the lexical meaning of the verb. This may be understood in case of English where the Agent is not syntactically expressed, but only semantically understood. The similar observation is apparent in Rapport (1999). She contends the absence of the logical subject at any level of representation. It is, however, argued that the presence of agentive in some case is due the instrument or manner component that is present in the verb.

2.6 The Middle Construction

The middle construction has received a great deal of attention in the literature. Many scholars establish the differences between the passive and the middle construction (Alexiadou et al. 2015; Alexiadou and Doron 2011; Balglini 2012; Khumalo 2009; Mchombo 2004; Gehrke

2011; Kingvall 2005; Kratzer 2000; Dom 2015; Bassac and Bouillon 2002 and Fleisch 2005 among others). Most of these studies are concerned with the syntactic properties of middle constructions, particularly the derivational suffix. Although, there is no uniformity in literature as to what the middle derivation is, the middle here, as stative, is assumed to be an intransitive state or a condition which does not require the intervention of the external forces, (Khumalo 2009; Baker et al., 1989; Alexiadou and Doron 2011). Ackema and Schoorlmmer (1994) pointed out the middle and passive constructions share similar properties, that the logical subject in both constructions is not the grammatical subject. Furthermore, the object NP in both constructions is realized to the subject position where it serves as the subject argument of the verb. Note, however, that in passive construction the former is expressed as adjunct or as an oblique. The subject NP of the transitive predicate in middle becomes inexpressive (Rapport 1999, Khumalo 2009, Demuth 1990; Ackema and schoorlmmer 1994). In a similar manner, Fernando (2013:83) has established a grammatical relation between the middle and anticausative alternations. He maintains that these two alternations have similar morphosyntactic properties, thus, they are likely to behave the same.

The Middle construction has been argued to have an influence on the lexical mapping theory. The lexical mapping theory (LMT) is proposed in Mchombo (2004) adopted in Dubinsky and Simango (1996) and later noted in Khumalo (2009). It is assumed that in the Middle construction, the mapping theory is converted to lexical functional grammar (Khumalo 2009). The LMT suggests that the argument of the verbs is not available for mapping. Consider the following example as indicated in Khumalo (2009:161):

(28) a.　　*vala*　< agent　　　　　　　theme >
　　　　　'close'　[-o]　　　　　　　　[-r]
　　　　　　　　　　　│
　　　　　　───────────────────
　　　　　　　SUBJ　　　　　　　OBJ

　　　b.　　valeka　　　　< theme >
　　　　　　"be closed'　　[-r]

22
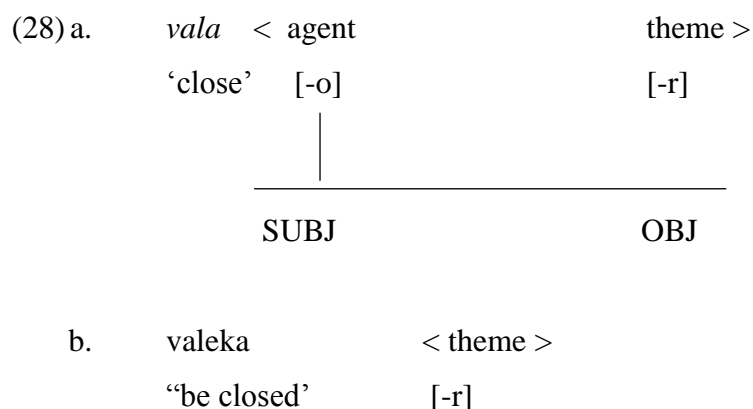
$$\frac{\text{[-o]}}{\text{SUBJ}}$$

In the example in (28a) above the verb represents the active transitive verb form '*vala*' to close and in (28b) it present the derived form 'valeka' (be closed or become closed). The mapping principles proposes that the theme which is the patient in (15b) should be assigned the argument feature [-r]. Where, the external causes the subject principle to assign the feature [-o] to it. As matter of fact, the theme is converted into subject resulting in the former subject to be inexpressible or totally deleted.

2.6.1 The properties of Middle

As indicated above, the middle construction is distinguishable from other alternants in their syntactic properties. Thus this subsection is a review of the syntactic properties of the middle construction.

2.6.1.1 Genericity

The Genericity of the middle construction has been a topic of serious debate. Smith (1997) argues that the verb constellations that are associated with generic meaning are those that denote dynamic feature. However, the generic meaning in the middle construction is assumed to be ascribed to the generalization of entities rather than reporting event fixed time (Li 2014:271). This view agrees with Keyser and Roeper (1989) who noted that the past tense is not allowed in the middle construction. From a different view, Fagan (1989) asserts that the progressive middle is permissible in cases where it denotes a continuative change of state. According to Li (2014:271) the issues of tense and aspectual performance of the verbs has caused dispute among Chinese scholars. He argues that some scholars understand that the verbs in middle constructions may only occur in a simple present form, where, others believe that the past tense, progressive form and perfective forms are accepted in the middle constructions. In addition Iwata (1999:527) says that genericity is not an integral part of middle construction but it is merely a defining feature. Lekakou (2005, 2006) indicates that genericity is only encoded in unaccusative languages but not with unergative languages. The conclusion that can be drawn from these scholars' views is that the verb performance is defined by the genericity of the sentence. The following examples as indicated in Li (2014:271) illustrate:

(29) a.　　Ravens are black

b.　　Tiger have stripes

c.   Jon smokes cigar after dinner

d.   A potato contains vitamin C, amino acids, protein and thiamine.

According to Li the subject NPs describe a specific set made up of "Tiger" in (29a) and "Raven" in (29b). These NPs do not represent specific entities. This argument is grounded on the assumption proposed by Krifka et al. as cited in Li (2014:271) that genericity originates from the meaning associated with the subject NPs. The Subject NPs "John" in (29c) and (29d) "Potato" are perceived to refer to specific entities or individual, however, this sentences are understood either to denote characteristic or habit. Li (2014) has, however, concluded that from the genericity is decided by the "kind-referring meaning of the subject NPs" or by generic predicate.

The following examples as indicated in Keyser and Roeper (1989:385) indicate the infelicitous of progressive in the middle construction:

(30) a.   Chickens are killing

b.   *Bureaucrats are bribing

c.   The walls are painting

The examples in (30a-c) above are ungrammatical. These sentences denote a progressive event or activities that are going on in time. As indicated earlier, Keyser and Roeper refute that imperative and progressive forms may not participate in stative or middle constructions since these two forms are ascribes to the properties denoting an action or activity. Nevertheless, as shown earlier, it is argued that, in some instance, the participation of the progressive form in the middle construction is allowed. Consider the following examples as indicated in Li (2014: 274):

(31)   Sport cars are selling quickly

The progressive event in example (31) above is acceptable under restriction. This progressive sentence is ungrammatical when it expresses the time in moment but acceptable when it denote a gradual change in state. The progressive form usually involves eventive verbs since they are ascribed to situation in which something happen or occur. The non-eventive verbs may not

participate in progressive because this may results in conflict between the progressive and the generic feature associated with the state verbs. Consider the following example:

(32)   This book is selling well.

The sentence in (31) above cannot receive a generic interpretation due to the fact that the subject NP "*this book*" appear with 'this' which is ascribed to specific individual characteristics. As matter of fact, this may results in the conflict between the genericity of the NP and that of the verb.

(33)   *The chicken killed.

As stated earlier, Keyser and Roeper noted that the past tense as indicated in (33) above is unacceptable in the middle construction. This sentence has lacked the time reference to an event taking place. According to Keyser and Roeper such sentences may need adverbial modification as illustarated in (34) below:

(34)   This book sold well

2.6.1.2 Modality

According to Fernando (2013:86) and Jingquan (2007:208) the middle is linked with potentiality. Although the state or condition in the middle construction is acquired through the subject, it is also conceivable that the subject in the middle construction have the ability to perform the action expressed by the verb predicate. Coupled with this, Jingquan (2007:208) maintains that "the middle can be paraphrased with the passive that comprises the modal *can*'. Consider the following examples:

(35) a.   This meat cut easily

    b.   Anyone could cut this meat with ease

From the examples in (35) above, it is shown that the modality properties emerge further in two distinct properties viz. the stative and predicate that contains some modification form of modality (Jingquan 2007 and Massam and Spencer as cited in Fernando 2013). Consequently, these constructions result in obligatory stative modality and obligatory generic character of middles.

2.6.1.3   Adverbial effect

The other property ascribed to the formation of middle is the adverbial modification of the predicated. The adverbial modification in the middle construction is mostly observed with Germanic Languages such as English, Dutch and German (Lekakou 2005):

(36)   a.   * This book reads.   [English]

       b.   *Dit boek leest.   [Dutch]
                'This book reads'

       c.   Das Buch liest sich   [German]
                'The book reads'

Taken together, the sentences in (36) are unacceptable. Fergan (1988:201) mantains that these sentences cannot be grammatical since there is no activity pertinent to the use of the book, but instead indicates that something is being done to the book. It should be noted that not all adverbs are acceptable within this construction. The most observed adverbial in the middle construction are the manner (Barker et al. 1989; Van Hout and Roeper 1998; Ackema and Schoorlemmer 1994; Gehrke 2011 and Jingquan 2007):

(37)   a.   John shave easily

       b.   This book reads well

It is, however, argued that adverbs of manner which are agentive-oriented are not acceptable in the English middle construction (Fellbaum 1985 as cited in Jingquan 2007:210) as shown in the example (38) below:

(38)   *The novels sell proudly

The examples in (38) led Roberts (1987) and Fagan (1992) to claim that the adverb of manner is mandatory under a particular condition. Iwata (1999:528) remarks that, despite the fact that an adverb of manner is mandatory, 'such obligatory presence is not associated with syntactic subcategorization requirements as one of in formativeness'. Jingquan (2007) restricts this view and contends that in case where the adverbial in the middle construction is absent, the

construction remains acceptable on condition that the missing information is somehow available.

(39) a.   *This meat cuts

      b.   This meat doesn't cut

2.6.2   Properties of the grammatical Subject

The middle construction is based on the observation that the logical object of the corresponding active sentence becomes the grammatical subject in the middle construction. It should be noted, though, that the grammatical subject in the middle construction must be the affected argument (Ackema and Schoorlemmer 1994:74). Mchombo (2004) and Robert (1987) regard the notion of affected argument as theme that is entering a particular state or condition. Thus, it seems sensible to assume that middles mainly postulate some properties of the object. This notion account for the contrast in (27) below:

(40) a.   This wood split easily   [Fernando 2013:91]

      b.   *Dit artikel begrijpt moeilijk.   [Ackema and Schoorlemmer 1994:74)
             This article understands hard

In (40a) the wood is said to be the affected argument since their properties underwent a change of state. The wood is cut into pieces. These properties of the logical object qualify the verb slip to undergo middle formation. In (40b) it appears that the logical object is not the affected argument. The middle is unacceptable. However, as stated by Jingquan (2007:228), the conception of affected argument will be not in the least exact, since it does not sufficiently justifiable for all the facts.

2.6.3   Properties of the Logical subject

It is sated in (2.2.2) that the logical subject of the corresponding active sentence is always structurally present. This logical subject in many cases have thematic role of Agent. In the literature this notion is discussed under the notion of Agentivity (Ackema and Schoolmer 1994; Khumalo 2009; Rapport 1999; Fagan 1992; Iwata 1999; Keyser and Roeper 1984). This is illustrated in the example in (42) as indicated in Ackema and Schoorlemmer 1994:147):

(41)   This book read easily

This sentence can be analyzed with the interpretation that the act of reading involves someone reading the book i.e. (reader). Thus, it can be concluded that, there must be a reader involved in the reading implied. Hale and Keyser (1987) as cited in Jingquan (2007:221) indicate that the middle construction is always agentive and these properties are attributed by the presences of the obligatory adverbial that appear with the verb. Jingquan (2007) proposes that an agent-oriented adverbial should be used as a diagnostic for Agentivity. Kingvall (2005) refutes these views. He claims that Middles, as opposed to passives, do contain neither an Agent nor an Agent projection since the middles are perceived as being unable to concur with agent-oriented adverbs except when the grammatical subject is human. He admits though that not all the middles are completely ill-formed with agent adverbial.

Rapport (1999), on the other hand, has argued that the English middle construction contain for-PP whose argument is similar to the logical subject as shown in (42) below:

(42)   French book read easily for educated people

The example in (42) contains a for-PP and it said to have the agentive phrase present in it is structure.

2.6.4   Properties of the verb

The middle construction in Bantu languages is generally expressed by the derivational suffix (-ik- or -ek-) which changes the verb from transitive to intransitive (Mdumela (1996); Fleisch (2005), Khumalo (2004); Madzivhandila (1999); Mchombo (1999) amongst other). The debate revolves around many literatures on the condition of the verb predicate in the middle construction. Many scholars admit that not all verbs can form middle. This understanding follows the claims made by some scholars that the English middle is derived from the intransitive verb. Dowty (1979); Fagan (1992); Levin (2007); Robert (1987) and Smith (1997), (cf. Velder 1967:107) claim the importance of aspectual properties of the verb in deciding their participation in the middle construction. The aspectual properties are discussed in subsection (2.1.3) above.

However, it is emphasized in this section that the middle construction of Oshindonga which sometimes has an implicit logical subject (agent) argument present in its syntactical structure (Fourie 1990) which leaves space for questions of the paradigm unanswered, hence the need to close this knowledge gap. This will be discussed into details in Section (4). Fivaz (1987:94)

claims that the neuter passive construction denotes that the verbal action is well done or properly done. The following example illustrates:

(43)   Omweelo ogwa pateka
        The door is well closed

In (43) above, the verb *pateka* denotes the door is well closed. This agrees with Rapport (1999) who suggests that some verbs like *cut, carve* and *crush* describe the means or manner involved in the action denoted by the verb.

2.7 Conclusion

This section reviewed the current status of syntactic and lexical semantic views relating to the passive and middle constructions. Many scholars have argued for a theoretical distiction between middle and passive voices. It is argued that the midle construction differs from the passive constructions in the sense that the middles have properties that are attributed by the obligatory adverbial which appears with the verb. Although such substantive distinctions between passive and middle voices occur, the two voices are assumed to share similar morphosyntactic properties. The theoretical views that were discussed in this section, among others include; the mapping theory, which is assumed to be converted in middle construction. The syntactic decomposition approach is relavant in order to understand how arguments are realized in a given construction hence the requirement for predicate composition and argument extension.

SECTION 3

VIEWS FROM PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE PASSIVE AND NEUTER PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

This Section presents an overview of selected previous studies conducted on neuter-passive and passive voice constructions in Bantu African languages. Fundamental concepts such as unaccusativity, anticausativity, energativity, and expletive receive close attention.

3.1 ALEXIADOU, ANAGNOSTOPOULOU AND SCHÄFER (2015)

Alexiadou et al. (2015) conducted a study on the typology of voices taking into perspective the approach by Kratzer (1996). The languages of their study include Greek, English and German. Their primary argument related to the view that the functional category voice is responsible for introducing the external arguments hence the external argument cannot be a true argument of the lexical verb. Their focus was mainly on the external argument in transitivity alternation paying attention to causative and anticausative alternations. They maintain that the active and passive verb constructions require either agentive or non-agentive features in which the agentive voice permit agents while the non-agentive introduce the causer. They claim that the anticausatives voice may be realized as voice with an inherent causer argument.

3.1.1 Expletive and thematic Voice

Alexiadou et al. (2015) present a morphological marked structure for anticausatives and such structure is said to be active in German, Romance or a passive in Greek. Their presumption is grounded on two fundamental questions. (1) they want to establish why languages employ semantically empty projection and (2) they also want to establish why anticausative in a given languages comes with or without expletive voice. Given that, the data of their study reveals that, the expletive voice appears with internally caused verbs that convey events that are highly spontaneous. These types of verbs are said to typically lack a semantic external argument and in turn, a voice projection in their syntactic derivation. This differs with Klingvall (2005:101) who argues that the impersonal passives have logical subject present in their structure although they are not explicitly realized.

3.1.2 Greek and English/German passives

Alaxiadou et al. (2015) and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2009) argue that almost all verbs in English and German are compatible with passive, however, it is observed that Greek passive is restricted to verbs with only agentive voice and not conform with verbs that have a causative interpretation. They postulate that the anticausative verbs with active morphology resist combining with non-active morphology in order to form passive, viz., the verb *spao* "break" does not appear in passive. This is supported by Alexiadou and Doron (2012:6) who argue that the passive construction contain non-active morphology where, the anticausative bears active morphologhy. This is observed mostly with change of state verbs and non-agentive verbs. The following examples as shown in Alexiadou et al. (2015:121) illustrate:

(44) a. vatheno (deepen)   *vathane (deepen)

  b. adinatizo (thin)   *adinatizome (thinen)

  c. kriono (cool)   *krionome (cool)

Alexiadou et al. (2015), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoloulou (2009) invoked the argument by Zombolou (2004) as cited in Alexiadou et al., (2015) who point out that the Greek passive verb are restricted outside the domain of change of state verbs whereby they observed that some mono-event verbs do not appear in passive, where, English and German are observed to have no such restriction. In addition, Alexiadou et al. (2015) also pointed out that some verbs in Greek that combines with non-active morphology may not bear a passive interpretation and these verbs are said not to accept the agentive phrase, viz., apo-phrase, see also Alexiadou and Anagnostopoloulou (2009:4). Consider the following example in Alexiadou et al.:

(45)   I   supa   kaike   me   ti dinati fotia /*apo to Jani
          The soup.NOM burnt.Nact with the strong fire/ from the John

 Alxiadou et al. (2015) and Levin and Rapport (1986), observe that the de-adjectival predicate are compatible with both causer, agent and instrument subject in active morphology and this may result in anticausative active predicate. They, however, argued that this predicate with non-active morphology may give rise to an ambiguous passive whereby the predicate is compatible with only agentive noun phrases and instrument PPs introduced either by "*apo*" or with "me", and not with causers. A similar understanding is also adopted in Alexiadou and Doron (2012:5) Consider that following examples as shown in Alexiadou et al. (2015):

31

(46) a.   O illios/ I   komotraia/ to pistoloki stegnose ta malia mu.

The sun / the hairdresser/ the hair.dryer dried.Act the hair mine

'   The sun/the hairdresser dried my hair'

b.   Ta mallia mu stegnothikan apo tin komatria / me to pistolaki

the hair my dried.NAct from the hairdresser/ with the hair.dryer

'My hair was dried by the hairdresser / with hair dryer'

c.   ?* Ta ruxa stegnothikan apo tin komotria/ me to pistolaki

The clothes dried.NAct from the sun/ with the sun

'The clothes were dried by the sun'

Conversely, this case is said not to apply to English and German since these two languages are compatible with all three thematic roles as their implicit argument. Alexiadou et al (2015) proposed the following structure to show the structural different between Greek and English/German passive:

(47) a.   Passive P   b.   VoiceP_MIDDLE

Passive   Voice P   Voice_MIDDLE   vP

Voice   vP

√Root   V   √Root   V
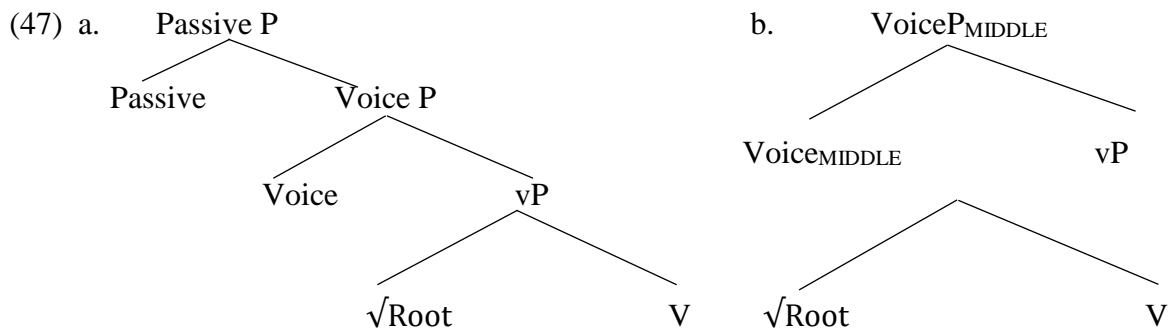
The structure in (47a) represents the passive structure of English and German. In this structure the passive is understood to be the functional head which selects the voiceP which is responsible for assigning the external argument. . Where, Greek passive said to not conform to the structure as shown in (47a) but is perceived to have thematic non-voice active head as shown in (47b).

 The issues of causative alternants are explored in Kratezer (2005) and Alexiadou et al. (2006). Extending on the proposal by Kratzer 2005, Alexiadou et al. (2006) contends that the causative alternations involve Voice alternates between transitive and intransitive variants. They further

argue that, these alternants differ in that they introduce the external argument in their structure. The transitive alternates are assumed to contain a voice element that introduces the external argument, the intransitive counterparts is said to lack this voice component. On the different note, it is argued that the causative and anticuasative have a common root. That is, they contained a combination of root and theme which express the resultative states and an eventive verbal CAUS which interacts with resultant state as its complement. This causal relation is established by the functional category CAUS. They noted that active and passive in the causative construction comprise a voice projection above the CAUS which introduces the external argument (DP$_{EA}$) as illustrated in (48) below:

(48)

```
                    VoiceP
                   /      \
                DPEA       Voice'
                          /     \
                       Voice    vPcaus
                               /      \
                            vCaus     Root
```
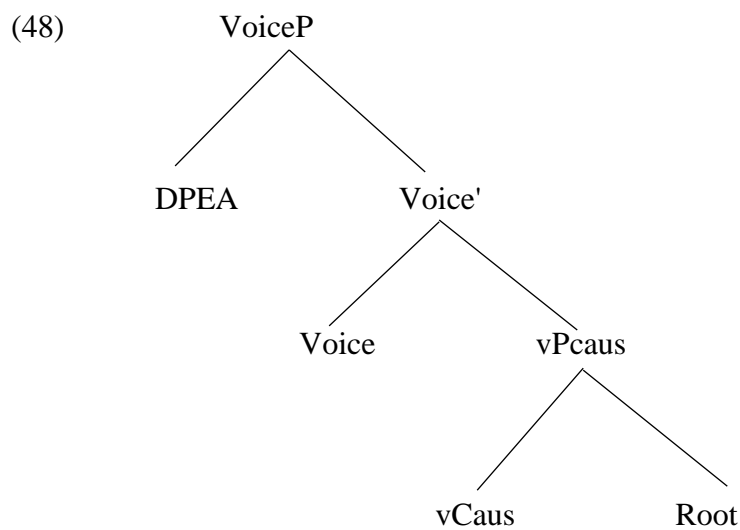
Given the structure in (48) above, Alexiadou et al. (2006, 2015) indicate that the function voice category as show in (48) above is responsible for establishing the casual relation between the element in its specifier (DP$_{EA}$) and the event in its complement position (CAUS) but, it does not introduce any event (cf. Alsina 1992). They believe that the causative, passive and anticausative constructions involve distinct features. The causer is assumed to neeed either an agentive or non-agentive feature wherby the agentive voice Voice trigger the agent (and instrument PP). The non-agentive, on the other, hand is responsible for introducing the the causer. Alexiadou (2010) proposes two structures of anticausative construction as illustrated in (49) below:

(49)   a.   [vCAUS [ROOT]]

       b.   [Voice [vCAUS [ROOT]]]

Alexiadou (2010) asserts that the structure in (49a) present unmarked causative and in (49b) it shows a marked causative. It is suggested that languages such Greek which have both marked and unmarked anti-causative have both structures.

3.1.3 Anticausative morphology

Alexiadou et al. (2015), note that the anticausitve morphology represents a class of degree of verbs which lack a lexical result state. These verbs are said to have no direct semantic effect in their morphology, thus they are semantically expletive. Alexiadou has further identified three morphological classes for anticausative verbs in Italian. These verb classes differ in the sense that the A class is associated with verbs which are obligatory marked with reflexive clictic *si*. The B class involves verbs that do not accept modification with the reflexive clitic *si*. Where, the C class involves verbs which are optionally marked with *si*. They argued that the anticausative constructions are derived in lexicon by demotion. It also understood that the anticausatives which are not morphologically marked are presumed to be basic and preferably they become causative through causation. Folli (2002), as indicated in Alexiadou et al. (2015), propose that anticausative verbs which belong to the A class have telic behaviors in their transitive and intransitive environment. Consider the following example as shown in Alexiadou et al. (2015:83):

(50) a. Gianni ha chiuso la finestra in un secondo.
          John   has closed the window in the second
          'John closed the window in one second'

     b. La finestra   si   è chiusa in un secondo
          The window REFL is closed in one second
          'The window closed in one second'

The example (50a, b) above is said to indicate the transitive and intransitive which occur with a frame "in some time" adverbial. This adverbial phrase indicates the temporal feature which shows that the event of closing the window terminates. It is argued that the adverbial modification as in (50a, b) above converts events from atelic to telic. The adverbial modification is also assumed to modify event which is going on. The following examples illustrate, (Alexiadou 2015:83):

(51) a.   Gianni ha diminuito la   temperature per un'ora

               John   has decreased the temperature for one hour

               'John has decreased the temperature for one hour'

        b.   La temperature è diminuita per un'ora

               the temperature is decreased for one hour

               'The temperature decreased for an hour'

However, Alexiadou et al. argue that verbs in the A class do not always have to be telic since the class consists of several degree of achievements and other aspectual classes. Consider the following:

(52)   I piedi sis ono gonfaniati per alcune ora.

             The feet REFL are swollen for some hours

             'The feet swelled up for some hours.'

It is further argued that the verbs in class B are types of atelic degree of achievement. Consider the following:

(53) a.   La nave è   affondata *per un'ora/ in un'ora.

             The ship is   sunk   *for an hour/ in an hour

             'The ship sank *for an hour/in an hour

3.1.4 Adjectival passive

The adjectival passive is discussed in (2.2) is argued to appear in the lexicon, not in syntax (Emonds 2012, Hallman 2012, and Kiparsky 2012). Wasow (1977), as cited in Alexiadous et al. (2015:149), indicates that the lexicon properties are associated with idiosyncratic forms and meaning. In this subsection, the adjectival passive is viewed to lack the functional project which introduces the external argument as indicated in subsection (2.6.2) above, (Alexiadou 2006, 2015, Kratzer 2005 and Baker et al. 1989) noted a distinction between adjectival passive and verbal passive, that the adjectival passive have a self-action interpretation which cannot be found in verbal passive. The following examples as shown in Alexiadou (2015:147) illustrate:

(54) a.   The climbers are secured with a rope

      b.   The climbers are being secured with a rope.

The sentences in (54a) above is said to be interpreted as adjectival passive, and is compitable with climbers having secured themselves. Where, the sentence in (54b) above is perceived to be verbal passive and it requires the climbers to be secured by somebody else. The verbal passive in this regard is assumed to have implicit external arguments which elicit a disjoint reference with theme argument of the particple in (54b). Alexiadou et al. (2015:148) suggests that adjectival participles differ from verbal passive in their categorical features. The adjectival passive formation (APF) has the following categorical features:

(55) a.   affixation of the passive morpheme –*ed* (Alexiadou 2015:148)

     b.   change of category [+V, -N] - > [+V, +N

     c.   Supression of the external role of the base verb

     d.   Exeterenalization of the (direct) internal role of the base verb

     e.   Absorption of Case

     f.   Elimination of the [NP, VP] Position `

3.2 Mchombo (2004)

Dubinsky and Simango (1990) examine the argument reduction suffixes in Chichewa taking into consideration the passive and the stative construction. Dubinsky and Simango (1999) explore the changing operation of passive and stative construction in Chichewa. In his analysis Mchombo takes into perspective the account of the transformation generative grammar developed by Chomsky.

3.2.1 Passive construction in Chichewa

Mchombo (2004) and Dubinsky and Simango argue that the passive verb in Chichewa is expressed by the detransitivizing verbal morphemes -*idw*- or -*edw*- which appear as affixes to the verb root. In that the logical subject is de-externalized and it is perceived to occur as an oblique or as an adjunct, while the logical object is realized in the subject position. In that Hallman (2013:76) indicates that these types of movement is modulated by the passive morphology. Consider the following examples as indicated in Mchombo (2004:91):

(56) a. Kalulú a-kuku-phík-á maûngu.

        1a-hare 1SM-pres-cook-FV 6-pumpkins

'The hare is cooking pumpkins'

b.   Maûngu a-ku-phík-ídwa-a   (ndí kálŭlu)

6-pumkins 6SM-pres-cook-pass-FV (by 1a-hare)

'The pumpkins are being cooked (by hare).'

Mchombo explains that the oblique NP or adjunct phrase as in (56b) above is optional as in English. He, however, argues that the passive verb does not allow the appearance of an object marker (OM) as shown (2004:91):

(57)   *Maungu a-ku-wa-phik-idw-a ndí kálŭlu

*pumpkins 6SM-pres-6OM-cook-pass-fv by 1a-hare

Mchombo, however, asserts that there are certain exemptions when the passive morpheme occurs with the intransitive. This usually happens when the subject NP has no control over the action denoted by the predicate. For that, the intransitive verbs that behave similarly include verbs of bodily functions. The following examples in Mchombo illustrate:

(58) a. kodz-a 'urinate'   kodz-édw-a 'involuntary urination

b. nyel-a 'defecate'   nyel-édw-a 'involuntary bowel movement'

c. f-a 'die'   f-édwa-a   'be in bereavement'

d. uk-a 'wake up rise'   uk-ídw-a   'be sexually arroused'

Mchombo suggests that the passive morpheme may be induced under restriction in both the applicative and causative construction. This means that, the passive morpheme may appear with a subject NP whose thematic role is agent. The passive morpheme may appear as a suffix to the applicative verb or causative verb, and not the passive morpheme, to precede these derivational suffixes. Consider the following examples as shown in Mchombo:

(59) a.   Chigawênga chi-ku-phwány-íts-idw-á maûngu (ndí mkângo)   [Causative]

7-terrorist   7SM-pres-smash-caus-pass-fv 6-pumpkins (by 3-lion)

'The terrorist is made to smash pumpkins (by 3-lion)

b.   Mkángó u-na-phík-íl-ídw-á maûngu (ndí kálŭlu)

3-lion   3SM-pst-cook-appl-pass-fv 6-pumpkins (by 3-lion)   [Applicative]

'The lion was cooked pumpkins (by the hare)

The example in (59a) above illustrates a causative alternation which occurs with a passive suffix –*idwa*. Where, the (59b) counterpart expresses an applicative with the passive morpheme –*idwa*. It is argued that if the object *maungu* is to appear as the subject in the "beneficative applicative construction", this construction will otherwise be unacceptable. A similar view is adopted by Dubinsky and Simango (1996:757), however, they argue that the benefactive applicative construction is not restricted to any verb except for the reason stated above. In the similar manner, Mchombo also argued that the NP that has an instrument reading may appear as a subject NP in the passive applicative instrument construction. Consider the following example as shown in Mchombo:

(60)   a. Mkángó   u-ku-phík-íts-il-idw-á   maûngu   (kwá chigawênga) (ndí kálǔlu).

           3-lion   3SM-pres-cook-cuas-appl-pass-fv 6-pumpkins (by 7-terrorist)   (by 1a-hare)

           'The lion is getting pumpkins cooked for it (by the terrorist) (at the instigation).'

       b. *Njala   i-ku-phk-íl-ídw-a   maûngu   (ndí kálǔlu)

           9-hunger 9SM-pres-cook-appl-pass-fv 6-pumpkins (by 1a-hare)

In some respect the intransitive verbs are said to be compatible with alternate construction in Chichewa in which the locative NP may occupy the subject position.

3.2.2 Stative in Chichewa

The stative construction in Chichewa is expressed by the suffix –*ik*- or -*ek*- similar to that of other Bantu languages, (Mchombo 2004 and Dubinsky and Simango 1996). They further argue that the stative verbs are intransitive in nature hence they suppress the logical subject and make it possible for the logical object to be the subject argument of the predicate. Mchombo additionally argues that, stative implies the results of the state of underlying verb. In this regard, Klingvall (2005) describes stative as non-eventive. In his study, Baglini (2005) indicates that the staive is only compatible with change of state verbs and incremental theme verbs. This occurs due to the fact that the verb of change denotes changes that hold over the entire event. The following examples as shown in Mchombo illustrate:

(61) a.   Mbidzí zi-na-pínd-á maúta

10-zebras 10SM-pst-bend-fv 6-bows

"The zebras bent the bow'

b.   Maúta a-na-pind-ik-a (*ndí mbǐdzi)

6-bows 6SM-PST-bend-stat-fv (*by 10-zebras)

'The bows got bent (*by 10-zebras'

In the example (61b) above the logical subject of the corresponding active verb in (61a) is ungrammatical. The stative morpheme [-*ik*-] that appears with the verb *pinda* has changed this verb into intransitive. Besides that Mchombo argues that the state suffix [-*ik*-] or [-*ek*-] may not appear as an affix of the intransitive verb. Consider the following example as illustrated in Mchombo:

(62) a.   nyowa 'get wet' *nyow-ék-a
     b.   gw-a 'fall' *gw-ék-a

3.2.3 Unaccusativity in Chichewa

Mchombo argues that the subject position in an unaccusative is marked by the NPs whose thematic role is patient or theme. He further argues that the locative inversion of Chichewa may interact with unaccusative verbs. These Locative NPs are assumed to have a thematic interpretation of theme or patient when they appear as the subject argument of the verb. Given that, Mchombo explains that the stative in Chichewa is thus characterized as unaccusative, hence they are understood to participate in locative inversion. Consider the following examples as shown in Mchombo:

(63) a. Maúta a-a-pind-ǐk-a   pa chulu

6-bow 6SM-perf-bend-stat-fv 17-on 7-anthill

'Bows have got bent on the anthill'

b. Pa chulu   pa-a-pind-ik-á   maúta

17-on 7-anthill 17SM-perf-bend-stat-fv 6-bows

'On the anthill bows have got bent'

In the example (63b) above, the stative is said to have similar characteristics as that of the unaccusative. This is due to the fact that the locative subject NPs *Pa chulu* as indicated in (63b) above has the thematic interpretation of theme or patient. According to Mchombo the derivation of stative requires that it must be controlled by subject NPs whose highest thematic role is patient or theme. He, however, noted that stative is not compatible with other derivational suffixes as it is the case with the passive, viz., the stative may not interact with the applicative but the applicative may interact with the stative when it is perceived to introduce a location, maleficiary or for circumstantial reason (Mchombo 2004).

3.3 Khumalo (2009)

Khumalo explores the distinctions between passive and stative derivations in Ndebele by adopting the lexical mapping theory (LMT) proposed by Dubinsky and Simango (1996). The data of his study has shown that the stative in Chichewa is more "restricted than it is in Ndebele." On that note, the stative construction in Chichewa is understood to be restricted to the verbs that appear with themes that undergo a change of state (Dubinsky and Simango 1996). Khumalo has further argued that in Ndebele the agent is overtly expressed as an adjunct or agentive prepositional phrase which is believed not to be a case with the stative. A similar finding is observed in Mchombo (2004). He, however, noted that the passive constructions in Ndebele may appear with purpose clause and agent oriented adverbs but the stative constructions may not allow it. Consider the following example as shown in Khumalo (2009:168):

(64) a.   Isivalo savalwa ukuthi abantwana Bangagodoli
              Isi-valo   sa-val-w-a   ukuthi   aba-ntwana ba-nga-godol-i
              7-door   7-shut$_{VR}$-PASS-FV   [so] that 2-children   2-NEG-cold-NEG
              'The door was closed so that children do not get cold'

      b.   * Isivalo savaleka ukuthi abantwana Bangagodoli
              Isi-valo   sa-val-ek-a   ukuthi   aba-ntwana ba-nga-godol-i
              7-door   7-shut-$_{VR}$-STAT-FV   [so] that 2-children   2-NEG-cold-NEG

              'The door was closed so that children do not get cold'

      c.   Isivalo savalwa ngabomo

Isi-valo sa-val-w-a ngabombo

7-door SC-val-$_{VR}$-PASS-FV deliberately

'The door was closed deliberately'

d.   *Isivalo savaleka ngabomo.

Isi-valo sa-val-ek-a   ngabomo

7-door   7-val-$_{VR}$-STAT-FV deliberately

'The door closed deliberately.'

The example in (64a, b) appear with purpose clauses, where in (b) the stative does not accept such clause. The examples in (64c, d) appear with agent orientated adverb, but in (d) the neuter-passive does not allow such adverb agent orientated.

3.4 Demuth (1990)

Demuth (1990) conducted a study on the early acquisition of the Sesotho passive. The data of her study reveals that the early acquisition of Sesotho passive is attributed by the topic orientation subject, dative and accusative objects. She further discovered that the acquisition of passive constructions is attributed by the grammatical functions of the given language. Demuth has, however, explained that passive construction in Sesotho is similar to English passive, whereby the logical object is promoted to the subject position and the logical subject is de-externalize and appear as an adjunct. Consider the following example from Demuth:

(65)   Lijo Li-pheh-il-o-e   (ke Thabo)

8-food 8: sm-cook-prf-PASS-m (by Thabo)

'The food was cooked by Thabo'

She further claims that most of the object in Sesotho may go passivation whereby it is understood that in the double object construction, the dative object may also be realized to the subject position. She, however, explains that Sesotho does not have an adjectival passive as in other languages but it takes an impersonal passive as other languages do. The example in (66a) below as shown in Demuth shows the promotion of dative object [*Mpho*] to the subject position; in (66b) it shows the impersonal passive:

(66) a.   Mpho o-phen-ets-o-e lijo (ke Thabo)

M sm-cook-apppl/prf-PASS-m   food (by T)

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'Mpho was cooked some/food (by Thabo)

b.　　　Ho-jouo-a lita pole (ke batho)

Ho-eat-PASS-m potatoes (by people)

'There is eaten potatoes/ Potatoes are eaten (by people)

3.5 Fleisch (2005)

Fleisch investigates the agent phrase in Bantu passives. His main focus is on the semantic representation of the agent phrase in the passive construction. He noted that the passive constructions in Bantu languages differ in terms of their functional range, where it is understood that each Bantu language offers its own treatment to the passive constructions. He further argues that despite the functional differences on the use of passives that emerge between languages, these languages employ the same phenomenon in passive constructions. It is, however, argued that the form of passive constructions viz. *(-ib)w-* or *(-ig)w-* hold across all Bantu languages. It is then assumed that the Bantu languages are indistinguishable in the way the use passives. It is noticed that "whenever there is a formal passive, it is expected that the prototype action may also appear". However, Fleisch observes that Bantu languages have other forms of verbal extension which may sometimes overlap with passives i.e. the neuter *-ik-* in Oshindonga which is said to be naturally attested in typical passive contexts, where, the South West Bantu languages do not allow an overt agent marker in their verbal extension but make form of verbal markers. Fleisch has, however, concluded that the agent encoding is not an essential component of syntactic domain of passive as a voice phenomenon.

3.6 Dom (2014)

Dom conducted an analysis on the neuter passive of Bantu within the framework of sytemic functional grammar (SFG). His focus is mainly on Ganda, a language spoken in Uganda. He argues that the neuter passive construction involves the alternation between the two participants and one participant clause. Alexiadou and Doron (2011) refer to these types of alternation as active and non-active morphology. Dom indicates that the neuter passive suffix may serve for various derivational function viz. potential clause, idiosyncratic and non-semantic derivation. The potential clause is said to have similar effect in Ganda as English adjectival passive as indicated in Kratzer (2000) and Hallman (2012).

3.6.1 Anticausativity

Dom argues that the anticausative is referred to as intransitive derived clause, whereby their corresponding counterparts are referred to as 'causative or inchoative". He claims that languages have different forms of expressing inchoative or causative alternation. Owing to that it is further argued that some languages use stem modification to form anticausative. The causative morpheme is found to be effective in Ndebele a (Khumalo 2009:164). In contrast, the anticausative in English is said to be ineffective with a by-phrase, purpose clause and agent-oriented adverbs but productive when they combine with from-phrase introducing a cause. This concurs with Dom (2014) who asserts that the anticausative conveys situations that are likely to occur without intervention of external forces. Where, the causative or inchoative is said to require the intervention of external forces that someone caused an event to happen.

3.6.2 Ergativity

Dom mantains that the ergative languages allude the formal marking of the agent of transitive verb and intransitive verb alike by means of case marking or by verbal morphology. He further adds that in an ergative language the subject and the object of the intransitive verbs are treated equally. This means that in ergative language the agent or the actor always comes first before the object or the things being done. He, however, maintains that ergative may only apply to languages that do not have a case system. He further noted that ergative is only productive in very few languages. Languages that do not have ergative are said to be accusative languages. His main conclusion is that the neuter passive suffix is restricted to ergative in Ganda.

3.7 Madzivhandila (1999) and Mmbulaheni (1997)

Madzivhandila (1999) examines the appearance of passive and neutro-passive suffix with psych-verbs in Venda. Where, Mmbulaheni explores the effect of passive morpheme [-*w*-] on the structure of the sentence in the aforesaid language. Both Madzivhandila and Mmbulaheni observe the de-externalization of subject in the passive construction. It is argued that the passive construction involves the transposition of the internal and external argument where the external argument is moved to the post-verbal position and the internal argument is realized to the subject position. According to Madzvivhandila (1999) such movement results in the preposition *nga* to be introduced into the structure as the head of the PP. Madzivhandila and Mmbulaheni assert that the transposition of the arguments in passive construction allows the

external argument to hang somewhere where it is expressed as agent or theme. But, they, however, argue that if such argument is not expressed during transposition process it may result in the verb to have no argument. On the other hand, the passive verb will be one-place predicates with one argument which is assigned a theta role and according to them these verbs are said to be intransitive verbs.

They further argue that the intransitive passive where no argument is assigned may result in the impersonal passive. The empty pro is the subjectival agreement is then coindexed with an empty pro so that both may have the feature existential. Consider the following examples as indicated in Mmbulaheni (1997:169), see also Madzivhandila (1999:159):

(67)   Hu a liwa

          (Agr-Lpres-wept-pass-press)

          (There is being swept)

Madzivhandila proposes the following structure:

(68)

```
                          S
              _____/|_____
             /            |            \
            NP           INF           VP
            |          ___/|\___         |
            |         /    |    \        |
            |         M    T   AGR_i      |
            |         |    |     |        |
          Pro_i      Ind  Press [+Ex]_I  takalwa
```
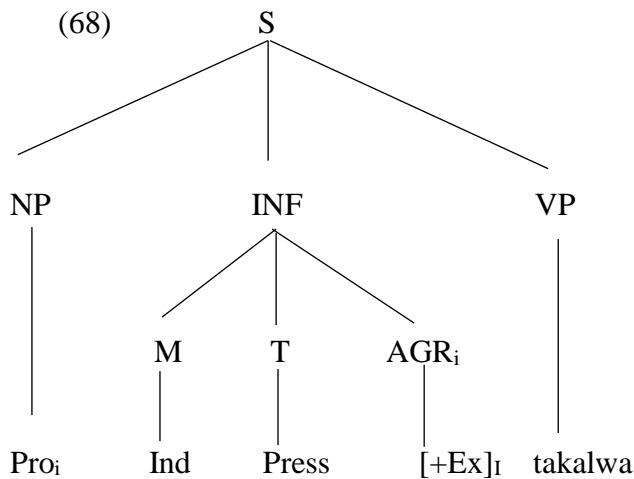
The existential *hu* with pro as shown in the example (68) above is understood to appear only in non-argument position and thus may never be assigned a theta-role. Mmbulaheni has, however, found no difference in meaning between the use of both intransitive and transitive passive verbs with internal argument and the corresponding active sentence.

Apart from that, Madzivhandila states that the neuter-passive in Tshivenda is expressed by a neuter passive morpheme [-*e*-] which is suffixed to the verb. This neuter-passive suffix may change the action of the sentence into intransitive without the agent defining the state. The data of his study reveals that the psych verbs that are transitive and intransitive are productive with neuter passive suffix [-*e*-].

3.8 Mdumela (1996)

Mdumela asserts that the passive **-*w*-** in Tsonga may appear as functor or control of the external argument of the verb stem or non-head and this passive morpheme may serve as the head of the predicate argument structure. He proposes the following structure for the predicate argument of the passive verb (1996:107):

(69)　　　　　　　　　　V (Th$_i$) X$_i$)

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{V} & \text{-w-} \\
\text{(Th)} & \text{(f)} \\
& \text{(X)}
\end{array}
$$

X controls external argument
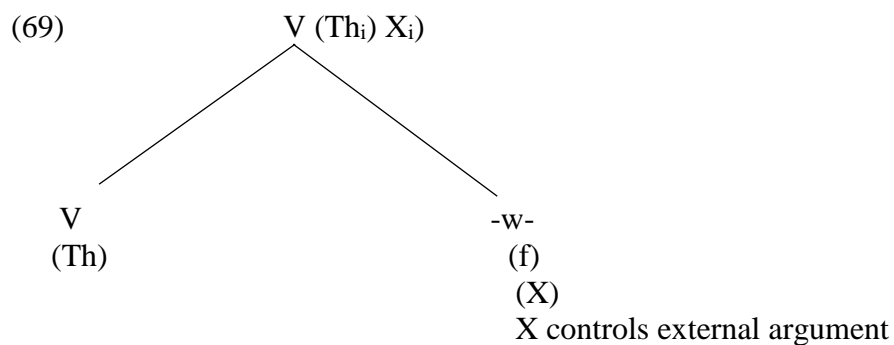
In the example (69) the external argument is perceived not to be the external argument of the whole since it is controlled by the X-argument of the head. It is concluded that the passive morphology has the effect of de-externalizing the subject argument. He concurs with Madzivhandila (1999) and Mmbulaheni (1997) that the external theta role may be expressed in some syntactic position as theme or agent. This may result into an empty pro being introduced into the structure.

Besides that, Mdumela indicates that the neuter passive is expressed by the suffix **-*ek*-** and -*akal-*. He further argues that these suffixes indicate the intransitive condition or state of the grammatical subject of the verb. The following examples translate (1996):

(70)　a.　-nhlanhlanha > -rhandzeka

　　　　　(smash to pieces)　> (be smashable to pieces)

　　b.　-gwimba　>　-gwimbeka

　　　　(Draw taut)　(be drawn taut)

45

Mdumela has, however, concluded that the neuter passive affix [-*ek*-] in Tsonga is incompatible with weather verbs. Mdumela did not give a full analysis on passive and neuter passive verbs.

3.9 Fernando (2013)

The causative and anticausative constructions have received a great deal in the recent work of Fernando (2013) and also in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2009). The study conducted by Fernando explores the acceptability and suitability of the lexical decomposition approach in presenting the issues of anticausative and causative alternations in Bantu language Kikongo (Kizombo). The study by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2009) examines the distribution of PPs related to external arguments viz., agent, causer, instrument, causing event in Greek. Fernando study reveals that in Kizombo, both change of state and change of location/position verbs effectively participate in causative and anticausative alternations. He asserts that alternations in Kizombo depend not on the syntactic properties, but it is governed by the idiosyncratic lexical semantics of individual verb root. His study has found no derivational relation between the variants of causative and anticausative, since these alternations are assumed to be base generated.

Furthermore, his study reveals that the causative and anticausative variants of externally caused change of state verbs contain of a Voice head. This voice head is observed to be lacking in internally caused change of state verbs and the anticausative alternates of change. The similar findings are made in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2009), but they assert that such voice head is caused by non-active Voice morphology. Fernando further argues that the externally caused change of state verbs involves predicates that bring about the result due to the external forces associated with the verb. He, however, argues that such change of state of verbs do not denote the manner involved in bringing about the result. The following example as shown in Fernando (2013) illustrates:

> (71)   N'tungi wa nzo uwdidi gyaka
>
>   Ø-n'tungi wa nzo uwd-idi Ø-gyak
>   1-builder of house break-PST 7-wall
>   Builder broke wall. (Intd: the builder broke the wall).

In the example (71) above is understood to comprise external forces. The change of state that occurs to the wall is as the result of the builder. Thus, according to Fernando, the subject **N'tungi** (builder) is the external causer of the event. Where, the object argument **gayaka** (wall) is the affected argument which undergoes the change of state and it is thus regarded as the causee. When the verb *-gula* was used with other phrase modification such as the agent orientated, instrumental or natural force, again phrase and purpose modification it produces felicitous results.

On the other hand, Fernando employ temporal modification as indicated in Smith (1997) in order to present the aspectual properties that are applicable with anticausative and causative alternations of the caused change of state verbs. He observes that verbs that accept time frame adjunct are incompatible with durative adjunct as indicated in (72a) below. Where, on the other hand verbs that accept durative adjunct are incompatible with time frame adjunct as shown in (72b) below. The examples are as indicated in Frenando (2013:187):

(72) (a) N'tungi wa nzo uwdidi gyaka (#kolo kya-/mu-) ngunga imosi

Ø-n'tungi wa nzo uwd-idi Ø-gyaka (kolo kya-/mu-) ngunga imosi

1-builder of house break-PST 7-wall for/in an hour

Builder broke wall for/in an hour (Intd: the builder broke the wall for/in an hour)

(b) N'kento nikini mwamba (kolo kya-/#mu-) ngunga imosi

Ø-n'kento nik-ini Ø-mwamba (kolo kya-/mu-) ngunga imosi

1-woman grind-PST 3-butter for/in an hour

Woman grinded butter for/in an hour (Intd: the woman grinded the peanut for/in an hour).

The study of Fernando only focuses on externally internally caused change of state verb and he did not investigate other verb classes. Therefore, the data obtained is based on the limited numbers of participants.

3.10 Conclusion

The studies reviewed in this section concern the properties of passive and Neuter-passive constructions in various Bantu languages. It is shown that the passive constructions in various Bantu languages are similar to English where the logical object is promoted to the subject position. The Logical subject is optionally expressed in passive. The Middle constructions are

indicated as unaccusative, hence they are characterized by their suppression of the agent. Currently, there is no study conducted on both passive and neuter passive of *Oshindonga*. Thus, the environment in which these two voices appear in *Oshindonga* languages leaves a space for questions of the paradigm unanswered.

SECTION 4

THE ANALYSIS OF ASPECTUAL PROPERTIES AND EVENT STRUCTURE OF ACTIVE, NEUTER PASSIVE AND PASSIVE VOICES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this section is to examine the properties of various verb classes that undergo the passive and neuter-passive alternations and other properties of active transitives in *Oshindonga* language. The verbs classes of *Oshindonga* which will be examined in this section will make broad utilization of Levin's (1993), verb classes as in Du Plessis (1998). These classes among others include: verbs of change of state, verbs of communication, verbs of existence, experiencer verbs, and verbs of contact, motion verbs, and verbs of creation and weather verbs. Here, I consider, the argument alternations such the movement of the object argument to the subject position, as well as the demotion and suppression of the logical subject. Also, the empirical data that help the mental reality of contrasts in both the syntactic and semantics behaviors of these verbs that permit in passive and neuter-passive alternations will be investigated.

To examine the verb classes of *Oshindonga*, the judgment standard of sentence adequacy has been utilized. For each sentence in examination, the judgment regarding whether the sentence is semantically acceptable will be made. For some situation, the acceptability of both neuter-passive and passive together is inspected. In presenting the data, one or two verbs will be chosen as illustrative of the class and the results of the use of the analytic tests diverge among the members. Such a distinction will be recognized in the body of the content for simplicity of reference. The verb classes will be examined with various kinds of verbs modification.

This section is dived as follows: subsection (4.1) is the introduction. In subsection (4.2) I will examine the range of change of state verbs. Subsection (4.3) will focus on the verbs of change of possession. In subsection (4.4) I will present the verbs of communication. Subsection (4.5) will focus on the verbs existence. Furthermore, subsection (4.6) will examine the experiencer verbs. The verbs of contact are investigated in subsection (4.7). Apart from that, two motion verbs *ya* and *nuka* are investigated in subsection (4.8). The verbs of creation will be invistagated in subsection (4.9) and subsection (4.10) will investigate the weather verbs. The last subsection (4.11) is the summary of the section.

4.2 VERBS OF CHANGE OF STATE

Verbs of change of state are considered as two-place predicates. Thus, their argument structures may allow two arguments, where, one argument is the external argument which marks the subject position, and the internal argument which marks the object position. This section will examine the semantic and syntactic properties of neuter-passive and passive alternations of the verbs that indicate the change of state such as break verbs, bend verbs, other alternating verbs of change of state, cooking verbs, verbs of entity-specific change of state and verbs of calibratable change. The categorizations of verbs into different aspectual classes in relation to their time scale are as discussed by Smith (1997), (see section 2, subsection 2.2.2 and 2.2.3). Fernando (2013: 185) argues that change of state verbs occur as a result of either external cause or internal cause. An externally caused change of state verb is assumed to occur as a result of the external force to the entity that undergoes the change of state. The responsibility for an event to happen is not with the object itself, but with some external force. An internally caused change of state verb, on the other hand, is a change of material for which the means of bringing about the change of event is assumed as being in the entity undergoing the change (see subsection 3.9).

4.2.1 Break verbs

(1) a.   Okanona oka tatula ekende

               Omu-maati o-k-a tatula e-kende

               1-man POS-SC-12-PST break 5-window

               'The man broke the window'

    b.   Ekende olya tatulwa (kokanona) / (nohamla)

               E-kende   o-ly-a tatul-w-a (ko-ka-nona) / (no-hamala)

               5-window POS-SC-5-PST break-PASS-FV (by-12-child) (with-hammer)

               'The window is broken by the man'

The examples (1a, 1b) express a complete event that has a natural ending point. These sentences indicate that the event of breaking the window is terminated. It appears that in the example (1a) the active state verb indicates that someone has exerted an action on the patient argument of the predicate *ekende* (window). The subject *ekende* (window) in the example (1b) is assumed to enter a new state, viz., the state of being broken which arose out of the action of broke.

According to Beedham (1987:1) these two sentences differ in terms of the "information structure". In the example (1a) above the change of action emerges on the object *ekende* and in (1b) the change of state which arouse as the results of the action of the verb occurs on the subject *ekende*. However, both the sentences in the examples (1a) and (1b) above are said to constitute two semantic elements, viz. actional element which is being transformed into a resultative element. This agrees with the claim made by Levin (2007) and Van hout (1996), who proposed "event type-shiftiting" for alternats. Notice that the patient role of the subject as in (1b) arises as the result of "passives aspectual of the new state" (Smith 1997). This kind of construction as in (1b) has a final reading of resultative (Beedham 1987:2).

c.   Ekende olya tatukika (*ko-kanona) / (*nohamala)

        E-kende o-ly-a tatuk-ik-a (ko-ka-nona) / (no-hamala)

        5-window POS-SC-5 break-NEUT (by-12-children) / (with-hammer)

        'The window breaks (well) (by the children) / (with hammer)'

d.   Ekende olya tatulikika (kokanona) / (*nohamala)

        Ekende o-ly-a tatu-l-ikik-a (ko-ka-nona) / (no-hamala)

        5-window POS-SC-5-break-RED.NEUT (by-12-children) (with-hammer)

        'The window is (well) broken (by children) / (with hammer)'

e.   Ekende olya tatulilwe (kokanona)

        E-kende o-ly-a tatul-il-w-e (ko-ka-nona)

        5-window POS-SC-5-PAST break-PRF-PASS-FV (by-12-child)

        'The window had been broken (by the child)'

f.   Opwa tatulwa ekende (kokanona)

        Opwa tatu-l-w-a e-kende (ko-ka-nona)

        EXPL break-PASS 5-window (by-12-child)

        'There is broken window (by the child)'

g.   Opwa tatukika ekende (*kokanona)

        Opwa tatuk-ik-a e-kende (ko-ka-nona)

        EXPL break-NEUT 5-window (by-12-child)

'There breaks (well) the window (by the child)'

h.   Opwa tatulikika ekende (kokanona)

Opwa tatu-l-ikik-a e-kende (ko-ka-nona)

EXPL break-RED. NEUT 5-window (by-12-child)

'There is broken (well) the window (by the child)'

The example (1c) above denotes a state event which is non-actional as opposed to the example sentence in (1d) which contains an actional semantic element. In that, the sentence in (1c) expresses a simple state. Nonetheless, this sentence contains an intransitive predicate and the change of state which arises as a result of breaking event emerges on the subject *ekende*. The focus here is on the means in which the window broke, rather than on the fact that someone broke the window, (Dom, 2014:33). The appearance of the *by*-phrase *kokanona* (by the child) is thus unagrammatical. Note that the sentence in (1c) has a generic meaning. In pragmatic discourse, this sentence translates to mean the wind broke well. In contrast, the sentence in (1d) has a causative interpretation. Owing to that, the change of state in the subject argument occurs as a result of the action of the external forces *okanona* (child). Thus, this sentence expresses a resultative state. It is then established that the subtle difference that occurs between the sentences in (1c) and (1d) is due to the fact that their verbs differ in morphology. The verb *tatuka* (broke) in (1c) denotes a state and the verb *tatula* (break) in (1d) denotes an activity. In such case, the stative meaning in the example sentence (1d) above is appended on the action of breaking the window. (Kibort and Maskaliūnienė, 2016:47). As a matter of fact, the *by*-phrase in example (1c) is semantically unacceptable, where in the example (1d) it is lexically saturated (Fagan 1999 and Ackema and Schoorlemmer 1994), also see section (2), subsection (2.4.1) above. As argued in the previous section, it is noted that the *by*-phrase as in the example (1c) is not productive with anticausative verbs (Alexiadou and Doron, 2011, Dom 2014, Fernando 2013, and Mchombo 2004, among others) see section (3), subsection, 3.2, 3.6 and 3.9).

The example (1e) above denotes an accomplishment. Accomplishments are said to be dynamic (Smith 1997:3). The breaking event is completed. This sentence is interpreted to mean that there was an event when the window was broken. Owing to that, this sentence contains a passive morpheme property [-*w*-] which reverts the action of the verb to the subject argument of the predicate as in the example (1b) above. Thus, the lexical realized object retains it is thematic role of patient when it appears at the subject position. The former logical subject as in (1a) is expressed as an adjunct phrase.

The examples in (1f-h) above illustrate expletive constructions which are similar in form to the locative of noun class 16 but assumed to be expletive. Alexiadou et al. (2015:108), claim that the expletives do not have any semantic effect on the verbal phrases it occurs with. However, it lacks an external argument variable as indicated the example (1f-h) above, (see also section (3), and subsection 3.1.1). The example in (1g) contains a description of the means in which the window broke as indicated in (1c) above (Rapport 1999:149). Thus, it does not require the existence of volitional agent as indicated in the example (1f) above. However, it should be noted that, the verb *tatulwa* in the example (1f) contains two semantic features viz. the semantic element of state and the semantic element of action. This is similar to (1b) above. The semantic role of patient *ekende* which appears adjacent to the verb is assigned by the "passive aspectual meaning" of the verb. The semantic element of action (broke) results in the object argument *ekende* (window) to enter a particular state. This sentence is thus denotes an accomplishment because the breaking event is completed. The sentence in (1h) denotes a result state as the indicated in (1c) above. The window is interpreted to break well. The example sentence in (1h) depicts similar interpretation as the sentence in (1d) above since it contains the semantics element of the action and semantic element of result as suggested by Beedham (1987). However, it appears that in both sentences (1d) and (1h) the neuter passive morpheme is intensified. The window is interpreted to be broken to the ability of the child.

With regard to the instrumental phrase modification, the example sentences in (1b) can be modified by the instrumental phrase. However, this instrumental phrase modifies the event denoted by the predicate. The hammer is interpreted as an instrument used to bring about the result denoted by the predicate. This similar understanding is ostensible with the example sentences in (1e, f). The examples sentence in (1c) the instrumental phrase is outright ungrammatical. This concurs with Klingvall (2005:101) who argues that the instrumental phrases require the presence of agent either in syntax or in semantics. In (1d) the instrumental phrase is semantically anomalous. These interpretations are relevant to the understanding of the examples in (2d, e) below.

(2) a.   Omukwaniilwa okwa topola epya

              Omukwaaniilwa o-kwa topola epya

              1-chief POS-PST dived 5-land

              'The chief divided the land'

b.　　　Epya olya topolwa (komukwaniilwa)

　　　　　Epya o-ly-a topo-l-w-a (ko-mu-kwaniilwa)

　　　　　5-land POS-SC-12-PST divide-PASS (by-1-chief)

　　　　　'The land is divided by the chief'

c.　　　Epya olya topolelwe (ko-mukwaniilwa)

　　　　　E-pya o-ly-a topol-el-w-e (ko-mu-kwaaniilwa)

　　　　　5-land POS-SC-5-PST divide-PERF-PASS-FV (by-1-chief)

　　　　　'The land had been divided by the chief'

d.　　　Epya olya topokeka (*komukwaniilwa)

　　　　　E-pya o-ly-a topo-k-ek-a (ko-mu-kwaniilwa)

　　　　　5-land POS-SC-5-PST divide-NEUT (by-1-chief)

　　　　　'The land divides (well) by the chief'

e.　　　Epya olya topolekeka (komukwaanilwa)

　　　　　Epya olya topo-l-ekek-a (ko-mukwaniilwa)

　　　　　5-land POS-SC-5-PST divide-RED.NEUT (by-chief)

　　　　　'The land is (well) divided by the chief'

The example in (2a) denotes an accomplishment event with final endpoint hence there is a time when the state is completed (Levin, 2007:1). This interpretation is thus not in semantics but rather in pragmatics. Generally, the verb *topola* denotes an activity, however, it appears that in (2a) above it has under gone a transition from activity to an accomplishment. This shift occurs in pragmatics, and is not in morphology. This concurs with Levin (2007:11) who noted that aspectual verbs may undergo a shift depending on their complements. She further states that some verbs can be used to express telic events when they appear with "count NPs objects, but atelic events when they appear with mass NPs objects". Note that in (2a) above, the internal argument of the predicate *epya* (land) has undergone a change of state and consequently, is the bearer of the result state (cf. Gehrke 2012:5). The sentence (2b) denotes accomplishment event similarly to its (2a) counterpart. However, the example in (2b) above, the patient role *epya* is being acted up on by the action denoted by the predicate. This results in the agentive phrase to be optional. In that, Beedham (1987:6) suggests that the *by*-phrase is an "ordinal prepositional phrase" and is thus irrelevant or unknown. She further claims that the Agentive phrase in

passive construction occurs due to the fact that it comes from an underlying active structure which has a direct subject. Therefore, the example in (2a) and (2b) have similar interpretations in pragramatics.

The example in (2c) attributes an "enduring, individual-level property to its subject" (Gerhrke 2011:243 and Rapport 1999). On the activity reading, an actional process of dividing land occurred and this reading may be interpreted with the verb *topola* (divide). This sentence expresses natural final endpoint, hence the chief's activity results in the land being divided. It should be noted though that the verb *topola* (divide) is an atelic verb but when the perfect tense morpheme [-*ele*] is appended to it, it becomes a telic verb. This sentence thus means there was an event in which the land was divided (went to a divided state).

The sentence in (2d) expresses the means or manner in which the land divides as in (1g) above, e.g. properly divided. Owing to that, this sentence bears a stative meaning. The patient role of the subject *epya* (land) is interpreted in semantics. This view agrees with (Smith, 1997) who states that the situation types are conveyed abstractly by the verb and its argument (see section 2, subsection 2.2.3). This kind of state as claimed by Kratzer (2000) is in principle irreversible and typically there is state conforming to an event which is completed. In pragmatic discourse this sentence is interpreted to mean the land is properly (well) divided hence the neuter passive suffix [-*ek*-]. The neuter passive suffix [-*ek*-] is detransitivizing. It then appears that the former subject as in (2a) is not expressed resulting in the appearance of the of the agentive phrase *komukwaniilwa* (by the chief) to be ungrammatical. This concurs with Mchombo (2004) and Khumalo (2009), among others who observe the absence of agentive phrase in middle construction, refer to section (2), and subsection (2.5).

In (2e) have a causative interpretation which is lacking in (2d) above (cf. Frenando 2013), see also subsection (3.9). The agentive phrase is optional. Note also that the sentence in (2d) has a generic interpretation which is absent in (2e). Genericity is discussed in subsection (2.5.1) above. Nonetheless, the sentence in (2e) is interpreted to mean the land is divided to the ability of someone i.e. *omukwaniilwa* (chief). Note that this sentence involves an actional element that produces the result of the land being well dived. This actional element is said to be absent in (2d) above. Therefore this sentence has a resultative interpretation.

f.   Opwa topolwa epya (komukwaniilwa)

Opwa topol-w-a e-pya (ko-mu-kwaniilwa)

EXPL divide-PASS 5-land   (by-1-chief)

'There is divided land (by the chief'

g.　　　Opwa topokeka e-pya (*komukwaniilwa)

　　　　Opwa topok-ek-a e-pya (ko-mu-kwaniilwa)

　　　　EXPL divide- NEUTER 5-land (by-1-chief)

　　　　'There divides (well) the land (by the chief)'

h.　　　Opwa topolekeka epya (komukwaniilwa)

　　　　Opwa topo-l-ekek-a e-pya (ko-mukwaniilwa)

　　　　EXPL divide-NEUT 5-land (by-chief)

　　　　'There is (well) divided the land (by the chief)'

As discussed earlier in example (1f-h) above, the example sentences in (2f-h) above illustrate expletive constructions. The expletive are typically known for introducing an impersonal or existential subject into their structure according to Madzivhandila (1999) and Mmbulaheni (1997) as referred to in subsection (3.7) above. Therefore, the example sentences in (2f-h) appear with an expletive empty subject. The sentence example in (2f) expresses a complete event that has a natural ending point and the information that the event of dividing the land was terminated. This event denotes accomplishment of an action expressed by the predicate as in (2b) above. The passive morpheme [-*w*-] results in the agentive phrase to be optional. The example sentence in (2g) denotes a state event. The land is interpreted to divide well. Note however that this sentence have a generic interpretation as the sentence in (2d) above. Besides that, the example sentence in (2h) has similar interpretation as the sentence in (2e) above.

4.2.2 Bend verbs

(3) a.　　　Omukadhona okwa gonya ombapila

　　　　　　O-mukadhona o-kwa gonya o-mbapila

　　　　　　1-girl POS-PST crumple 9-paper

　　　　　　'The girl crumpled the paper'

b.　　　 Ombapila oya gonywa (komukadhona) / (nawa)

　　　　　Ombapila o-y-a gony-w-a (ko-mu-kadhona) / (nawa)

9-paper   PST-SC-9-PST crumple-PASS (by-1-girl) / (well)

'The paper was crumpled (well) (by the girl)'

c.   Ombapila oya gonyenwe komukadhona

O-mpapila o-y-a gony-en-w-e ko-mu-kadhona

9-paper POS-SC-9-PST crumple-PRF-PASS-FV (by-1-girl)

'The paper had been crumpled (by the girl)'

d.   Ombapila oya gonyeka (komukadhona) / (*nawa)

O-mbapila o-y-a gony-ek-a (ko-mu-kadhona) / (nawa)

9-paper POS-SC-9-PAST crumple-NEUT (by-1-girl) / (well)

'The paper is (well) crumpled (by the girl)'

In the example sentences in (3a) above the verb *gonya* (crumple) expresses two aspectual forms .e.g. the imperfective, conveying the activity sense of "crumple" and the perfective carrying accomplishment sense of fold or wrinkle. The accomplishment sense is added up abstractly to the activity sense, thus the sentence has the final interpretation of an accomplishment. These features are mostly noticeable in English and Russian (Mourelatos, 1978:418). In (3b) and (3c) above the former subject is expressed as an oblique or an adjunct phrase. The latter is however realized by the passive suffix [-*w*-] which appears with the verb *gonya*. In (3b) above the crumple of paper has a clear final endpoint when the paper gets folds or wrinkled similar to (3a) above. In the example in (3c) above the crumple event occurs in the remote past. Although the entire event is completed, it not clear whether the paper was half crumpled or wholly crumpled.

The manner adverbial phrase *nawa* in (3b) above expresses the manner in which the paper is folded. This means that the paper is well folded by someone. The adverbial phrase modifies the event denoted by the predicate. It appears that the passive construction is felicitous with the manner adverbial modification. The same hold true for the constructions in (3a, c and d) above. On the other hand the examples in (3d, f) below denote that the neuter-passive construction cannot co-occur with the manner adverbial phrase. Although they are grammatical, they are semantically unacceptable.

In contrast, the sentence in (3d) above denotes the means or manner in which the paper folds. This sentence is interpreted to mean the paper is well folded. It is abstractly implied that someone has fold the paper. Thus, this sentence has a causative interpretation as discussed in (2e) above. It appears that this interpretation is conveyed abstractly. Owing to that, the former (object argument) as in (3a) above is raised by the stative suffix [-*ek*-]. This resulted in the former subject to be expressed as adjunct. Although this form is not regular, it is acceptable. This sentence has a generic interpretation.

  e. Opwa gonywa ombapila komukadhona

     Opwa gony-w-a ombapila ko-mu-kadhona

     EXPL crumple-PASS 9-paper by-1-girl

     'There is crumpled the paper by the girl'

  f. Opwa gonyeka ombapila (ko-mu-ka-dhona)

     Opwa gony-ek-a o-mbapila (ko-mu-kadhona)

     EXPL crumple-NEUT-PASS 9-paper (by-1-girl)

     'There is (well) crumpled the paper (by the girl)'

The examples (3e-f) above denote an expletive construction. All these sentences appear with expletive empty subjects. The logical subject *omukadhona* is de-externalized where it appears as an internal adjunct phrase. The example in (3e) expresses an event that has a temporal endpoint. The event of crumpling the paper is terminated. In that, this event has the interpretation of accomplishment. In (3f) above conveys a state resulting from the inference of the kind of event expressed by the neuter passive suffix [-*ek*-]. This sentence implies that someone crumpled the paper i.e. *omukadhona* (girl). It appears that there is no semantic restriction on the agentive phrase. Thus this sentence is grammatical.

4.2.3 Other alternating verbs of change of state

(4) a. Omukulukadhi okwa pendula okanona

     Omu-kulukadhi okwa pendula oka-nona

     1-man PST awaken 12-child

     (The woman awaken the child)

  b. Okanona oka pendulwa (komukulukadhi)

Okanona o-k-a pendul-w-a (ko-mu-kulukadhi)

12-child POS-SC-12-PST   awaken-PASS (by-1-woman)

'The child was awakened (by the woman)'

c.   Okanona oka pendulilwe (komukulukadhi)

Okanona o-k-a pendul-il-w-e (ko-mu-kulukadhi)

12-child   POS-SC-12-PST awake-PERF-FV (by-1-woman)

'The child is waken (by the woman)'

The example in (4a) above denotes an event that has a natural end point. The event of awaking the child is terminated when the child is finally awakened. This sentence implies that the woman has caused or made the child awake. This interpretation is not expressed by any affix, but it is conveyed abstractly. Owing to that, this sentence has the semantic interpretation of accomplishment. In (4b) the passive verb *pendulwa* (awaken) is an intransitive verb with the former subject appearing as an oblique object (see subsection 2.3). This oblique object is optional. It is understood that this sentence has a causative interpretation. As in (4a) above, this sentence denotes that, the event of awaking the child was terminated. Hence, it is assumed that the child is awakened. Therefore the sentence in (4b) has an accomplishment goal. In (4c), the adjunct phrase *komukulukadhi* (by the woman) is optional as in (4b) above. Note that the sentence in (4c) denotes an imperfective event. Thus, this semantics distinction as contrast to (4b) counterpart is due to the occurrence of the perfect tense morpheme [-*ile*] which appears with the passive verb *pendulwa*. With this sense, the waking event is expressed as a greeting or as activity of rousing someone from sleep.

d.   Okanona Oka pendu-k-ik-a (*komukulukadhi)

Okanona o-k-a pendu-k-ik-a (ko-mu-kulukadhi)

12-child POS-SC-12-PST awaken-NEUT (by-1-woman)

'The child is (well) awaken (by the woman)'

e.   Okanona oka pendulikika (komukulukadi)

Okanona o-k-a pendu-l-ikik-a (ko-mu-kulukadi)

12-child POS-SC-12-PST awake-RED.NEUT (by-woman)

'The child is awakened (well) (by the women)'

In the example (4d) the stative suffix [-*ik*] eliminates the former subject NP *omukulukadhi* (woman) and this NP ends up noticeably indescribable in the syntactic structure. It shows up, in any case that the former object NP *okanona* (child) as in (4a) is converted into the subject argument through the verb. This sentence denotes a state event. In addition to that, the sentence conveys that the child wakes well. Mourrelatos (1978:416) and Smith (1997) assert that, state involves no dynamic although it may emerge as the result of change, it does not institute any change, see subsection 2.2.3.5). Therefore, this sentence or depicts the state condition of the child after a sleep. In (4e) the former subject *omukulukadhi* (woman) is now accepted into the structure as opposed to (4d) counterpart. Note that the neuter suffix [-*ik*-] is intensified in (4e). Nonetheless, the sentence in (4e) has a causative interpretation. This sentence implies that someone has awakened the child. This is expressed semantically. Note that the intensification of the neuter suffix [-*ik*-] in (4e), however, does not have an effect on or influences the semantic properties of the verb. The sentence in (4e) is thus interpreted to mean the child is awakened to the ability of the woman. This sentence depicts a resultative state.

    f.   Opwa pendulwa okanona (komukulukadhi)

             Opwa pendul-w-a oka-nona (ko-mu-kulukadhi)

             EXPL awake-PASS 12-child (by-1-woman)

             'There is awaken the child (by the woman)'

    g.   Opwa pendukika okanona (*komukulukadhi)

             Opwa pendu-k-ik-a   oka-nona (komukulukadhi)

             SC-16 awake-Neuter 12-child (by-woman)

             'There is (well) awaken the child (by the woman)'

    h.   Opwa pendulikika okanona (komukulukadhi)

             Opwa pendul-ikik-a oka-nona (ko-mukulukadhi)

             EXPL awake-RED.NEUT 12-child (by-1-woman)

             'There is awakened (well) the child (by the woman)'

The expletive voice in (4f-h) above appears with an expletive empty subject. The former subject *omukulukadhi* (woman) is de-eternalized and it appears as an adjunct. The example in

(4f), expresses a dynamic event that has a natural endpoint. This sentence is interpreted to mean the child is awaken by someone i.e. woman. Along these lines, this sentence conveys an accomplishment event as in (4b) above. In (4g), the stative is detransitivized and the agentive phrase becomes inexpressible. It creates an impression that this sentence expresses the condition of the child after it awoke viz. the child is completely awake. For that reason, this sentence conveys a condition that occurs as a result of awake. In (4h) the agentive phrase becomes acceptable because of the causative interpretation that appears with the verb. The child is comprehended to be awakened to the ability or potentiality of the woman.

4.2.4 Cooking Verbs

(5) a. Okamati o-k-a yotha onyama
         Oka-mati o-k-a yotha o-nyama
         12-boy POS-SC-12-PST grilled   9-meat
         (The boy grilled meat)

     b. Onyama oya yothwa (kokamati) / (mo / oowili ndatu)
         Onyama o-y-a yothwa (ko-ka-mati) / (mo / oowili ndatu)
         9-meat POS-SC-9-PST grill-PASS (by-12-boy) / (in / for hours three)
         'The meat is grilled (by the boy) / (in / for three hours)'

     c. Onyama oya yothelwe (ko-ka-mati)
         O-nyama   oya yoth-el-w-e (ko-ka-mati)
         9-meat SC-9 grill-PRF-PASS (by-12-boy)
         'The meat was grilled (by the boy)'

The example in (5a) above denotes a completed event. This sentence involves a transition of the verb from a change of state to an accomplishment. This interpretation is in pragmatics. Thus, the process of grilling the meat has successive stages in which the process advances to its natural final endpoint when the meat is completely barbecued. The same hold true in (5b) and (5c). The agent *okamati* is typically interpreted as someone exerting an action on the object *onyama* (meat) (Fleisch 2005:93). In (5b) and (5c) the logical object *onyama* is the subject argument of the verb. The former subject is expressed as an adjunct. It is thus optional. This means that in both (5b) and (c) the subject *Onyama* (meat) is the bearer of the consequent state. It then, appears that the distinction that emerges between (5b) and (5c) is that of the

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perfect tense aspect which is overtly expressed in (5c) by the perfect tense morpheme, i.e. [-*ile*-]. Thus, the sentence (5b) above expresses a recent past event, whereas (5c) counterpart expresses a remote past activity. With the exception of that, the sentences in (5b &c) present perfective viewpoint.

Note that the sentence in (5b) co-occurs with durative and time frame adjunct *mo/oowili ndatu*. The durative time adjunct has the English translation of (for three hours), where the time frame adjunct has the translation of (in three hours). It is, however, noted that this time adverbial modifications have a transformative effect on the passive verb *yothwa* since it changes this sentence from atelic to telic. The difference between the two sentences is that the sentence with durative phrase is interpreted to mean that it has been three hours since the event of grilling the meat started, while the sentence with time frame adjunct, the event of grilling the meat occurs in the interval of three hours. In (5d) both the time and durative adverbial modifications are grammatical but semantically unacceptable. These comparable illustrations are appropriate to the interpretation of examples in (6) below.

d. Onyama oya yotheka (kokamati) / (*mo / oowili ndatu)
  Onyama oya yoth-ek-a (ko-ka-mati) / (mo / oowili ndatu)
  9-meat POS-SC-9-PST grill-NEUT (by-12-boy) / (in / for hours three)
  'The meat is (well) grilled (by the boy) / (in / for three hours)'

e. Opwa yothwa onyama (kokamati)
  Opwa yoth-w-a o-nyama (ko-ka-mati)
  EXPL cook-PASS 9-meat (by-12-boy)
  'There is grilled meat (by the boy)'

f. Opwa yoth-ek-a onyama (kokamati)
  Opwa yoth-ek-a o-nyama (ko-ka-mati)
  EXPL grill-NEUT 9-meat by-12-boy
  'There is (well) grilled meat (by the boy)'

The example in (5d) expresses a stative event. The verb *yothekeka* (well cooked) signifies the process involved in grilling the meat, i.e. well grilled. Thus, according to Levin (2007:1) the process of grilling involves the transition of the subject *onyama* (meat) to the result state. Here,

the agentive phrase is not eliminated due to the fact that this sentence contains an inherent causative interpretation. It is assumed that someone has grilled the meat, although it not really necessary that the agentive phrase should be expressed. What is worth noting is that this sentence is non-eventive. The sentence in (5e) and (5f) above have an expletive subject. The subject positions appear with the expletive empty subjects. The former subject *okamati* as in (5a) is expressed as an adjunct. In both (5e) and (5f) the verb appears with two internal arguments i.e. the direct object *onyama* (meat) and the oblique object *kokamati* (by the boy). The verbal action is implied on the object *onyama* (meat) resulting in the agentive phrase being optional. This differs with Mchombo (1993) as cited in Dubinsky and Simango (1996:751) and Khumalo (2009:28), who claim that agentive prepositional phrase may marked ungrammatical in stative construction. It is noted that there are some distinction in interpretation between (5e) and (5f). In (5e), the sentence denotes an accomplishment, but, the example in (5f) denotes a state.

4.2.5 Verbs of entity-specific change of state

(6) a.   Omulilo ogwa fika ondunda
            Omu-lilo ogwa fika o-ndunda
            3-fire POS-SC-3-PST burn 9-hut
            'The fire burnt the hut'

    b.   Ondunda oya fikwa (komulilo)
            Ondunda o-y-a fik-w-a (ko-mu-lilo)
            9-hut POS-SC-9-PST burn-PASS (by-1-fire)
            'The hut is burnt (by the fire)'

Generally, the verb *fika* (burn) as in (6a) above is atelic verb, but in this context it is translated as a telic verb. This is because the burning event is completed. This meaning translates with the subjectival agreement that constitute the past tense morpheme [-*w*-]. Note that the subject NP *omulilo* (fire) does not have an Agentive role rather it appears as a Causer. In this case, the subject *omulilo* is on the other hand, causes the hut to burn, however, it cannot be thought to do so intentionally. This concurs with the claim made by (Kingvall 2005:95) that the Agent must have the "mental capacity" to perform an action. In (6b) the former object *ondunda* (hut) is the subject argument of the verb and it is the bearer of an action denoted by the verb. For this reason, both the sentences in (6a) and (6b) present an accomplishment event. On the other

hand, the event in (6c) is translated to mean there was an event when the fire burnt the hut. In all cases as presented in (6a-c) above it is not clear whether if the hut is completely burnt or it only burnt part of it, unless there is evidence to the contrary.

    c.   Ondunda oya fikilwe (komulilo)

        O-ndunda o-y-a fik-il-w-e (ko-mu-lilo)

        9-hut POS-SC-9-PST burn-PRF-PASS (by-3-fire)

        'The hut was burnt (by the fire)'

    d.   *Ondunda oya fik-ik-a komulilo

        O-ndunda o-y-a fik-ik-a ko-mulilo

        9-hut POS-SC-9-PST burn-NEUT by-3-fire

        'The hut is (well) burnt by fire'

    e.   Ondunda oya fikikwa (komulilo)

        Ondunda oya fikikwa (komulilo)

        9-hurt POS-SC-9-PST fik-NEUT-PASS (by fire)

        'The hut was (well) burnt (by the fire)'

The sentence in (6d) above is ungrammatical. It seems that the verb *fikika* is not compatible with the subject *ondunda* (hut). For this reason, the neuter passive verb *fikika* lacks the semantic element which produces the semantic role of patient that brings about the change of state in the subject *ondunda*. In (6e) the subject argument i**s** acceptable due the presences of the passive morpheme [-*w*-] that appears with the verb. This passive morpheme brings about the patient role of the subject *ondunda* (hut).The similar characteristic where the verb takes both neuter passive and passive suffixes is observed in Chewa (Dom 2014, Mchombo 1993) among others. It is proposed that sentences that have a combination of both neuter and passive suffixes may appear with an oblique object as in (d) above (Seidl and Dimitriadis 2002), see subsection 2.3 above.

    f.   Opwa fikwa ondunda (komulilo)

        Opwa fik-w-a o-ndunda (ko-mu-lilo)

        EXPL burn-PASS 9-hut (by-3-fire)

        'There is burnt (by the fire)'

g.   *Opwa fik-ik-a ondunda ko-mu-lilo

         Opwa fik-ik-a o-ndunda ko-mu-lilo

          EXPL burn-NEUT-PASS 9-hut by-3-fire

         'There is (well) burnt by the fire'

The examples in (6f) and (6g) illustrate expletive constructions. The former subject *omulilo* (fire) is de-externalized and it appears as an adjunct. In (6f) it involves the transition activity into accomplishment. The patient role is gained as the result of the action denoted by the verb *fikwa* (burnt). Subsequently, the Agent phrase is discretionary. The example in (6g) expresses the means involved in bringing about the results denoted by the verb since it conveys the means in which the fire burnt the hut, where (6f) infers that something has burnt the hut. It is then appears that the expletive empty subject that appears with the verb does not bring about the agentive role required by the verb predicate to act up on the patient argument of the verb. Therefore, this sentence is ungrammatical. By contrast, if the passive morpheme [-*w*-] is include with the verb i.e. [*fik-ik-w-a*] as in (6e) this constructions will be grammatical.

4.2.6   Verbs of Calibratable change of state

(7) a.   Omahini oga kokeka okanonona

             Oma-hini o-g-a kok-ek-a oka-nona

             6-milk POS-SC-6-PST grow-CAUS 12-child

             'The milk makes the child grow'

    b.   Okanonona oka kokekwa (komahini)

             Oka-nona o-k-a kok-ek-w-a (ko-ma-shini)

             12-child POS-SC-12-PST grow-CAUS-PASS (by-6-milk)

             'The child grow because (by milk)'

    c.   Okanona oka kok-ith-il-w-e (komahini)

             Okanona oka kok-ith-il-w-e (ko-ma-hini)

             12-child SC-12   grow-CAUS-PRF-PASS (by-6-milk)

             'The child was grown (by Milk)'

The primary difference between the examples (7a), (7b) and (7c) above is that in (7a) the verbal action is implied on the object argument of the verb whereas in the example (7b) and (7c) the

subject argument is the bearer of the action denoted by the verb. However, both of these sentences imply that something has made the child grow i.e. *omahini* (milk). The subtle distinction that occurs between these sentences is that of the information structure and also the tense aspects. The sentence in (7c) consists of the perfect tense aspect [-*ile*] which shows that there was a time when the child grew. This growing event is completed. The example sentence in (7a) and (7b) above indicates a state. These sentences have no clear endpoint. The same interpretation is applicable in (7g) when the construction appears with the expletive subject. According to Bassac and Bouillon (2002:39) verb such as grow has no reference of agentive. This means that the subject NP *omahini* (milk) as indicated in (7a) is not an Agent but a Causer (Kingvall 2005:94).

d. Okanonona oka kokekeka (*komahini)
    Oka-nona o-k-a kok-ekek-a (ko-ma-hini)
    12-child POS-SC-12-PST grow RED.NEUT (by-6-milk)
    'The child has (well) grown (by milk)'

e. Okanona oka kokekekwa komahini
    Oka-nona o-k-a kok-ekek-w-a ko-ma-hini
    12-child POS-SC-12-PST grow-NEUT-PASS by-6-milk
    'The Child is (well) made grown (by milk)'

f. Opwa kok-ekek-a okanona (*komahini)
    Opwa kok-ekek-a oka-nona (ko-ma-hini)
    EXPL grow-RED.NEUT 2-child (by-6-milk)

    'There is (well) grown the child (by milk)'

g. Opwa kok-ek-w-a okanona (komahini)
    Opwa kok-ek-w-a oka-nona (ko-ma-hini)
    EXPL grow-CAUS 12-child (by-6-milk)
    'There is grown child (by milk)'

The sentence in (7d) above dexpresses the means in which the child grows, where, in (7e) the experiencer which is the subject argument has undergone the growing process. It is interpreted

that something has caused the child to grow, i.e., milk. This interpretation is expressed in the verbal morphology by the passive morpheme [-*w*-]. Note that the causative suffix [-*ek*-] as in (7a) is eliminated in both (d) and (e) and the neuter passive suffix is intensified. The passive morpheme [-*w*-] occurs with the verb in (7e) raises subtle differences in interpretation between (7d) and (7e). The sentence in (7d) has a generic interpretation. Thus, the oblique object is eliminated. This has the similar effect in (7f) when such construction appears with an expletive. The example in (7e) on the other hand, has causative interpretation as illustrated in (6) above. This causative interpretation is interpreted with the passive morpheme [-*w*-] which is attached to the verb *kokekeka*. Taking into consideration the claim made by Alexiadou (2015:150), the verb *kokekeka* expresses a simple state. Where, the sentence in (7e) and (7g) is ambiguated between eventive and resultative. Consider the following examples:

(i)   Eventive passive
        Something caused the child to grow
(ii)   Resultative passive
        The child was in state of having become grown (requires state resulting from event)

(8) a.   Uunona owi indjipala omwaalu
            Uu-nona owi indjipala   o-mwaalu
            14-children SC-14 grow 3-number
            'Children grow in number'

    b.   *Omwaalu ogwa indjipalwa kuunona
            Omwa-alu ogwa indjipal-el-w-a ku-u-nona
            3-number POS-SC-3-PST increase-PASS by-14-children
            'The number was increase by the children'

    c.   *Omwaalu ogwi indjipalelwe kuunona
            Omwaalu ogwi indjipal-el-w-e ku-u-nona
            3-number POS-SC-3-PST increase-PASS by-14-children
            'The number was increased by the children'

    d.   *Omwa-alu ogwa indjipaleka kuunona
            Omwa-alu o-gw-a indjipal-eka ku-u-nona

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3-number POS-SC-3-PST increase-NEUT (by-14-children)

'The number is increased by the children'

e.   *Opwa-alu ogwa indjipalwa omwaalu kuunona

Omwa-alu o-gw-a indjipal-w-a (ku-u-nona)

3-number POS-SC-3-PST increase-PASS by-14-children

'The number was increased by the children'

f.   *Opwa indjipaleka omwaalu kuunona

Opwa indjipal-ek-a omwaalu ku-u-nona

EXPL increase-NEUT 3-number by-children)

'There is increased number by children'

The example in (8a) above denotes a simple state. The number of children is interpreted to have been increased. This construction according to Kallulli (2007:773) has an "involuntary state reading". Thus, this sentence expresses a non-dynamic situation type (see subsection 2.2.2). In (8b) and (8c) the appearance of the passive morpheme [-*w*-] results in this sentence to have no meaning (see subsection 3.1). This has similar effect when the expletive is introduced into the structure in (8e). Therefore, these sentences are ungrammatical. The similar observation is also apparent when the neuter passive suffix [-*ek*-] is introduced into the structure in (8d) and (8f) above.

4.2.7   Summary

To sum up, the analysis in (4.2) above shows that the acceptability of neuter-passive and passive sentences to which certain diagnostics tests are conducted is compelled by semantics or pragmatics and syntactic aspects. In this section, six types of verbs of change of state where examined with both neuter-passive and passive suffixes, perfect tense morpheme and expletive subjects. The results reveal that both neuter and passive are morphologically marked. The passive is marked by the passive morpheme [-*w*-] and the neuter passive is marked by morpheme [-*ik*-]. Amongst the verbs examined, the verb of callibratable change which *indjipala* (increase) does not tolerate the neuter-passive suffix as discussed in (4.2.6). The verb *fikika* as shown in (4.5.2) is compatible with neuter-passive suffix but it cannot take a subject whose thematic role is patient or experiencer. So, this verb requires an external causer in the logical subject position.

It is shown that the neuter-passive verbs which do not accept the *by*-phrase are those that have an anticausative interpretation as discussed in sub-section (4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.3, 4.2.4, 4.2.5 and 4.2.6). The anticausative is morphologically marked by the suffix [-*ik*-]. It is however indicated that the sentences that do not allow *by*-phrase have generic meanings i.e. *tatukika* as indicated in (4.2.1). In some instances the neuter-passive morpheme is intensified by means of reduplication, but this does not have any effect on the semantics of the verb as in (4.2.1), example (1d). It is also noted that verbs of calibratable change that accept the *by*-phrase are those that appears with the combination of both neuter-passive and passive suffix altogether as discussed in (4.2.6). This sentence has a causative interpretation which is attributed by the passive morpheme that occurs with t the state verb. These *by*-Phrases are simple PPs but not agentive phrase as it is the case with passive counterpart. Since they are abstractly expressed in the verbal morphology, equally, they can co-occur with causative predicates. It follows that the verbs that have a neuter-passive interpretation all belong to the class of degree-achievement.

In contrast, the neuter passive verbs that takes agentive or *by*-phrase are those that have a causative meaning. This is as indicated in (4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.3, 4.2.4, 4.2.5 and 4.2.6). The causative is not morphological marked, except for the verb *kokeka* as discussed in sub-section (4.2.6) where it is morphologically marked with a causative morpheme (-*ek*-) in both neuter-passive and passive alternants and marked by [-*ith*-] in perfect tense. Surprisingly, the neuter-passive verbs that have anticausative reading express a simple state, where those that denote causative reading denote a resultative state.

It is also observed that the passive sentences have similar semantic interpretations with their corresponding active transitive sentences. The verb *tatulwa* and the verb *tatula* both denote an accomplishment event, as discussed in (4.2.1). However, with the verb *tatula* this interpretation depends in the context in which it is used. The perfect tense morpheme is only effective with the passive but not with the neuter-passive. It is revealed that the perfect tense may on the one hand expresses an imperfective event, as discussed in (4.2.5), on the other hand it denotes perfective events as in (4.2.4). These interpretations are in pragmatics.

As for the adeverbial modification, it is observed that the passive construction is compatible with the adverbial modification phrases, while in neuter-passive construction, the adverbial

modification phrases are semantically anomalous. This can be observed in subsection (4.2.1, 4.2.2, and 4.2.4) respectively. In (4.2.1) the instrument phrase co-occurs with both transitive active and passive, but failed the diagnostic tests with neuter-passive alternants. In (4.2.2) the bend verb can accept the manner adverbial phrase in active transitive and passive alternations, but it is semantically unacceptable in neuter-passive alternations. The example in (4.2.4) shows two time adverbial modifications that appear with cooking verbs such as: time frame adjunct and the durative phrase. It is revealed that these time adverbial phrases co-occur with the active and transitive alternants, but semantically unaccepatable with neuter-passive alternants. The durative phrase indicates that the event has lasted for specific duration, where the time frame phrase indicates that the event occurs in certain time intervals. It is oberseved that, predicates that lincense with durative phrases are associated with accomplishement, whereas predicates that co-occur with a time frame adjunct are associated with an achievement event. However, the general conclusion that could be drawn is that the adverbial modifications discussed in this section have the responsibility of converting sentences from atelic to telic.

4.3   VERBS OF CHANGE OF POSSESSION

The verbs of change of possession involve ditransitive verbs. These verbs are three-place predicates since they appear with three argument i.e. one external argument and two internal arguments. These verbs are noticeable with an inherent causative or applicative reading hence the two internal arguments of the predicate. The purpose of this sub-section is to establish the properties of passive and neuter passive of the verbs of change of possession and also to establish whether the verbs of change of possession may appear with both passive suffix [-*w*-] and neuter passive suffix [-*ek*/*ik*] on the predicate structure of give verbs, contribute verbs, verbs of future having and get verbs. The adverbial modification phrase of the verbs will be examined.

4.3.1   Give verbs

(9) a.   Omumati okwa pa omukadhona etanga

Omu-mati okwa pa omu-kadhona e-tanga

1-man PST give 1-girl 5-ball

'The man passed the ball to the girl'

b.   Etanga olya pewa omukadhona (komumati) / (nuupu)

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E-tanga olya pe-w-a omu-kadhona (ko-mumati) / (nuupu)

5-ball   POS-SC-5-PST give-PASS 1-girl (by-1-man) / (easily)

'The ball is passed to the girl (by the man) / (easily)'

    c.   Etanga olya pewelwe omukadhona (komumati)

                Etanga o-ly-a pewe-l-w-e omu-kadhona (ko-mu-mati)

                5-ball POS-SC-5-PST give-PRF-PASS 1-woman (by-1-man)

                'The ball was passed to the girl   (by the man)'

The example in (9a) denotes an event that has final endpoint. The activity of giving the ball is terminated when the ball is final received by the girl. The subject has the agentive role and it performs an action denoted by the verb. This sentence is ditransitive hence it appears with two objects, namely: The direct object *etanga* (ball) and the indirect object *omukadhona* (girl). In (9b) and (9c) the subject *etanga* is the theme argument and it is being moved. Both of these sentences denote accomplishment, however, they differ in tense aspects. The sentence in (9b) denote a recent past event where (9c) denotes a remote past event. Note that the sentence in (9c) conveys that there was an event when the ball was given to the girl. Again, the two object NPs can be interchangeably realized to the subject position in (9b) and (9c)

The passive sentences in (9b, c, e) can be modified by the manner adverbial phrase. However, this manner adverbial phrase modifies the event denoted by the predicate. The manner adverbial has semantic influence on the meaning of the verb, but it does not decide the aspectual value of the verb. Thus, the sentence expresses the means or manner in which the ball is passed. The same is hold true to the construction of active transitive in (9a), the passive perfect in (9c), and expletive construction in (9e). These sentences differ only in terms of information presentation focus. In the example sentence in (9d, f) the *manner* adverbial phrase is semantically unacceptable.

    d.   *Etanga olya peweka omukadhona komumati nuupu

                E-tanga olya pe-w-ek-a omu-kadhona ko-mu-mati nuupu

                5-ball POS-SC-5-PST give-PASS-NEUT 1-woman by-1-man (easily)

                'The ball is (well) passed to the girl by the man easily'

    e.   Opwa pewa omukudhona etanga (komumati)

Opwa pe-w-a omu-nakadhona e-tanga (ko-mu-mati)

EXPL give-PASS 1-girl 5-ball (by-1-man)

'The is passed the ball by the man to the girl'

f.   *Opwa peweka omukadhona etanga komumati

Opwa peweka omukadhna etanga ko-mu-mati

EXPL give-NEUT 1-girl 5-ball by-1-man

'There is (well) given the ball by the man'

In (9d) above the occurrence of the neuter-passive morpheme [-*ek*-] with the verb *pewa* (give) is grammatical, but semantically unacceptable. A similar understanding is pertinent in (9f) when the stative verb *peweka* appear with expletive empty subject. It appears that the verb *pa* (pass) is incompatible with the neuter passive suffix [-*ek*-]. In (9e) the passive verb appears with the expletive empty subject. The former subject is de-externalized and it appears as internal argument to the verb *pewa*. The agentive phrase is optional. This sentence has an interpretation of accomplishment similar to the example sentences in (9b) and (9c) above.

(10) a.   Omumati okwa gandja etanga komukadhona

Omumati okwa gandja etnga komukadhona

1-man PST gave ball to-1-girl

'The man gave the ball to the girl'

b.   Komukadhona okwa gandjwa etanga (komumati)

Ko-mu-kadhona okwa gandjwa e-tanga (komumati)

17-1girl PST given-PASS 5-ball (by-1-man)

'To the girl was given the ball (by the man)'

c.   Komukadhona okwa gandjelwe etanga (komumati)

Ko-mu-kadhona o-kwa gandj-el-w-e e-tanga (ko-mu-mati)

To-girl POS-PST give-PERF-PASS 5-ball (by-1-man)

'To the girl was given the ball (by the man)'

In the example in (10a) the verb is obligatory ditransitive. Yet, this verb seems to denote a complete event that has a goal or natural endpoint. The subject *omumati* (man) is interpreted to have given the ball to the girl. Owing to that, the NP *omumati* is the agent argument. The

two NPs *etanga* (ball) and *komukadhona* (to the girl) are the internal argument of the verb. The NP *etanga* has the interpretation of the theme argument, whereas the prepositional phrase *komukadhona* has the interpretation of the recipient. In contrast, the sentence in (10b) and (10c) the subject *komukadhona* (to the ball) is at the subject position is interpreted as the recipient argument of the verb. The object *etanga* is the theme argument. Nevertheless, the condition of ditransitive verb is that the object is compulsory when they appear in passive. However, it is observed that these sentences in (10a-c) denote a transition from a target state to an accomplishment. The target state of this event is "the ball being given to the girl" and this state is a transitory state (Kratzer 2000:386). The goal is final reached when the ball is received by the girl. This semantic representation is due to the past tense aspect that appears with subjectival agreement of the verb.

    d.   *Komukadhona okwa gandjeka etanga komumati

          Ko-mu-kadhona okwa gandj-ek-a e-tanga ko-mu-mati

          To-1-woman PST give-NEUT 5-ball by-1-man

          'To the girl was well given the ball (by the man)'

    e.   Opwa gandjwa etanga komukadhona (komumati)

          Opwa gandjwa e-tanga ko-mukadhona (komumati)

          EXPL give-PASS 5-ball to-1-girl (by-1-man)

          'There was given the ball to the girl by the man'

    f.   *Opwa gandjeka etanga komukadhona komumati

          Opwa gandjeka etanga ko-mu-kadhona ko-mu-mati

          EXPL give-NEUT 5-ball to-1-girl by-1-man

          'There is well given the ball to the girl by the man'

In (10d) and (10f) it is illustrated that not all the verb are compatible with the stative suffix [-ek-]. The occurrence of the neuter passive morpheme [-*ek*-] with the verb *gandja* (give) results in the verb having no meaning. Therefore, this sentence is ungrammatical. The example in (10e) denotes an accomplishment event similar to the example in (10a-c) above. However, this sentence appears with expletive subject. It appears that this expletive subject have no semantic influence on the verb.

4.3.2 Contribute verbs

These verbs appear with locative phrase which has the interpretation of recipient, source or location.

(11)   a.   Omulongi okwa galula uunona kosikola

             Omu-longi okwa galu-l-a uu-nona ko-sikola

             1-teacher PST return-APPL 14-children LOC-school

             (The teacher returned children from school)

        b.   Uunona owa galulwa kosikola (komulongi) / (esiku alihe)

             Uu-nona owa galu-l-w-a ko-sikola (komulongi) / (esiku alihe)

             14-children POS-SC-14-PST return-APPL-PASS LOC-school (by-teacher) / (for a day)

             'Children were returned from the school (by the teacher) / (for a day)'

        c.   Uunona owa galulilwe kosikola (komulongi)

             Uu-nona owa galul-il-w-e ko-sikola (komulongi)

             14-children POS-SC-14-PST return-PERF-PASS LOC-school (by-teacher)

             'The children were returned from the school (by the teacher)'

The examples in (11a-c) are telic events that have natural endpoints. It appears that these verbs have an ambiguous meaning. Thus, these sentences have two abstract meanings: In the first instance the teacher is interpreted as Agent who brought back the children from school. The other meaning is that the teacher is interpreted as Causer who stopped or prevented children from going to school while they were on their way to school. Furthermore, the contextual use of this sentence is thus important to determine what the speaker actually means. This comparable comprehension is appropriate to the illustration (11b) and (11c). However, when the time adverbial phrase appears with the passive predicate as in (11b), the first meaning of the sentence as discussed above is lost. This time phrase modification is associated with durative properties. The sentence is now interpreted to mean the children are stopped from going to school for the whole day. Be that as it may, in (11b) and (11c) the action of the verb is reverted to the subject *uunona* (children). The subject is realized from the object position. Besides that, the sentence in (11c) conveys a remote past event, where the sentence in (11a, 11b) expresses a recent past event. Note that, this tense aspects have influence on the semantic characterization of the verb hence all these verbs denote accomplishment events.

d.   Uunona owa galukika kosikola (*komulongi) / (*esiku alihe)

Uu-nona owa galuk-ik-a kosikola (komulongi) / (esiku alihe)

14-children POS-SC-14-PST return-NEUT LOC-school (1-by-tecaher) / (day-whole)

'Children is (well) returned from the school (by the teacher) / (for a day)'

e.   Opwa galulwa uunona kosikola (komulongi)

Opwa galul-w-a uu-nona ko-sikola (ko-mulongi)

EXPL return-PASS 14-children LOC-school (by-teacher)

'There is returned the children from school by-teacher'

f.   Opwa galukika uunona kosikola (*komulongi)

Opwa galu-k-ik-a uu-nona ko-sikola (ko-mu-longi)

EXPL return-NEUT 14-children from school (by-1-teacher)

'There is (well) returned children from school (by the teacher)'

The sentence in (11d) above expresses the manner in which the children came back from the school. This is conveyed by the neuter suffix [-*ik*-] which occurs with the verb. In that, the children are assumed to return well from the school. Conversely, this sentence does not tolerate Agent or external Causer as it is the case with the examples sentences in (11a-c) above.Thus, it is the manner of the event that brought about the state expressed by the action of the verb (Gerhrke 2011:6). Therefore the *by*-phrase in this construction is unacceptable. This similar understanding is fitting to the outline of the example sentence in (11f) except that, the example in (11f) lacks an external variable which is responsible for introducing an external argument to the *galukika*. This expletive alternants do not have any semantic influence on the verb in assigning the event participant as compared to (8g). The example in (11e) has similar interpretation as the example in (11b) above. Note that the durative time phrase in example sentence (11d and f) is semantically anomolous. It appears that, the manner interpretation that is associated with the verb *galukika* corride with the durative time adjunct resulting in the sentence being ungrammatical.

4.3.3 Verbs of future having

The verbs of future having related to a change of possession that will take place in the future. These verbs are also ditransitive verbs where one of the internal arguments is the recipient:

(12)   a.   Omuhona okwa uvaneka omumati iilonga
                     Omu-hona okwa uvaneka omu-mati ii-longa
                     1-employer PST promise 1-man 8-job
                     'The employer promised the man a job'

        b.   Omumati okwa uvanekwa iilonga (komuhona)
                     Omu-mati oku uvanek-w-a ii-longa (ko-mu-hona)
                     1-man PRS promise-PASS 8-job (by-1-employer)
                     'The man is promised a job (by the employer)'

        c.   Omumati okwa uvanekelwe iilonga (komuhona)
                     Omu-hona okwa uvanek-el-w-e iilonga (ko-mu-hona)
                     1-man PST promise-PERF-PASS 8-job (by-1-employer)
                     'The man was promised job (by the employer)'

        d.   *Omumati oku uvanekeka iilonga komuhona
                     Omu-mati oku uvanek-ek-a ii-longa ko-mu-hona
                     1-man PST promise-NEUT 8-job by-1-employer
                     'The man is (well) promised the job (by the employer) '

.   e.   Opwa uvanekwa omumati iilonga (komuhona)
                     Opwa uvanekwa omumati ii-longa (ko-mu-hona)
                     EXPL promise-PASS 1-man 8-job (by-1-employer)
                     'There is being promised the man job (by the employer)'

        f.   *Opwa uvanekeka omumati iilonga komuhona
                     Opwa uvanek-ek-a omu-mati ii-longa ko-mu-hona
                     EXPL promise-NEUT 1-man job by-1-employer
                     'There is (well) promised the man a job by the employer'

        g.   Opwa unanekekwa omunati iilonga (komuhona)
                     Opwa uvanek-ek-w-a omu-mati ii-longa (ko-mu-hona)
                     EXPL promise-NEUT-PASS 1-man 8-work (by-1-employer)
                     'There is (well) promised a man the job (by the employer)'

The example in (12a) and (12b) indicate obligatory atelic properties. According to Alexiadou et al. (2015:83) these types of verbs lack a lexical result state, thus they belong to a class of degree of achievement (see section 3.1.3). These types of verbs become telic when they are contextualized as in case of (12a) and (12b). On the other hand verbs that contain a perfect tense morpheme as in (12c) are obligatory telic. It is interpreted that, though the man was promised a job, he will remain jobless until such a time the promise is fulfilled. Thus, this sentence has no final endpoint neither the result. It is not clear if this man got the job or not. Apart from that, in (12b) and (c) the action of the verb is reverted to the subject *omumati* (man), consequently the agentive phrase is optional. The direct theme *iilonga* (work) is relevant for the grammaticality of this sentence therefore it cannot be optional. This interpretation is relevant when the expletive empty subject is introduced in the structure as in (12e).

The sentence in (12d) above contains a neuter passive verb *uvanekeka* (well promised) and it has a stative interpretation. This sentence has a different interpretation from the sentences in (12a-c) above. In (d) it seems like, the subject *omumati* (man) is the one doing the promise to the direct object *iilonga* (job). Therefore, this sentence is ungrammatical. I assume that this constraint is attributed by the fact that the subject lacks an inherent property that causes the eventuality expressed by the verb to happen. This is similar to the example in (12f) where the verb appears with an expletive empty subject. In (12f) the interpretation is unacceptable. The example in (12g) below indicates that a passive morpheme [-*w*-] occurs with the neuter-passive verb. It is then observed that this passive morpheme has a semantic effect on the verb. In that, this sentence is interpreted to mean the man is promised a job to the ability of the employer. It appears that this sentence involves the manner of the event that brought about the particular state denoted by the verbal action without an overt event participant.

(13)   a.   Omulongi okwa topolela aalongwa iilonga

              Omu-longi okwa topolela aa-longwa ii-longa

              1-teacher PST allocate-APPL 2-students 8-task

              'The teacher allocated tasks to students'

        b.   Iilonga oya topolelwa aalongwa (komulongi)

              Iilonga o-y-a topol-el-w-a aalongwa (ko-mu-longi)

              8-task SC-2 allocate-APPL-PASS 2-student (by-1-teacher)

              'The students were allocated tasks (by the teacher)'

c.   Iilonga oya topolelelwe aalongwa (komulongi)

Iilonga oya topo-l-el-el-w-e aa-longwa (ko-mu-longi)

8-task POS-SC-2-PST allocate-APPL-NEUT 2-student (by-1-teacher)

'The tasks was allocated to students (by the teacher)'

d.   *Iilonga oya topoleleka aalongwa komulongi

Ii-longa o-y-a topol-el-ek-a aa-longwa ko-mulongi

8-task POS-SC-2-PST allocate-APPL-NEUT 2-student by-teacher

'The tasks is (well) allocated to the lstudents (by the teacher)'

e.   Opwa topolelwa aalongwa iilonga (komulongi)

Opwa topol-el-w-a aa-longwa ii-longa (ko-mu-longi)

EXPL allocate-APPL-PASS 2-student 8-task (by-1-teacher)

'There is allocated the works to student (by the teacher)'

f.   Opwa topolekeka (*aalongwa) iilonga (komulongi)

Opwa topo-l-ekek-a aa-longwa ii-longa (ko-mu-longi)

EXPL allocate-RED.NEUT 2-student 8-works (by-1-tecaher)

'There is (well) allocated works to student (by the teacher)'

The examples in (13a-c) above denote accomplishment events. The event of distributing the papers is completed. Thus, these events are telic. In (13a), the man is assumed to have given students some tasks to do. However, in (13b,c) the action of the verb is reverted to the subject of the verb. This gives an interpretation that the tasks were assigned to students. The verb in both (13b) and (13c) appears with mass NPs i.e., uncountable quantity of work. According to Dowty (1986:39) and Smith (1997:25) "the mass NPs or plural NPs can convert a sentence that was generally an accomplishment into an activity". However, in Oshindonga this is not a case since the mass NPs does not have any semantic influence on the verb. Note that the sentence in (13c) denotes that there was an event when the tasks were assigned to students. These examples are both presenting the existence of allocating events, but they differ in terms of tense aspect.

The example in (13d) above is ungrammatical. This is due to the fact that the neuter passive morpheme [-*ek*-] results in the verb to be meaningless. The sentence in (13e) is comprehended to hold up under a similar significance as the sentence in (13b) above, however, what influences

it to vary is that this sentence lacks an external argument variable, hence the expletive empty subject. The former subject occurs post-verbally where it shows up as an adjunct phrase. The example in (13f) above presents a state. It interpreted to mean the tasks are well or equally allocated. It expresses the manner in which the tasks are allocated. The indirect object which has beneficative reading is syntactically deleted henceforth it is insignificant. The agentive phrase may be optionally expressed syntactically, hence the causative interpretation. Note that the sentence in (13f) the neuter passive is intensified as opposed to its (13d) counterpart, thus this sentence is totally acceptable. In case of (13d), if the neuter-passive is intensified as in (13f) this sentence could otherwise be grammatical.

(14)   a.   Omumati okwa yaka iimaliwa
              Omu-mati okwa yaka ii-maliwa
              1-man PST steal 8-money
              'The man stole the money'

         b.   Iimaliwa oya yakwa (komumati)
              Iimaliwa oya yak-w-a (ko-mu-mati)
              8-money POS-SC-8-PST steal-PASS (by-1-man)
              'The money was stolen (by the man)'

         c.   Iimaliwa oya yakelwe (komumati)
              Ii-maliwa oya yak-el-w-e (ko-mumati)
              8-money SC-8 steal-PERF-PASS-FV (by-man
              'The money had been stolen (by the man)'

         d.   *Iimaliwa oya yakek-a (*komumati)
              Iimaliwa oya yak-ek-a (ko-mu-mati)
              8-money POS-SC-8-PST stole-NEUT-PASS (by-man)
              'The money is (well) stolen (by the man)'

         e.   Iimaliwa oya yakekwa (kokamati)
              Ii-maliwa o-y-a yak-ek-w-a (ko-ka-mati)
              8-money POS-SC-8-PST steal-NEUT-PASS (by-12-man)
              'The money is (well) stolen (by the man)'

The sentences in (14a-c) above present achievement events. These events are said to be telic although their verbs appear with a mass NPs complement i.e., *iimaliwa*. In other languages such sentences are claimed to be atelic since they constitute mass NPs (Smith 1997:25). The verb *yaka* (steal) and *yakwa* are all eventive verbs. Generally the verb *yaka* (steal is an activity verb but in its contextual use it becomes an achievement event. In the examples (14b) and (14c) the Agent appears as an adjunct and it is thus optional. In the example (14a) above, the subject *omumati* (man) is interpreted to have stolen the money. In (14b) the subject *iimaliwa* (money) is interpreted to have been stolen. This interpretation is also applicable in the example (14c) above, but, the verb in the example sentence (14c) indicates that the stealing event took place in the remote past.

In example in (14d), the neuter-passive verb *yakeka* (stolen) present a state. The money is interpreted to be well stolen.it appears that the verb *yakeka* can only co-occur with subject argument that have [+human feature]. Therefore, this sentence is ungrammatical. It appears that this sentence has an anticausative interpretation thus the agentive phrase is unacceptable. For this sentence to be grammatical, a passive morpheme may co-occur with the verb *yaka* as in (14e). This passive morpheme [-*w*-] reverts the action of the verb to the subject argument iimaliwa. Furthermore, the verb *yakekwa* has two interpretations i.e., firstly, it is says more about the subject in relation to the object. Secondly, it says more about the manner involved bringing about the action of the verb i.e. the money is stolen to the capacity of the man. Therefore, this sentence has ambiguous meaning. The agentive phrase is now accepted in the structure, where it is expressed as an adjunct.

      f.   Opwa yakwa iimaliwa (komumati)

               Opwa yak-wa iimaliwa (ko-mumati)

               EXPL steal-PASS 8-money (by-man)

               'There was stolen money by the man'

      g.   Opwa yakeka iimaliwa (*komumati)

               Opwa yak-ek-a iimaliwa (ko-mu-mamti)

               EXPL steal-NEUT-PASS 8-money (by-1-man)

               'There is (well) stolen money (by the man)'

The sentence in (14f) denotes an achievement event similar to its (14b) counterpart. This sentence implies that someone stole the money. This interpretation is overtly expressed by the passive morpheme [-w-] that appears with the verb *yak-w-a* (stolen). The subject position is empty therefore no argument is assigned. The sentence in (14g) expresses the manner in which the money was stolen. Owing to that, the money is interpreted to be well stolen. This sentence is non-actional and it thus denotes a state. Thus, the agentive phrase is semantically unacceptable.Other verbs that exhibit similar semantic behaviour as illustrated in (14) above include the following; *mona* (found), *toola* (picked), *dhipaga* (slaughter) and *pungula* (reserved)

4.3.4   Summary

This section examined the syntactic decomposition of give verbs in both passive and neuter-passive construction. In this section, three verb classes of change of possession viz., give verbs; contribute verbs and verbs of future having were analyzed. In sub-section (4.3.1), it is shown that the give verbs do not tolerate neuter-passive properties. This semantic constraint is observed with the verbs such as *pa* (give) and *gandja* (give). However, the pasive noerpheme is observed to be productive with give verbs. In section (4.3.3), the contribute verb *galula* is effective with both passive and neuter passive properties. However, this verb does not accept the agentive phrase. This semantic constrains are attributed to the fact that the verb *galula* have a generic meaing. In subsection (4.3.3), it is illustrated that the verbs of future having belongs to a class of degree of achievement. It is mantained that these verbs are lacking lexicl results state. These characteristics are particulary observed with the active transitive verb *uvaneka* (promise) and passive verb *uvanekwa* (promised). It is however discussed that the verb of future having *uvaneka (promise)* is illicit with the neuter-passive verb, but effective when it occurs with the combination of both neuter-passive and passive morphemes. This can be for the reason that the neuter passibe verb *uvanekeka* (promised) is unable to express the action of the verb to the subject argument, where the verb *uvanekekwa* have an inherent agentive interpretation. On the other hand, it is mantained that the verb of future having topelela (allocated) does not tolerate the neuter passive properties.

In subsection (4.3.1) the manner adverbial phrase is compatible with a transitive active and passive construction, but semantically anomalous with neuter-passive verbs. The time

adverbial examined in subsection (4.3.2) is associated with durative properties. This durative adverbial phrase modifies the event denoted by the predicate. It is further noted that this durative phrase can lincense with an active transitve, and passive alternants but not with neuter-passive alternants. Lastly it is also observed that the durative phrase has influence on the semantic meanings of the sentence as discussed in example (11b).

4.4 VERBS OF COMMUNICATION

The verbs of communication are three-place predicates. They appear with one external argument and two internal object argument. The first object is usually the indirect object and it has the thematic reading of recipient. The second object is the direct object and it has the thematic reading of source or theme. This section, however, will discuss the aspectual properties and event structure of neuter-passive and passive alternation of the verbs of communication. For the purspose of this section, four various verb classes of verbs of communication are examined namely, verbs of communicated message, verbs of communication proposition, verbs of manner of speaking and instrument of communication. Their appearance with adverbial modification phrases is also tested.

4.4.1 Communicated message

(15)   a.   Nangula okwa longa aalongwa Oshindonga

Nangula okwa longa aa-longwa Oshindonga

Nangula PST teach 2-student Oshindong

'Nangula taught students Oshindonga'

b.   Oshindonga osha longwa (aalongwa) (kuNangula) / (nenyanyu)

Oshindonga o-sh-a long-w-a (aa-longwa) (ku-Nangula) / (ne-nyanyu)

Oshindonga POS-SC-7-PST teach-PASS (2-students) (by-Nangula) / (with happiness)

'Oshindonga is taught student (by Nangula) / (happily)'

c.   Oshindonga osha longelwe (aalongwa) (kuNangula)

Oshindonga osha long-el-w-e (aa-longwa) (ku-Nangula)

Oshindonga POS-SC-7-PST teach-PRF-PASS (2-student) (by-Nangula)

'Oshindonga was taught students (by Nangula)'

d.   *Oshindonga osha longeka aalongwa kuNangula / (*nenyanyu)

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Oshindonga o-sh-a long-ek-a aa-longwa kuNangula / (ne-nyanyu)

Oshindonga POS-SC-7-PST teach-NEUT 2-student by-Nangula / (with happiness)

'Oshindonga is (well) taught students byNangula / happily'

e.   Opwa longwa (aalongwa) (Oshindonga kuNangula)

      Opwa longwa aa-longwa (Oshindonga ku-Nangula)

      EXPL teach-PASS (2-student) (Oshindonga by-Nangula)

      'There is taught Oshindonga (by Nangula)'

f.   Opwa longeka (aalongwa) (Oshindonga) (ku-Nangula)

      Opwa long-ek-a (aa-longwa) (Oshindonga) (ku-Nangula)

      EXPL teach-NEUT 2-student (Oshindonga) (by-Nangula)

      'There is (well) taught (Oshindonga) (by Nangula)'

The sentences (15a-c) above are telic. The teaching event is completed. This sentence appears with 3 argument viz., one external argument and two internal arguments. The external argument has the semantic interpretation of Agent. The internal argument *aalongwa* is the indirect object and it has the thematic interpretation of beneficative. The object NP *Oshindonga has* the semantic interpretation of theme. In (15a) the subject *Nangula* is an agent who deliberately performed the action denoted by the verb. In (15b) and (15c) the action of the verb is reverted to the subject argument of the verb. Thus, the subject NP argument *Oshindonga* is the affected argument. Note that the two direct objects *Oshindonga* and *aalongwa* (students) can be used interchangeably at the subject position without affecting the meaning of the sentence. The former object is expressed post-verbally as an adjunct. These sentences differ in terms of tense aspects. The sentences in (15a, b) present a recent past event, where, the sentence in (15c) denotes an event that occurred in the remote past. Nonetheless, the sentence in (15c) denotes that there was an event when the students were taught *Oshinonga*. Note that the example sentence in (15b) co-occurs with *agent-oriented phrase* (happily). The same holds for the transitive predicate in (15a) and intransitive passive predicate in (15c, e) above. The *agent-oriented* phrase (15b) expresses the manner in which *Nangula* taught Oshindonga viz., the state in which Nangula was when she taught *Oshindonga*. In that this sentence is now interpreted to mean Nangula was very happy when she was teaching Oshindonga. However, if the internal argument is not expressed in in (15b, c, e, and f) these sentences have a generic

meaning. In this case the sentences in (15b, c, d,) are then interpreted to mean *Oshindonga* is taught. Where, the example sentence (15f) has no reference to the activity which is well done.

The sentence example in (15d) above is ungrammatical. The verb *longeka* denotes a state. This verb can only be used in a context whereby it describes a person who is well educated. Therefore, the verb *longeka* is only licit with the subject which has a human feature. This means that the subject Oshindonga does not exhibit the "responsibility properties" in which the lexically realized object can be held accountable for the verbal action (see, Jingquan 2007:217). But, when the expletive empty subject is introduced as in (15f), the sentence becomes grammatical. It appears that the state denoted by the verb *longeka* depends on the boundedness of its object *aalongwa* (students). Thus, the object *aalongwa* denotes eventuality. The agentive phrase is acceptable as an adjunct into this structure. According to Alexiadou et al. (2015:160) this types of stative lacks the properties that contributing to eventiveness thus they display no properties associated with the head. Apart from that, the sentence (15e) has a similar interpretation as the sentence in (15b) above. The only difference that occurs between them is that of the information presentation focus. On different note, it is noted that the the *agent-oriented* phrase is semantically unacceptable with the neuter-passive verbs as indicated in (15d and f).Other verbs that exhihibit similar semantic behaviour as illustrated in (41) above include the following: *pula* (ask), *lombwela* (tell), *lopota* (report).

4.4.2 Communication of proposition

The verbs of communication of proposition are two-place predicates. They are observed with one external argument and one internal argument. The external argument comprises of the agent who perform an action. The internal argument is characterized by the proposition of the object argument of which the sentence expresses.

    A. Direct communication

(16)   a.   Maria okwa tumbula omadhina

                Maria okwa tumbula oma-dhina

                Maria PST mention 6-names

                'Maria mentions the evidence'

        b.   Oma-dhina oga tumbulwa (kuMaria)

                Oma-dhina oga tumbul-w-a (ku-Maria)

                14-evidence SC-14 mention-PASS (by-Maria)

'The evidence was mentioned (by Maria)'

c. Omadhina oga tumbulilwe (kuMaria)

Oma-dhina oga tumbul-il-w-e (ku-Maria)

6-name POS-SC-6-PST mention-PERF-PST (by-Maria)

'The names were mentioned (by Maria)'

d. *Omadhina oga tumbulika kuMaria

Oma-dhina o-g-a tumbul-ik-a ku-Maria

6-name POS-SC-6-PST tumbul-ik-a by-Maria

'The evidence is well mentioned by Maria'

e. Omadhina oga tumbulikika (kuMaria)

Omadhina o-g-a tumbulikika (ku-Maria)

6-name PST-SC-6-PST mention-RED.NEUT (by-Maria)

'The names are (well) mentioned (by Maria)'

f. Opwa tumbulwa omadhina (kumaria)

Opwa tumbul-w-a omadhina (ku-Maria)

EXPL mention-PASS 6-names (by-Maria)

'There is mentioned names by Maria'

g. Opwa tumbulikika omadhina (kuMaria)

Opwa tumbul-ikik-a oma-dhina (ku-Maria)

EXPL mention-RED.NEUT 6-names (by-Maria)

'There is (well) mentioned the names by Maria'

The sentences (16a-b) are eventive. The verbs are telic although they involve no outcome. Moreover, these sentences consist of only the occurrence of the event and it does not consist of the outcome. These verbs as discussed in subsection (3.1.3) and subsection (5.3) above have lacked the lexical result state and they are simply degree of achievement (Alexiadou 2015). In (16a) Maria is interpreted as a volitional agent who deliberately performed the action of metioning the names. The action of the verb in (16b) and (16c) is directed to the subject *omadhina*. It then appears that the logical subject is de-externalized and it appears as an adjunct, thus it is optional. Note that in (16c) the event of mentioning the names is completed

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back then, in the remote past. In (16d) this sentence is ungrammatical due to the fact that the verb *tumbula* (mention) is incompatible with the neuter-passive suffix [-*ik*-]. The intervention of this neuter passive suffix [-*ik*-] in the verb *tumbula* results in the ill-form of the verb. Conversely, when the neuter passive is intensified as in (16e), the sentence is grammatical. The sentence is now ambiguated between the stative and achievement. The sentence is interpreteted to mean the names are mentioned to Maria's ability. Certainly, the verb *tumbulikika* has an inherent agentive properties present in its semantics, thus the agentive phrase is optional. This differs with Mchombo (2004) and Levin (2012:10) amongs others who argues that stativity denotes lack of agentivity.

The example in (16f) and (16g) above denote expletive constructions. The actions of the verbs are bounded to their direct object *omadhina* (names) which appears adjacent to the verb. The sentence in (16f) has a similar interpretation as in (16b), where the sentence in (16g) has the similar interpretation as the sentence in (16e) above.

Conversation verbs

(17)   a.   Omukulukadhi okwa popya oohapu
            Omukulukadhi okwa popya oo-hapu
            1-woman PST talk 10-talk
            'The woman talked the talks'

      b.   Oohapu odha popiwa (komukulukadhi)
            Oohapu odha popi-w-a (ko-mukulukadhi)
            10-talk POS-SC-10-PST talk-PASS (by-woman)
            'The talks is talked (by the woman)'

      c.   Oohapu odha popilwe (komukulukadhi)
            Oo-hapu o-dh-a pop-il-w-e (ko-mu-kulukadhi)
            10-talk POS-SC-10-PST talk-PERF-PASS (by-1-woman)
            'The talk had been talked (by the woman)'

      d.   Oohapu odha popyeka (komukuludhi)
            Oo-hapu o-dh-a popy-ek-a (ko-mu-kulukadhi)
            10-talk POS-SC-10-PST talk-NEUT (by-1-woman)

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'The talk is (well) talked (by the woman)'

    e.   Opwa popiwa oohapu (komukulukadhi)

        Opwa popi-w-a oo-hapu (ko-mu-kulukadhi)

        EXPL talk-PASS 10-talk (by-1-woman)

        'There is talked the talk (by the woman)'

    f.   Opwa popyeka oohapu (komukulukadhi)

        Opwa popy-ek-a oo-hapu (ko-mu-kulukadhi)

        EXPL talk-NEUT 10-talk (by-1-woman)

        'There is (well) talked the talk (by the woman)'

The examples in (17a-c) denote accompolishment. In (17a) the woman is doing the talk. Thus, the subject *omukuludhani* (woman) is the agent. Generally, the verb *popya* is atelic, but it becomes telic in contextual use. In (17b) and (17c) the action of the verb is degenerated to the subject and this result in the agentive phrase to be optional. However, note that the verb in (17c) denotes an event that happened way back. This sentence conveys an event that there was an event when a woman talked the talks. Where, the sentence in (17a) and (17b) conveys events that happened recently. In (16d) this sentence denotes a state. It expresses the means involved in making the talk. This sentence is interpreted to mean the talks are talked to the ability of the woman or the talks are well talked.

The example in (17e, f) the action of the verb is bounded to its object as discussed in (16g) above since there is no external argument assigned to the verb. Conversely, the example in (17f) has two ambiguous meanings as in (17d) above as in (17d) above. This sentence infers that the talk is talked to the ability of the woman or the talks are well talked. The agentive interpretation is only applicable with the first interpretation. Other verbs that exhibit similar semantic behaviour as illustrated in (17) above include the following; *hokola* (gossip), *nyenyeta* (complaint) and *umana* (quarrel)

B. INDIRECT COMMUNICATION

(18)   a.   Okakadhona o-k-a nyola ombapila

            Oka-kadhona o-k-a nyola o-mbapila

            12-girl POS-SC-12-PST-12 writes 9-letter

            'The girl wrote a letter'

b.   Ombapila oya nyolwa (kokakadhona)

            O-mbapila o-y-a nyol-w-a (ko-ka-dhona)

            9-ltter POS-SC-9-PST write-PASS (by-12-girl)

            'The letter is written (by the girl)'

c.   Ombapila oya nyolelwe (kokakadhona)

            O-mbapila oya nyol-el-w-e (ko-ka-kadhona)

            9-letter POS-SC-9-PST write-PERF-PASS (by-12-girl)

            'The letter had been written (by the girl)'

d.   Ombapila oya nyoleka (*kokakadhona)

            O-mbapila o-y-a nyol-ek-a (ko-ka-kadhona)

            9-letter POS-SC-9-PST write-NEUT (by-12-girl)

            'The letter is (well) written (by the child)'

e   Opwa nyolwa ombapila (kokakadhona)

            Opwa nyol-w-a o-mbapila (ko-ka-kadhona)

            EXPL write-PASS 9-letter (by-12-girl)

            'There is written a letter (by the girl)'

f.   Opwa nyoleka ombapila (kokakadhona)

            Opwa nyol-ek-a o-mbapila (ko-ka-kadhona)

            EXPL write-NEUT 9-paper (by-12-girl)

            'There is written (well) the paper (by the child)'

The examples in (18a-c) above are telic and they denote accomplishment events. Note that the verb *nyola* only becomes telic in context. In (18a) the subject NP *okanona* (child) is interpreted as agent and it is the one performing an action. The example in (18b) and (18c) former subject is raised to the subject position and it is now the subject argument of the verb. It is noted that in both (18b) and (18c) it is implied that someone has written the letter. This interpretation is understood inherently without an overt volitional agent. Therefore the occurrence of the agentive phrase is optional. The example in (d) is non-actional. It denotes the manner in which the paper is written. Thus, this sentence is interpreted to mean the paper is well written. This

sentence denotes a permanent state, although the writing of paper is exceptional. The difference between (18c) and (18d) is attributed to the obligatory unpronounced agent phrase in (d).

The sentences in (18e) and (18f) are expletive. The example in (e) denotes an accomplishment, where the example in (f) denotes a resultative state. There is a state that occurs as a result of the writing acitivity. The former subject *okakadhona* (girl) is expressed in both (e) and (f) as an oblique object of the by-phrase. The agent *okakadhona* in (f) is not a volitional agent however it is used in a context where the information about the writer is needed. Other verbs that exhibit similar semantic behaviour as illustrated in (18) above include the following; *lesha* (read), *uvitha* (preach), *pandula* (thank).

4.4.3 Manner of speaking

(19) a. Omukulukadhi okwa kuga onkugo
            Omukulukadhi okwa kuga o-nkugo
            1-woman PST scream 9-scream
            'The woman screamed a scream'

      b. Onkugo oya kugwa (ko-mu-kulukadhi)
            O-nkugo o-y-a kugwa (ko-mu-kulukadhi)
            9-woman POS-SC-9-PST scream-PASS (by-1-woman)
            'A scream is screamed (by the woman)'

      c. Onkugo oya kugilwe (ko-mu-kulukadhi)
            O-nkugo o-y-a kug-il-w-e (ko-mu-kulukdhi)
            9-scream POS-SC-9-PST scream-PERF-PASS (by-1-woman)
            'A scream was screamed (by the woman)'

      d. Onkugo oya kugika (komukulukadhi)
            Onkugo oya kug-ik-a (ko-mukulukadhi)
            9-scream SC-9 scream-NEUT (by-woman)
            'The scream is screamed (by the woman)'

      e. Opwa kugwa onkugo (komukulukadhi)

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Opwa kugwa o-nkugo (ko-mu-kulukadhi)

EXPL scream 9-scream (by-1-woman)

'There is screamed (by the woman)'

f.   Opwa kugika onkugo (komukulukadhi)

Opwa kug-ik-a o-nkugo (ko-mukulukadhi)

EXPL scream-NEUT 9-scream (by-woman)

'There is screamed a scream (by the woman)'

The manner verbs convey as part of their meaning the manner of carrying out an action. The verbs are said to have no result or outcome (Levin 2008). The examples in (19a-c) above denote telic events. The event of screaming is completed. In (19b, c), the logical object *onkugo* (scream) is the subject argument of the verb and the logical subject is expressed as an adjunct. The sentence in (19c) has a vague meaning because it is not clear if this event has happened all at once or it was done continuously. It is also not clear if this event is expressed as a single event or a series of a screaming event.

The examples in (19d) above, expresses the means involved in making the scream. This sentence has inherent agentive properties in its semantics. It appears that this sentence is ambiguated between two meanings. The first meaning is associated with non-agentivity and it conveys that the scream is well screamed. The second interpretation is associated with agentivity. The scream is screamed to the ability of the woman, thus according to Klingvall (2005:100) this sentence cannot be explicitly non-agentive. The same understanding may be inferred when the verb appears with the expletive subject in (19f) where the subject argument is demoted to the post-verbal position. The expletive sentence in (19e) has a similar interpretation as the sentence in (19b) above. However, the verb is unable to assign a case to its subject.Other verbs that exhibit similar semantic behaviour as illustrated in (19) above includes the following; *imba* (sing), *igidha* (shout) and *ganda* (shout)

4.4.4 Instrument of Communication

The verbs of instrument of communication occur with three arguments. There are one external argument and two internal arguments of which one argument has a thematic role theme and the second argument denotes an instrument. This instrumental modification phrase modifies the event denoted by the predicate.

(20) a. Nangula okwa tuma etumwalaka nongodhi

Nangula okwa tuma e-tumwalaka no-ngodhi

Nangula PST send 5-message with-phone

'Nangula sends the message with the phone'

b. Etumwalaka olya tumwa (nongodhi) (kuNangula)

Etumwalaka o-ly-a tumwa (no-ngodhi) (ku-Nangula)

5-message POS-SC-5-PST send-PASS (with-phone) (by-Nangula)

'The is sent (with the phone) (by Nangula)'

c. Etumwalaka olya tuminwe (nongodhi) (kuNangula)

Etumwalaka o-ly-a tum-in-w-e (nongodhi) (ku-Nangula)

5-message POS-SC-5-PST send-PERF-PASS (with-phone) (by-Nangula)

'The message was sent (with the phone) (by Nangula)'

d. *Etumwalaka olya tumika nongodhi ku-Nangula

E-tumwaka olya tumika no-ngodhi ko-Nangula

5-message SC-5 send-PASS with-phone by-Nangula

'The message is sent with-phone by-Nangula'

e. Etumwalaka olya tumikika (nongodhi) (kuNangula)

E-tumwaka olya tum-ikik-a (no-ngodhi) (ku-Nangula)

5-message POS-SC-5-PST send-RED.NEUT (with-phone) (by-Nangula)

'The message is (well) sent with-phone (by-Nangula)'

f. Opwa tumikika etumwalaka (nongodhi) (kuNangula)

Opwa tum-ikik-a e-tumwalaka (nongodhi) (ku-Nangula)

EXPL send-INTENS 5-message (with-phone) (by-Nangula)

'There is (well) sent the message (with the phone) (by Nangula)'

g. Opwa tumwa etumwalaka (nongodhi) (kuNangula)

Opwa tumwa e-tumwalaka (nongodhi) (ku-Nangula)

EXPL send-PASS 5-message (with-phone) (by-Nangula)

'There is sent the message (with the phone) (by Nangula)'

The examples in (20a-c) above appear with 3 arguments. In (20a) the NP Nangula is the subject argument which performs an action of sending the message. The internal arguments appear as two arguments *etumwalaka* (message) which has the thematic reading of theme and *nongodhi* (with the phone) which has the thematic reading of instrument. In (20b) and (20c) above the logical subject is realized to the subject position. The latter is expressed as an adjunct. It should be noted that the NPs which have an instrument reading may not appear as the subject argument of the verb hence it may result in the sentence being ungrammatical. These sentences, however, denote accomplishment events. The event of sending is completed. The sentence in (20c) signifies that there was an event in time when the message was sent. The temporal features of time in this construction are not specific. This is the common feature for all events that appear with perfect tense properties.

In (20d) the activity verb *tuma* (send) is not compatible with the neuter-passive suffix [-*ek*-], but compatible with intensive neuter-passive as in (20e). Therefore the neuter-passive suffix [-*ek*-] results in the ill-form of the verbs. The sentence in (20e) above denotes a state e.g. the manner in which the message was sent. Note that the appearance of the agentive phrase is due to the fact that the agent is indirectly expressed by the verb as indicated in (19d) and (f) above. Therefore the agentive phrase is optional. It is implied that the sending event requires the presences of someone sending. The sentence in (20f) has the similar interpretation. But note that this sentence is interpreted to mean the message is well sentence with the phone.

The sentences in (20f) and (20g) illustrate the expletive constructions. All the arguments appear internally. Manninen and Nelson (2004) as cited in Kinglvall elaborates that structures with instrument modification phrases require the presences of agentive which is expressed either syntactically or semantically. It is for this reason that the presence of optional agentive phrase in the structures in (20) above is grammatical.

4.4.5 Summary

To sum up, on this analysis, not all verbs of communication satisfy the neuter-passive diagonistic test. The analysis revealed that the verbs of communication that do not satisfy the diagnostic test for neuter-passive are in ill-formed sentences. This is mostly observed in (4.4.1, 4.4.2 and 4.4.4) above. It is, however, observed that some verbs of communication are similar

aspectual type but show different syntactic behavior, one being incompatible with middle constructions while others being compatible with it. This is observed in subsesctions (4.4.2 and 4.4.4) above. It is noted that some neuter-passive-verbs do not accept logical subject into their structure and only verbs that have inherent agentive properties present in their semantics may accept a logical subject as adjunct into their structure as discussed in subsection (4.4.4) above. Note also that some verbs are ungrammatical when they appear with the neuter-passive suffix but grammatical when the neuter-passive is intensified. Therefore, these verbs only gain their stative meaning by intensifying their neuter-passive suffix. It is evident that not all verbs that can take passive are compitable with neuter-passive. Fuerthermore, it is observed that all the verbs of communication have passed the diagonistic test for passivisation. In some languages like English it is observed that verbs that have more than one internal argument, as shown in subsections (4.4.1 and 4.4.2) above do not participate in mdiddle construction (Jingquan 2007:217). This may not be the case in Oshindonga because some ditransitive verbs in Oshindonga participate in the middle constructions, yet they denote the properties of the subject such as in (21e). It appears that other arguments such as the instrument NPs *nongodhi* (with the phone) is assigned by the verb through the subject argument. Note that logical object here is not the effected argument but it is the affected argument.

On the issue of the agent-*oriented* adverbial modification examined in this section, it is indicated that the passive construction can take the *agent-oriented* phrase modification as shown in subsection (4.4.1), but the neuter-passive construction does not accept it as indicated in (4.4.1). This adeverbial modification is assumed to have semantic influence on the interpretation of the verb. It is further noted that this agent-*oriented* phrase modifies the Agent of the verb, not the event denoted by the predicate, as discussed in (4.2) and (4.3) above.

4.5 VERBS OF EXISTENCE

This section will explore on the arguments and event structure properties of neuter-passive and passive alternations of the verbs of existence. The verbs of existence are two-place predicates. The members of this semantic class denotes eventuality that involves a theme whose existence is asserted in a location. In this section, six verb classes of the verbs of existence will be examined in both neuter-passaive and passive alternations. Four types of alternants are identified: one with the passive suffix [-*w*-], neuter-passive [-*w*-], the perfect tense, the expletive empty subject.

4.5.1 Exist verbs

(21) a. Omumati oha zi mokambashu

Omu-mati oha zi mo-ka-mbashu

1-man HAB live LOC-12-schacks

'The man lives in the shack'

b. Mokambashu ohamu ziwa (komumati) / (aluhe)

Mo-kambashu oha-mu zi-w-a (ko-mumati) / (aluhe)

LOC-12-shacks POS- HAB-SC-18 live-PASS (by-man) (always)

'The man lives in (by the shack) (always)'

c. Mokambashu omwa zílwé (komumati) (*aluhe)

Mokambashu omwa zílwé (ko-mumati) (aluhe)

LOC-shack   POS-SC-18 live-PERF-PASS-FV (by-man) / (always)

'In the shack had been lived (by the man) / (always)'

d. *Mokambashu omwa ziwika komumati (*aluhe)

Mokambashu o-mw-a ziw-ik-a komumati (aluhe)

LOC-shack POS-SC-18-PST live-PASS-NEUT (by-man) / (always)

(In the shack was lived (by the man) / (always)

e. *Opwa ziwika mombashu komumati / (*aluhe)

Opwa ziwika mo-mbashu ko-mumati (aluhe)

EXPL live-PASS-NEUT LOC by-man (always)

'There is lived in the shack by the man / (always)'

f. Opwa ziwa (mombashu komumati) / (*aluhe)

Opwa ziwa (mombashu komumati) / (aluhe)

EXPL live-PASS (LOC-shack by-man) / (always)

'There is lived in the shack (by the man) / (always)'

According to Comrie (1976) examples such as (21a, b) above denote a habitual interprertation.
These events are imperfective and they have no outcome or final endpoint. In (21b) the agentive
phrase is optional due the intransitive nature of the passive verb. In (21c) the habitual meaning

is lost. In that this sentence is interpreted to mean there was an event when the man used to live shack. According to Kratzer (2002) such state has no direct effect on the referents of their direct objects. Therefore, it is difficult to measure the acceptability of the events expressed. According to Bassac and Bouillon (2002:38) states such as the one in (21a) are not artefactual and they they do not refer to an agentive.

The verb [zi] in (21d, f) above is incompatible with the stative suffix [-*ik*-], thus it is unacceptable. The example in (21f) is an expletive. The subject argument appears with an empty subject. The arguments appear post-verbally. These two NPs are optional hence the passive verb *ziwa* is intransitive. The NP *mokambashu* (in shack) has a thematic reading of the location, where, the NP *komumati* is an adjunct.

The passive predicate in (21b) can lincense with the durative time phrase *aluhe*. The same hold true with the example in (21a) with an active transitive predicate. However, when the perfect tense is introduced in the structure as in (21c) the durative phrase becomes semantically anomalous. A similar interpretation is apparent when the neuter-passive and expletive empty subject are introduced in the structure in (21d, e) and (21f). Note, however, that this durative phrase in (21a, b) expresses an iterative meaning.

Other verbs that a exhibit similar semantic behaviour illustrated in (21) above include the following; *kala* (remain), *tegelela* (wait), holama (hide).

4.5.2 Verbs of entity-specific modes of beings

(22)   a.   Omakala oga pya mesiga
                Oma-kala o-g-a pi me-siga
                6-coal POS-SC-6-PST burn LOC-stove
                'The coals burn in the stove'

       b.   *Mesiga omwa piwa komakala
                Me-siga omwa pi-w-a ko-ma-kala
                LOC-stove SC-18 burn-PASS by-6-coal
                'In the stove SC-18 is burnt by the coals'

       c.   *Mesiga omwa pilwe komakala
                Me-siga o-mw-a p-il-w-e ko-makala

LOC-stove POS-SC-18-PST PERF-PASS by-6-coal

'In the stove is burnt by the coals'

    d.   *Mesiga omwa pika komakala

        Mesiga o-mw-a p-ik-a ko-makala

        LOC-stove POS-SC-18-PST burn-NEUT 6-coal

        'The stove is burnt by coal'

    e.   *Opwa piwa komakala mesiga

        Opwa p-iw-a komakala mesiga

        EXPL burn-PASS by-coal LOC-stove

        'There is burnt by the coal in the stove'

    f.   *Opwa pika komakala mesiga

        Opwa p-ik-a komakala mesiga

        EXPL burn by-coal LOC-Stove

        'There is burnt coal in the stove'

The example in (22a) above denotes an accomplishment event. This event involves what is described as an "incremental theme" as indicated by Rothstein (2013), Balglini (2012) and Levin (2007). In such a sentence there is progress to be observed when the coals burn by looking at the changes in the coals. Note that, this sentence does not include an agent performing the task but it appears with the location argument *mesiga* (in the stove). The subject argument *omakala* (coals) is then interpreted as incremental theme and it is seems to be anaffected subject, one which come into existence as the result of burning. The examples in (22b-f) above are ungrammatical. It appears that the verb *pya* (burn) does not allow the passive suffix [-*w*-] and a neuter passive suffix [-*ik*-] in (22d) and (22f). Note that the sentence in (22c) expresses a perfect tense of the passive verb.

  (23) a.   Ombepo oya pepa moondundu

          Ombepo o-y-a pepa mo-o-ndundu

          9-wind POS-SC-9-PST blow LOC-10-mountains

          'The wind blows in the mountain'

b.   Moondundu omwa pepwa (kombepo)

       Mo-o-ndundu o-mw-a pep-w-a (ko-mbepo)

       LOC-10- mountain POS-SC-18-PST blow-PASS (by-wind)

       'The wind blew in the mountain'

c.   Moondundu omwa pepelwe (kombepo)

       Mo-o-ndunda o-mw-a pep-el-w-e (ko-mbepo)

       LOC-10-mountain POS-SC-18-PST blow-PERF-PASS (by-wind)

       'In the mountain was blown by the wind'

d.   Moondundu omwa pepeka (kombepo)

       Moondundu o-mw-a pep-ek-a (ko-mbepo)

       LOC-mountain POS-SC-18-PST blow-NEUT (by-wind)

       'In the mountain is well brown (by the wind)'

e.   Opwa pepwa moondundu kombepo

       Opwa pep-w-a mo-ondundu ko-mbepo

       EXPL blow-PASS LOC-10-mountain (by-wind)

       'There is blown by the wind in the mountain'

f.   Opwa pepeka (*moondundu) (kombepo)

       Opwa pep-ek-a (*mo-o-ndundu) (ko-mbepo)

       EXPL blow-NEUT (*LOC-10-mountain) (by-wind)

       'There is blown in the mountain (by the wind)'

The examples in (23a-c) denote acitivity events. These acitivities have a telic interpretation. The similar observation was made by McClure (1995) as cited in Kratzer (2002:13) on activity verbs in Japan, whereby he argues that the verbs that have acitivity reading in Japan may change from atelic to telic depending on their contextual use. Thus,, the event of wind blowing in (23a-c) above is culminated when the wind stop blowing. However, the example in (23c) has a vague meaning. The blowing event can be refered to as a single event where the wind blew all at once or as series of events where the wind blew multiple times. Therefore there is no precise interpretation unless there is evedince to contrary.

The example in (23d) denotes a resultative state which occurs as a result of the blowing of wind. Thus, the neuter passive suffix [-*ek*-] that appears with the verb *pepa* (blow) has changed this verb from actional process to non-actional. Interestingly, this sentence is means the wind blows well in the mountain. The sententences in (23e) and (23f) are expletive. The example in (23e) has a similar interpretation as the sentence in (23b). The example in (23f) denotes a descriptive predicate. Thus, the appearance of locative NP *moondundu* (in the mountain) is ungrammatical. The stative verb *pepeka* and its expletive subjectival agreement marker *opwa* do not assign accusative case to the object, thus the appearance of the locative object *mondunda* is ungrammatical.

4.5.3 Verbs of being involved emotion

(24) a. Embungu o-ly-a dhingoloka onkoshi
          E-mbungu o-ly-a dhingoloka o-nkoshi
          5-hyena POS-SC-5-PSTgo-round 9-lion
          'The hyena go round the lion'

      b. Onkoshi oya dhingolokwa (kembungu)
          O-nkoshi o-y-a dhingolok-w-a (ke-mbungu)
          9-lion POS-SC-9-PST go-round-PASS (by-hyena)
          'The lion is being gone round (by the hyena)'

      c. Onkoshi oya dhingolokelwe (kembungu)
          O-nkoshi o-y-a dhingolok-el-w-e (ke-mbungu)
          9-lion POS-SC-9-PST go-round-PERF-PASS (by-hyena)
          'The lion has gone round (by the hyena)'

      d. Onkoshi oya dhingolokeka (kembungu)
          Onkoshi o-y-a dhingolek-ek-a (kembungu)
          9-lion POS-SC-9-PST go-around-NEUT (by-hyena)
          'The lion is (well) gone around (by the hyena)'

      e. Opwa dhingolokwa onkoshi (kembungu)
          Opwa dhingolok-w-a o-nkoshi (ke-mbungu)
          EXPL go-round-PASS 9-lion (by-hyena)

'There is gone around the lion (by the hyena)'

f.   Opwa dhingolokeka onkoshi (kembungu)

        Opwa dhingolok-ek-a o-nkoshi (ke-mbungu)

        EXPL go-round-NEUT 9-lion (by-hyena)

        'There is (well) gone around the lion (by the hyena)'

Generally, the verb *dhingoloka* in (24a) above donotes an activity verb and this activity verb has no clear endpoint. However, in the context of discourse, it is assumed that the hyena managed to go around the lion, when the hyena reached the point or place where such movement started. Consequently, this activity event has a telic reading. A similar interpretation is induced in (24b), where the theme is the highest theta role. In the example (24c) the event of go round the lion can be either expressed as a single event where the hyena has gone round the lion once, or it can be expressed as multiple events whereby the hyena is percieved to go round the lion multiple times. However note that although such vague interpretation occurs, there is time when these events are terminated. In contrast, the situation in (24d) below is quite different. The sentence is non-eventive. The syntactic evidence to support this claim comes from the neuter passive suffix [-*k*-] that appears with the verb *dhingoloka*. It is implied that this sentence has an indirect agentive in the sense that the go round event is presupposed that someone or something has moved around the lion. Thus, the neuter passive of this kind can not be explicitly non-agentive (Dubinsky and Simango 1996). In Oshindonga such agentive is optionally expressed. Note that this sentence denotes that that the Lion is well gone round. In others words the verb denotes the means in which the activity of gone round brought about. This may also apply to the example in (24f) when there is no subject is assigned to the verb. The example in (24e) is expletive and it has the similar understanding as the sentence in (24b).

(25) a.   Ondjima oya endjelela koshitayi

          Ondjima oya endjelela ko-shitayi

          9-monkey POS-SC-17-PRS-hang LOC-branch

          'The monkey hangs down on the branch'

    b.   Koshitayi okwe endjelelwa (kondjima)

          Koshitayi o-kw-e endjel-el-w-a (kondjima)

LOC-branch POS-SC-17-PST hang-PASS (by-monkey)

'On the branch is being hanged (by the monkey)'

c.   Koshitayi okwe endjelelwe (kondjima)

Ko-shitayi o-kw-e endjelel-el-w-e (ko-ndjima)

LOC-branch POS-SC-17-PST hang-PRF-PASS-FV (by-monkey)

'On the branch was hanged (by the monkey)'

d.   *Koshitayi okwe endjeleleka kondjima

Ko-shitayi o-kw-e endjelel-ek-a ko-ndjima

LOC-branch POS-SC-17-PAST hang-NEUT by-monkey

'On the branch hanged by the monkey'

e.   Opwa endjelelwa koshitayi (kondjima)

Opwa endjelel-w-a koshitayi (ko-ndjima)

EXPL hang-PASS LOC-branch (by-monkey)

'There is hanged on the branch (by the monkey)'

f.   *Opwa endjeleleka koshitayi kondjima

Opwa endeleleka ko-shitayi kondjima

EXPL hang-NEUT LOC-branch by-monkey

'There is hanged on the branch by the monkey'

The example in (25a-b) denotes a state. The event of hang down has no culmination because the monkey may still be hanging on the branch by the time the utterance was made. Therefore, there is no clear endpoint to this event. The similar interpretation is apparent to the expletive construction in (25e). In the example in (25c) the event of hanging down occurs in the remote past. Although it is not clear for how long the monkey has been hanging on the branch, this event is completed. Therefore, this sentence denotes an accomplishment event. In contrast, the example in (25d) and (25f) are ungrammatical. This is due to the fact that the verb *enjelela* is incompatible with the neuter passive suffix [-*ek*-]. Thus, the verb *endjeleleka* in this context is meaningless.

4.5.4 Verbs of sound existence

(26) a.   Okahiya oka hiki kokapale

               Oka-hiya o-k-a hiki ko-kapale

               12-whistle POS-SC-12-PST shrieks LOC-playground

               'The whistle shrieks at the playground'

      b.   Kokapale okwa hikwa (*kokahiya)

               Ko-kapale o-kw-a hik-w-a (koka-hiya)

               LOC-playground POS-SC-17-PST shriek-PASS (*by-whistle)

               'At the playground is shrieked (by whistle)'

      c.   Kokapale okwa hikilwe (*kokahihiya)

               Kokapale o-kw-a hik-il-w-e (ko-ka-hiya)

               LOC-playground POS-SC-17-PST shriek-PERF-PASS-FV (by-12-whistle)

               'At the playground shrieked (by the whistle)'

      d.   Kokapale okwa hikika (*kokahiya)

               Ko-kapale o-kw-a hik-ik-a ko-ka-hiya)

               LOC-playground POS-SC-17-PST shriek-NEUT (by-12-whistle)

               'At the playground shrieks (well) (by the whistle)'

      e.   *Opwa hikika kokapale (kokahiya)

               Opwa hik-ik-a kokapale (ko-ka-hiya)

               There blow-NEUT LOC-playground (by-12-whistle)

               'There is (well) shrieked at the playground (by the whistle)'

    f.   Opwa hikwa kokahiya (kokapale)

               Opwa hik-w-a koka-hiya (ko-kapale)

               EXPL blow-PASS 12-whistle (LOC-playground)

               'There is blown a whistle (at the playground)'

The example in (26a) above expresses an activity event, but this event is telic because the sound of the whistle is brought about. Notice, furthermore that the verb *hiki* indicates the syntactic

unergative (see also Ackema and Schoorlmmer 1994). In contrast, in (26b) and (26c) the activity of blowing the whistle is uederstood to be completed. Thus, it denotes an accomplishment event. I should add that, the example (26c) the shriek event is interpreted as either a single event or multiple events.In (2a) the NP *kokapale* (at the playground) has a thematic role of direction. The subject argument *okahiya* (whistle) has a material reading. In case of (26b) and (26c) the appearance of the adjunct *kokahiya* (by whistle) is ungrammatical. It appears that the verb *hikwa* and *hikilwe* are only compatible with the NP *okahiya* as a subject.

In (26d), the sentence depicts a descriptive predicate and it is thus, non-eventive. Since the agentive phrase *kokahiya* is ungrammatical, it is difficult to understand the meaning of this sentence. However, if the NP *okahiya* is introduced into the structure without a *by*-phrase this sentence would othersiwe be grammatical. The fact that the logical object NP *kokapale* which is lexically realized is not an affected argument, it makes the subject unlikely to be responsible for performing the action denoted by the verb. Thus this sentence could not be grammatical. The sentence in (26e) is unacceptable. This ungrammaticality is attributed by the fact that the grammatical subject in (26d) is not the affected argument, where in (26e) it is attributed by the nature of the unprojected argument (See Schoorlmmer and Simango 1994:78). The sentence in (26f) has similar interpretation as the sentence in (26b).

(27) a. Omungungumo ogwa ngunguma momulamba
          Omu-ngumumo o-gw-a ngunguma mo-mu-lamba
          3-thunder POS-SC-3-PST thunders LOC-1-valley
          'The thunder thundered in the valley'

      b. Momulamba omwa ngungumwa (kongungumo)
          Mo-mu-lamba o-mw-a ngungum-w-a (ko-mu-ngungumo)
          LOC-3-valley POS-SC-18-PST thunder-PASS (by-3-thunder)
          'In the valley thundered (by the thunder)'

      c. Momulamba omwa ngunguminwe (komungungumo)
          Mo-mu-lamba o-mw-a ngungum-in-w-e (ko-mu-ngungumo)
          LOC-3-valley POS-SC-17-PST thunder-PERF-PASS (by-3-thunder)
          'In the valley was thundered (by the thunder)'

      d. Momulamba omwa ngungumika (*komungungumo)

Mo-mu-lamba o-mw-a ngungum-ik-a (*ko-mu-ngungumo)

LOC-3-valley POS-SC-18-PST thunder-NEUT (*by-3-thunder)

'In the valley is well thundered by the thunder'

    e.   Opwa ngungumika (*momulamba) (komungungumo)

Opwa ngungum-ik-a (mo-mulamba) (ko-mu-ngungumo)

EXPL thunder-NEUT LOC-valley (by-3-thunder)

'There is thunder by thunder'

    f.   Opwa ngungumwa momulamba (komungungumo)

Opwa ngungum-w-a mo-mulamba (ko-mu-ngungumo)

EXPL thunder-PASS LOC-valley (by-3-thunder)

'There is thunder in the valley (by the thunder)'

The examples in (27) above differ from the examples in (26) for the reason that the logical subject *omungungumo* (thunder) and the lexical object in (27) are affected argument (cf. Jingquan 2007:220), on the other hand, it is assumed that the whistle in (26) can not blow itself. Someone should have blown it so that it shrieks. Generally, the verb *ngunguma* in (27a) is an activity verb, but in the context of its discourse it expresses an accomplishment. Note that, there is a time when the thunder event culminates. The verb *ngungumwa* is a passive verb and it is telic. Thus, the passive suffix [-*w*-] reverts the action of the verb to the subject *momulamba*. Thus, the subject argument is the affected argument by the verbal action. The example in (27c) is telic, however, the thunder event is occur as a single event or as multiple events. This sentence has a similar interpretation as the sentence in (27c).

When the neuter passive is introduced in the structure as in the example (27d), the agentive-phrase becomes unacceptable. This is due to the fact that the verb *ngungumika* is a stative verb and it expresses the means in which the thunder thunders. Therefore, this sentence is interpreted to mean, the thunder thunders well. Conversely, when the expletive is introduced into the the structure as in (27e), the locative NP *momulamba* is uaccaptable into the srtructure. This is because the stative verbs are not compatible with complements whose semantic role is location. In contrast, in (27f) the two arguments *momulamba* and *kongungumo* are accepted into the structure as internal argument of the verb.

4.5.5 Verbs of group existence

(28)   a.   Ongundu oya gongala momuti

            O-ngundu oya gongala momuti

            9-crowd POS-SC-9-PST gather LOC-tree

            (The crowd gathers in the tree)

       b.   Momuti omwa gongalwa (kongundu)

            Momuti omwa gongal-w-a (ko-ngundu)

            LOC-tree POS-SC-18-PST gather-)PASS (by-crowd)

            'In the tree is gathered (by the crowd'

       c.   Momuti omwa gongalelwe (kongundu)

            Mo-muti o-mw-a gongal-el-w-e (ko-ngundu)

            LOC-tree POS-SC-18-PST gather-PERF-PASS (by-crowd)

            'In the tree was gathered by-crowd'

       d.   *Momuti omwa gongaleka kongundu

            Momumuti o-mw-a gongal-ek-a kongundu

            LOC-tree POS-SC-18-PST gather-NEUT by-crowd

            'In the tree is gathered by the crowd'

       e.   *Opwa gongaleka momuti kongundu

            Opwa gongal-ek-a mo-muti ko-ngundu

            EXPL gather-NEUT LOC-tree by-crowd

            'There is gathered in the tree by the people'

       f.   Opwa gongalwa momuti (kaantu)

            Opwa gongalwa mo-muti (ka-antu)

            EXPL gather-PASS LOC-tree (by-people)

            'There is gathered in the tree by people'

The example in (28a, b) expresses only part of the event and it does not express whether the goal was reached. The similar understanding is apparent when the expletive is introduced in the structure as indicated in (28f). Where, the example sentence in (28c) denotes a telic event.

Although this event does not contain a goal and this event was terminated at some point in the remote past. The sentence, however, becomes completely ungrammatical when the neuter passive suffix [-*ek*-] is introduced in the verbal structure. This means that the verb *gongala* (gather) is incompatible with the neuter passive suffix. A similar characteristic is observed in (28e) when the expletive is introduced in the structure.Other verbs that exhibit similar semantic behaviour as the one illustrated above include the following; *ngundumana* (gather), *tshakaneka* (meet), *kokaya* (crawl), *yoga* (swim).

4.5.6 Verbs of Spatial configuration

(29) a.   Opate oya goyoka pomulondo
             O-pate o-y-a goyoka po-mu-londo
             9-road POS-SC-9-PST turns LOC-3-hill
             'The road turns at the hill'

      b.   Pomulondo o-pw-a goyokwa (kopate)
             Po-mulondo o-pw-a goy-ok-w-a (ko-pate)
             LOC-hill POS-SC-16-PST turn-PASS (by-road)
             'At the hill is turned (by the he road)'

      c.   Pomulondo opwa goyokelwe (kopate)
              Po-mulondo o-pw-a goyok-el-w-e (ko-pate)
             LOC-hill POS-SC-16-PST turn-PASS (by-road)
             'At the hill was turned (by the road)'

      d.   Pomulondo opwa goyok-ek-a (*kopate)
             Pomulondo o-pw-a goyok-ek-a (ko-pate)
             LOC-hill POS-SC-16-PST turn-NEUT (by-road)
             'At the hill is (well) turned (by the road)'

      e.   Opwa goyokeka pomulondo (*kopate)
             Opwa goyok-ek-a po-mulondo (ko-pate)
             EXPL turn-NEUT LOC-hill (by-road)
             'There is (well) turned at the hill (by the road)'

      f.   Opwa goyokwa pomulondo (kopate)

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Opwa yoy-ok-w-a pomulondo (kopate)

EXPL turn-NEUT LOC-hill (by-road)

'There is turned at the hill (by the road)'

The example in both (29a) denotes a resultative state, where in (29b) it denotes a resultative passive. Interestingly, these sentences have a similar interpretation. The curved or a turn that could be possiblly observed in the road is found at the hill. However, these sentences differ in the way they convey this information. In (29a) the subject argument *opate* (road) is the affected argumenent because change of state is observed on the road. Here, the focus is on the turn in the road. The Locative NP *pomulondo* provides additional information in relation to the action of the verb i.e. a place where the road turns. In (29b) the grammatical subject is the affected because the change of state is observed at the hill. In that the subject NP *opate* has interpretation of theme, where, the locative NP *pomulondo* has the semantic interpretation of location. The example sentence in (29c) denotes a complete event. The road is interpreted to have turned at the hill at some point in time in the remote past. It is implied that this turn is no longer exist.

The example in (29d) appears with a descriptive predicate. This sentence expresses a stative meaning. The logical subject is unacceptable into the structure. This concurs with (Jingquan 2007 and Kratzer 2004:3 among others) who argue that the logical subject of stative is not expressed in middles.Therefore, the appearance of the by-phrase *kopate* is ungrammatical. Note that the stative verb *goyekeka* is unaccusative. In contrast this sentence has a different interpretation as compared to the examples in (29a, b, c) above. Thus, the turn at the hill is interpreted to have turned well. This means that the initial meaning as in (29a) above is lost. This is due to the fact that the NP *opate* (road) is syntactically deleted. The lexical realized object is now responsible for the verbal action. The understanding is apparent in (29e) above when the expletive is introduced into the structure.

4.5.7 Meander verbs

(30) a.   Okanona oka tamuna ekumbatha

              Oka-nona o-k-a tamuna e-kumbtaha

              12-child POS-SC-12-PST stretch5 5-blanket

              'The child stretched the blanket'

      b.   Ekumbatha olya tamununwa (kokanona)

              E-kumbatha o-ly-a tamunun-w-a (ko-kanona)

5-blanket POS-SC-5-PST stretch-PASS (by-child)

'The blanket was stretched (by the child)'

c.   Ekumbatha olya tamuninwe (kokanona)

Ekumbatha olya tamuninwe (kokanona)

5-blanket SC-5 stretch-PERF (by-child)

'The blanket was stretched (by the child)'

d.   Ekumbatha olya tamun-uk-a (*kokanona)

E-kumbatha o-ly-a tamun-uk-a   (ko-kanona)

5-blanket POS-SC-5-PST stretch- NEUT (by-child)

'The blanket is stretched (by the child)'

e.   Opwa tamununwa ekumbatha (kokanona)

Opwa tamununwa ekumbatha (kokanona)

EXPL stretch-PASS 5-blanket (by-child)

'There is stretched the blanket by the child'

f.   Opwa tamunuka ekumbatha (*kokanona)

Opwa tamunu-k-a e-kumbatha (ko-kanona)

EXPL stretch-NEUT 5-blanket (by child)

'There is stretched the blanket (by the child)'

The example in (30a) denotes a complete event that has natural endpoint. This activity denotes accomplishment event. The stretching of the blanket has been completed. Here, the verb *tamununa* (stretch) is accusative verb. Nonetheless this sentence involves a volitional agent *okanona* (child) deliberately acting upon *ekumbatha* (blanket). In the example sentences (30b, c, e) above the verb *tamununwa* is an unaccusative verb. The action of the verb reverts back to its subject argument. This verb implies that someone has stretched the blanket. Consequently, the logical subject is optionally expressed. These sentences indicate that the change of state observed on the blanket occurs as a result of the action denoted by the verb *tamununwa*. Therefore this sentence denotes resultative passive. Note, however, that the event in (30c) occurs with unspecified time reference.

The examples in (30d and f) denote a resultative state. The agentive phrase is unexpressed inexpressible. This sentence is descriptive and it does not contain the manner involved in bringing about the action denoted by the verb as discussed in previous section. Again, this sentence lacks the interpretation that something is well done. These sentences have a generic interpretation.

4.5.8 Verbs of Contiguous location

(31) a.   Aapolisi oya kundukidha etungo

Aapolisi oya kundukidha etungo

2-police SC-2 surround 5-building

'The police surround the building'

b.   Etungu olya kundukidhwa (kaapolisi)

E-tungu o-lya kundukidh-w-a (ka-a-polisi)

5-building POS-SC-5-PST surround-PASS (by-2-police)

'The building is surrounded (by the police)'

c.   Etungu olya kundukidhilwe (kaapolisi)

E-tungo o-ly-a kundukidh-il-w-e (ka-apolisi)

5-building POS-SC-5-PST surround-PASS (by-police)

'The building was surrounded (by the police)'.

d.   *Etungo olya kundukidhika kaapolisi

Etungo o-ly-a kundukidh-ik-a ka-apolisi

5-building POS-SC-5-PST surround-PASS by-police

'The building is (well) surrounded by the police'

e.   Etungo olya kundukidh-ik-w-a (kaapolisi)

E-tungo o-ly-a kundukidh-ik-w-a (ka-a-polisi)

5-bulding POS-SC-5-PST surround-NEUT-PASS (by-2-Police)

'The building is surrounded (by police)'

f.   Opwa kundukidhwa etungo (kaapolisi)

Opwa kundukidh-w-a e-tungo (ka-a-polisi)

EXPL surround-PASS 5-building (by-2-police)

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'There is surrounded the building (by the police)'

g. Opwa kundukidhika etungo (kaapolisi)

Opwa kundukidhika e-tungo (ka-a-polisi)

EXPL surrounded 5-building (by-2-police)

'The building is surrounded (by the police)'

The examples in (31a, b) above denote simple states. These events do not have a final endpoint, hence the police could still be seen surrounding the building. The event participant is innately expressed by the verb. It is perceived that the building is surrounded by something. Thus, the sentence in (31c) expresses a complete event with unspecified time reference. This sentence means that there was an event when the building was surrounded by the police. In example sentence in (31d) above, the theme argument is realized in the subject position as in (31b and c) above, however, this distribution results in the sentence being ungrammatical. The verb *kundukidhika* (surround) is an eventive verb and it requires that the subject arguments responsible for the action denoted by the verb.

 In the example in (31e) above, the combination of neuter passive and passive morphemes appears with the verb *kundukidha* (surround). This combination brought about the patient role of the subject, allowing *etungo* (building) to be the subject argument of the verb. Remarkably, this sentence does not have a stative interpretation. It implies that the building is well surrounded. In (g) the sentence is grammatical. The theme argument is projected inside the VP due to the expletive nature of the subject. This sentence denotes a state event. The building is surrounded by the police. Where, the agentive phrase is optionally expressed.

4.5.9 Summary

In conclusion, in this section, eight different types of verbs of existence were tested in order to identify their distinct properties regarding the neuter-passive and passive constructions. As I have shown in subsection (4.5.1) above, exist verbs are assumed to exhibit properties that has no direct effect on the referent of their direct object. I argue that this semantic constraint is attributed by the habitual element that appears with exist verbs. It is further discusses that the exist verbs are not compatible with neuter-passive suffix hence it may results in ill-form of the verb. On the issues of passive, I argue that this construction averts the underlying logical subject argument of the predicate from becoming the syntactic object. This feature is attributed

by the fact that the verb in both passive and neuter-passive becomes 'patient-focus'. The logical subject in passive construction is only syntactically deleted but semantically expressed. The passive construction is likely to behave the same in (4.5.3, 4.5.4, 4.5.5, 4.5.6, 4.5.7 & 4.5.8) above. In subsection (4.5.2) above, the verbs of entity-specific modes of being do not pass the diagnostic test for both passivation and stativity. The occurrence of both neuter-passive and passive suffixes results in ill-form of the verb *pya* (burn). In subsection (4.5.3) above, the verbs of being involved emotion has passed the diagnostic test for both stativity and passivation, but it appears that the neuter-passive verb *dhingolokeka* is more likely to behave like a passive verb. I argued that, the logical subject is syntactically expressed as an adjunct. This is because the agentive is implied in the semantics of the verb. I further argue that, although such element occurs, this construction bears a stative interpretation since the verb is descriptive, non-eventive and it constitutes a generic interpretation. In the subsection (4.5.4) above, I argued that, both passive and passive do not take NPs complement that has a Locative reading. Here, I argued that, these sentences are ungrammatical because the subject did not constitute the properties that bring about the action denoted by the verb. It is argued that the verbs of sound existence that pass the stativization test are those that have genereric meaning and their verbal action are not subject focus as discussed in example (27). In subsection (4.5.5) the verbs of group existence *gongala* (gather) do not take a neuter-passive suffix since it may result in the verb being meaningless. In subsections (4.5.6 and 4.5.7) the neuter-passive verb does not take the *by*-phrase complement. Such characteristics are observed with the verbs that have general interpretation and those verbal actions that do not favour the subject. In subsection (4.5.8) it is indicated that the *kundukidha* onlysatisfies the diagnostic test of neuter-passive when it appears with the combination of both neuter-passive and passive. This only appears with a subject that requires that the verb be responsible for the property of the subject. Thus, this type of neuter-passive is more likely to behave like passive as discussed earlier.

With regards to the adverbial modification as indicated in subsection (4.5.1) above, the passive predicate appears with a durative time adjunct that is associated with iterative properties. It is then observed that this sentence has no endpoint. Thus, it remains atelic. The same hold true for active transitive predicate in (21a). However, this durative phrase does not pass a diagnostic test with passive in the perfect tense, neuter-passive alternants. Similarly, it also shown that this durative adverbial modification is also semantically unaccepted in structures that have expletive empty subject as shown in examples (21e & f) above.

4.6 EXPERIENCER VERBS

The experiencer verbs here as "psych verbs' involve verbs that relate absolutely to the mental states. These verbs involve an experiencer who feels, perceives or experience a mental state. The experiencer verbs occur with two arguments i.e. one external argument and one internal argument. The subject argument has the thematic role of experiencer.

(32)   a.   Aantu oya hala ombili

Aa-ntu oya hala o-mbili

2-people SC-2 want 9-peace

'People want peace'

b.   Ombili oya haliwa (kaantu)

O-mbili o-y-a hal-iw-a (kaa-ntu)

9-peace POS-SC-9 want-Pass (by-2-people)

'Peace is wanted (by people)'

c.   Ombili oya halelwe (kaantu)

Ombili oya hal-el-w-e (ka-antu)

9-peace POS-SC-9-PST want-PERF-PASS (by-people)

'Peace was wanted (by people)'

d.   Ombili oya halika (kaantu)

O-mbili o-y-a hal-ik-a (ka-antu)

9-peace POS-SC-9-PST want-NEUT (by-people)

'Peace is wanted (by people)'

e.   Opwa halika ombili (kaantu)

Opwa hal-ik-a o-mbila (ka-antu)

EXPL want-NEUT 9-peace (by-people)

'There is wanted peace (by people)'

g.   Opwa haliwa ombili (kaantu)

Opwa hal-iw-a o-mbili (ka-antu)

EXPL want-PASS 9-peace (by-people)

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'There is wanted peace by people'

h.   Opwa halikwa ombili (kaantu)

Opwa hal-ik-w-a o-mbili (ka-a-ntu)

EXPL want-NEUT-PASS 9-peace (by-2-people)

'There is wanted peace (by people)'

The (32a, b, d, e and f) denote a state. This conforms to the argument by Alexander and Mourelatos (1978) that states cannot be qualified as action and these types of verbs do not take a progressing form. Given this assumption, it is important to note that, the peace that people want may be occurred as the result of the change in people attitude and behaviors and not in the action denoted by the verb. This means that state verb *hala* (want) does not constitute any change neither the results (Mourelatos and Alexander 1978). Interestingly, it appears that the sentences in (a-h) except (32c) both mean the same thing. They all convey that people want peace. Sentence (32c) presents a complete event, but it appears that there was no result achieved. It is not known whether or not if people got peace. In other words, this sentence means that there was a time when people wanted peace. The example in (32d) and (32e) appear with a stative suffix [-*ik*-] however, they behave like passive as discussed in the previous section. This means that the neuter-passive which behave in the same way as passive share the same respect to semantics and syntactic properties. There is no difference observed in the interpretation when the combination of neuter passive and passive shows up with the verb *hala* (want) as in (h). This sentence demonstrates a generic meaning. Other verbs that exhibit similar semantic behaviour as illustrated in (32) above include the following: *tila* (afraid), *itaala* (believe), *tonda* (hate), *hola* (love).

4.7 VERBS OF CONTACT

Verbs of contact involve entity which comes in contact with another entity. The verbs of contact are three-place predicate. Moreover, these verbs comprises of one external argument and two internal arguments. The external argument usually has a theta role of Agent. The internal argument has thematic role of theme or patient. The other internal argument has the theta role of location. The aim of this section is to examine the properties of active, neuter-passive and passive alternations of the verbs of contact in Oshindonga.

4.7.1 Verbs of putting

(33) a.   Omulongi okwa tula embo poshitafuula

             Omu-longi okwa tula e-mbo po-shi-taafula

             1-teacher PST put 5-book LOC-7-table

             'The teacher put the book on the table'

     b.   Embo olya tulwa poshitaafula (komulongi)

             E-mbo o-ly-a tul-w-a po-shi-taafula (ko-mulongi)

             5-book POS-SC-5-PST put-PASS LOC-7-table (by-teacher)

             'The teacher put the book on the table'

     c.   Embo olya tulilwe poshitaafula (komulongi)

             E-mbo o-ly-a tul-il-w-e po-shi-taafula (ko-mu-longi)

             5-book POS-SC-5-PST put-PERF-PASS LOC-7-table (by-1-tecaher)

             'The book was put on the table (by the teacher)'

     d.   *Embo olya tulika poshitaafula komulongi

             E-mbo olya tul-ik-a po-shi-taafula ko-mu-longi

             5-book SC-5 put-PASS LOC-7-table by-1-teacher

             'The book is put on the table by the teacher'

     e.   Opwa tulwa embo poshitaafula (komulongi)

             Opwa tul-w-a e-mbo po-shi-taafula (ko-mulongi)

             EXPL put-PASS 5-book LOC-7-table (by-teacher)

             'There is put the book on the table (by the teacher)'

     f.   *Opwa tulika embo poshitaafula komulongi

             Opwa tul-ik-a e-mbo po-shi-tafaafula komulongi

             EXPL put-NEUT 5-book LOC-table by-teacher

             'There is put a book on the table by the teacher'

The sentences in (33a-c) are interpreted as derived accomplishments. Their constellation properties are characteristic of activities, since the verb *tula* denotes an activity. On that note, the accomplishment interpretation is conveyed in semantic in (a) and in syntax in (b and c)

respectively. A similar interpretation is apparent in (33e). The Two internal NPs *embo* (book) and *poshitaafula* (on the table) can be used interchangeably at the subject position. The example in (33c) above expresses that there was an event when the book was put on the table by the teacher. The sentences in (33d) and (f) above are ungrammatical. This indicates that the verb *tula* is incompatible with neuter passive suffix. Consequently, it results in an ill-formed sentence.

4.7.2 Verbs of putting in a spatial configuration

(34)   a.   Omumati okwa kogeka ongodhi komuti

Omumati okwa kogeka ongodhi ko-muti

1-man PST hang 9-roope LOC-tree

'The man hanged the rope on the tree'

b.   Ongodhi oya kogekwa komuti (komumati)

O-ngodhi o-y-a kogek-w-a ko-muti (ko-mumati)

9-rope POS-SC-9-PST hang-PASS LOC-tree (by-man)

'The rope is hanged on the tree by the man'

c.   Ongodhi oya kogekelwe komuti (komumati)

Ongodhi o-y-a kogek-el-w-e ko-muti (ko-mumati)

9-rope POS-SC-9-PST hang-PERF-PASS LOC-tree (by-man)

'The rope was hanged on the tree (by the man'

d.   Ongodhi oya kogekeka komuti (*komumati)

Ongodhi o-y-a kogekeka ko-muti (ko-mumati)

9-rope POS-SC-9-PST hang-NEUT LOC-tree (by-man)

'The rope is hang by the man on the tree'

e.   Opwa kogekwa ongodhi komuti (komumati)

Opwa kogek-w-a o-ngodhi ko-muti (komumati)

EXPL hang-PASS 9-tree by-tree (by-1-man)

'There is hanged the rope on the tree (by the man)'

f.   Opwa kogekeka ongodhi komuti (*komumati)

Opwa kogekeka o-ngodhi ko-muti (komumati)

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EXPL hang-NEUT 9-rope LOC-tree (by-man)

'There is (well) hanged the rope on the tree by the man'

g.   Opwa kogekekwa ongodhi komuti (komumati)

Opwa kogek-ek-w-a o-ngodhi komuti (ko-mumati)

EXPL hang-NEUT-PASS 9-rope LOC-tree (by-man)

'There is (well) hanged rope on the tree (by the man)'

The examples in (34a-c) express derived accomplishments with the intention of reaching a goal. This agrees with Smith (1997:54) who states that accomplishments may appear in different forms of syntactic structure (see subsection 2.2.3). In (34c) it is implied that there was a time when the rope was hanged on the tree. The sentences in (d, f and g) involve a shift from actional process to a stative element. In (34d) and (34f) denotes the means involved in hanging the rope. In that, this sentence implies that the rope is well hanged on the tree. This sentence is non-event thus it does not require an agent to perform such action. Thus, the presence of agentive phrase is ungrammatical. The example in (34d) appears with the combination neuter passive [-*ek*-] and passive [-*w*-] morphemes. The passive morpheme indicates the presence of an inherent agent, with the reading that someone has hanged the rope on the tree. Therefore, this sentence means that the rope is hanged to the ability of the man. Thus, the agentive phrase is syntactical accepted into the structure.

4.7.3 Verbs of putting with specified direction

 (35)   a.   Omumati okwa tumbila omambo poshitaafula

Omumati okwa tumb-il-a oma-mbo po-shitaafula

1-man PST lift-APPL 6-book   LOC-7-table

'The man lifts the book up onto the table'

b.   Omambo oga tumbilwa poshitaafula (komumati)

Oma-mabo o-g-a tumb-il-w-a po--shitaafula (ko-mumati)

6-books POS-SC-6-PST lift-APPL-PASS LOC-7-table (by-man)

'The books were lifted up onto the table (by the man)'

c.   Omambo oga tumbililwe poshitaafula (komumati)

Oma-mbo o-g-a tumb-il-il-w-e po-shi-taafula (komumati)

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9-books POS-SC-6-PST lift-APPL-PERF-PASS LOC-7-table (by-man)

'The books were lifted up onto the table (by the man)'

d. *Omambo oga tumbilika poshitaafula komumati

Oma-mbo oga tumb-il-ik-a po-shi-taafula ko-mumati

6-book POS-SC-6-PST lift-APPL-NEUT LOC-7-table by man

'The book was lifted up onto the table by the man'

e. Opwa tumbililwa omambo poshitaafula (komumati)

Opwa tumbul-il-w-a oma-mbo po-shi-taafula (ko-mumati)

EXPL lift-APPL-PASS 6-book LOC-7-table (by-man)

'There is lifted up the book onto the table (by the man)'

f. *Opwa tumbilika omambo poshitaafula komumati

Opwa tumb-il-ik-a oma-mbo po-shi-taafula komumati

EXPL lift-APPL-NEUT 6-book LOC-7-table by-man

'There is lifted up the book onto the table by the man'

The examples in (35a-c) denote accomplishments with the intention of reaching a goal. Generally, the verb *tumbila* is an atelic verb, but contextually they become telic verb with accomplishment reading. Note that the goal of the books being on the table is reached. As previously stated, this interpretation appears in semantic and not in syntax. The example in (35c) denotes the reading that there was an event when the books were lifted up onto the table. In example (35d) and (35f) the verb *tumbila* is incompatible with the neuter passive suffix [-*ik*-] resulting in the ill-form of the verb. The example in (35e) has a similar interpretation as the example in (35b) above, except that it appears with an expletive empty subject. There is no external argument assigned by the verb.

4.7.4 Pour verbs

(36) a. Omukulukadhi okwa tila omeya mehela

Omu-kulukadhi okwa tila ome-ya me-hela

1-woman PST pour 6-water LOC-bucket

'The woman pours water in the bucket'

b. Omeya oga tilwa mehala (komukulukadhi)

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Omeya o-g-a til-w-a me-hala (komukulukadhi)

6-water POS-SC-6-PST pour-PSASS LOC-bucket (by-woman)

'The water is poured in the bucket (by the woman)'

c.   Omeya oga tílilwe mehela (komukulukadhi)

Omeya o-g-a tíl-il-w-e`mehela (komukukadhi)

6-water POS-SC-6-PST pour-PERF-PASS LOC-bucket (by-woman)

'The water was poured in the bucket (by the woman)'

d.   *Omeya oga tilika mehela komukulukadhi

Omeya o-g-a tulika mehela ko-mu-kulukadhi

Water POS-SC-7-PST pour-NEUT by-woman

'The water is pour in the bucket by the woman'

e.   Opwa tilwa omeya mehela (komukulukadhi)

Opwa til-w-a ome-ya me-hela (ko-mukulukadhi)

EXPL pour-PASS 6-water LOC-bucket (by-woman)

'There is poured water in the bucket (by the woman'

f.   *Opwa tilika omeya mehela komukulukadhi

Opwa til-ik-a ome-ya me-hela ko-mukulukadhi

EXPL pour-PASS water LOC-bucket by-woman

'There is poured water in the bucket by the woman'

The examples in (36a-c) demonstrate accomplishment events ascribed to the dynamism property associated with event as in (35). It is revealed that the goal of pouring water in the bucket is being achieved. Like any other verb, the verb *tila* is atelic and becomes telic when it is used in context. Apart from that, the appearance of neuter passive in (36d) and (36f) results in ill-form of the verb. Thus, it is unacceptable. The example in (36e) has an expletive subject and it implies that someone has poured the water in the bucket. This sentence has lacked the properties that assign the external argument to the verb. Note that the neuter passive is intransitive and the agentive phrase is expressed semantically or as adjunct in syntax.

4.7.5 Coil verbs

(37) a.   Omumati okwa dhingila ongodhi kopaala

Omumati okwa dhingila o-ngodhi ko-paala

1-man PST coil 9-rope LOC-pole

'The man coiled the rope around the pole'

b.   Kopaala okwa dhingilwa ongodhi (komumati)

Kopaala okwa dhingil-w-a o-ngodhi (ko-mumati)

LOC-pole PST coil-PASS 9-rope (by-man)

'At the pole is coiled the rope (by the man)'

c.   Kopaala okwa dhingililwe ongodhi (komumati)

Ko-paala okwa dhingil-il-w-e o-ngodhi (ko-mumati)

LOC-pole PST coil-PERF-PASS-FV 9-rope (by-man)

'Around the pole was coiled a rope (by the man)'

d.   *Kopaala okwa dhingilika ongodhi komumati

Ko-paala okwa dhingil-ik-a o-ngodhi ko-mumati

LOC-pole PST coil –NEUT 9-rope by-man

'Around the pole is coiled a rope by the man'

e.   Opwa dhingilwa ongodhi kopaala (komumati)

Opwa dhingil-w-a o-ngodhi ko-pole (ko-mumati)

EXPL coil-PASS 9-rope LOC-pole (by-man)

'There is coiled a rope around the pole (by the man)'

f.   *Opwa dhingilika ongodhi kopaala komumati

Opwa dhingil-ik-a o-ngodhi ko-paala ko-mumati

EXPL coil-NEUT 9-rope LOC-pole by-man

'There is coiled a rope around the pole by the man'

The examples in (37) above also present accomplishments. The verb *dhingila* in the example (37a) is paraphrased as with an atelic event, however, in the context of its discourse it becomes telic. Thus, the sentence in example the (37a) is paraphrased with telic in semantics but this feature occurs in syntax in the examples (37b) and (37c). Note that in the example (37b) the two internal arguments can be used interchangeably. In both example in the (37b, c) the verbs revert the action to the subject argument of the verb. The examples in the (37d) and 37(f) are ungrammatical due to the fact that the verb *dhingila* does not allow the neuter passive suffix.

4.7.6 Spray/load verbs

(38) a.   Omulongwa okwa halakanitha omambo poshitaafula

Omu-longwa okwa halakan-ith-a oma-mbo po-shi-taafula

1-student PST scatter-CAUS 6-books LOC-7-table

'The student scatters the books on the table'

b.   Poshitaafula opwa halakanithwa omambo (komulongwa)

Po-shi-taafula o-pw-a halakan-ith-w-a oma-mbo (ko-mu-longwa)

LOC-7-table POS-SC-16-PST scatter-CAUS-PASS 6-book (by-1-student)

'On the table is scattered the books (by the students)'

c.   Poshitaafula opwa halakanithilwe omambo (komulongwa)

Po-shi-taafula o-pw-a halakan-ith-il-w-e oma-mbo (ko-mu-longwa)

LOC-7-table POS-SC-16-PST scatter-CAUS-PERF-PASS 6-books (by-student)

''On the table is scattered the books (by the students)''

d.   *Poshitaafula opwa halakan-ek-a omambo komulongwa

Po-shi-taafula o-pw-a halakan-ek-a oma-mbo 1-student

LOC-7-table POS-SC-17-PST scatter-NEUT 6-book by-1-student

'On the table is scattered the books (by the students)'

e.   Poshitaafula opwa halakanekwa omambo (komulongwa)

Po-shi-taafulza o-pw-a halakan-ek-w-a oma-mbo (ko-mu-longwa)

LOC-7-table POS-SC-16-PST scatter-NEUTER-PASS 6-book (by-1-student)

'On the table is scattered the books (by the students)'

f.   Opwa halakanithwa omambo poshitaafula (komulongwa)

Opwa halakan-ith-w-a oma-mbo po-shi-taafula (ko-mu-longwa)

EXPL scatter-CAUS-PASS 6-books LOC-7-table (by-1-student)

'There is scattered the books on the table (by the student)'

g.   *Opwa halakaneka omambo poshitaafula komulongwa

Opwa kalakan-ek-a oma-mbo po-shi-taafula ko-mu-longwa

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EXPL scatter-NEUT 6-books LOC-7-table by-1-student

'There is scattered the books on the table by the student'

These sentences have a similar interpretation as discussed in (34-37) above. The event of dispersing the book on the table is completed. This event involves the process of dispersing and the outcome of the book being scattered on the table. The examples in (38d) and (38f) are ungrammatical. Thus, the neuters passive suffix [-*k*-] that appears with the verb *halakana* results in the ill-form of the verb. In (f), no external argument is assigned by the verb. This means that the verb does not have control of the external argument and it only selects the internal arguments. Note that the former subjects is expressed as an adjunct at the post- verbal position.Other verbs that exhibit similar semantic behaviour as illustrated in example (38) above include the following; *thitika* (block), *siikila* (cover), *kolonga* (plastering), *pata* (lock).

4.7.7 Summary

In conclusion, the analysis above has shown that most of the verbs of contact do not satisfy a diagnostic test for neuter-passive, except for the verbs of putting in a spatial configuration. The verbs that do not take the neuter-passive suffix are as shown in (4.7.1, 4.7.3, 4.7.4, 4.7.5, 4.7.6,). These verbs are ungrammatical when they appear with the neuter-passive suffix. On the other hand, it is shown that the verb *kogeka* in (4.7.2) is compatible with the neuter-passive suffix. It is further noted that these types of constructions are associated with generic meanings.This sentence is non-eventive, and it does not denote an action at all. It is also observed that the agentive phrase is both morphological and syntactically deleted (see Jingquan 2007:206) and also subsection (2.5.1) above.

4.8 MOTION VERBS

The motion verbs appear with two arguments. The members of this semantic class involve any entity who performs the action denoted by the predicate and the internal argument which have the thematic interpretation of theme or goal or location. The aim this section is to investigate the syntactic and semantic properties of motion verbs in passive and neuter-passive construction.

(39) a.   Aanona oya ya kosikola

            Aa-nona o-y-a ya ko-sikola

2-children POS-SC-2-PAST go to-school

'The children went to school'

b.   Kosikola okwa yiwa (kaanona)

Ko-sikola okwa y-iw-a (ka-a-nona)

To-school PST go-PASS (by-2-children)

'To school is gone (by the children)'

c.   Kosikola okwa yilwe (kaanonona)

Kosikola okwa y-il-w-e (ka-a-nona)

To-school PST go-PERF-PASS (by-2-children)

'To the school was gone (by the children)'

d.   Kosikola okwa yiwika (kaanonona)

Ko-sikola okwa y-iw-ik-a (ka-a-nona)

To-school PST go-PASS-NEUT (by-2-children)

'To the school is gone (by the children)'

e.   Opwa yiwa kosikola (kaanona)

Opwa y-iw-a ko-sikola (ka-a-nona)

EXPL go-PASS to-school (by-2-children)

'There is gone to the school (by the children)'

f.   Opwa yiwika kosikola (kaanona)

Opwa y-iw-ik-a ko-sikola (ka-a-nona)

EXPL go-PASS-NEUT to-school (by-2-children)

'There is gone to the school by the children'

The examples in (39a-c) above express activities that have an atelic interpretation. These activities have intention of reaching the goal. However, it is not clear whether or not the goal was reached. These sentences mean the children have left to school but, it is not known if these children have arrived at school or not. The example in (39c) above expresses an event as whole. Having said that, this sentence denotes that there was an event when the children left for school. It appears that the passive verbs in the examples (39b, 39c) above are subject focus as in (39d) above. The examples in (39d, 39f) above, although not regular, are acceptable. This sentence

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is interpreted to mean the children have gone to school. Note that in (39d) above, this sentence does not make reference to an event having taking place, but rather it expresses the property of the subject. In (39f) the expletive empty subject is introduced and the verb denotes the properties of the direct object *kosikola*. This sentence is non-eventive as in (39d) counterpart. It should be noted that both the sentence in (39d) and (39f) have sematic behavior similar to that of passive constructions in (39b) above.

(40)   a.   Oongombe odha nuka ondhalate
                Oongombe odha nuka o-dhalate
                10-cattle POS-SC-10-PST jump 9-fence
                'The cattle jump over the fence'

        b.   Ondhalate oya nukwa (koongombe)
                Ondhalate o-y-a nuk-w-a (ko-o-ngombe)
                9-fence POS-SC-9-PST jump-PASS (by-10-cattle)
                'The fence was jumped (by the cattle)'

        c.   Ondhalate oya nukilwe (koongombe)
                O-ndhalate o-y-a nuk-il-w-e (ko-o-ngombe)
                9-fence POS-SC-9-PST jump-PERF-PASS (by-10-cattle)
                'The fence was jumped by the cattle'

        d.   Ondhalate oya nukika (koongombe)
                Ondhalate o-y-a nuk-ik-a (ko-o-ngombe)
                9-fence POS-SC-9-PST jump-NEUT (by-10-cattle)
                'The fence was jumped by the cattle'

        e.   Ondhalate oya nukikwa (koongombe)
                O-ndhalate o-y-a nukik-w-a (ko-o-ngombe)
                9-fence POS-SC-9-PST (by-10-cattle)

                'The fence is (well) jumped (by the cattle)'

        f.   Opwa nukwa ondhalate koongombe
                Opwa nuk-w-a o-ndhalate ko-o-ngombe
                EXPL jump-PASS 9-fence by-10-cattle

'There is jumped the fence by the cattle'

g.   Opwa nukika ondhalate (koongombe)

       Opwa nuk-ik-a o-ndhalate (ko-o-ngombe)

       EXPL jump-NEUT 9-fence (by-10-cattle)

       'There is (well) jumped the fence (by the cattle)'

The examples in (40a-c) above signify complete events that have a natural end point. The event of jumping over the fence is completed. Therefore, these sentences denote accomplishment. The sentence in (40c) above expresses the event of jumping in its entirety. The sentence in (40f) bears similar interpretation. Both of these sentences imply the presence of volitional agent which is overtly expressed as in (40a) or as an adjunct in (40b) and (40c). The example in (40d) implies that the fence is well jumped. The verb *nukika* by virtue nature has an external force presence in its morphology, hence the presences of the agentive phrase *koongombe* (by the cattle). However, note that this sentence is non-eventive and it expresses the property of the subject as discussed in (10d) above. The presence of by-phrase may influence the meaning of this sentence, that the fence is jumped to the ability of the cattle. The similar understanding is apparent when the expletive is introduced in the structure in (40g), but when the expletive empty subject is introduced the verb *nukika* expresses the property of the direct object. The example in (40f) above implies that the fence is jumped to the ability of the cattle due the presence of the agentive phrase.

In conclusion the two motion verbs *ya* and *nuka* examined in this section have passed the diagnostic test for passivation and stativity. However, it is shown that the verb *nuka* can license with the combination of neuter-passive and passive altogether as indicate in (40e) above. It is further indicated that the construction that appear with a combination of neuter-passive and passive altogether accept the *by*-phrase into their structure. This means the passive morpheme that appears with the neuter-passive is able to degenerate the action of the verb to the logical object. This does not mean the sentence is converted to eventive, but the sentence remains non-eventive in the sense that the stative nature of the verb implies that the event is performed to the ability of someone. Whereas, in the example (40d) above, a generic operator which binds the eventive situation variable is introduced and thus the sentence become a one place verbal predicate with a generic interpretation. In (39d and 39f) above the stative meaning is completely lost.

4.9 VERBS OF CREATION

Verbs of creation denote the creation of product through the transformation of raw materials. The verbs appear with the external argument which has a thematic role of agent and the internal argument which has the thematic roles of patient or theme. This section will investigate the semantic and syntactic properties of neuter-passive and passive of the the verbs of creation. In this section five various classes of verbs of creation will be examined. These verbs include; build verbs (4.9.1), grow verbs (4.9.2), verbs of preparing, (4.9.3), knead verbs (4.9.4) and performance verb (4.9.5). The last subsection is the conclusion of this section. In some constructions the acceptability of adverbial modification is examined:

4.9.1 Build verbs

(41) a.   Aamati oya tunga egumbo
           Aa-mati o-y-a tunga e-gumbo
           2-men POS-SC-2-PST built 5-house
           'The men built the house'

      b.   Egumbo olya tungwa (kaamati)
           Egumbo o-ly-a tung-w-a (ka-a-mati)
           5-house POS-SC-5-PST build-PASS (by-2-men)
           'The house is built by (the men)'

      c.   Egumbo olya tungilwe (kaamati)
           E-gumbo o-ly-a tung-il-w-e (ka-a-mati)
           5-house POS-SC-5-PST build-PERF-PASS (by-2-men)
           'The house was built by (the men)'

      d.   Egumbo olya tungika (*kaamati)
           E-gumbo o-ly-a tung-ik-a (ka-a-mati)
           5-house POS-SC-5-PST build-NEUT (by-2-men)
           'The house is (well) built by (the man)'

      e.   Opwa tungika egumbo (kaamati)
           Opwa tung-ik-a egumbo (ka-a-mati)
           EXPL build-NEUT (by-2-men)

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'There is (well) built the house (by the men)'

    f.   Opwa tungwa egumbo (kaamati)

            Opwa tung-w-a e-gumbo (ka-a-mati)

            EXPL build-PASS 5-house (by-2-men)

            'There is built a house (by the men)'

The examples in (41a, 41b) above denote an activity event since it expresses only part of the building event. It is not known whether the build event is completed or not unless there is evidence to contrary. Note that in (41b, c), the patient is the bearer of the action denote by the verb. This is due to the presence of the passive morpheme [-*w*-] that appears with the verb *tunga* (build). In (41c) above the build event is expressed in its entirety. Thus, this sentence is interpreted to mean that there was an event when the building was built. It is not clear if the building event was, or was not completed. The sentence in (41d) above conveys the meaning that the house is well built. It appears that this sentence is non-eventive. The similar understanding is ostensible when expletive is introduced in the structure in (41f) above. However, note that the sentence in (41f) above is interpreted to mean the house is built to the ability of the men, hence the presence of the by-phrase *kaamati* (by the man).

Other verbs that exhibit similar semantic behaviour as illustrated (41) above include the following; *honga* (carved), *hondja* (knits), *onga* (carve), *kanga* (bake), *ninga* (make).

4.9.2 Grow verbs

 (42) a.   Omboga oya mena moshikunino

            O-mboga oya mena mo-shi-kunino

            9-cabbage POS-SC-2-PST grow LOC-7-garden

            'The cabbage grew in the garden'

      b.   Moshikunino omwa menwa komboga

            Mo-shi-kunino o-mw-a men-w-a ko-mboga

            LOC-7-garden POS-SC-18-PST grow-PASS by-cabbage

            'In the garden is grown by the cabbage'

      c.   Moshikunino omwa menenwe komboga

            Mo-shi-kunino o-mw-a men-en-w-e ko-mboga

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LOC-7-garden POS-SC-18-PST grow-PERF-PASS by-cabbage

'In the garden was grown by the cabbage'

d.   *Moshikunino omwa meneka komboga

Mo-shi-kunino omwa men-ek-a ko-mboga

LOC-garden POS-SC-18-PST grow-NEUT by-cabbage

'In the garden is grown by the cabbage'

e.   Opwa menwa komboga (moshikunino)

Opwa men-w-a komboga (mo-shikunino)

EXPL grow-PASS by-cabbage (LOC-garden)

'There is grown in the garden (by the cabbage)'

f.   *Opwa meneka moshikunino komboga

Opwa men-ek-a mo-shi-kunino ko-mboga

EXPL grow-NEUT LOC-7-garden by-cabbage

'There is grown in the garden by the cabbage'

g.   Opwa menekeka (*moshikunino) (komboga)

Opwa men-ekek-a (mo-shi-kunino) (ko-mboga)

EXPL grow-INTENS LOC-7-garden (LOC-cabbage)

'There is grown in the garden (by the cabbage)'

The examples in (42a-c) above denote event that have a natural endpoint. The growing event is completed. The subject arguments in (42b-d) denote the location and it refers to the place where the cabbage is grown. Thus, it is directly affected by the action of the verb *menwa* (grown) and *menenwe* (was grown). In (42a), this locative NP appears as internal argument, but, it is an unaffected argument by the action of the verb since this NP indicates a place where the cabbage is grown. The sentences in (42d, f) are ungrammatical. However, if the neuter-passive suffix [-*ek*-] is intensified by reduplication, i.e., *menekeka*, as in (g) this sentence is grammatical. The internal arguments *moshikunino* must be both syntactically and morphologically deleted. This sentence bears a generic meaning. Having said that, this sentence is interpreted to mean there it is being grown well by the cabbage.

4.9.3 Verbs of preparing food

(43) a.   Omukadhona okwa kanga omayi

            Omu-kadhona okwa kanga oma-yi

            1-girl PST fried 6-eggs

            'The girl fried eggs'

      b.   Omayi oga kangwa (komukadhona) / (gomwiha)

            Oma-yi oga kang-w-a (ko-mu-kadhona) / (go-mwiha)

            6-eggs SC-6 fried-PASS (by-1-woman) / (for-lunch)

            'The eggs were fried (by the girl) / (for lunch)'

      c.   Omayi oga kangelwe (komukadhona)

            Oma-yi oga kang-el-w-e (ko-mu-kadhona)

            6-eggs POS-SC-6-PST fried-PERF-PASS (by-1-woman)

            'The eggs were fried (by the girl)'

      d.   Omayi oga kangeka (komukadhona) / (*gomwiha)

            Oma-yi o-g-a kang-ek-a (ko-mu-kadhona) / (go-mwiha)

            6-eggs POS-SC-6-PST fried-NEUT (by-1-girl) / (for-lunch)

            'The eggs were (well) fried (by the girl) / (for lunch)'

      e.   Opwa kangekwa omayi (komukadhona) / (gomwiha)

            Opwa kang-ek-w-a oma-yi (ko-mu-kadhona) / (gomwiha)

            EXPL fry-NEUT-PASS 6-egg (by-1-girl) / (for-lunch)

            'There is (well) fried eggs (by the girl) / (for lunch)'

      f.   Opwa kangeka omayi (komukadhona)

            Opwa kang-ek-a oma-yi (ko-mu-kadhona)

            EXPL fried-NEUT 6-egg (by-1-girl)

            'There is (well) fried the eggs (by the girl)'

      g.   Opwa kang-w-a omayi (komukadhona)

            Opwa kang-w-a oma-yi (ko-mu-kadhona)

            EXPL fry-PASS 6-egg (by-1-girl)

            'There is fried eggs (by the girl)'

The examples in (43a-c) above represent accomplishment events. The event of frying the eggs is completed. In (43a) above the object argument *omayi* (eggs) is affected by the action of the verb, where, in (43b-d) above the subject argument *omayi* is the affected argument. In (43e-g) above these sentences are expletive. The causer's purpose is expressed as a subject in (43a) above and as an adjunct in (43b-g). The examples in (43d-f) above make reference to their present state. The presences of the agentive phrase in (43d, f) above add up an ambiguous meaning to the verb *kangeka* (well fried). Firstly, this sentence means the eggs are fried to the ability of the girl. The second interpretation is apparent when the agentive phrase is supressed. In this case, the sentence means the eggs are well fried. The sentence in (43f) implies that the patient is being acted up on to the ability of the girl. This is due to the presences of the passive suffix [-*w*-] that appears with the neuter passive verb *kangeka* (well fried).

Note that the sentence in (43b) above occurs with *reason* phrase modification. It is noted that the passive verb can be modified by the *reason* phrase. The same hold true in (43a, c, g). It is further observed that this *reason* phrase modifies the patient argument of the sentence and not the event denoted by the predicate. In that, the *reason* phrase modification gives the interpretation that something has motivated the action denoted by the predicate to happen. In this case, the eggs are fried for a specific purpose or reason. Thus, the *reason* phrase modification is associated with the external force. In the example (43d) above the *reason* phrase is semantically anomalous. This means that this adverbial modification is only accepted in neuter-passive construction when it appears adjacent to the direct object as in (43e and f) respectively. Note that the sentence in (43e) above appears with the combination of both neuter-passive and passive suffix, and is thus likely to behave like a passive sentence. However, this sentence differs in interpretation since it is interpreted to mean that the eggs for lunch are fried to the ability of the woman. Where, the sentence in (43f) above is interpreted to mean the eggs for lunch are well fried. Note that the *reason* phrase *gomwiiha* (for lunch) in (43b-g) above modifies the subject *omayi* and not the event denoted by the predicate and with active transitive in (43a) above it modifies the direct object.

4.9.4 Knead verbs

(44) a.   Omukulukadhi okwa pambula omboloto
            Omu-kulukadhi okwa pambula o-mboloto
            1-woman PST knead 9-bread

'The woman kneaded the bread'

b.   Omboloto oya pambulwa (komukulukadhi) / (ku-yemwene)

O-mboloto oya pambul-w-a (ko-mu-kulukadhi) / (ku-yemwe)

9-bread POS-SC-9-PST knead-PASS (by-1-woman) / (by-herself)

'The bread was kneaded (by the woman) / (by herself)'

c.   Omboloto oya pambulilwe (komukulukadhi)

O-mboloto o-y-a pambul-il-w-e (ko-mu-kulukadhi)

9-bread POS-SC-9-PST knead-PERF-PASS (by-1-woman)

'The bread was kneaded (by the woman)'

d.   *Omboloto oya pambulika komukulukadhi / (*ku-yemwene)

O-mboloto o-y-a pambul-ik-a ko-mu-kulukadhi / (ku-yemwene)

9-bread POS-SC-9-PST knead-NEUT by-1-woman / (by-herself)

'The bread was (well) kneaded by the woman / (by herself)'

e.   *Opwa pambulika omboloto komukulukadhi

Opwa pambul-ik-a o-mboloto ko-mu-kulukadhi

EXPL knead-NEUT 9-bread by-1-woman

'There is (well) kneaded bread by the woman'

f.   Opwa pambulwa omboloto (komukulukadhi)

Opwa pambul-w-a o-mboloto (ko-mu-kulukadhi)

EXP knead-PASS 9-bread (by-1-woman)

'There is kneaded bread (by the woman)'

The examples in (44a-c) above denote accomplishment. These sentences have the reading that the bread is kneaded by someone. In (44a) the direct object argument *omboloto* (bread) is being acted up on by the subject argument *omukulukadhi* (woman). The object argument has the thematic role of patient, where the subject argument has the thematic role of agent. In (44b-d) above the syntactic object argument is realized in the subject position where it retains its thematic role. It then appears that, in (44b) and (c) the patient argument is acted up on not by the agent, but by the action of the verb. This happens due to the occurrence of the passive morpheme [-w-] that refers back the action of the verb to its subject *omboloto* (bread). These

types of construction express a resultative passive hence the bread being kneaded in pieces. The sentence in (44f) has the same effect when the expletive is introduced in the structure. The agentive in phrase is optional in (b-f). Note that the sentence in (44c) expresses an event as a complete whole. If the verb is statizived as in (44d) and (44e) it renders in the ill-form of the neuter-passive sentence. However, if the neuter passive [-*ik*-] is intensified by reduplication, i.e. *pumbul-ikik-a* (well kneaded), then these sentence are grammatical. It is then interpreted to mean the bread is well kneaded.

The sentence in (44b) above appears with the *by-self* phrase modification is semantically acceptable in the passive construction. Moreover, this *by-self* phrase modification gives the interpretation that the woman have kneaded the bread without external help. Note that, this *by-self* phrase modifies the Agent and not the event denoted by the predicate. The same is holds true for the constructions in (44a, c, f) above. However, in (44d, e) above the *by-self* phrase modification is semantically anomalous when the neuter-passive suffix is introduced in the structure.

4.9.5 Performance verb

(45) a. Aakadhona oya imba eimbilo

Aa-kadhona o-y-a imba e-imbilo

2-girls POS-SC-2-PST sing 5-song

'The girl sang the song'

b. Eimbilo olya imbwa (kaakadhona) / (natango)

Eimbilo o-ly-a imbwa (ka-a-kadhona) / (natango)

5-song POS-SC-5-PST sing-PASS (by-2-girl) / (again)

'The song is sang (by the girls)'

c. Eimbilo olya imbilwe (kaakadhona)

E-imbilo o-ly-a imb-il-w-e (ka-a-kadhona)

5-song   POS-SC-5-PST sing-PERF-PASS (by-5-girl)

'The song was sang (by the girls)'

d. Eimbilo olya imbika (*kaadhona) / (natango)

E-imbilo olya imb-ik-a (ka-a-girl) / (natango)

5-song POS-SC-5-PST sang-NEUT (by-girl) /(again)

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'The song is (well) sung (by the girls) /(again)'

e. Opwa imbika eimbilo (*kaakadhona)

Opwa imb-ik-a e-imbilo (ka-a-kadhona)

EXPL sing-NEUT 5-song (by-2-girls)

'There is (well) sang the song (by the girls)'

f. Opwi imbwa eimbilo (kaakadhona)

Opwi imb-w-a e-imbilo (ka-a-kadhona)

EXPL sing-PASS 5-song (by-2-girl)

'There is sang a song (by the girls)'

The example in (45a-c) conveys that the singing event is completed. The subject *aakadhona* (girls) in (45a) is acting up on the patient object *eimbilo* (song). In (45b) and (45c) the patient argument is realized to the subject position and the agentive phrase is expressed as an adjunct. This means that the action denoted by the verb in (45b) and (45c) has reference to its subject. The example in (45e) expresses that there was an event when the song was sung by the girls. However, note that this sentence has a vague meaning since it is not known if the song was sung once or continuously. Therefore, this sentence is ambiguated between complete activity event and selmemificate. In (45d) the agentive phrase is suppressed. This sentence makes a reference to its present state. It conveys that the song is well sung. The sentence in (45e) has similar effect. But note that, in (45f) the agentive phrase is optionally acceptable.

The *again*-phrase in the example sentence (45b) has a repetitive meaning. It is additionally observed that, the *again* phrase modification can presume the existence of a previous time at which the women sang the song (repetitive). The same hold true for the constructions in (45a, c and f). With regard to the neuter-passive constructions, the example sentences in (45d & e) cannot be modified by the *again* phrase. This means that the *again* phrase modifications are semantically unacceptable with performance verbs in the neuter-passive alternations.

4.9.6 Summary

To summarize, the analysis above shows that the verbs of creation have passed the diagnostic test for both neuter-passive and passive voices except for the grow verbs and knead verbs in (4.9.2 & 4.9.4) which do not accept the neuter passive suffix [-*ik*-] in their structure. But, they accept the intensive neuter-suffix as shown in (4.9.2) above. It is noted that verbs that accepted

the *by*-phrase as in (4.9.3) above are ambiguated between the generic meaning and agentive interpretation. The generic meaning does not allow the occurrence of agentive phrase into the structure since it expresses the manner in which the action comes. The second interpretation denotes that the action is done to the ability of someone, hence the agentive phrase. The similar interpretation is ostensible to the understanding of the example in (43e) where the combinations of neuter passive and passive suffixes show up with the verb of preparing *kang-ek-w-a.* The verbs that do not appear with the combination of neuter and passive such as *kangeka,* are associated with generic meaning. It is observed that the verbs that have a generic meaning do not accept the agentive phrase both in their semantic and syntactic structure.

With regard to the adverbial modification phrases, three adverbial modification where examined in passive and neuter-passive construction of the verbs of creation. In subsection (4.9.3) above the *reason* phrase modification was tested in both neuter-passive and passive alternations of the verbs of preparations. The results revealed that the *reason* phrase modification is compatible with passive alternants, but it appears with different interpretation. However, in neuter-passive construction the reason phrase is semantically anomalous. It is also noted the neuter-passive sentences which occur with expletive empty subject, they accept the *reason* phrase modification into their structure. This is because it is required that *reason* phrase should be adjacent to the NPs which it modifies in order to be accepted in the neuter-passive structure. It is also revealed that the *reason* phrase has semantic influence on the interpretation of the sentence. In subsection (4.9.4) above the *by*-self phrase modification is semantically acceptable with passive alternants, but semantically anomalous with neuter passive construction due to the generic interpretation associated with stative verbs. This *by*-self modification has the interpretation that the action is performed without the help of external forces.   The *again*-phrase as indicated in (4.9.6) above satisfies the diagnostic test as modification to active transitive and passive alternants, but it is semantically anomalous with neuter-passive alternants. It is noted that the *again* phrase is associated with repetition of the verbal action to the existence of the previous time.

4.10 WEATHER VERBS

Some weather verbs are associated with two arguments. The first argument is the external argument and the second argument is the internal argument. These weather verbs appear with

cognates object NPs which have a thematic role of theme. In most cases, the weather verbs appear with cognates object whose thematic role is theme.

(46) a.   Omvula oya notha omata
            Omvula o-y-a notha oma-ta
            9-rain POS-SC-9-PST drip 6-drop
            'The rain dripped drop'

      b.   Omata oga nothwa (komuvula) / (mominute ntano)
            Om-ta o-g-a noth-w-a (ko-mvula) / (mo-minute ntano)
            5-drop POS-SC-6-PST drip-PASS (by-rain) / (in-five minute)
            (The drops were dripped (by the rain) / (in five minute)

      c.   Omata oga nothelwe (komvula)
            Oma-ta o-g-a noth-el-w-e (ko-mvula)
            5-drop POS-SC-5-PST drip-PERF-PASS (by-rain)
            'The drops was dripped by the rain'

      d.   Omata oga notheka (komvula) / (*mominute ntano)
            Oma-ta o-g-a noth-ek-a (ko-mvula) / (mo-minute ntano)
            5-drop POS-SC-5-PST drip-NEUT (by-rain) / (in-minute five)
            'The drops are (well) dripped by the rain in five minute'

      e.   Opwa notheka eta (komvula)
            Opwa noth-ek-a oma-ta (ko-mvula)
            EXPL drip-NEUT 6-drop (by-rain)
            'There is (well) dripped the drops by the rain'

      f.   Opwa nothwa omata (komvula)
            Opwa noth-w-a oma-ta (ko-mvula)
            EXPL drip-PASS 6-drop (by the rain)
            'There is dripped the drops by the rain'

The examples in (46a-c) above express the reading that the dripping event is terminated. These events denote an achievement due to the adverbial modification that appears with the predicate.

In (45a-c), the drops occur as the result of the dripping. The difference in interpretation is caused by the passive morpheme that appears with the verb *notha* (drip) in (45b) and (45c). Note that the example in (45c) denotes that there was an event when the drops were dripped. This interpretation is as the result of the perfect morpheme [-*ele*] that occurs with the passive verb *nothwa* (dripped). The examples in (45d) and (45f) denote a state. Thus, the drops are interpreted to be well dripped. These sentences focus more on the manner in which the action denotes by the verb come about. The agentive phrases in (46d and f) are optionally accepted into the structure. This is because the neuter-passive verb *notheka* has an inherent agentive meaning. Although this agentive phrase is not always overtly expressed, it is acceptable.

The adverbial phrase in the examples (45b) *mominute ntano* (in five minutes), modifies the event expressed by the predicate. This *time* phrase adverbial expresses a telic event with unstated goal, a certain amount of drops. In literature this types of event are perceived to be nonsensical (Smith 1997:53). The passive alternate as indicated in the example (45b) above is felicitous with adverbial phrase modification. The same holds true to the construction in (45a, c and f). Where, in the example sentence (45d) above, the neuter-passive alternants is infelicitous with adverbial modification. This means that the neuter-passive is incompatible with adverbial phrase modification. This is synonymous to the example in (45e) above.

Other verbs that exhibit similar semantic behavior as illustrated include: *adhima* (flashes), *pepa* (blows), *loka* (rains) and *kungulula* (erodes).

SECTION 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEACH

5.1 Introduction

The active, neuter-passive and passive alternations have been examined in dephth in this study and thier semantics and syntactic properties have been distinguished. This section present a summary on the major aspects explored in section 1, 2, 3 and 4. It presents the findings from previous sections and concludes the results achieved from the aims put forward in each section.

5.2 Overview of the study

This study consists of four major sections. Section one outline the objectives of the study i.e. to present a theoretical characterization of active, passive and neuter pasive voices. This section introduces various verbs classes as proposed by Levin (1993) to be examined in order to achieve the main objectives of the study. The verbs proposed to be investigated includes; verbs of change of state, verbs of change of possesion, verbs of communication, verbs of existence, experiencer verbs, verbs of contact, motion verbs, verbs of creation, weather verbs. These verb classes were employed in order to establish the thematic relations with thier NPs and also distinguish thier semantics and syntactic properties.

The theory introduced in this section is the government binding theory which has the subsystem of government theory, case theory, theta theory and principles and parameter of aspects. The properties of theta theory outlined in this study include theta roles, argument structure, external argument, internal argument, theta-criterion and projection principles. In conclusion this section put forward the matter that will be discussed in the following sections.

Section two explores the scholarship on active, passive and middles constructions and established that the debate concerning this issue revolves around three major research areas: the first concern dealt with is the aspectual verb classes and their semantics relations in argument alternations. It is outlined that the aspectual verb class properties and argument alternations are responsible for accounting for the properties of the predicates that denote events. The fundamental thought behind aspectual verb classes is that their classification is based up on their internal properties and their lexical aspects. The acceptability of aspectual properties relies upon the typological interaction between category of aspects and argument structure of individual language. Thus, the argument structure is the interface between the semantics and syntax predicates. The status of aspectual verb classes of the passive and neuter-passive sentences has thus received little attention particularly in relation to African languages. Therefore, this study is aimed at bridging this knowledge gap since no study of this nature has been conducted in Oshindonga.

The second concern explored, is the approaches to passive construction as discussed in subsection (2.3). It has been explained that both passive and middles are base generated, thus the passive and middles have a similar event decomposition. It is outlined that these two voices contrast in terms of the presence and absences of Voice head, which introduces an external argument. The subject position in passive construction is assumed to be a landing site for the NP movement and in case where the NP is absent this position will be taken by the expletive empty subject. The studies reviewed demonstrated that the passive construction is characterized by two distinct properties: the adjectival passive and the verbal passive. These two passives differ in the sense that the adjectival passive is expressed in the lexicon, whereas the verbal passive is expressed in syntax. The scholars of this approach suggest that argument alternations such as the verbal passive can suitably be accounted for by considering three nodes, viz., a [Asp, VP, RootP], where adjectival passive variants are build up from [Asp, Root] as discussed in section 2, subsection (2.3.2).

The third aspect dealt with the properties of middle constructions as discussed in subsection (2.5 and 2.6). The studies reviewed propose three different ways in which the middle construction can be analysed namely; the pre-syntactic analyses, the syntactic analyses and the post-syntactic analyses. The presyntactic analyses establish the lexical relation between the argument and its interpretative component that, if arguments are realized in the lexicon there must be a relation between the lexicon and the interpretation. The syntactic analyses see that the agentive argument must be syntactical present as a convert element in order to appear in the interpretation. The post-syntactic analyses debated on the view of the demotion and suppression of the the agent arguments in the middle construction, instead it proposes that the Agent argument should be entailed to the lexical meaning of the verb. Having established a theoretically based description of middle construction, the argument brought forward is that the middle construction is associated with the neuter language which makes neuter assertions about a particular state of affairs to make a general statement about the modal conducive quality of an entity. Both approaches leave space for questions of the paradigm unanswered. For instance, one would wonder how these approaches could handle with facts found in *Oshindonga* that present verbs with both neuter-passive and passive suffix.

Section 3 reviewed studies on the typology of voices particularly in various Bantu languages. This section indicates that few studies have been conducted with regard to the typology and event structures of both neuter-passive and passive voices specifically in African Bantu languages. Concerning the neuter-passive and passive alternations studies reviewed focused on two main isssues. Firstly, the studies explored the similarities and differences between passive and neuter-passive alternanations. It is shown that the neuter-passive construction differs from the passive construction in terms of control, verb restrictions and predicate modifications. The survey demonstrated that in passive construction the external argument is overtly manifested, whereas in neuter passive the external argument is not implied. Scholars postulate that languages that have implicit external argument give access to predicate modifications such as the agentive adverbial, *by*-phrase and instrument. Since the neuter-pasive has lacked the implicit external argument, it provides no access to the agentive modifiers. On the issue of the verb restriction, scholars postulate that not all verbs can participate in midlle construction. This study contends that the comprehensive lexical semantics of individual verb roots, in blend with pragmatics elements decides the alternation.

The second issue reviewed is the the deriviational relationship between the neuter-passive and passive alternation. Both voices are derived of the same base.so thus the have similar decomposition event as stated earlier. The neuter-passive unlike the passive is associated with intransitive anticausative derived predicate. Where, the neuter-pasive contains intransitive causative predicate.

Section 4 investigates properties of various verb classes that undergo the passive and neuter-passive alternations in Oshindonga language. The verb classes investigated includes; verbs of change of state, verbs of change of possesion, verbs of communication, verbs of existence, experiencer verbs, verbs of contact, motion verbs, verbs of creation, weather verbs. The study was aimed at investigating the the argument alternation and the event structure properties of the verb classes that undergo the neuter-passive and passive alternations as outlined in Section 1 (cf. 1.1 and 1.3). The participation of verb classes were examined in four major constructions namely; the active transtive, passive, neuter-passive, perfect tense and expletive consrtcutions. The findings of this study are as summarized below:

5.3 The characteristics of verb classes in passive and neuter-passive alternations

Taking into perspective the verbs employed in this study, two types of alternations are identified in Oshindonga. These alternations are decided by the verb roots, and not by thier semantic classes. The first alternates comprise of the subject argument that appears with subject NPs. The second alternates, the subject argument NPs are not morphlogically marked, thus they appear with null subject. These expletive empty subjects decide the agreement on the verbs. Nonetheless the explive subjectival agreement marker that is associated with the null subject exhibit locative properties of noun class 16. The data demostrated that these two variants regardless of thier morphosyntactic differences, they share similar semantic interpreattion. It is further demonstrated that the logical object is realized to the subject position depending on the properties of the the verb. The logical subject is expressed as an adjunct in passive construction. However, the neuter-passive verbs whose events are describing the properties of the subject have logical subject present in their structure expressed as an adjunct as discussed in (4.2, 4.3.2, 4.4.3, 4.5.2, 4.5.3, 4.5.8, 4.6, 4.8, 4.9.3 and 4.10). The data also demonstrated that the alternants that accept the logical subject into their structure are those that exhibit causative interpretation in their morphology.

The findings of the study give evidence that various verbs classes in Oshindonga participate in pasive and neuter passive constructions except for the the verbs of callibratale change of state *indjipila*, give verbs *pa* and *gandja,* verbs of future having *uvanekeka,* verbs of communication of proposition *tumika* and *tubula,* verbs of specify entity *pya*, exit verbs *za* verbs of putting *tula*, knead verbs *pambula* and grow verbs *koka* which failed the neuter-passive diagnostic test as examined in subsection (4.2.6, 4.3.3, 4.4.2, 4.5.2, 4.5.1 4.7 and 4.9.2. Among the verbs examined,it is only the verbs of specify entity that fail both the neuter-passive and pasive diagnostic test as investigated in (4.2.5). With regards to the perfect tense variants the data have demonstrated that the perfect tense variants do not participate in neuter-passive alternation, however they satisfy the passive diagnostic test.

5.4 Classification of verb roots into semantics and aspectual verb classes in Oshindonga

The data demonstratated that the categorization of semantics aspectual verb classes of the verb roots in *Oshindonga* are determined by the lexical semantics and aspectual properties of an individual verb. The data demostrated that the semantics and aspectual verb classes of verb

roots in *Oshindonga* are decided by the tense aspects and the context in which a particular verb is used. The results of the sudy further demonstrated that most of the verb roots in *Oshindonga* exhibit atelic activity properties, however, the past tense properties which precede the verb, change this aspectual value to telic accomplishment event. With regards to the the transitive active and passive construction, the data demonstrated that members of these constructions exhibit similar aspectual value and the only differences observed between them are that of the information presentation focus. In relation to the verbs of change of state as examined in (4.2), the data revealed that both of the constructions exhibit an actional element which is being transformed into a resultative element. However, with regards to the exist verbs, experiencer verbs, grow verbs, and build verbs as examined in (4.5.1, 4.6, 4.9.1 and 4.9.2), both the active transitive and passive members exhibit atelic aspectual value, a property which is attributed by the habitual property that appears with the subjectival agreement marker of the verb. The findings of the study have further demonstrated that when these verbs appear with the perfect tense property, the aspectual value is shifted from atelic to telic accomplishment event. In relation to the neuter-passive alternants, the data demonstrated that members of this constructions exhibit atelic properties. Furthermore, the examples examined illustrate that the neuter-passive verbs only appear in present state and they are infelicitous with other tense apsects.

In realtion to the adverbial modification, the examples examined illustrate that the time adverbial modifications of *Oshindonga* may also decide the aspectual value of the verbs from atelic to telic (cf. 4.2.4, 4.3.2, 4.5.1). However, the findings demonstrated that the manner adverbial modifications as illustrated in (4.2.2, 4.2.1, 4.3.1 and 4.4.1) have no influence on the the aspectual value of the verb roots.

In general conclusion, apart from the lexical meaning of the verb, the results of the present study demonstrated that other factors such the sentence elements (e.g., grammatical aspect, adverbial modifications, and other verbal complements) plays a major role in deciding the apectual verb class semantics.

5.5 The relationship between passive and neuter-passive construction

The findings of this study demostrtated that both passive and neuter passive in *Oshindonga* are morphological marked. The passive construction is marked by the passive morpheme *-(i)w-*, whereas, the neuter-passive morpheme is morphologically marked by *-ik-* which at point may be reduplicated as [*-ikik-*]. The data of present study established that the passive and neuter-passive constructions are semantically different regardless of their similar morphosynatctic properties. The examples sentences examined in section (4) illustrate that an external argument (logical subject) of the transitive variant is syntactically absent in neuter-passive and passive constructions, but, syntactically present in passive and neuter-passive alternates which denote externally caused events (see subsection 4.2, 4.3.2, 4.4.3, 4.5.2, 4.5.3, 4.5.8, 4.6, 4.8, 4.9.3 and 4.10, respectively). The data of the study revealed that the neuter-passive differs from passive in terms of four distinct properties; (i) the neuter-passive is associated with generic properties, (ii) they expresses simple state (iii) they appear in simple present tense and (iii) they do not appear with any other tenses. The findings of the study further demonstrate that, passive and middle verb sentences contrast considerably with regards to their co-occurrence with various types of modifications. By considering the diagnostics employed, the results of the study reveal that the active transtive and passive sentences are felicitious with agentive phrases, *by-self* phrase, instrument phrase, agent-oriented adverbials, manner adverbial, and *again*-phrase and durative and time frame adverbial. By contrast, the neuter-passive sentences do not accept any modification except for members that accept the *by*-phrase as discussed above. The example examined in this study gives eveidence that these adverbial modifications that appear with the active transitive and passive construction sentences behave differently. The example examined illustrate that some modifications modify the action denoted by the predicate while other either modify an agent or the patient argument (see, 4.2.2, 4.2.4, 4.9.3, 4.9.4 and 4.9.5, respectively).

5.6 Conclusion

There has been a long debate in literature among linguistic scholars concerning the interaction and the event semantics of active transitive, passive and neuter-passive alternations. The research of this nature results in a deeper understanding of the interaction between lexical-semantics and sayntax. In work on the interface between the lexicon and syntax, the analysis of verb classes and transitivite alternations give rise to the identification of syntactic properties of the verbs with common semantic features supported the proposition that important generalizations about the interdependence between verb classes and syntactic structure are certainly possible. In

two decades or so, many theories of grammar have been built on the assumption that syntactic realization of arguments, their class categories and grammatical relations, are generally predictable from the meaning of their verbs. The theoretical relevance of these phenomena has always been taken to be significant, in that, they pose a challenge to assumptions made in generative grammar. In various theories of grammar, it is assumed that argument alternation is to a large extent determined by the lexical properties of a verb. The construction examined with regards to the argument alternations in *Oshindonga* illustrate that properties of individual verbs are considerable in the syntactic realization and argument alternations. This study has further established that both the lexical properties and the semantic events of the verb effect the realization of arguments and alternants. Given the findings of this study it can be concluded that the verb meaning is compositionally determined in syntax, thus, there is interdependence between syntactic structure and event structure of the verb.

The present study demonstrate that in *Oshindonga* a single verb displays distinct aspectual behavior when used in passive and neuter-passive alternations, regardless of their common properties in terms of argument realization and alternations. The findings of the study further revealed that the classification of verbs roots in *Oshindonga* is semantic since different verbs classes are distinguished by different properties of the events in their denotations. Again, other sentences elements such as; tense aspects and predicate modifications play an important role in deciding the aspecual classes of the verb. However, this study has established that, while some non-alternate verbs in Oshindonga such as *pya,* do not alternate, others such as *pepa* has satisfied the diagnostic test.

The present study treated the neuter-passive on par with the active transitive and passive construction. The neuter-passive construction is a process of detransitivization which derives a stative verb from the transitive root verb. Neuter-passive alternants are phonologically distinguished from transitive members. The semantic and syntactic differences between the transitive active, passive and neuter-passive come from the fact that they undergo different derivational processes. The neuter-passive construction stativized the verb and transforms any action identified by the verb into a state. Despite the distinct in derivational proccess, the present study demonstrated that passive alternants are not phonologically distinguished from transitive members. The proposal of this work is that both neuter-passive and passive have identical forms which have no phonological realization.

5.7 Areas of future research

The main goal of this study is to explore on the argument realization and the event semantics of active, passive and neuter-passive alternations in *Oshindonga*. It would be interesting, therefore, to extend the findings of this research to other Bantu languages, and also to non-Bantu African languages in order to enhance knowledge and understanding on the linguistic expression and argument alternations of neuter-passive and paasive construction in African linguistics. Given the scope and limitation of the present study, there is a need to study these phenomena in relation to applicability of other derviational suffixes such as; causative, applicative, and reciprocal. Again, the senetences with the only predicate exemplifying verbs of entity–specific nodes of biengs in *Oshindonga* appear to be the only predicate that cannot alternates. It is thus desirable that the analysis of other predicates exemplifying the entinty-specific nodes of beings be considered in further studies on this language.

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