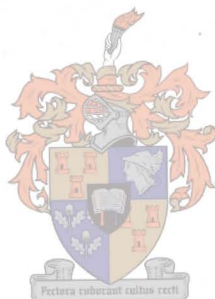# A COMPARISON BETWEEN APPLICATIVE AND NON-APPLICATIVE DITRANSITIVE VERBS IN XHOSA

## BY

## NANDIPHA NOMGCOBO DYUBENI

Study project presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Stellenbosch.

SUPERVISOR:          PROFESSOR J.A. DU PLESSIS

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# DECLARATION

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

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N N DYUBENI

10 JAN 1994
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DATE

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere thanks to the following people:-

1.  Professor J A du Plessis, my supervisor, who made it possible for me to have this work done successfully.

2.  People who helped me with the collection of Xhosa data.

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# ABSTRACT

The main aim of this study is to compare the grammatical relationship between the applicative and non-applicative ditransitive verbs in Xhosa and to establish whether they are treated similarly or differently either syntactically or semantically.

In Chapter I a comparison of the views of various linguists on the grammatical nature of the object NPs in African languages is taken into consideration.

In Chapter II various arguments are tendered to show the aims of this work.  The issues like the predicate argument structure, types of objects, interpretation of theta-roles are dealt with. Three types of verbs, i.e. the concrete, the motion and the abstract verbs are put through the same tests so that their differences may be seen.  These tests are the criteria of word order, cliticization and passivization.

In Chapter III the principles of Government and Binding theory, i.e. the X - bar theory, government theory, theta-theory and the case theory are invoked to determine the status of the postverbal NPs.

Chapter IV deals with the summary of the whole study and its conclusions.

# OPSOMMING

Die hoofdoel van hierdie studie is om die grammatikale verwantskap tussen die applikatiewe en nie-applicatiewe dubbel-oorganklike werkwoorde in Xhosa te vergelyk en om uit te vind of hulle op dieselfde manier beskou word in sintaktiese of semantiese opsig.

In Hoofstuk I word 'n vergelyking van verskillende opinies van verskillende linguiste oor die grammatiese aard van die objek NPs in Afrikatale gegee.

In Hoofstuk II word die verskillende argumente gegee om die doelwitte van hierdie werk te toon. Sake soos predikaatargumentstrukture, tipes van objekte, interpretasie van theta-rolle is gedoen, d.w.s. die konkrete, beweging en abstrakte werkwoorde word aan dieselfde toetse onderwerp sodat hulle verskille sigbaar is. Die toetse is dié van die woordorde, klitisering en passifisering.

In Hoofstuk III word die beginsels van die "Government-Binding" teorie, d.w.s. die "X-bar" teorie, "government" teorie, theta-teorie en kasus teorie toegepas om die aard van die na-verbale NPs vas te stel.

Hoofstuk IV bevat die opsomming van die hele studie en sy gevolgtrekkings.

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CHAPTER 1  -  INTRODUCTION

# CHAPTER  1

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1  AIM OF THE STUDY

The main aim of this study is to establish the grammatical relationship between the applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs and to see whether they are treated similarly or differently either syntactically or semantically.

Applied verbs are verbs which have an affix -el-, also known as the applied affix affixed to the verb stem.  The non-applied verbs are those which do not have any affix added to them. Ditransitive verbs are those which take two objects.

This study has been done within the framework of the Government and Binding theory.  Criteria such as word order, cliticization and passivization have been invoked to determine the status of the postverbal NPs.  The principles which have been invoked are the X - bar theory, government theory, theta theory and the case theory.

## 1.3  METHOD OF RESEARCH

Some data have been taken from the books which have been written by linguists who were dealing with topics which discuss the applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs of different African languages.  A comparison of the views of different linguists have been taken into account.

In Chapter II three types of verbs, i.e. the concrete, the motion and the abstract verbs are used.  These are put through the same tests so that their differences may be seen.  The data which is used is taken from a number of published books and some from everybody conversations.  The issues of word order, cliticization and passivization are dealt with in the case of the three types of verbs which have been mentioned above.

In Chapter III the G.B. Theory is presented with special reference to four subsystems of the principles mentioned above. In this section we want to know the nature of the object when used with the principles.

Chapter IV which is the last chapter deals with the summary of the whole work and its conclusions.

## 1.3    PREVIOUS STUDIES ON THIS WORK

Numerous linguists have written about the grammatical nature of the object NPs in African languages, such as Masunaga (1983) in Kikuyu, Newman (1982) in Hausa, Port (1981) in Swahili, Hyman and Duranti (1982) in Haya, Bresman and Moshi (1988) in Kichaga, Kisserberth and Abasheikh (1977) in Chimwini and Baker (1986) in Chichewa.    We shall look at some of these studies as an introduction to the issues which will be dealt with in Chapter II and III.

## 1.3.1    JOAN BRESNAN AND LIOBA MOSHI'S VIEWS

They classify the African languages into two broad types according to the way their objects behave syntactically, i.e. the asymmetrical and the symmetrical object types.  In asymmetrical object type languages only one NP represent the primary object. Examples of these languages are the Kiswahili, Bokamba, Chimwini, Hibena and Chichewa.  In symmetrical object type languages more than one NP represent the primary object.  Examples of these languages are Kinyrwanda, Kihaya, Kimeru, Moshi, Luyia and Kichaga.

## 1.3.1.1    TYPOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

They have identified five different properties between asymmetrical and symmetrical types of languages.  The first two are relevant to this study whereas the last three are irrelevant.

## 1.3.1.1.1  PASSIVES

The passivizability of the objects is the first difference between these types of languages.  They have used Kichaga as an example of the symmetrical languages and Chichewa as an example of the asymmetrical languages.

Kichaga is flexible in the sense that it allows any of the multiple objects to be passivized, whilst on the other hand in Chichewa passives with multiple objects are restricted.

## 1.3.1.1.2  OBJECT MARKERS

Restrictions on object marking is the second difference between these types of languages.  In both languages "verbal object markers are prefixed pronouns in complementary distribution with lexical NP objects" (1990:150)

The main difference between the two languages is not the number of object markers but the restriction on object marking as explained above.

Kichaga permits any or all of the multiple objects to be expressed by object markers on the verb whereas Chichewa permits one object marker.

## 1.3.2  KIYOKO MASUNAGA'S VIEWS

He has done his study on Kikuyu, a language which is spoken in Kenya.  Here the applied suffix is used in many different ways, i.e. with benefactive, indirect object, locative, possessive relationships and lexical expressions.  The relevant usages are the benefactive and indirect objects.  In sentences with benefactive and indirect objects the applied suffix allows its verb to have an extra NP. e.g.

(1)

(a)  Kamau ne-a-ruy-ire nama.

   Kamau cooked meat.

(b)  Kamau ne-a-ruy-e-ire modo nama.
     Kamau cooked meat for the man.
(c)  Nama e-ruy-e-ir-uo modo ne kamau.
     Meat was cooked for the man by Kamau.
(d)  Modo a-ruy-e-ir-uo nama ne Kamau.
     For the man was cooked meat by Kamau.
(e)  Kamau ne-a-mo-ruy-e-ire modo.
     Kamau cooked meat for him.
(f)  Kamau ne-a-me-ruy-e-ire modo.
     Kamau cooked it for the man.

In (b) the NP which is a benefactive is <u>modo</u> and the one which
is an indirect object is <u>nama</u>.  These NPs may be passivized as
shown in (c) and (d).  They may be incorporated as seen in (e)
and (f).  NPs are passivized and incorporated because they are
different in animacy, i.e. the benefactive NP is animate and the
indirect object is inanimate.  If the NPs are the same in animacy
only one NP may be passivized or incorporated.

(2)
(a)  Karioki ne-a-tom-e-ire moana moarimo.
     Karioki sent the teacher to the child.
(b)  Moana ne-a-tom-e-ir-uo moarimo ne Karioki.
     To the child was sent the teacher by Karioki.
(c)  Karioki ne-a-mo-tom-e-ire moarimo.
     Karioki sent the teacher to him.

In (b) and (c) both NPs are animate, therefore only one NP may
be passivized or incorporated.

## 1.3.3  C W KISSEBERTH AND M.T. ABASHEIKH'S VIEWS

They have done their study on Chimwini, a language which is
spoken in the city of Brava in Somalia.

They are concerned with the object relationship in Chimwini.

They examine some patterns of linguistic form which determine whether a single NP or two different NPs have characteristics of the NP which can be regarded as the object of the applied verbal construction.

## 1.3.3.1  CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECT

They state that the object of the verb in African languages is identified basically by three properties:-

(i)      It is the NP that controls the OP that may appear on the verb.

(ii)     It is the NP that (in neutral contexts at least) immediately follows the verb.

(iii)    It is the NP that may be promoted to subject via the syntactic process of passivization. (1977:183/4)

In morphologically simple verbs only one NP has the above characteristics.  They have the following data to support the above three properties.

(3)
(a)  Wana wambozele mwalimu zibuku.
     The children stole the books from the teacher.
(b)* Wana wazibozele zibuku mwalimu.
     The children stole the teacher from the books.
(c)  Mwalimu o-bozele zibuku wana.
     The teacher had some books stolen by the children.
(d)* Zibuku zibozela mwalimu na wana
     The books were stolen from the teacher by the children.

In (a) the OP which is on the verb agrees with mwalimu, thus he controls the OP, therefore mwalimu is the principal object and it occurs in the position immediately after the verb.

(b)  Is ungrammatical because the OP agrees with <u>zibuku</u>, therefore <u>zibuku</u> is a subsidiary object.

In (c) <u>mwalimu</u> is able to be made the subject of a passive sentence.

In (d) <u>zibuku</u> is the subject of the passive, thus the sentence is ungrammatical because it is not a principal object.

## 1.3.3.2  THE APPLIED VERBS

They are characterized by the occurrence of a suffix -il- which has many forms.  Their semantic functions are labelled.

(i)       benefactive
(ii)      indirective and
(iii)     instrumental.

The behaviour of the postverbal NPs of these types differ.

## 1.3.3.2.1  THE BENEFACTIVE APPLIED VERB
(4)
(a)  Hamadi o-pishile chakuja.
     Hamadi cooked food.
(b)  Hamadi o-wa-pikilile wana chakuja.
     Hamadi cooked food for the children.
(c)  Hamadi o-sh-pishile chakuja.
     Hamadi cooked food.
(d)  Chakuja sh-pishila ma Hamadi.
     The food was cooked by Hamadi.
(e)* Hamadi o-sh-pikilile wana chakuja.
(f)  Wana wapikilila chakuja na Hamadi.
     The children had food cooked for them by Hamadi.
(g)* Chakuja sh-pikilile wana na Hamadi.
     Food was cooked for the children by Hamadi.

In (a) <u>chakuja</u> is the principal object of the verb.  <u>Chakuja</u> may govern an OP as shown in (c).

Chakuja may become the subject of a passive construction as in
(d). In (b) wana governs the OP, where chakuja controls the OP
the sentence is ungrammatical as in (e). Wana can also be made
the subject of the passive whereas chakuja cannot be, as shown
in (g).

In the benefactive applied verb construction, the applied object
is the object because it meets all the three criteria which
determine objecthood of an NP, i.e. word order, cliticization and
passivization. The direct object fails to fulfil these criteria.

## 1.3.3.2.2  THE INDIRECTIVE APPLIED VERB

(5)
(a)  Nuru o-chi-lesele chibuku.
     Nuru brought the book.
(b)  Nuru o-m letelele mwalimu chibuku.
     Nuru brought the book to the teacher.
(c)  Chibuku ku chi-lesela na Nuru.
     The book was brought by Nuru.
(d)  Mwalimu o-letelela chibuku ku na Nuru.
     The teacher was brought the book by Nuru.
(e)* Nuru o-chi letelele mwalimu chibuku.
(f)* Chibuku chi-letelela mwalibu na Nuru.
     The book was brought to the teacher by Nuru.

Chibuku is the principal object of the basic verb in (a) because
it can control an OP and it can be passivized as shown in (c).
In (b) mwalimu is the principal object because it governs the OP
on the verb and is located immediately after the verb in the
normal word order. Chibuku is the subsidiary object. Mwalimu
may be passivized as shown in (d).

The principal object Chibuku in (a) stops to have the same
function in (b). It cannot control the OP on the applied verb
as (e) shows.

Even if chibuku can be moved into the position after the verb in
(e) it makes the sentence ungrammatical.

<u>Chibuku</u> cannot be passivized as seen in (f).  In (b) the applied verb is labelled as indirective because it indicates that the action expressed by the basic verb is directed towards someone or something.  The NP that is dependent upon the indirective applied verb is referred to as the indirect NP.


## 1.3.3.2.3   THE INSTRUMENTAL APPLIED VERB

In this section they are concerned with the conveyance of the concept of performing an action by means of an instrument.  The following constructions illustrate the use


(6)   (a)   Nuru o-tilanzile nama ka chisu.
             Nuru cut the meat with a knife.
      (b)   Chisu, Nuru o-tilangilile nama.
             The knife, Nuru cut meat with.
      (c)   Nama i-tilanzela ka chisu na Nuru.
             The meat was cut with a knife by Nuru.
      (d)*  Chisu, Nuru o-i tilangilile nama
      (e)*  Chisu, nama i-tilangilila na Nuru.
      (f)*  Chisu, Nuru o-sh-tilangilile nama.
      (g)   Chisu sh-tilangilela nama na Nuru.
             The knife was used to cut the meat by Nuru.


In (a) the instrument by which the action is performed is preceded by the preposition <u>ka</u> and the verb is in its basic form. In (b) the instrument is not preceded by the preposition <u>ka</u> and the verb is in its applied form.  In (a) <u>nama</u> functions as the principal object of the verb.  It can control an OP.

In (b) <u>nama</u> is not functioning as the principal object of the verb because an instrumental applied verb cannot have an OP in agreement with <u>nama</u> as shown in (d) and it cannot be passivized as shown in (e).  (f) Shows that <u>Chisu</u> is not the principal object because the sentence is ungrammatical.  The instrumental applied verb does not agree with the instrument <u>chisu</u>.  No OP is possible here.

Word order is a useful criterion to determine the principal object but it is useless in the case of the instrumental applied verb.  Chisu in (g) can be passivized.  This is one of the most important points for considering the instrument in an instrumental applied construction.

According to these linguists the beneficiary and the indirect NPs are principal objects more so than the instrument NP because they can occur directly after the verb, can control the OP that appear on the verb and can be subjectivized with a corresponding passive.  The instrument cannot cliticize.

## 1.3.4  R.F. PORT'S VIEWS

He has done his study on Swahili.  According to him the applied suffix on Swahili verbs has posed an analytical problem.  Most of the linguists he refers to, have not provided us with a unitary description of it.

He says "the goal of this paper is to show that there is, in fact, a freely productive applied suffix which has a unitary meaning and that it may be distinguished from the many derivational related homonyms both with respect to its distribution and meaning" (1981:71)

## 1.3.4.1  MORPHOLOGY

Basically the applied suffix in Swahili is IE, E represents the harmonizing vowel, this vowel is /i/ after stems whose final vowel is /i,a,u/ and /e/ after stems ending in the mid vowels /e/ or /o/.  The consonant /i/ appears after verb stems ending with a vowel deleted after stems ending with a consonant.

## 1.3.4.2  ANALYSIS

The function of the applied form of the verb is to modify the lexical description by adding an additional role to those implied by the basic lexical verb.

Messages that can be transmitted with this suffix are classified basically into four classes, i.e. a motivation for the agent, an instrument of the agent, a respondent to the action and a prominent place of the action.

## 1.3.4.2.1  THE BENEFICIARY/INDIRECT OBJECT  USE

(7)  (a)  a-li-kat-a nyama.
         He cut meat.
     (b)  a-li-i-kata nyama.
         He cut the meat.
     (c)  a-li-ni-kat-ia nyama.
         He cut meat for me.
     (d)  ni-li-kat-i-wa nyama.
         I had meat cut for me.

(a)  Is an example of a simple Swahili sentence.  A dash is used to separate the indicative morpheme -a from the verb stem. In (b) an object prefix -i- is added.  It is a pronoun which agrees with the object nama and is inserted just before the verb stem.  It is used only when the object is definitely identified.

In (c) the subject and object pronouns are "he" and "me" respectively.  The verb is suffixed with IE which adds the role of beneficiary which is played by the first person singular in the object prefix.  In (d) the beneficiary participant is shifted to the subject position by the use of the passive suffix -w-.

The most basic use of the applied form when it occurs in a main verb is represented in (c) and (d).

## 1.3.4.2.1.1.  LEXICAL  RELICS

(8)  (a)* inga      ingia        'enter'
     (b)* kimba     kimbia       'run'
     (c)* poka      pokea        'accept'
     (d)* sika      sikia        'hear'

In (8) we have examples of frozen relics where we see forms that look like an applied form and their meaning is coherent with the meanings characteristic of the applied form but the base forms without IE do not exist.

(9)  ni-ta-ku-poke-lea zawadi.
     I will accept the gift for you.

In (9) it is evident that these words with apparent IE suffixes are lexical stems.  A regular applied suffix for the indirect object can be added to these stems when an indirect object is needed.

(10) (a)  shinda    'surpass'   shindilla   'pack down'
     (b)  enda      'go'        endelea     'progress'
     (c)  penda     'like'      pendelea    'favor'
     (d)  oga       'battle'    ogelea      'swim'

In Swahili there are cases of apparent reduplication of the suffix as seen in the above examples, with the suggestion that they are emphatic versions of the simple suffix.

They represent a frozen lexical suffix.  These examples cannot be interpreted as having an indirect object, this double suffix is not productive and has a handful of examples.  They can add another IE that acts like the normally productive one as shown in (II).

(11) ni-li-m-shindili-lia majani.
     I packed down the leaves for him.

Shindilla appears in its applied form shindililia.  This proves that shindili is a lexical stem.

(12) (a)  nuka     'smell bad'   nukia     'smell good'
     (b)  hama     'move from'   hamia     'move to'
     (c)  angaa    'be bright'   angalia   'look at'

This is the third kind of lexical relic of the IE suffix.  These lexical pairs appear to be differentiated by the presence of the applied suffix but cannot be analyzed like that.  The relation between these pairs is a completely idiosyncratic semantic contrast not duplicated anywhere in the language.

### 1.3.4.2.2    INSTRUMENT

Another important use is to add the role of an instrument.  This one has a special problem.  It is very difficult to make the object prefix agree with the instrument noun.  The simplest way to add an instrument is to leave the verb unmodified and add a prepositional phrase with kwa as shown in (a) below.

(13) (a)  a-li-kata nyama kwa kisu.
          He cut meat with a knife.
     (b)* a-li-kat-ia nyama (kwa) kisu.
          He cut meat with a knife.
     (c)* a-li-ki-kat-ia kisu hiki nyama.
          He used this knife to cut meat.

In (b) there is a problem because an applied suffix has been inserted on the verb.  The native speakers of the language agree that katia rather than kata is correct but differ as to whether kwa should also be there.  Some say the sentence is unclear without kwa while others dislike the redundancy of the preposition.

In (c) there are disagreements when the instrument is put in the object prefix.  The applied suffix cannot have a productive instrumental meaning and for this reason these examples are awkward.  Primarily the problem lies in the use of the instrumental message for IE  in a main verb.  The instrumental use of IE occurs mostly in verbal infinitives used as relative clauses as seen in (14).

(14) (a)  Kisu ch-a ku-kat-ia.
          A knife for cutting with.

    (b)   Kalami y-a ku-andik-ia.

         A pen for writing with.

    (c)   Kiko ch-a ku-vut-ia.

         A pipe for smoking with.

The above constructions show that the instrumental message is not forced for the applied form. It is unexploited in a main clause verb. These syntactic differences between beneficiaries and instruments should not obscure the unity of meaning of the applied form.

## 1.3.4.2.3    RESPONDENT

This is a party that responds to the lexically defined action and is influenced significantly by it.

(15) (a)   a-me-f-i-wa na babake.

         He's in grief over his father's death.

   (b)   a-li-wa-ib-ia watoto chakula.

         He stole the children's food.

In (a) there is an additional participant in the dying. It is inferred to be the grieving relative. It may be interpreted as if the son is now a beneficiary.  (b) Has two interpretations, i.e. to add either the aggrieved party that is robbed or a beneficiary that one might steal for.

Only the context will determine the interpretation of the role. The ambiguity is in the lexical meaning of 'steal'. It is a kind of event that invites several roles beyond those of the thief and the loot.

## 1.3.4.2.4    LOCATION

It is the place or time when the activity in the event occurred. A place can be said to play a role if it is particularly prominent in the message.

(16) (a)  Simba wa-li-m-l-ia karibu na kambi.
          The lions ate him near the camp.
     (b)  Babake a-li-f-ia mikono-ni mwake.
          His father died in his arms.

In (a) the applied form of <u>ia</u> is not used to introduce the place of eating but in this case people were listening to the lions crunch the bones of a person.

In (b) it is clearly shown that the place need not contribute to the event either as a means or goal in order to be marked with <u>IE</u>.  The son's arms are neither a goal nor contribute to the dying at all.  Instead, this role adding suffix seems to be employed here on an intransitive verb primarily for comment on the relevance of the location to the events occurring there.

## 1.3.5    PAUL NEWMAN'S VIEWS

He has done his study on Hausa.  Indirect objects are shown by an overt indirect object marker plus the object nominal, noun or pronoun.  In the basic SVO word order the indirect object occurs immediately after the verb and preceding the direct object.  The interpretation of the indirect object in a particular sentence depends on the derivational grade of the verb and on the general semantic context.

(17) (a)  Zaata kaawoo maka ruwaa.
          She will bring you water.
     (b)  Yaa yaafam mini shii.
          He forgave me for it.
     (c)  Sun gyaaraa wa Musisaa mootaa.
          They repaired the car for Musa.

Before personal pronouns the form of the indirect object is <u>ma</u> and <u>wa</u> or <u>ma</u> before nouns, demonstrative pronouns or in phrase-final position depending on dialect.

## 1.3.5.1   THE TYPICAL INDIRECT OBJECT IN HAUSA

The indirect object pronoun directly follow the verb without an overt marker in the case of the dative verb <u>baa</u> -> to give.

(18) (a)   Yaa baa ni lit taafii.
           He gave me a book.
     (b)   Yaa huuluman da suka baa mu.
           Here are the caps that they gave us.
     (c)   Yaa baa dansa littaafii.
           He gave his son a book.
     (d)   Yaa mutaanen da suka bai wa.
           Here are the men they gave it to.

The pronoun set which is used after the verb <u>baa</u> is identical to the direct object set therefore according to the Hausa <u>baa</u> takes two direct objets.

An overt indirect object marker is required by noun indirect objects after <u>baa.</u> With some speakers this marker is <u>wa,</u> occurring with either <u>bai</u>, a special form of the verb or <u>baa,</u> a phonologically reduced form consisting of a low tone.  The important syntactic distinction between noun and pronoun indirect objects is clearly evident and preserved by the marker as seen in (c) and (d).

Hausa has two pre-noun indirect object markers, <u>wa</u> and <u>ma</u>.  <u>Wa</u> occurs in standard Hausa and <u>ma</u> is ascribed to western dialects and is widely distributed.  In the northern dialect one finds a marker <u>ga</u>.  When a noun indirect object and an expressed direct object co-occur, the indirect object phrase <u>ga</u> + noun occurs after the direct object, contrary to the normal rule in present day Hausa.

(19) (a)   Ya gwada ga dansa.
           He showed it to his son.
     (b)   Ina son koya ga mutanen kasammu.
           I want to teach to the people of our country.

The marker <u>ga</u> still exists in Hausa as a multi-functional preposition indicating 'to, in/on/near, in relation to, in the presence of etc.

Its important functions are to serve as a pre-noun indirect object marker, i.e. when the indirect object is complex and thus has been shifted to the right of the direct object.

## 1.3.5.2  THE SOURCE OF THE PRESENT INDIRECT OBJECT IN HAUSA

It is necessary to explain where the present Hausa indirect object forms came from.  Pronominal paradigms corresponding to Hausa <u>mini</u> exist in related languages as possessive not indirect object pronouns.  <u>Ma</u> is found as a marker of noun possessors, but not as an indirect object marker.  In (20) the paradigms of possessives in Kanakuru and Sura are compared with the indirect object forms in Hausa.

(20      Kanakuru            Sura              Hausa

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| mono-my, mine | mana-mine | mini-to me |
| mongo-your, yours | moya-yours | maka-to you |
| ma Ngoji-Ngoie's | mu Gahli-mo- | ma Mwusaa- |
| | the Gahlleans | to Mwusaa. |

The innovations that led to the strikingly different indirect object system that one finds in present-day Hausa were:-

(a)  The change in meaning and function of the <u>mini</u>, <u>maka</u> pronominal paradigm from absolute possessive to dative.

(b)  The change in meaning and function of the pre-noun marker <u>ma</u> from possessive to dative and

(c)  The weaking of <u>ga</u> to <u>wa</u> with the con-comitant relaxation of the noun indirect object extraposition rule.

## 1.3.6  LARRY M HYMAN AND A. DURANTI'S VIEWS

Their study is based on Haya which is explored with respect to the three tests of word order, cliticization and subjectivization.

These tests are applied in the examples which involve the applied suffix -il-.

## 1.3.6.1  GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN BANTU

They establish that there is no controversy concerning the grammatical relations of the subject, direct object and the oblique.  These relations are shown in the following sentence.

(21) Kat a-ka-teel omwaana n'enkoni.
     Kato beat the child with a stick.

In (21) Kato is the subject, omwaana the object and enkoni the oblique.  The subject precedes and conditions agreements on the verb, which is followed by the object.  The oblique follows the object and is normally preceded by a preposition.

The problem arises when the notion of the indirect object is considered.  The following examples show this:-

(22) (a)  A kah omwaan ebitooke.
          He gave the child bananas.
     (b)  A ka tum-il omwaan ebitooke.
          He sent the child bananas.
     (c)  A ka cumb-il omwaan ebitooke.
          He cooked the child bananas.

In (22) omwaana is the indirect object and ebitooke is the direct object.  The presence of the applied suffix -il- introduces an applied object which appears as either the recipient in (b) or beneficiary in (c).

## 1.3.6.2  OBJECT PROPERTIES

In order to determine the grammatical relations between each noun and the verb, we apply the three most frequently used criteria, i.e. word order, subjectivization and cliticization, in (22) sentences to yield the following sentences.

(23) (a)  Akah omwaan 'ebitooke'.
          He gave the child bananas.
     (b)  Akah ebitook 'omwaana.
          He gave bananas to the child.
     (c)  Omwaan'a ka haabw' omwaana.
          The child was given bananas.
     (d)  Ebitooke bi ka haabw'omwaana.
          The bananas were given to the child.
     (e)  Aka muh' ebitooke.
          He gave him bananas.
     (f)  Aka bih'omwaana.
          He gave them to the child.
     (g)  Aka bo mu ha.
          He gave them to him.

In (23) we observe that the two nouns may be placed in any order, i.e. in (a) <u>omwaana</u> is the indirect object and <u>ebitooke</u> is the direct object whereas in (b) <u>ebitooke</u> is the indirect object and <u>omwaana</u> is the direct object.  Another observation is that any of the two nouns can be a subject of the passive construction. In (a) the subject is <u>omwaana</u> whereas in (b) it is <u>ebitooke</u>.  In (e) and (f) it is observed that the two nouns can occur as pronouns in the object marker clitic position, i.e. in (e) the child is cliticized and in (f) bananas are cliticized as 'him' and 'them' respectively.

In (g) both nouns are cliticized and they co-occupy the object marker slot.  Both objects, i.e. the child and bananas, are objects when they are following the verb 'to give'.

Similarly when the above mentioned properties are applied in constructions with an applied suffix <u>-il-</u> both 'child' and 'bananas' remain objects.   This is shown by the following sentences.

(24) (a)   Aka cum-il ebitook'omwaana.
           He cooked the bananas for the child.
     (b)   Omwaan'aka cumb'il-w 'ebitooke.
           The child has cooked bananas.
     (c)   Ebitooke bi ka cumb-il-w omwaana.
           The bananas were cooked for the child.
     (d)   Aka-mu-cum-il' ebitooke.
           He cooked bananas for him.
     (e)   Aka-bi-cum-il' omwaana.
           He cooked them for the child.

Finally they have noted that the agent of a passive construction lacks a preposition as seen in (25) (a).  In (25) (b) the passive agent cannot cliticize as a pronoun.

(25) (a)   Ebitooke bi-ka-mu-cumb-w' omukazi.
           The bananas were cooked by the woman.
     (b)* Ebitooke bi-ka-mu-cumb' w-a.
           The bananas were cooked by her.

## 1.3.7  MARK BAKER'S VIEWS

He works on Chichewa, a language which is spoken in Malawi.  He has certain proposals concerning the two post-verbal nouns that appear in applied verb constructions.  His proposals are totally different from those of most linguists because he bases them on theta and case theories.

## 1.3.7.1   BENEFACTIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL APPLICATIVES

(26) (a)   Mavuto a-na umba mtsuko.
           Mavuto moulded the waterpot.

    (b)   Mavuto a-na umb-ir-a mfumu mtsuko.

         Mavuto moulded the waterpot for the chief.

    (c)   Mavuto a-na umbi-ir a mpeni mtsuko.

         Mavuto moulded the waterpot with a knife.

Regarding the above examples he observes that in (26)(a) <u>mtsuko</u> is the basic object of the construction. Sentences (26)(b) and (c) show two types of applicative constructions. In (b) the applied object <u>mfumu</u> depends on the affix <u>-ir-</u>. In (c) the applied object is <u>mpeni</u> and it also depends on the applied affix. The applied object <u>mfumu</u> in (b) is semantically a beneficiary and in (c) <u>mpeni</u> is an instrument. The only difference between the benefactive applicative in (b) and the instrumental applicative in (c) is that the applied object is animate in the former and inanimate in the latter.

## 1.3.7.2  APPLICATION OF THE CRITERIA TO OBJECTS

He applies the criteria for testing objecthood, i.e. word order, passivization and cliticization. He cites the following examples:-

(27) (a)  Mavuto a-na wa-umb-ir a mtsuko.

       Mavuto moulded the waterpot for them.

    (b)* Mavuto a-na u-mb-ir-a na.

       Mavuto moulded it for the children.

    (c)  Mavuto a-n u-mb-ir-a mtsuko.

       Mavuto moulded them with it.

    (d)  Mavuto a-na i umb-ir-a mpeni.

       Mavuto moulded them with a knife.

    (e)  Ndi-na phik-ir-a ana nsima.

       I cooked cornmush for the children.

    (f)  Ana a-ana-phik-ir-idw-a nsima.

       The children were cooked cornmush.

    (g)* Nsima i-na phik-ir idw-a ana.

       Cornmush was cooked for the children.

Sentence (27)(a) shows that in the benefactive construction only the applied object can be expressed by the object prefix on the verb. The ungrammaticality of (b) shows that in benefactive constructions the basic object cannot be expressed by the object prefix on the verb. Sentences (c) and (d) show that in the instrumental construction either the applied object or the basic object may be expressed as the object prefix.

In instrumental applicative constructions there are two NPs which can be used as direct objects whereas in benefactive constructions only one NP can act like a direct object. (f) and (g) prove that only the benefactive can become the subject in a passive construction.

## 1.4  CONCLUSION

Ditransitive verbs are found in all African languages, including Xhosa. Most linguists agree that in addition to the subject these verbs take two objects which are not marked with a preposition. This can be shown in the following Xhosa sentence.

(28) Umfazi unika umntwana ibhola.
     The woman give the child a ball.

In (28) umntwana is the indirect object and ibhola is the direct object. The following two sentences in Chimwini and Haya respectively show the same characteristics as (28).

(29) Wana wambozele mwalimu chibuku.
     Children stole the book from the teacher.

In (29) mwalimu is the indirect object and chibuku is the direct object.

(30) Akali ebitook'omwaana.
     He gave the child bananas.

In (30) <u>ebitooke</u> is the indirect object and <u>omwaana</u> is the direct object.

As seen in the above discussion most linguists agree that when an applied suffix is added to the verb, an applied object which may be either a recipient, a beneficiary or an instrument is added.  The following sentence in Xhosa shows this.

(31) Umfazi uphekela abantwana ukutya.
     The woman cooks food for the children.

In (31) <u>abantwana</u> is the applied object and is the beneficiary, <u>ukutya</u> is the direct object. Sentences (1b) in Kikuyu, (3a) in Chimwini and (17c) in Hausa, share the same characteristics as (31).

We have shown that all the African languages have double object constructions.  These objects are syntactically and semantically different.  One is nearer to the verb and  the other one is further away.  Semantically one may have a thematic role of recipient, beneficiary or theme.  All these aspects will be dealt with in the following chapters.

The three criteria of objecthood, i.e. word order, cliticization and passivization, are applied to these objects so that they may determine the status of the postverbal NPs.

# CHAPTER  II

## DITRANSITIVE VERBS

## 2.1  AIM

The aim of this chapter is to establish whether applicative and non-applicative ditransitive verbs are treated the same or differently in Xhosa, i.e. with regard to the two objects which appear with these verbs.

Various arguments will be tendered to show these aims.  To put these arguments in proper perspective, the following issues will first have to receive some attention:

## 2.2  PAS  (Predicate argument structure):

## 2.2.1  EXTERNAL ARGUMENT

Each sentence must have subject, predicate and an object.  A subject may be a noun phrase, a predicate is a verb and an object may also be a noun phrase.  In ditransitive verbs there are two objects, i.e. the direct and an indirect object.  An external argument is assigned to the subject of a sentence by the verb through a rule of predication.  Let us look at the following examples:-

(1)(a)    [USipho] unika [umntwana] [ibhola]
          Sipho gives the child a ball
   (b)    [UNomsa] uboleka [intombi] [ilokhwe]
          Nomsa lends a girl a dress.
   (c)    [UNovenkile] uhlawula [indoda] [imali]
          The shopkeeper pays the man some money.

In the above sentences the subjects which are Sipho in (a) Nomsa in (b) and uNovenkile in (c) are external arguments.

## 2.2.2  INTERNAL ARGUMENT

An internal argument is assigned to the object of a sentence by the verb.  In ditransitive verbs there are two objects.  These objects are internal arguments.  In the above sentences umntwana and ibhola in (a), intombi and ilokhwe in (b) and indoda and imali in (c) are all internal arguments.

These internal arguments differ because of the way in which they are assigned theta-roles, e.g. the arguments which have the feature animate, i.e. umntwana in (a) intombi in (b) and indoda in (c) have the theta-role of recipient because they are participants that receive something.  Looking at the above sentences again the remaining internal arguments, i.e. ibhola in (a) ilokhwe in (b) and imali in (c) which have the feature inanimate have been assigned the theta-role of theme.

## 2.3  WORD ORDER IN XHOSA SVO

Each sentence must have a subject, a verb and an object.  The acceptable word order in Xhosa is SVO, i.e. the object is always adjacent to the verb.

## 2.3.1  SUBJECT

The subject may be a noun phrase which carries out the action of a verb and which must agree with the verb.  Subject is a derivative term and may be defined as [NP,S]:

(2)  UNomsa uhlamba izitya
     Nomsa washes the dishes.

In the above example the noun Nomsa is the subject of the sentence because she is carrying out the action of the verb. This subject also agrees with the verb uhlamba.  To be specific uNomsa agrees with u- of uhlamba.

### 2.3.2   VERB

It is a word or phrase indicating what the subject does or what state the subject is in and what is becoming of the subject.  The verb in (2) is <u>uhlamba</u> because it indicates what the subject does i.e. Nomsa washes.

### 2.3.3   OBJECT

The object is a noun phrase towards which the action of the verb is directed.  The object in (2) is <u>izitya</u> because this is the noun towards which the action of the verb is directed. An object like a subject is a derivative term and it may be defined as [NP,VP]

### 2.4   TYPES OF OBJECTS

### 2.4.1   DIRECT   OBJECT

It is the more central phrase in clause structure.  It usually follows the indirect object in word order.  In 1(a) the direct object is <u>ibhola.</u>

### 2.4.2   INDIRECT OBJECT

It is the noun phrase immediately adjacent to the verb and requires a direct object to relate to.  In 1(a) the indirect object is <u>umntwana</u> because it is immediately adjacent to the verb.

### 2.4.3   BASIC OBJECT

It is any abstract unit which has been set up in order to allow a range of forms to be inter-related.  In other words the basic object is the main object.  Let us look at the following example.

(3)   [UNozipho] uhlambela [amakhwenkwe] [impahla]
      Nozipho washes the clothes for the boys.

In the above example the basic object is <u>impahla</u>.  In this sense basic object and direct object refer to the same entity.

## 2.4.4  APPLIED OBJECT

It is an object or noun phrase immediately adjacent to the applied verb.  We say a verb is an applied verb because of the additional affix<u>-el-</u>.  In (3) the applied object is <u>amakhwenkwe.</u>

## 2.4.5  CAUSAL OBJECT

It is an object which refers to the causal relationship between alternative versions of a sentence:

(4)    Umntwana ulilela ukutya
       The child is crying for food.

In the above sentence the object <u>ukutya</u> is a causal one because it causes or is the reason why the child is crying.  The child here is crying because he wants or needs food.

## 2.4.6   PRIMARY OBJECT

Primary object is also a basic object.  Refer to (2.4.3).

## 2.4.7   SUBSIDIARY OBJECT

It is an object which is serving as a help or support but not of first importance.

## 2.5   APPLIED VERBS

## 2.5.1  SUFFIX

A term used in derivational morphology referring to an affix which is added to a root or sterm.  Applied verbs have an additional affix <u>-el-</u> which is called an applied affix:-

(5)   UNomsa ufundela umama incwadi.
      Nomsa is reading the book for mom.

In (5) the root of the verb is - fund-.  The affix -el- has changed the form of the verb to make it an applied verb.

## 2.6   INTERPRETATION OF THETA - ROLES

### 2.6.1   BENEFACTIVE

This is a term used in some grammatical descriptions to refer to a case form or construction whose function in a sentence is to express the notion 'on behalf of ' or 'for the benefit of'.  It is also an NP argument that benefits from the action.

(6)   Umama uhlambela usana impahla.
      Mom is washing clothes for the baby.

The NP usana is the beneficiary because he benefits from his mother.

### 2.6.2  THEME

This argument is characterized by movement or by changing its position.

(7)   Ndinika umfundi incwadi.
      I give the student a book.

Incwadi in (7) is the theme because it has been removed from someone else to the student.

### 2.6.3  GOAL

It is the argument indicating to where the object moves:

(8)   Ndithumela imali esikolweni
      I send some money to school.

<u>Esikolweni</u> is the goal because it is where the object moves or it is where the money is sent.

## 2.6.4  RECIPIENT

It is an argument that receives something.

(9)  UNomsa utya ukutya
     Nomsa eats the food.

In (9) <u>Nomsa</u> is the recipient because she is the one who is eating or receiving the food.

## 2.6.5  SOURCE

It is the argument indicating from where the object moves:

(10) Utata ukhupha imali engxoweni.
     Father takes the money from the pocket.

<u>Engxoweni</u> is the source because it is where the money comes from.

## 2.6.6  PURPOSE

It is the argument indicating a purpose or aim of doing something:

(11) UZola ubalekela indebe.
     Zola is running for the trophy.

In (11) the aim or purpose is <u>indebe.</u> <u>Zola</u> is running with the aim of getting or winning a trophy.

## 2.6.7  CAUSE

It is an argument indicating the reason why something is done:

(12) Abafundi bahlalele iimviwo
     Students are writing examinations.

Iimviwo is the reason why the students are writing.  They want
to proceed to the next class the following year that is why they
are writing their examinations.

## 2.6.8  DIRECTION

It is an argument indicating the direction of the movement:

(13) Ndingxamele uloliwe.
     I am rushing for the train.

Uloliwe is the direction of the movement because he is rushing
for it.

## 2.6.9  LOCATION

It is an argument which expresses the idea of location of an
action:

(14) UZola uya evenkileni.
     Zola is going to the shop.

Evenkileni is the location because this is where he is going.

## 2.7  ANIMATE AND INANIMATE OBJECTS

## 2.7.1  ANIMATE OBJECT

It refers to a sub-class whose reference is to persons and
animals or all living beings.

(15) Uphekela izinja ukutya.
     She is cooking food for the dogs.

Izinja is an animate object because a dog is an animal.  This
food is being cooked for it so that it can survive.

## 2.7.2  INANIMATE OBJECT

It is an argument referring to a subclass whose reference is to lifeless things.  In (15) <u>ukutya</u> is an inanimate object because food is lifeless, it is not breathing or living.

In the following section various arguments will be presented to establish whether there are in fact any differences between applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs.
The main emphasis will be on the two internal arguments of such verbs.  For this purpose the word order of such objects will be investigated, their possibility to appear with clitics and passivization.  Three types of verbs will form the focus of the investigation, i.e. concrete verbs, abstract verbs and motion verbs.  Firstly, the word order of the two internal arguments will be investigated.

## 2.8      WITH AN INDIRECT AND DIRECT OBJECT [V NP NP]

### 2.8.1     CONCRETE VERBS

### 2.8.1.1    APPLIED VERBS

### 2.8.1.1.1 THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE [+A]
####           THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE [-A]

(16) (a)  Ndisengela utata ubisi
          I milk the milk for dad.

   (b)  Ndiphekela abantwana ukutya.
        I cook food for the children.

   (c)  Ndilimela abazali intsimi.
        I plant the field for the parents.

In the above sentences the agreement morpheme <u>- ndi-</u> represents the subject or the external argument.  There are two internal arguments or objects in the sentences i.e. the direct and the indirect object.

The indirect objects are <u>utata</u> in (a), <u>abantwana</u> in (b) and <u>abazali</u> in (c). These are indirect objects because they are immediately adjacent to the verb and they have the feature animate. These concrete verbs - <u>sengela</u>, - <u>phekela</u> and -<u>limela</u> assign two theta-roles to their complements. The indirect objects have theta-roles of beneficiary because they benefit from the action i.e. in a <u>utata</u> gets <u>ubisi</u>, <u>abantwana</u> in (b) get <u>ukutya</u> and <u>abazali</u> in (c) get <u>intsimi</u>.

The direct objects are <u>ubisi</u>, <u>ukutya</u> and <u>intsimi</u> respectively and they have the feature inanimate.

These objects are assigned theta-roles of patient by their verbs because they have something happening to them and are being affected by what is happening to them i.e. <u>ubisi</u> is being milked, <u>ukutya</u> is cooked and <u>intsimi</u> is planted.

## 2.8.1.1.2   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE [-A]
###       THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]

(17) (a)   (i)* Ndisengela imali ubisi.
            I milk the milk for money i.e. for the purpose of getting money.
          (ii) Ndisengela umzi ubisi.
            I milk the milk for the household.

     (b)   (i)* Ndiphekela umvuzo ukutya.
            I cooking food for payment.
          (ii) Ndiphekela isikolo ukutya.
            I cook food for the school.

     (c)   (i)* Ndilimela igadi umbona.
            I plant mealies for the garden.
          (ii) Ndilimela icawe umbona.
            I plant mealies for the church.

In the above sentences (a)(i), (b)(i) and (c)(i) are unacceptable in Xhosa because they do not have a clear meaning.

We also have two objects i.e. the direct and indirect objects.
The indirect objects are <u>imali</u> in (a)(i), <u>umzi</u> in (a)(ii),
<u>isikolo</u> in (b)(ii), <u>umvuzo</u> in (c) (ii).  The following indirect
objects are inanimate objects <u>imali,</u> <u>umvuzo</u> and <u>igadi.</u>  Even the
other indirect objects are inanimate i.e. <u>umzi, isikolo</u> and <u>icawe</u>
but they have an additional feature of human control, in other
words there is always some human in charge of these places.

The verbs in the above sentences assign theta-roles to the
following indirect objects i.e. <u>umzi</u>, <u>isikolo</u> and <u>icawe</u> which are
beneficiaries: i.e. <u>umzi</u> gets <u>ubisi</u>, <u>isikolo</u> gets <u>ukutya</u> and
<u>icawe</u> gets <u>umbona</u>.  The remaining indirect objects which are
<u>imali</u>, <u>igadi</u> and <u>umvuzo</u> could have been assigned a theta-role of
purpose if they were grammatical.

The direct objects which are <u>ubisi</u>, <u>ukutya</u> and <u>umbona</u> are
inanimate and have a theta-role of patient because they are
affected by what is happening to them, i.e. <u>ubisi</u> is being
milked, <u>ukutya</u> is cooked and <u>umbona</u> is planted.

## 2.8.1.1.3  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]
## THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [-A]

(18) (a)  Ndisengela utata inkomo.
I milk the cow for dad.

(b)  Ndiphekela amakhwenkwe umvundla.
I cook the hare for the boys.

(c)* Ndilimela umalume inja.
I plant a dog for uncle.

Sentence (c) above is unacceptable because an animal or any
living thing cannot be planted.  Indirect objects here are <u>utata</u>
and <u>amakhwenkwe.</u>  These objects are animate.  They are assigned
theta-roles of beneficiary by their verbs. i.e. in (a) <u>utata</u> gets
milk from the cow and in (b) <u>amakhwenkwe</u> get the cooked hare.

The direct objects are <u>inkomo</u> and <u>umvundla.</u> They are animate. They have a theta-role of patient because they are affected by what is happening to them. i.e. <u>inkomo</u> is being milked and <u>umvundla</u> is being cooked.

**2.8.1.1.4    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]**
**              THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE      [+A]**

(19) (a)    (i)* Ndisengela ipapa inkomo.
                I am milking the cow for the porridge.
            (ii) Ndisengela icawe inkomo.
                I am milking the cow for the church.

     (b)    (i)* Ndiphekela imali inkukhu.
                I am cooking the chicken for money.
            (ii) Ndiphekela umzi inkukhu.
                I am cooking the chicken for the home.

     (c)        Not possible with - limela.

Sentences (a) (i) and (b) (i) are unacceptable in Xhosa because they do not have any meaning.  The indirect objects are <u>icawe</u> and <u>umzi</u>.  They are all inanimate although they have a feature of human control.  The objects <u>icawe</u> and <u>umzi</u> are assigned a theta-role of beneficiary by their verbs.  <u>Icawe</u> gets milk from the cow in (a) (ii) and <u>umzi</u> gets the chicken.

The direct objects are <u>inkomo</u> and <u>inkukhu.</u>  They are animate. They have a theta-role of patient because they are affected by what is happening to them.  <u>Inkomo</u> is being milked and <u>inkukhu</u> is being cooked.  In (c) there is a problem because it is not possible to form a sentence which belong to this category with <u>-limela</u>.

**2.8.1.1.5   SUMMARY**

Four sets of objects have been examined above with the concrete applied verbs <u>-sengela,</u> <u>-phekela</u> and <u>-limela.</u>

In all of these cases the word order of the objects have been consistent i.e. the indirect object is dependent on the presence of the applicative suffix -el- and it must appear immediately adjacent to the verb.

The feature of animacy has been applied to these objects and the following possibilities have materialized:

| | A<br>+A    -A | B<br>-A    -A | C<br>+A    +A | D<br>-A    +A |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| - sengela | +      + | +      + | +      + | +      + |
| - phekela | +      + | +      + | +      + | +      + |
| - limela | +      + | +      + | -      - | -      - |

The verb -lima has a semantic restriction: it may not appear with any direct object which is animate. In the two cases where an inanimate indirect object has been allowed, it has been found that such indirect objects must have an additional feature of human control. Thus there are severe restrictions on the appearance of inanimate indirect objects with applied concrete verbs.

The interpretation of these arguments have been consistent: the first internal argument which occupies the position of indirect object is the beneficiary while the second one which has the position of direct object is always theme or patient.

## 2.8.1.2    NON-APPLIED VERBS

### 2.8.1.2.1  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]

### THE DIRECT OBJECT IS  INANIMATE [-A]

(20) (a)   Ndinika umntwana ibhola.
           I give the child a ball.

    (b)   Ndiboleka intombi ilokhwe.
         I lend the girl a dress.

    (c)   Ndihlawula indoda imali.
         I pay the man some money.

In the above sentences the indirect objects are <u>umntwana</u> in (a), <u>intombi</u> in (b) and <u>indoda</u> in (c).  These objects are animate and are assigned a theta-role of recipient by their verbs because they receive something from the subject, i.e. <u>umntwana</u> receives the ball in (a) <u>intombi</u> receives a dress in (b) and <u>indoda</u> receives money in (c).

The direct objects are <u>ibhola,</u> <u>ilokhwe</u> and <u>imali</u> respectively. These objects are inanimate and have been assigned a theta-role of theme because of their movement or because they are changing positions, i.e. <u>ibhola</u> changes its position by moving from its owner to the child in (a), <u>ilokhwe</u> moves from its owner to the girl in (b) and the money moves towards the man in (c).

When the indirect object is animate and the direct object inanimate it is possible to interchange these objects without any loss of meaning.

(21) (a)   Ndinika ibhola umntwana.
         I give the child a ball.

    (b)   Ndiboleka ilokhwe intombi.
         I lend the girl a dress.

    (c)   Ndihlawula imali indoda.
         I pay the man some money.

In all these cases these arguments also retain their theta-roles as above.

## 2.8.1.2.2    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]
## _THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]_

(22) (a)    (i)* Ndinika imali ukutya.
                 I give food to the money.
            (ii) Ndinika umzi ukutya.
                 I give food to the home.


     (b)    (i)* Ndiboleka ibhedi ingubo.
                 I borrow a blanket for the bed.
            (ii) Ndiboleka icawa imali.
                 I borrow money for the church.


     (c)    (i)* Ndihlawula ipetroli imali.
                 I pay money for the petrol.
            (ii) Ndihlawula ivenkile ityala.
                 I pay an account to the shop.


Sentences (a) (i), (b) (i) and (c) (i) are unacceptable in Xhosa because they are meaningless.  The indirect objects which are imali in (a) (i), ibhedi in (b) (i) and ipetroli in (c) (i) are inanimate whereas those in (a)(ii) umzi, (b) (ii) icawa and ivenkile in (c)(ii) are also inanimate but they have some human control within them.

These inanimate objects have been assigned a theta-role of recipient because they receive something from the subjects, i.e. umzi in (a)(ii) receive food, icawa in (b)(ii) receives money and ivenkile in (c)(ii) receive some money for the account.

The direct objects are ukutya in (a)(i) and (ii), ingubo in (b)(i), imali in (b)(ii) and (c)(i) and ityala in (c)(ii).  These objects are all inanimate and have been assigned a thata-role of theme which is characterized by movement or by changing its position, i.e. in (a)(ii) ukutya is given to the home, in (b)(ii) imali has moved from the subject to the church and in (c)(ii) ityala has been paid to the shop.

## 2.8.1.2.3  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]
##            THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE    [+A]

(23) (a)   Ndinika umama ikati.
           I give mother a cat.

     (b)   Ndiboleka utitshala ihashe.
           I borrow the teacher a horse.

     (c)   Ndihlawula intombi inkomo.
           I pay the girl a cow.

In the above sentences the indirect objects are umama in (a),
utitshala in (b) and intombi in (c).  These objects are animate
and are assigned a theta-role of recipient by their respective
verbs, i.e. umama in (a) receives a cat, utitshala in (b)
receives a horse and intombi in (c) receives a cow.

The direct objects are ikati in (a) ihashe in (b) and inkomo in
(c).
These objects are also animate and are assigned a theta-role of
theme.  This theta-role is characterized by movement, i.e. ikati
in (a) is given to mother, ihashe in (b) has been moved to the
teacher and inkomo in (c) has been given to the girl.

Note that when both objects are animate it is not possible to
interchange them without a difference in meaning.

(23) (a)   Ndinika umfazi unyana.
           I give the woman a son.

     (b)   Ndinika unyana umfazi.
           I give the son a woman.

The theta-roles of these objects will differ if they are
interchanged: umfazi in (a) is the recipient while it is theme
in (b).  Likewise unyana is theme in (a) but recipient in (b).
Such interchange has been found to be acceptable in 2.8.1.2.1 above.

**2.8.1.2.4**     **THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]**
             **THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE       [+A]**


(24) (a)   (i)* Ndinika umsebenzi amadoda.
               I give men (for) the job (some work)
         (ii) Ndinika icawa umntwana.
               I give the child to the church.


    (b)   (i)* Ndiboleka imali uZola.
               I borrow Zola for money.
         (ii) Ndiboleka isikolo uZola.
               I lend the school to Zola.


    (c)        Ndihlawula inkundla inkomo.
               I pay the court a cow.


Sentences (a)(i) and (b)(i) are unacceptable in Xhosa because they do not have a clear meaning.  The indirect objects are icawe in (a)(ii), isikolo in (b)(ii) and inkundla in (c).

They have a feature of human control.  They are assigned a theta-role of recipient because they receive something from the subject.  Icawe  in (a)(ii) receives the child, isikolo in (b)(ii) receives uZola and inkundla in (c) receives a cow.

The direct objects are amadoda, umntwana, uZola and inkomo respectively.  These objects are animate and they are assigned a theta-role of theme because of their movement.

**2.8.1.2.5    SUMMARY**


As in the case of the applied concrete verbs above three non-applied concrete verbs have been examined with four sets of objects where the distinguishing factor between them is the feature animacy

|           | A     |       | B     |       | C     |       | D     |       |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|           | +A    | -A    | -A    | -A    | +A    | +A    | -A    | +A    |
| - nika    | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     |
| - boleka  | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     |
| - hlawula | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     | +     |

The inanimate indirect objects in B and D must have a feature of
[human control] for such objects to be allowed. All the indirect
objects are interpreted as recipients while the direct objects
are themes. In some cases it has been found that direct and
indirect objects may be interchanged without any loss of meaning:
see A above. However if A is compared with C it is evident that
this is a surface structure phenomenon because it is not allowed
in the case of C. Thus the indirect objects have to appear
adjacent to the verb in D-structure.

## 2.8.1.3  COMPARISON BETWEEN APPLIED AND NON-APPLIED CONCRETE DITRANSITIVE VERBS.

In the sections above attention has been given to the order of
the two objects of applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs as
well as to the interpretation of the theta-roles of the two
internal arguments.

Only concrete verbs have been considered.

When one considers the summaries of the findings which have been
given above it is clear that the two objects of applied
ditransitive verbs and non-applied ditransitive verbs are treated
differently in Xhosa although there are similarities between
these objects.

The most obvious similarity between these objects is the
interpretation of the direct object:

all direct objects with conrete ditransitive verbs have to be interpreted as theme.  Another similarity is concerned with an inanimate indirect object:

it seems that these concrete verbs do not allow inanimate indirect objects. When one forces such an object with these verbs, they are discarded.  Only inanimate indirect objects with a feature of [human control] are accepted.

The differences between the objects of applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs relate to the order of these objects and their interpretation.

It is possible to interchange the order of the two objects of non-applied ditransitive verbs in surface structure.  The normal order of such objects is [indirect object + direct object].  This order may be changed to [direct object + indirect object].  No such interchange of objects is possible with applied ditransitive verbs: the indirect object always has to appear immediately adjacent to the verb because of its dependence on the applied affix -el-.  However, this interchange of objects does not reflect the D - structure: it is not always possible to interchange these objects especially if both these objects are animate.

The second difference between these objects is concerned with the interpretation of the theta-role of the indirect object.  With applied ditransitive verbs these indirect objects are consistently interpreted with semantic role of beneficiary.

This interpretation can clearly be explained because of the presence of the applied affix -el- which has a prototypical meaning of beneficiary.  In contrast all indirect objects with concrete non-applied verbs are interpreted with the semantic role of recipient.

## 2.8.2    MOTION VERBS

## 2.8.2.1    APPLIED VERBS

**2.8.2.1.1.   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]**
**    THE DIRECT OBJECT   IS INANIMATE [-A]**


(25)  (a)   Ndiqengqela usana ibhola.
            I roll the ball for the baby.


      (b)   Ndiqhubela utata imoto.
            I drive a car for dad.


      (c)   Nditsalela umalume intambo.
            I pull the rope for uncle.


In the above sentences there are two internal arguments or
objects, i.e. the direct and the indirect objects.  The direct
objects are <u>ibhola</u> in (a) <u>imoto</u> in (b) and <u>intambo</u> in (c).  They
are inanimate.  The indirect objects are <u>usana</u> in (a), <u>utata</u> in
(b) and <u>umalume</u> in (c).  They are animate.

The verbs <u>-qengqela</u> in (a), <u>-qhubela</u> in (b) and <u>-tsalela</u> in (c)
assign two theta-roles to their complements.  The indirect
objects have theta-roles of beneficiary because they benefit
something from the action, in (a) the baby gets the ball, in (b)
dad has a car driven for him and in (c) a rope is pulled for
uncle.  The direct objects have theta-roles of theme because they
move or change their positions.  In (a) the ball is rolled from
its position, in (b) the car is driven and in (c) the rope is
pulled.

**2.8.2.1.2   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]**
**        THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE     [-A]**


(26) (a)* Ndiqengqela imali amatye.
          I roll the stones for money.


     (b)  Ndiqhubela ilali ibhasi.
          I drive the bus for the village.

(c)* Nditsalela inaliti umsonto.
   I pull the thread for the needle.

Sentences (a) and (c) above are unacceptable because their meanings are vague. The indirect objects are <u>imali</u> in (a), <u>ilali</u> in (b) and <u>inaliti</u> in (c). They are inanimate. <u>Ilali</u> in (b) is inanimate but it has an additional feature of human control. That makes (b) to be an acceptable sentence.

The verbs <u>-qengqela</u>, <u>-qhubela</u> and <u>-tsalela</u> assign two theta-roles to their complements. We are not going to consider sentences (a) and (c) because they are unacceptable. In (b) the verb assign a theta-role of beneficiary. The village in (b) benefits because a bus is driven for it.

The direct object in (b) is <u>ibhasi</u>. It is assigned a theta-role of theme because it has changed its original position, i.e. the bus is driven.

### 2.8.2.1.3   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE   [+A]
###              THE DIRECT  OBJECT IS ANIMATE   [+A]

(27) (a)* Ndiqengqela utitshala umfundi.
         I roll the student for the teacher.

   (b)   Ndiqhubela ipolisa ibanjwa.
         I drive the prisoner for the policeman.

   (c)   Nditsalela uThemba intombi.
         I pull a girl for Themba.

In (a) the sentence is ungrammatical because no human being can be rolled. Both direct and indirect objects are animate. The indirect objects are <u>ipolisa</u> and <u>uThemba</u> respectively. The direct objects are <u>ibanjwa</u> in (b) and <u>intombi</u> in (c).

The verbs assign theta-roles to their complements.

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To the indirect objects they assign a theta-role of beneficiary because in (b) the prisoner is driven for the policeman and in (c) the girl is pulled for Themba.  To the direct objects the verbs assign theta-roles of theme because they have moved from their original positions, i.e. the prisoner has been driven in (b) and in (a) a girl has been pulled.

## 2.8.2.1.4     THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE [-A]
##              THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE     [+A]

(28) (a)*      Ndiqengqela ingca inkomo.
               I roll the grass for the cow.

     (b)  (i)* Ndiqhubela imoto umama.
               I drive the car for mom.
          (ii) Ndiqhubela ilali iinkomo.
               I drive the cattle for the village.

     (c)  *    Nditsalela ucingo umalume.
               I pull the wire for uncle.

Sentences (a), (b)(i) and (c) are ungrammatical.  They would be correct if the direct objects were indirect objects and vice versa.  In (b)(ii) the indirect object is <u>ilali</u>.  It is inanimate although it has a feature of human control.  The direct object is <u>inkomo</u>.  It is animate.

The verb <u>-qhubela</u> assigns theta-roles to its complements.  To the indirect object is assigns a theta-role of beneficiary because it benefits something from the subject.  The village gets the cattle.  To the direct object it assigns a theta-role of theme because it changes its position, i.e. cattle are driven.

## 2.8.2.1.5   SUMMARY

Four sets of objects have been examined above with the motion applied verbs <u>-qengqela</u>, <u>-qhubela</u> and <u>-tsalela</u>.  In all of these cases the word order of the objects have been consistent,

i.e. the indirect object is dependent on the presence of the applicative suffix -el- and it must appear immediately adjacent to the verb. The feature of animacy has been applied to these objects and the following possibilities have materialized:

| | A | | B | | C | | D | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | +A | -A | -A | -A | +A | +A | -A | +A |
| - qengqela | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - qhubela | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| - tsalela | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - |

The verbs -qengqa and -tsala have semantic restrictions. -Qengqa may not appear with any direct object which is animate. In the case where an inanimate indirect object has been allowed, it has been found that such indirect objects must have an additional feature of human control. Thus there are severe restrictions on the appearance of inanimate indirect objects with applied motion verbs. The verb -tsala may not appear with an inanimate indirect object and an animate direct object at the same time, i.e -tsala does not fit in the D - set or category.

The interpretation of these arguments have been consistent, the indirect objects are beneficiaries while the direct objects are themes.

## 2.8.2.2   NON- APLLIED VERB

## 2.8.2.2.1 THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE   [+A]
##          THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]

(29) Ndithuma inkwenkwe umgubo.
     I send the boy for mealie-meal.

In the above sentence the indirect object is inkwenkwe and the direct object is umgubo. The direct object is inanimate and the indirect object is animate.

The verb -thuma assigns two theta-roles to its complements. To the indirect object it assigns a theta-role of theme because it moves from its original position, i.e. the boy is sent for mealie-meal. To the direct object is assigns a theta-role of purpose because it reflects the goal of the sending.

### 2.8.2.2.2.  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]
###          THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]

(30) (a)  (i)* Ndithuma imoto isonka.
                I sent the car for bread.
         (ii) Ndithuma ilali isonka.
              I send the village for bread.

Sentence (a)(i) is incorrect because one cannot send an inanimate thing. The indirect object in (a)(ii) is ilali and the direct object is isonka. The verb -thuma assigns a theta-role of theme to the indirect object because of its movement, i.e the village is sent. To the direct object it assigns a theta-role of purpose because it reflects the purpose of the sending depicted by - thuma.

### 2.8.2.2.3  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE   [+A]
###           THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE     [+A]

(31) Ndithuma umfana iinkomo.
     I send the young man for cattle.

In the above sentence the indirect object is umfana and the direct object is iinkomo. Both objects are animate. The verb -thuma assigns a theta-role of theme to the indirect object because of its movement, i.e. the young man is sent for cattle.

The direct object is assigned a theta-role of purpose because it reflects the goal of the sending.

### 2.8.2.2.4    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]
###            THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE          [+A]

(32) (a)  (i)* Ndithuma umbona umfazi.
                I sent the woman mealies.
         (ii) Ndithuma ilali iinkomo.
                I send the village for cattle.


Sentence (a)(i) is unacceptable because it is ungrammatical.  The direct object in (a)(i) is iinkomo and is animate.  The indirect object is ilali and is inanimate whereas it has a feature of human control.

The verb -thuma assigns a theta-role of theme to the indirect object because it changes its position, i.e. the village is sent for cattle.  To the direct object it assigns a theta-role of purpose because it reflect the purpose of the sending depicted by the verb -thuma.

### 2.8.2.2.5  SUMMARY

As in the case of the applied motion verbs above, a non-applied motion verb has been examined with four sets of objects.  The feature of animacy has been applied to these objects and the following possibilities have materialized:-

|          | A |    | B |    | C |    | D |    |
|----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
|          | +A | -A | -A | -A | +A | +A | -A | +A |
| - thuma  | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  |

The inanimate indirect objects in B and D must have a feature of [human control] for such objects to be allowed.  All the indirect objects are interpreted as themes while the direct objects have a theta-role of purpose.

## 2.8.2.3  COMPARISON BETWEEN APPLIED AND NON-APPLIED DITRANSITIVE VERBS OF MOTION

In the sections above attention has been given to the order of the two objects of applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs as well as to the interpretation of the theta-roles of the two internal arguments.  Only motion verbs have been considered.

From what we have found in the summaries above, it is clear that the two objects of applied ditransitive verbs and non-applied ditransitive verbs are treated differently in Xhosa, although there are similarities between these objects.

The obvious similarity is concerned with an inanimate indirect object: it seems that these motion verbs do not allow inanimate indirect object.  When one forces such an object with these verbs, they are discarded.  Only inanimate indirect objects with a feature of human control are accepted.

The difference between these objects is concerned with the interpretation of their theta-roles.  With applied ditransitive verbs the direct objects are assigned a theta-role of theme while those of the non-applied ditransitive verbs are interpreted with a purposive role.  The indirect objects of the applied ditransitive verbs are assigned a theta-role of beneficiary while those of the non-applied ditransitive verbs are interpreted as theme.

## 2.8.3   ABSTRACT VERBS

## 2.8.3.1  APPLIED VERBS

## 2.8.3.1.1   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE [+A] THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE [-A]

(33) (a)  Ndiqondela umhambi indlela.
         I ask the way for the traveller.

(b)  Ndifunela inja ithambo.

I want a bone for the dog.


(c)  Ndilithandela umdyarho ihashe.

I like the horse for the race.


In the above sentences there are two internal arguments:  the
direct and the indirect objects.  The direct objects are <u>indlela</u>
in (a), <u>ithambo</u> in (b) and <u>umdyarho</u> in (c).  They are inanimate.
The indirect objects are <u>umhambi</u> in (a), <u>inja</u> in (b) and <u>ihashe</u>
in (c). They are animate.


The verbs <u>-qondela</u> in (a), <u>-funela</u> in (b) and <u>-thandela</u> in (c)
assign theta-roles to their complements.  To the indirect object
in (a) the verb <u>-qondela</u> assigns a theta-role of beneficiary with
the interpretation of substitution, i.e. the way is asked on
behalf of the traveller.  In (b) the verb -<u>funela</u> assigns a
theta-role of beneficiary because it benefits something from the
action, i.e. the dog will get a bone.


The direct objects in (a) and (b) are assigned theta-roles of
theme because they are affected by what is happening to them,
i.e.(a) the way is asked and in (b) the bone is wanted.


In the case of (33c) there is a specific semantic condition on
the verb <u>-thanda</u>.  This verb cannot appear with the applicative
<u>-el-</u> when the indirect object has the interpretation of
beneficiary as in (33a) and (33b) above: one cannot have
something for somebody else.  But the applicative <u>-el-</u> is
accepted when the object which is dependent on the applicative
gets the interpretation of cause.  In such cases the adjectival
concord is necessary.  The interrogative <u>ntoni</u> usually appears
in such cases.


**2.8.3.1.2    <u>THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]</u>**
           **<u>THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE      [-A]</u>**


(34) (a)  (i)* Ndiqondela imoto amavili.

I ask tyres for the car.

(ii) Ndiqondela ifemu inxiwa.
     I ask the site for the firm.


(b)  (i)* Ndifunela imoto ilali.
         I want some money for the car.
     (ii) Ndifunela icawa izitulo.
         I want the chairs for the church.


(c)  (i)* Ndithandela imali umsebenzi.
         I like the work for money.
     (ii) Ndiyithandela umzi ipeyinti.
         I like the paint for the home.


In the above sentences the indirect objects are <u>ifemu</u> in (a)(ii),
<u>icawa</u> in (b)(ii) and <u>umzi</u> in (c)(ii).  They are inanimate and
have a feature of human control.  The direct objects are <u>inxiwa,</u>
<u>izitulo</u> and <u>ipeyinti</u> respectively.  They are also inanimate.

The verbs <u>-qondela</u> in (a), <u>-funela</u> in (b) and <u>-thandela</u> in (c)
assign theta-roles to their complements.  To the indirect objects
in (a)(ii) and (b)(ii) they assign a theta-role of beneficiary:
they are benefitting.  To the direct objects in (a)(ii) and
(b)(ii) the verbs assign a theta-role of patient because they are
affected by what is happening to them.

In the case of (34)(c)(ii) the theta-roles are cause and theme
for the same reason as in (33)(c) above: i.e. the presence of the
objectival concord makes it possible to use the applicative <u>-el-</u>
with the verb -thanda.


### 2.8.3.1.3    <u>THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE</u>   [+A]
         <u>THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE</u>     [+A]


(35) (a)  Ndiqondela umfundisi ibandla.
         I ask the congregation for the priest.

(b)  Ndifunela unyana umfazi.
     I want a wife for the son.


(c)  Ndimthandela ixhego umolokazana.
     I like the daughter in law for the old man.


The indirect objects are <u>umfundisi</u> in (a) <u>unyana</u> in (b) and <u>ixhego</u> in (c).  The direct objects are <u>ibandla</u> in (a) <u>umfazi</u> in (b) and <u>umolokazana</u> in (c).  The verbs assign theta-roles to their complements.


To the indirect object in (a) it assigns a theta-role of substitution, i.e. the congregation is asking in the place of the priest.  In (b) it assigns a theta-role of beneficiary, i.e. the son gets a wife.  The direct objects in (a) and (b) are assigned a theta-role of patient because they are affected by what is happening to them.


In the case of (c) a theta-role of cause and theme is assigned to the indirect and direct objects respectively.  This is caused by the fact that the verb <u>-thanda</u> can only appear with the applicative <u>-el-</u> when used with the objectival concord.


## 2.8.3.1.4  <u>THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]</u>
### <u>THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE       [+A]</u>


(36) (a)  (i)* Ndiqondela isifundo umfundi.
              I ask the lesson for the student.
         (ii) Ndiqondela ibhanki umphathi.
              I ask the manager for the bank.


     (b)  (i)* Ndifunela imoto umqhubi.
              I want a driver for a car.
         (ii) Ndifunela umzi abahlali.
              I want a home for the residents.

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(c) (i)* Ndithandela umsila inja.
I like the tail for the dog.

(ii) Ndibathandela ihotele abahambi.
I like the hotel for the travellers.

All the (i) sentences above are incorrect because of their vague
meaning. We have two objects, i.e. the direct and the indirect
objects.  The indirect objects are inanimate, i.e. in (a)(ii)
ibhanki, (b)(ii) umzi and (c)(ii) ihotele.  These (ii) sentences
are correct because the indirect objects have a feature of human
control.  The direct objects are animate, i.e. umphathi in
(a)(ii),abahlali in (b)(ii) and abahambi in (c)(ii).

These objects are assigned theta-roles by the verbs.  The direct
objects in (a) and (b) are assigned a theta-role of
beneficiary,i.e. in (b)(ii) a home is wanted for the residents.
The indirect objects in (a) and (b) are assigned a theta-role of
patient because they are affected by what is happening to them.
In (c) they are assigned a theta-role of cause and theme.  The
presence of the objectival concord makes it possible to use the
applicative -el- with the verb -thanda.

2.8.3.1.5  SUMMARY

Four sets of objects have been examined above with the abstract
applied verbs -qondela, -funela and -thandela.  In all of these
cases the word order of the objects have been consistent, i.e.
the indirect object is dependent on the presence of the
applicative suffix -el- and it must appear immediately adjacent
to the verb.  The feature of animacy has been applied to these
objects and the following possibilities have materialized:

| | A | | B | | C | | D | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | +A | -A | -A | -A | +A | +A | -A | +A |
| - qondela | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| - funela | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| - thandela | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |

The inanimate indirect objects in B and D must have an additional feature of human control in order to be allowed.  Thus there are severe restrictions on the appearance of inanimate indirect objects with applied abstract verbs.

The interpretation of these arguments have been inconsistent; especially the indirect objects.

The verb -qondela assigns a theta-role of beneficiary to all its indirect objects as well as the verb -funela.  The verb -thandela assigns a theta-role of cause to all of them.  D is different because the indirect objects are assigned a theta-role of patient while the direct objects are beneficiaries.  The direct objects in A, B, and C are assigned a theta-role of theme. The verb -thandela to use the applicative suffix -el- with this verb unless it is used with the objectival concord.

**2.8.3.2  NON-APPLIED VERBS**

**2.8.3.2.1  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]**
**THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]**

(37) (a)  Ndibuza umfundi umbuzo.
         I ask the student a question.

     (b)  Ndicela utata iilekese.
         I ask father for sweets.

     (c)  Ndivimba umhambi amanzi.
         I deny a traveller some water.

The indirect objects are <u>umfundi</u> in (a), <u>utata</u> in (b) and <u>umhambi</u> in (c).  The direct objects are <u>umbuzo</u> in (a), <u>iilekese</u> in (b) and <u>amanzi</u> in (c).

The verbs <u>-buza</u>, <u>-cela</u> and <u>-vimba</u> assign theta-roles to their complements.  The indirect objects are assigned a theta-role of source because they are the source from which the theme must come.  The direct objects are assigned a theta-role of theme because they are affected by what is happening to them.

### 2.8.3.2.2.    <u>THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]</u>
### <u>THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE     [-A]</u>

(38) (a)   (i)* Ndibuza ibhokisi impahla.
              I ask the clothes from the box.
         (ii) Ndibuza ihotele ityala.
              I ask the hotel for an account.

   (b)   (i)* Ndicela amazinyo umngqusho.
              I ask the samp from the teeth.
         (ii) Ndicela ibhanki imali.
              I ask the bank for some money.

   (c)   (i)* Ndivimba isandla umbuliso.
              I deny the hand some greetings.
         (ii) Ndivimba isikolo umdlalo.
              I deny the school a match.

All the (i) sentences above are incorrect because they are ungrammatical.  The direct objects are <u>ityala</u> in (a)(ii), <u>imali</u> in (b)(ii) and <u>umdlalo</u> in (c)(ii).  The indirect objects are <u>ihotele</u> in (a)(ii), <u>ibhanki</u> in (b)(ii) and <u>isikolo</u> in (c)(ii). The indirect objects in (ii) sentences are also inanimate but they have a feature of human control.

The verbs assign theta-roles to their complements.  To the indirect objects they assign a theta-role of source because they are the source from which the theme must come.

The direct objects are assigned a theta-role of theme because they are affected by what is happening to them.

## 2.8.3.2.3    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE   [+A]
##              THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE     [+A]

(39) (a)  Ndibuza abazali umntwana.
          I ask the parents for the kid.

     (b)  Ndicela umakhulu inkukhu.
          I ask grandma for a chicken.

     (c)  Ndivimba inkwenkwe intaka.
          I deny the boy a bird.

The direct objects are umntwana in (a), inkukhu in (b) and intaka in (c).  The direct objects are abazali in (a), umakhulu in (b) and inkwenkwe in (c). The verbs assign theta-roles to their complements.  To the indirect objects they assign a theta-role of source because they are the source from which the theme come. The direct objects are assigned a theta-role of theme because they are affected by what is happening to them.

## 2.8.3.2.4    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE     [-A]
##              THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE         [+A]

(40) (a)  (i)* Ndibuza isonka umbhaki.
              I ask the bread for a baker.
          (ii) Ndibuza ihotele umpheki.
              I ask the hotel for the cooker/chef.

     (b)  (i)* Ndicela imali utata.
              I ask money from dad.
          (ii) Ndicela umzi iinkomo.
              I ask cattle from the home.

     (c)  (i)* Ndivimba iindaba unondaba.
              I deny the news to the newsman.

The direct objects are <u>umpheki</u> in (a)(ii) and <u>iinkomo</u> in (b)(ii). Sentences (a)(i),(b)(i) and (c)(i) are not going to be considered because they are ungrammatical.  The indirect objects are <u>ihotele</u> in (a)(ii) and <u>umzi</u> in (b)(ii).

The verbs assign theta-roles to their complements.  To the direct objects they assign the theta-role of theme because they are affected by what is happening to them.

The indirect objects are assigned a theta-role of source because they are the source from which the theme come.

## 2.8.3.2.5  SUMMARY

As in the case of the applied abstract verbs above, three non-applied abstract verbs have been examined with four sets of objects where the distinguishing factor between them is the feature animacy:

| | A | | B | | C | | D | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | +A | -A | -A | -A | +A | +A | -A | +A |
| - buza | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| - cela | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| - vimba | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - |

The inanimate indirect objects in B and D must have a feature of human control for such objects to be allowed.  All the indirect objects are interpreted with a semantic role of source while the direct objects are themes.

The verb <u>-vimba</u> has a semantic restriction because it is not accepted in D.  We cannot find any indirect object which has a feature of human control and a direct object which is animate to form a grammatical sentence.

## 2.8.3.3   COMPARISON BETWEEN APPLIED AND NON-APPLIED ABSTRACT DITRANSITIVE VERBS

In the sections above attention has been given to the order of the two objects of the applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs as well as to the interpretation of the theta-roles of the two internal arguments.  Only abstract verbs have been considered.

Considering the summaries of the findings which have been given above it is clear that the two internal arguments of applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs are treated differrently in Xhosa although there are similarities between these objects.

The most obvious similarity between these objects is the interpretation of the direct object.
All the direct objects with abstract ditransitive verbs are interpretation as themes except for the one in D of  the applied verbs.  Another similarity is concerned with an inanimate indirect object.  For it to be allowed it must have a feature of human control.

The differences between these objects relate to their interpretation.  With applied ditransitive verbs the indirect objects are consistently interpreted as beneficiaries except for -thandela which assigns a theta-role of cause to them.  The non-applied verbs assign a theta-role of source to all their indirect objects.

## 2.8.3.4   SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS OF THE CONCRETE, MOTION AND ABSTRACT VERBS

Four sets of objects have been examined above with the concrete, motion and abstract applied and non-applied verbs.  At the same time attention has been given to the order of the two internal arguments of the applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs as well as to the interpretation of their theta-roles.

From what we have found in the summaries above, it is clear that the concrete, motion and the abstract verbs are treated differently in Xhosa, although there are similarities between them.

The most obvious similarity between these verbs is concerned with an inanimate indirect object. These verbs do not allow the use of this object unless it has a feature of human control.

Another similarity in all these verbs: the word order of the objects have been consistent, i.e. the indirect object is dependent on the presence of the applicative suffix -el- and it must appear immediately adjacent to the verb.

The difference between these verbs is concerned with the interpretation of the theta-role of their objects. With all these verbs the interpretation is consistent although it differs according to the particular type of verb.

The following is a summary of the different theta-role assigned by these verbs:

| CONCRETE VERBS | | INDIRECT OBJECT | DIRECT OBJECT |
|---|---|---|---|
| | [+EL] | Benefactive | Theme |
| | [-EL] | Recipient | Theme |
| Motion Verbs | | | |
| | [+EL] | Benefactive | Theme |
| | [-EL] | Theme | Purpose |
| Abstract Verbs | | | |
| | [+EL] | Benefactive | Theme |
| | | Cause | Theme |
| | [-EL] | Source | Theme |

## 2.9  CLITICS

Before looking at the clitics the empty categories should be considered.

Phonologically empty or null elements in syntax are referred to as empty categories, e.g.

(41) (a)   Bayakutya.
           They are eating it.


     (b)   [ [pro*i*][    [AGR*i*]  [  [ku;][-tya][pro;]
        S   NP   INFL       VP cl   V      NP

In the above structure the subject and object positions are phonologically empty but structurally present: (see pro in 41) these are empty categories.  Chomsky (1981) distinguishes four types of empty categories, namely, NP - trace, Q - trace, PRO and pro.


**2.9.1  NP - TRACE**


NP - trace is generated by the rule move A:

(42) (a)   Impahla ihlanjwa ngumama.
           The clothes are being washed by mom.
     (b)   [ [impahla][    [cl-9] [-hlanjwa][t;][  [ngu][umama]
        S   NP$_i$        INFL AGR    VP          NP  NP N$_{cop}$   N


The trace element is a syntactic category that is empty of phonological content and internal structure, retaining only an index that is identical to the index of the material that has been moved out of the trace position as reflected in (42) (b). It is classified as a nonpronominal anaphor and according to the empty category principle it is properly governed, thus it is coindexed with its antecedent by Move A, by convention.


**2.9.2  Q -TRACE**


Q - trace is a question word trace which is clasified as a non-pronominal nonanaphor.  It is generated by the rule Move A.

(43)(a)    Umama ubanika ntoni abantwana?
           What does mom give to the children?

```
(b)[ [umama][    [cl-1(a)] [  [ba][nika][ntoni][abantwana]
    S NP    INFL  AGR       VP cl  V      NP_Q     NP
   [  [N_t]
     NP
```

## 2.9.3  PRO

PRO is classified as a pronominal anaphor.  It is a base-generated subject of infinitival clauses and is typically restricted to the subject position of infinitival clauses as follows.

(44) (a)  UNomsa ufuna ukuhamba.
         Nomsa wants to go.

```
    (b)  [ [uNomsa][    [cl-1(a)] [  [funa][ [PRO][hamba]
         S NP    INFL  AGR       VP V      NP   VP
```

As reflected in the above structure, PRO is coindexed with its antecedent by the rule of control, one of the rules of construal in the LF component that relates antecedents and anaphors.  PRO is ungoverned therefore it has no agreement and is not assigned case.

## 2.9.4  pro

pro is classified as a pronominal nonanaphor which is a base-generated subject or object of sentences lacking an overt subject in null languages.  It may contain grammatical features of person, gender and possibly case:

(45) (a)  Ndiyazifunda.
         I am reading them.

```
    (b)  [ [pro_i][    [1.s]  [  [zi;][funda][pro;]
         S NP    INFL  AGR_i  VP  cl   V      NP
```

## 2.9.5          CONCRETE   VERBS

## 2.9.5.1        APPLIED VERBS

## 2.9.5.1.1  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE    [+A]
## THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]

(47) (a)        Ndisengela utata ubisi.
                I milk the milk for dad.
         (i)  Ndimsengela ubisi.
                I milk the milk for him.
        (ii) Ndilusengela utata.
                I milk it for dad.

     (b)        Ndiphekela abantwana ukutya.
                I cook food for the children.
         (i)  Ndibaphekela ukutya.
                I cook food for them.
        (ii) Ndikuphekela abantwana.
                I cook it for the children.

     (c)        Ndilimela abazali umbona.
                I plant mealies for the parents.
         (i)  Ndibalimela umbona.
                I plant mealies for them.
        (ii) Ndiwulimela abazali.
                I plant it for the parents.

In the above examples the verb has the indicative present tense.
Only one of these objects may appear with a pronominal.  In
sentences (i) only the indirect object has been replaced by a
pronominal, thus a clitic will appear.  This problem can be
structurally resolved by coindexing the empty pronominal with the
clitic.

(48) (a)  [pro [AGR [M; - sengela [pro;][ubisi]
     (b)  [pro [AGR [ba;- phekela [pro;][ukutya]
     (c)  [pro [AGR [ba;-limela   [pro;][umbona]

In sentences (ii) only the direct object appears with a clitic. This can be structurally resolved by coindexing the empty pronominal with the clitic:

(49) (a) [pro [AGR [lu; - sengela [utata]     [pro;]
     (b) [pro [AGR [ku; - phekela [abantwana] [pro;]
     (c) [pro [AGR [wu; - limela  [abazali]   [pro;]

One can try to allow two pronominals in these sentences but there is a problem because the use of two pronominals is prohibited. Only one pronominal in the form of a clitic may appear while the other one takes on the form of the absolute pronoun:

(50) (a) (i)  Ndimsengela lona.
              I milk it for him.
         (ii) Ndilusengela yena.
              I milk it for him.

     (b) (i)  Ndibaphekela kona.
              I cook it for them.
         (ii) Ndikuphekela bona.
              I cook it for them.

     (c) (i)  Ndibalimela wona.
              I plant it for them.
         (ii) Ndiwulimela bona.
              I plant it for them.

In sentences (i) the indirect objects are replaced by clitics and the direct objects are replaced by absolute pronouns. In sentences (ii) the direct objects are replaced by clitics and the indirect objects are replaced by absolute pronouns. All the sentences in (50) have an emphatic interpretation because of the use of absolute pronouns. Theoretically it is possible to use two pronominals as complements of the verb, but practically it is impossible, thus we use one pronominal as an absolute pronoun.

## 2.9.5.1.2  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]
##           THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]

(51) (a)        Ndisengela umzi ubisi.
                I milk the milk for the household.
        (i)   Ndiwusengela ubisi.
                I milk the milk for it.
        (ii) Ndilusengela umzi.
                I milk it for the household.

     (b)        Ndiphekela isikolo ukutya.
                I cook food for the school.
        (i)   Ndisiphekela ukutya.
                I cook food for it.
        (ii) Ndikuphekela isikolo.
                I cook it for the school.

     (c)        Ndilimela icawe umbona.
                I plant mealies for the church.
        (i)   Ndiyilimela umbona.
                I plant mealies for it.
        (ii) Ndiwulimela icawe.
                I plant it for the church.

In the above examples there are two objects in each case.  Only
one object can be replaced by a pronominal.  In sentences (i) the
indirect objects are replaced by a pronominal, thus a clitic is
used.  This problem can be structurally represented by coindexing
the empty pronominal with the clitic:

(52) (a)   [pro   [AGR [wu; - sengela [pro;] [ubisi]
     (b)   [pro   [AGR [si; - phekela [pro;] [ukutya]
     (c)   [pro   [AGR [yi; - limela  [pro;] [umbona]

In sentences (ii) only the direct objects appear as pronominals;
in that case clitics are used.  This can be shown by coindexing
the empty pronominal with a clitic:

(53) (a)  [pro  [AGR  [lu; - sengela  [umzi] [pro;]
     (b)  [pro  [AGR  [ku; - phekela  [isikolo] [pro;]
     (c)  [pro  [AGR  [wu; - limela    [icawe] [pro;]

Two pronominals may appear in the above examples but the problem lies in the fact that one pronominal can take the form of a clitic whilst the other one can be an absolute pronoun:

(54) (a)  (i)  Ndiwusengela lona.
               I milk it for it.
          (ii) Ndilusengela wona.
               I milk it for it.


     (b)  (i)  Ndisiphekela kona.
               I cook it for it.
          (ii) Ndikuphekela sona.
               I cook it for it.


     (c)  (i)  Ndiyilimela wona.
               I plant it for it.
          (ii) Ndiwulimela yona.
               I plant it for it.


In sentences (i) the indirect objects are replaced by clitics, i.e. umzi by wu, isikolo by si and icawe by yi, whilst the direct objects are replaced by absolute pronouns, i.e. ubisi by lona, ukutya by kona and umbona by wona.  In sentences (ii) the indirect objects are replaced by absolute pronouns, i.e. umzi by wona, isikolo by sona and icawe by yona, whilst the direct objects are replaced by clitics, i.e. ubisi by lu, ukutya by ku and umbona by wu.


**2.9.5.1.3  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE     [+A]**
**            THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE       [+A]**


(55) (a)       Ndisengela utata inkomo.
               I milk the cow for dad.

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(i)   Ndimsengela inkomo.

      I milk the cow for him.

(ii)  Ndiyisengela utata.

      I milk it for dad.


(b)        Ndiphekela emakhwenkwe umvundla.

           I cook the hare for the boys.

(i)   Ndiwaphekela umvundla.

      I cook the hare for them.

(ii)  Ndiwuphekela amakhwenkwe.

      I cook it for the boys.


In sentences (i) instead of the indirect objects we have used the
clitics.    These  sentences  can  be  structurally  shown  by
considering the empty pronominal with the clitic:


(56) (a)   [pro  [AGR  [m; - sengela  [pro;] [inkomo]
     (b)   [pro  [AGR  [wa;- phekela  [pro;] [umvundla]


In sentences (ii) instead of the overt direct objects an empty
pro appears.    Structurally these sentences can be  shown by
coindexing the empty pronominal with a clitic:


(57) (a)   [pro  [AGR  [yi;  -  sengela  [utata] [pro;]
     (b)   [pro  [AGR  [wu;  -  phekela  [amakhwenkwe] [pro;]


We can allow two pronominals in the above examples one pronominal
as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun:


(58) (a)  (i)   Ndimsengela yona.

                I milk it for him.

          (ii)  Ndiyisengela yena.

                I milk it for him.


     (b)  (i)   Ndiwaphekela wona.

                I cook it for them.

          (ii)  Ndiwuphekela wona.

                I cook it for them.

In sentences (i) the indirect objects are replaced by clitics whilst the direct objects are replaced by absolute pronouns.  In sentences (ii) the direct objects are replaced by clitics whilst the indirect objects are replaced by absolute pronouns.

### 2.9.5.1.4  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]
### THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]

(59) (a)     Ndisengela icawe inkomo.
             I am milking the cow for the church.

     (i)   Ndiyisengela inkomo.
           I am milking the cow for it.
     (ii)  Ndiyisengela icawe.
           I am milking it for the church.

     (b)     Ndiphekela umzi inkukhu.
             I am cooking the chicken for it.

     (i)   Ndiwuphekela umzi inkukhu.
           I am cooking the chicken for the home.
     (ii)  Ndiyiphekela umzi.
           I am cooking it for the home.

In sentence (i) instead of using the overt indirect objects we have used the clitics.  This can be shown by coindexing the empty pronominal with the clitic:

(60) (a)  [pro [AGR  [yi; - sengela  [pro;] [inkomo]
     (b)  [pro [pro  [wu; - phekela  [pro;] [inkukhu]

In sentences (ii) instead of the direct objects, the clitics occur.  This can be shown by coindexing the empty pronominal with the clitic:

(61) (a)  [pro  [AGR [yi; - sengela [icawe] [pro;]
     (b)  [pro  [AGR [yi; - phekela [umzi]  [pro;]

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Two pronominals can occur but one as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun, because two clitics cannot appear with one verb:

(62) (a)  (i)  Ndiyisengela yona.
                I am milking it for it.
         (ii) Ndiyisengela yona.
                I am milking it for it.


     (b)  (i)  Ndiwuphekela yona.
                I am cooking it for it.
         (ii) Ndiyiphekela wona.
                I am cooking it for it.


In sentences (i) the overt indirect objects are replaced by clitics whereas the direct objects are replaced by absolute pronouns.  In sentences (ii) the indirect objects are replaced by absolute pronouns whereas the direct objects are replaced by clitics.

## 2.9.5.1.5   SUMMARY

In this section concrete applied verbs appear with clitics.  The word order of the objects have been consistent, i.e. the indirect object is dependent on the presence of the applicative suffix -el- and it must appear immediately adjacent to the verb.

In the first instance one clitic appears as a direct or an indirect object.  In the case where the indirect object is represented by a clitic the direct object remains unchanged.  The difference between the two instances is shown clearly by the structures of the two instances.

On the other hand two pronominals have been attempted but one pronominal may appear as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun.  In the case where the indirect object is a clitic the direct object is an absolute pronoun and vice versa.

**2.9.5.2.1   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE    [+A]**
                **THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]**

(63) (a)        Ndinika umntwana ibhola.
                I give the child a ball.


        (i)   Ndimnika ibhola.
              I give him a ball.
        (ii)  Ndiyinika umntwana.
              I give it to the child.


     (b)        Ndiboleka intombi ilokhwe.
                I lend the girl a dress.
        (i)   Ndiyiboleka ilokhwe.
              I lend her a dress.
        (ii)  Ndiyiboleka intombi.
              I lend it to the girl.


     (c)        Ndihlawula indoda imali.
                I pay the man some money.
        (i)   Ndiyihlawula imali.
              I pay him some money.
        (ii)  Ndiyihlawula indoda.
              I pay it to the man.


In sentences (i) the indirect objects appear as clitics.  This
can be represented by coindexing the empty pronominal with a
clitic:


(64) (a)   [pro  [AGR  [m; - nika    [pro;] [ibhola]
     (b)   [pro  [AGR  [yi; - boleka  [pro;] [ilokhwe]
     (c)   [pro  [AGR  [yi; - hlawula [pro;] [imali]


In sentence (ii) clitics appear with the empty direct objects.
This can be shown by coindexing the empty pronominal with a
clitic:

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```
(65) (a)  [pro  [AGR  [yi; - nika     [umntwana] [pro;]
     (b)  [pro  [AGR  [yi; - boleka   [intombi]  [pro;]
     (c)  [pro  [AGR  [yi; - hlawula  [indoda]   [pro;]
```

One can expect two pronominals with a verb because it has two objects.  That is prohibited in Xhosa, instead a pronominal can appear as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun:

```
(66) (a)  (i)   Ndimnika yona.
                I give it to him.
          (ii)  Ndiyinika yena.
                I give it to him.

     (b)  (i)   Ndiyiboleka yona.
                I lend it to her.
          (ii)  Ndiyiboleka yona.
                I lend it to her.

     (c)  (i)   Ndiyihlawula yona.
                I pay it to him.
          (ii)  Ndiyihlawula yona.
                I pay it to him.
```

In sentences (i) the direct objects appear as clitics, i.e. umntwana as m, intombi as yi and indoda as yi, whilst the direct objects are absolute pronouns, i.e. ibhola as yona, ilokhwe as yona and imali as yona.  In sentences (ii) the indirect objects are absolute pronouns, i.e. umntwana as yena, intombi as yona and indoda as yona, whilst the direct objects are clitics, i.e. ibhola as yi ilokhwe as yi and imali as yi.

## 2.9.5.2.2  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]
### THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]

```
(67) (a)       Ndinika umzi ukutya.
               I give food to the home.
          (i)  Ndiwunika ukutya.
               I give food to it.
```

(ii) Ndikunika umzi.

I give it to the home.

(b)     Ndiboleka icawe imali.

I lend money for the church.

(i) Ndiyiboleka imali.

I lend money for it.

(ii) Ndiyiboleka icawe.

I lend it for the church.

(c)     Ndihlawula ivenkile ityala.

I pay an account to the shop.

(i) Ndiyihlawula ityala.

I pay an account to it.

(ii) Ndilihlawula ivenkile.

I pay it to the shop.

In sentences (i) clitics appear in the places of indirect objects, i.e. wu instead of umzi, yi instead of icawe and yi instead of ivenkile. This can be shown by coindexing the empty pronominal with a clitic:

(68) (a)   [pro [AGR [wu; - nika    [pro;]  [ukutya]
     (b)   [pro [AGR [yi; - boleka  [pro;]  [imali]
     (c)   [pro [AGR [yi; - hlawula [pro;]  [ityala]

In sentences (ii) clitics occur in the places of direct objects, i.e. ku instead of ukutya, yi instead of imali and li instead of ityala. This can be structurally shown by coindexing the empty pronominal with a clitic:

(69) (a)   [pro [AGR [ku; - nika    [umzi] [pro;]
     (b)   [pro [AGR [yi; - boleka  [icawe] [pro;]
     (c)   [pro [AGR [li; - hlawula [ivenkile] [pro;]

Two pronominals may appear because we have two objects, but that is prohibited in Xhosa, instead one pronominal can occur as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun:

(70) (a) (i) Ndiwunika kona.

I give it to it.

(ii) Ndikunika wona.

I give it to it.

(b) (i) Ndiyiboleka yona.

I lend it to it.

(ii) Ndiyiboleka yona.

I lend it to it.

(c) (i) Ndiyihlawula lona.

I pay it to it.

(ii) Ndilihlawula yona.

I pay it to it.

In sentence (i) the indirect objects are clitics, i.e. umzi is wu, icawe is yi and ivenkile is yi, whilst the direct objects are absolute pronouns, i.e. ukutya is kona, imali is yona and ityala is lona. In sentences (ii) the indirect objects are absolute pronouns, i.e. umzi is wona, icawe is yona and ivenkile is yona, whilst the direct objects are clitics, i.e. ukutya is ku, imali is yi and ityala is li.

## 2.9.5.2.3   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]
##                THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE     [+A]

(71) (a)      Ndinika umama ikati.

I give mother a cat.

(i) Ndimnika ikati.

I give her a cat.

(ii) Ndiyinika umama.

I give it to mother.

(b)      Ndiboleka utitshala ihashe.

I lend the teacher a horse.

(i) Ndimboleka ihashe.

I lend him a horse.

(ii) Ndiliboleka utitshala.

I lend it to the teacher.

(c)      Ndihlawula intombi inkomo.

         I pay the girl a cow.

   (i)   Ndiyihlawula inkomo.

         I pay her a cow.

   (ii)  Ndiyihlawula intombi.

         I pay it to the girl.


In sentences (i) a clitic with pro appears as an indirect
object, i.e. yi as ikati, li as ihashe and yi as inkomo.
This can be shown by coindexing the empty pronominal with
the clitic.

(73) (a)  [pro  [AGR [yi; - nika    [umama] [pro;]

     (b)  [pro  [AGR [yi; - boleka [ihashe][pro;]

     (c)  [pro  [AGR [yi; - hlawula[intombi] [pro;]

As we have two objects in these sentences we can think of using
two pronominals, but that is impossible in Xhosa.  One pronominal
may appear as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun to
avoid the use of two pronominals;

(74) (a)  (i)   Ndimnika yona.

               I give it to her.

          (ii)  Ndiyinika yena.

               I give it to her.


     (b)  (i)   Ndimboleka lona.

               I lend it to him.

          (ii)  Ndiliboleka yena.

               I lend it to him.


     (c)  (i)   Ndiyihlawula yona.

               I pay it to her.

          (ii)  Ndiyihlawula yona.

               I pay it to her.

In sentences (i) the indirect objects are clitics, i.e. <u>umama</u> is <u>m</u>, <u>utitshala</u> is <u>m</u> and <u>intombi</u> is <u>yi</u>, whilst the direct objects are absolute pronouns, i.e. <u>ikati</u> is <u>yona</u>, <u>ihashe</u> is <u>lona</u> and <u>inkomo</u> is <u>yona</u>.  In sentences (ii) the indirect objects are absolute pronouns, i.e. <u>umama</u> is <u>yena</u>, <u>utitshala</u> is <u>yena</u> and <u>intombi</u> is <u>yona</u>, whilst the direct objects are clitics, i.e. <u>ikati</u> is <u>yi</u>, <u>ihashe</u> is <u>li</u> and <u>inkomo</u> is <u>yi</u>.

## 2.9.5.2.4   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]
## THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE       [+A]

(75) (a)       Ndinika icawa umntwana.
               I give a child to the church.
     (i)   Ndiyinika umntwana.
           I give a child to it.
     (ii)  Ndimnika icawa.
           I give him to the church.


     (b)       Ndiboleka isikolo uZola.
               I lend the school to Zola.
     (i)   Ndisiboleka uZola.
           I lend it to Zola.
     (ii)  Ndimboleka isikolo.
           I lend the school to him.


     (c)       Ndihlawula inkundla inkomo.
               I pay the court a cow.
     (i)   Ndiyihlawula inkomo.
           I pay it a cow.
     (ii)  Ndiyihlawula inkundla.
           I pay it to the court.


In sentences (i) clitics occur as indirect objects, i.e. <u>yi</u> for <u>icawa</u>, <u>si</u> for <u>isikolo</u> and <u>yi</u> for <u>inkundla</u>.  This can be shown by coindexing the empty pronominal with a clitic:


(76) (a)   [pro  [AGR [yi; - nika [pro;] [umntwana]
     (b)   [pro  [AGR [si; - boleka [pro;] [uZola]
     (c)   [pro  [AGR [yi; - hlawula [pro;][inkomo]

In sentences (ii) clitics appear as direct objects, i.e. <u>m</u> as
<u>umntwana,</u> <u>m</u> as <u>uZola</u> and <u>yi</u> as <u>inkomo</u>.   This can be shown by
coindexing the empty pronominal with a clitic:

(77) (a)   [pro   [AGR [m; - nika [icawa] [pro]
     (b)   [pro   [AGR [m; - boleka [isikolo] [pro]
     (c)   [pro   [AGR [yi;- hlawula [inkundla] [pro]

In the above sentences we have two objects and in (i) and (ii)
sentences there is only one overt object, the other one occurs
as a clitic.   So it seems as if it is impossible to use two
pronominals.   What is possible is to use one pronominal as a
clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun:

(78) (a)   (i)   Ndiyinika yena.
                 I give it to him.
           (ii) Ndimnika yona.
                 I give it to him.

     (b)   (i)   Ndisiboleka yena.
                 I lend it to him.
           (ii) Ndimboleka sona.
                 I lend it to him.

     (c)   (i)   Ndiyihlawula yona.
                 I pay it to it.
           (ii) Ndiyihlawula yona.
                 I pay it to it.

In sentences (i) the indirect objects are clitics and the direct
objects are absolute pronouns.   In sentences (ii) the indirect
objects are absolute pronouns, on the other hand the direct
objects are clitics.

## 2.9.5.2.5   SUMMARY

In this section concrete non-applied verbs appear with clitics
and four sets of objects.

In the first instance one object is a clitic, i.e. either a direct or an indirect object.  If the indirect object is a clitic, the direct object does not change.  If the direct object is a clitic, the indirect object remains unchanged.  There is a difference between the two instances which is shown by their structures.

As we have two objects, one is expected to use two pronominals, but that is not allowed in Xhosa.  Instead one pronominal may occur as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun.  In the case where the direct object is a clitic the indirect object is an absolute pronoun and in the case where the direct object is an absolute pronoun the indirect object is a clitic.

## 2.9.5.3    COMPARISON BETWEEN APPLIED AND NON-APPLIED CONCRETE DITRANSITIVE VERBS WITH CLITICS.

In the above sections attention has been given to the two objects of the applied and non-applied verbs with clitics.  Only the concrete verbs have been considered.  Considering the summaries above there is a lot of similarities between the applied and non-applied verbs.  They are treated similarly when used with clitics.

In the first instance we have used one object as a clitic and another one is unchanged, i.e. if the direct object is a clitic the indirect object remains the same and if the indirect object is a clitic the direct object does not change.  The difference between these instances is clearly shown by their structures.

Secondly, we have two objects, i.e. the direct and the indirect objects, so one can be expected to use two pronominals.  That is not allowed in Xhosa, instead one pronominal can be used as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun.  If the direct object is a clitic, the indirect object will be an absolute pronoun and if the direct object is an absolute pronoun, the indirect object will be a clitic.

## 2.9.6    MOTION   VERBS

## 2.9.6.1  APPLIED VERBS

## 2.9.6.1.1   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE   [+A]
##             THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]

(79) (a)        Ndiqengqela usana ibhola.
                I roll the ball for the baby.
     (i)   Ndiluqengqela ibhola.
           I roll the ball for it.
     (ii)  Ndiyiqengqela usana.
           I roll it for the baby.

     (b)        Ndiqhubela utata imoto.
                I drive a car for dad.
     (i)   Ndimqhubela imoto.
           I drive a car for him.
     (ii)  Ndiyiqhubela utata.
           I drive it for dad.

     (c)        Nditsalela umalume intambo.
                I pull the rope for uncle.
     (i)   Ndimtsalela intambo.
           I pull the rope for him.
     (ii)  Ndiyitsalela umalume.
           I pull it for uncle.

In the above examples only one of these objects may be a
pronominal.    In sentences (i) the indirect object is a
pronominal, thus a clitic will occur.   This problem can be
structurally shown by coindexing the empty pronominal with the
clitic:

(80) (a)   [pro  [AGR  [lu; - qengqela  [pro;] [ibhola]
     (b)   [pro  [AGR  [m; - qhubela    [pro;] [imoto]
     (c)   [pro  [AGR  [m; - tsalela    [pro;] [intambo]

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In sentences (ii) the direct object is a clitic.  This can be structurally resolved by coindexing the empty pronominal with the clitic:

(81) (a)    [pro  [AGR  [yi; - qengqela [usana] [pro;]
     (b)    [pro  [AGR  [yi; - qhubela  [utata] [pro;]
     (c)    [pro  [AGR  [yi; - tsalela  [umalume] [pro;]

Only one pronominal in the form of a clitic can appear while the other one takes on the form of an absolute pronoun:

(82) (a)    (i)  Ndiluqengqela yona.
                 I roll it for it.
            (ii) Ndiyiqengqela lona.
                 I roll it for it.

     (b)    (i)  Ndimqhubela yona.
                 I drive it for him.
            (ii) Ndiyiqhubela yena.
                 I drive it for him.

     (c)    (i)  Ndimtsalela yona.
                 I pull it for him.
            (ii) Ndiyitsalela yena.
                 I pull it for him.

All the sentences in (82) have an emphatic interpretation because of the absolute pronouns.

### 2.9.6.1.2    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]
###              THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE     [-A]

(83) (a)       Ndiqhubela ilali ibhasi.
               I drive the bus for the village.
        (i)    Ndiyiqhubela ibhasi.
               I drive the bus for it.
        (ii)   Ndiyiqhubela ilali.
               I drive it for the village.

In the above example there are two objects. Only one object can be a pronominal. In sentence (i) the indirect object is a pronominal:

(84) [pro [AGR [yi; - qhubela [pro;][ibhasi]

In (ii) only the direct object is a pronominal

(85) [pro [AGR [yi; - qhubela [ilali][pro;]

One pronominal can take the form of a clitic whilst the other one can be an absolute pronoun:

(86) (i)  Ndiyiqhubela yona.
          I drive it for it.
    (ii) Ndiyiqhubela yona.
          I drive it for it.

In (i) the indirect object is a clitic, i.e. <u>ilali</u> is <u>yi</u>, whilst the direct object is an absolute pronoun, i.e. <u>ibhasi</u> is <u>yona</u>. In (ii) the indirect object is an absolute pronoun, i.e. <u>ilali</u> is <u>yona</u>, whilst the direct object is a clitic, i.e. ibhasi <u>is yi</u>.

## 2.9.6.1.3   <u>THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE   [+A]</u>
          <u>THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE     [+A]</u>

(87) (a)      Ndiqhubela ipolisa ibanjwa.
              I drive the prisoner for the policeman.
     (i)  Ndiliqhubela ibanjwa.
              I drive the prisoner for him.
     (ii) Ndiliqhubela ipolisa.
              I drive him for the policeman.

     (b)      Nditsalela uThemba intombi.
              I pull the girl for him.
     (i)  Ndimtsalela intombi.
              I pull a girl for him.
     (ii) Ndiyitsalela uThemba.
              I pull her for Themba.

In sentences (i) clitics are direct objects:

(88) (a)    [pro [AGR [li; - qhubela[pro;][ibanjwa]
     (b)    [pro [AGR [m;  - tsalela[pro;][intombi]


In sentences (ii) the direct objects are clitics:

(89) (a)    [pro [AGR [li; - qhubela [ipolisa][pro;]
     (b)    [pro [AGR [yi; - tsalela [uThemba][pro;]


One pronominal can be a clitic and another one an absolute pronoun:


(90) (a)    (i)   Ndiliqhubela lona.
                  I drive him for him.
            (ii)  Ndiliqhubela lona.
                  I drive him for him.


     (b)    (i)   Ndimtsalela yona.
                  I pull her for him.
            (ii)  Ndiyitsalela yena.
                  I pull her for him.


In sentences (i) the indirect objects are clitics whilst the direct objects are absolute pronouns.  In sentences (ii) the direct objects are clitics whilst the indirect objects are absolute pronouns.


## 2.9.6.1.4    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]
##              THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE      [+A]


(91) (a)       Ndiqhubela ilali iinkomo.
               I drive the cattle for the village.
         (i)   Ndiyiqhubela iinkomo.
               I drive the cattle for it.
         (ii)  Ndiziqhubela ilali.
               I drive them for the village.

In (i) the indirect object is a clitic:

(92) [pro [AGR [yi; - qhubela [pro;][iinkomo]

In (ii) the direct object is a clitic:

(93) [pro [AGR [zi; - qhubela [ilali][pro;]

Two pronominals can appear, one as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun:

(94) (i)  Ndiyiqhubela zona.
         I drive them for it.
     (ii) Ndiziqhubela yona.
         I drive them for it.

In sentence (i) the indirect object is a clitic whereas the direct object is an absolute pronoun.  In (ii) the indirect object is an absolute pronoun whereas the direct object is a clitic.

## 2.9.6.1.5   SUMMARY

In this section motion applied verbs appear with clitics.  One clitic may appear either as a direct or an indirect object. Where the indirect object is a clitic the direct object does not change and when the direct object is a clitic the indirect object remains the same.  Structures of the two instances show the difference between them.

Secondly, two pronominals occur, one as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun.  If the indirect object is a clitic the direct object is an absolute pronoun and if the direct object is a clitic the indirect object is an absolute pronoun.

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## 2.9.6.2    NON – APPLIED VERBS

## 2.9.6.2.1    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE   [+A]
### THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]

(95) (a)        Ndithuma inkwenkwe umgubo.

I send the boy for mealie-meal.

     (i)  Ndiyithuma umgubo.

I send him for mealie-meal.

     (ii) Ndiwuthuma inkwenkwe.

I send the boy for it.

In (i) a clitic is the indirect object, i.e <u>yi</u> instead of
<u>inkwenkwe</u>:

(96) [pro [AGR [yi; - thuma [pro;][umgubo]

In (ii) a clitic is the direct object, i.e. <u>wu</u> instead of <u>umgubo</u>.

(97) [pro [AGR [wu; - thuma [inkwenkwe][pro;]

Two pronominals may appear because we have two objects; one
pronominal is a clitic and another one is an absolute pronoun:

(98) (a)  (i)  Ndiyithuma wona.

I send him for it.

     (ii) Ndiwuthuma yona.

I send him for it.

In (i) the indirect object is a clitic, i.e. <u>inkwenkwe</u> is <u>yi,</u>
whilst the direct object is an absolute pronoun, i.e.<u>umgubo</u> is
<u>wona</u>.  In (ii) the indirect object is an absolute pronoun, i.e.
<u>inkwenkwe</u> is <u>yona</u>, whilst the direct object is a clitic, i.e.
<u>umgubo</u> is <u>wu</u>.

**2.9.6.2.2.**   **THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]**
             **THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE     [-A]**

(99) (a)      Ndithuma ilali isonka.
              I send the village for bread.
       (i)    Ndiyithuma isonka.
              I send it for bread.
       (ii)   Ndisithuma ilali.
              I send the village for it.

In (i) the indirect object is a clitic, i.e. <u>yi</u> instead of <u>ilali.</u>

(100)      [pro [AGR [yi; - thuma [pro;][isonka]

In (ii) the clitic is the direct object, i.e. <u>si</u> is <u>isonka:</u>

(101)      [pro [AGR [si; - thuma [ilali][pro;]

One pronominal may appear as a clitic and another one as an
absolute pronoun:

(102)      (i)   Ndiyithuma sona.
                 I send it for it.
          (ii)   Ndisithuma yona.
                 I send it for it.

In (i) the indirect object is a clitic, i.e. <u>inkwenkwe</u> is <u>yi</u>,
whilst the direct object is an absolute pronoun, i.e. <u>isonka</u> is
<u>sona</u>.  In (ii) the indirect object is an absolute pronoun, i.e.
<u>inkwenkwe</u> is <u>yona</u>, whilst the direct object is a clitic, i.e.
<u>isonka</u> is <u>si</u>.

**2.9.6.2.3   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE   [+A]**
             **THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE     [+A]**

(103)      (a)      Ndithuma umfana iinkomo.
                    I send the young man for cattle.
          (i)    Ndimthuma iinkomo.
                 I send him for cattle.

(ii) Ndizithuma umfana.

I send the young man for them.

In (i) we have a clitic as an indirect object i.e. m instead of umfana:

(104)      [pro [AGR [m; - thuma [pro;][iinkomo]

In (ii) we have a clitic as a direct object, i.e. zi as iinkomo:

(105)      [pro [AGR [zi; -thuma [umfana][pro;]

One pronominal may appear as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun:

(106)      (i)   Ndimthuma zona.
                 I send him for them.
           (ii) Ndizithuma yena.
                 I send him for them.

In (i) the indirect object is a clitic and the direct object is an absolute pronoun.  In (ii) the indirect object is an absolute pronoun and the direct object is a clitic.

## 2.9.6.2.4   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]
##             THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE       [+A]

(107)      (a)       Ndithuma ilali iinkomo.
                     I send the village for cattle.
           (i)   Ndiyithuma iinkomo.
                 I send it for cattle.
           (ii) Ndizithuma ilali.
                 I send the village for them.

With respect to the indirect object a clitic appears in (i):-

(108)      [pro [AGR [yi; - thuma[pro;][iinkomo]

With regard to the direct object a clitic appears in (ii):

(109)      [pro [AGR [zi; - thuma [ilali;][pro;]

With regard to two pronominals in (i) the indirect object is a clitic and the direct object is a clitic and the direct object is an absolute pronoun.  In (ii) the indirect object is an absolute pronoun and a direct object is a clitic:

(110)      (i)  Ndiyithuma zona.
                I send it for them.
           (ii) Ndizithuma yona.
                I send it for them.


**2.9.6.2.5   SUMMARY**

In this section motion non-applied verbs appear with clitics and four sets of objects.  In the first case either an indirect or a direct object is a clitic.  When the indirect object is a clitic the direct object remains the same and vice versa.

When the indirect object is a clitic, the direct object may be an absolute pronoun and when the direct object is a clitic, the indirect object is an absolute pronoun.

**2.9.6.3   COMPARISON BETWEEN APPLIED AND NON-APPLIED MOTION DITRANSITIVE VERBS WITH CLITICS.**

In the above sections attention has been given to the two objects of the applied and non-applied verbs with clitics.  Motion verbs have been considered.  Looking at the summaries above we have noticed that these applied and non-applied verbs are treated alike with clitics.

**2.9.7   ABSTRACT VERBS**

**2.9.7.1   APPLIED VERBS**

**2.9.7.1.1    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE   [+A]**
**           THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]**

(111)    (a)        Ndiqondela umhambi indlela.
                    I ask the way for the traveller.
              (i)  Ndimqondela indlela.
                    I ask the way for him.
             (ii)  Ndiyiqondela umhambi.
                    I ask it for the traveller.


         (b)        Ndifunela inja ithambo.
                    I want a bone for the dog.
              (i)   Ndiyifunela ithambo.
                    I want a bone for it.
             (ii)  Ndilifunela inja.
                    I want it for the dog.


In the above examples only one of these objects may be replaced
by a clitic;   in sentences (i) indirect objects are clitics:

(112)      (a)   [pro [AGR [m; - qondela [pro;][indlela]
           (b)   [pro [AGR [yi;- qondela [pro;][ithambo]


In sentences (ii) direct objects are clitics:

(113)      (a)   [pro [AGR [yi; - qondela [umhambi][pro;]
           (b)   [pro [AGR [li; - funela  [inja] [pro;]


Only one pronominal in the form of a clitic can appear and
another one takes the form of an absolute pronoun:

(114)      (a)   (i)   Ndimqondela yona.
                       I ask it for him.
                 (ii)  Ndiyiqondela yena.
                       I ask it for him.


           (b)   (i)   Ndiyifunela lona.
                       I want it for it.

      (ii) Ndilifunela yona.

          I want it for it.


### 2.9.7.1.2    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]
###              THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]


(115)     (a)        Ndiqondela ifemu inxiwa.

                I ask the site for the firm.

        (i)  Ndiyiqondela inxiwa.

             I ask the site for it.

      (ii) Ndiliqondela ifemu.

             I ask it for the firm.


     (b)        Ndifunela icawa izitulo.

                I want the chairs for the church.

        (i)  Ndiyifunela izitulo.

             I want the chairs for it.

      (ii) Ndizifunela icawa.

             I want them for the church.


In sentences (i) the indirect objects are clitics:

(115)     (a)  [pro [AGR [yi; - qondela [pro;][inxiwa]

         (b)  [pro [AGR [yi; - funela  [pro;][izitulo]


In (ii) only the direct objects are clitics:

(117)     (a)  [pro [AGR [li; - qondela [ ifemu][pro;]

         (b)  [pro [AGR [zi; - funela [icawa][pro;]


Two prononimals can appear, one as a clitic and another one as
an absolute pronoun:

(118)     (a)  (i)  Ndiyiqondela lona.

              I ask it for it.

        (ii) Ndiliqondela yona.

             I ask it for it.

        (b)    (i)  Ndiyifunela zona.
                    I want them for it.
              (ii) Ndizifunela yona.
                    I want them for it.


## 2.9.7.1.3  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]
          THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE      [+A]


(119)      (a)       Ndiqondela umfundisi ibandla.
                     I ask the congregation for the priest.
                (i)  Ndimqondela ibandla.
                     I ask the congregation for him.
                (ii) Ndiliqondela umfundisi.
                     I ask it for the priest.


           (b)       Ndifunela unyana umfazi.
                     I want a wife for the son.
                (i)  Ndimfunela umfazi.
                     I want a wife for him.
                (ii) Ndimfunela unyana.
                     I want her for the son.


In sentences (i) the clitics are indirect objects:

(120)      (a)  [pro [AGR [m; - qondela [pro;][ibandla]
           (b)  [pro [AGR [m; - funela  [pro;][umfazi]


In sentences (ii) the clitics are direct objects:-

(121)      (a)  [pro [AGR [li; - qondela [umfundisi][pro;]
           (b)  [pro [AGR [m; -  funela [unyana][pro;]


One object may be a clitic and another one an absolute pronoun:

(122)      (a)  (i)  Ndimqondela lona.
                     I ask it for him.
                (ii) Ndiliqondela yena.
                     I ask it for him.

    (b)   (i)  Ndimfunela yena.
               I want her for him.
          (ii) Ndimfunela yena.
               I want her for him.


**2.9.7.1.4  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]**
**            THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIAMTE       [+A]**


(123)     (a)       Ndiqondela ibhanki umphathi.
                    I ask the manager for the bank.
          (i)  Ndiyiqondela umphathi.
               I ask the manager for it.
          (ii) Ndimqondela ibhanki.
               I ask him for the bank.


          (b)       Ndifunela umzi abahlali.
                    I want a home for the residents.
          (i)  Ndiwufunela abahlali.
               I want it for the residents.
          (ii) Ndibafunela umzi.
               I want a home for them.


In (i) the indirect objects are clitics:-

(124)     (a)  [pro [AGR [yi; - qondela [pro;][umphathi]
          (b)  [pro [AGR [wu; - funela  [pro;][abahlali]


In (ii) the direct objects are clitics:-

(125)     (a)  [pro [AGR [m; - qondela [ibhanki][pro;]
          (b)  [pro [AGR [ba;- funela [umzi][pro;]


One object can be a clitic and another one an absolute pronoun.

(126)     (a)  (i)  Ndiyiqondela yena.
                    I ask him for it.
               (ii) Ndimqondela yona.
                    I ask him for it.

(b)　(i)　Ndiwufunela bona.

　　　　　I want it for them.

　　(ii)　Ndibafunela wona.

　　　　　I want it for them.

## 2.9.7.1.5  SUMMARY

In this section abstract applied verbs are used with the clitics. Clitics are used as either direct or indirect objects.  In the first case, if the indirect object is a clitic, the direct object does not change and vice versa.  Structures of these instances show the difference between them.

One object can be used as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun.

## 2.9.7.2　　NON - APPLIED VERBS.

## 2.9.7.2.1　　THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE　[+A]
## 　　　　　　THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE　[-A]

(127)　　(a)　　　Ndibuza umfundi umbuzo.

　　　　　　　　I ask the student a question.

　　　(i)　Ndimbuza umbuzo.

　　　　　I ask him a question.

　　(ii)　Ndiwubuza umfundi.

　　　　　I ask it from the student.


　　　(b)　　　Ndicela utata iilekese.

　　　　　　　I ask father for sweets.

　　　(i)　Ndimcela iilekese.

　　　　　I ask him for sweets.

　　(ii)　Ndizicela utata.

　　　　　I ask father for them.


　　　(c)　　　Ndivimba umhambi amanzi.

　　　　　　　I deny a traveller some water.

　　　(i)　Ndimvimba amanzi.

　　　　　I deny him some water.

          (ii) Ndiwavimba unhambi.

              I deny it to the traveller.

In (i) the clitics are indirect objects:-

(128)     (a)   [pro [AGR [m; - buza [pro;][umbuzo]

          (b)   [pro [AGR [m; - cela [pro;][iilekese]

          (c)   [pro [AGR [m; - vimba [pro;][amanzi]

In (ii) the clitics are direct objects:-

(129)     (a)   [pro [AGR [wu; - buza [umfundi][pro;]

          (b)   [pro [AGR [zi; - cela [utata][pro;]

          (c)   [pro [AGR [wa; - vimba [umhambi][pro;]

One pronominal may be a clitic and another one an absolute pronoun:

(130)     (a)   (i)   Ndimbuza wona.

                    I ask it from him.

             (ii) Ndiwubuza yena.

                    I ask it from him.

          (b)   (i)   Ndimcela zona.

                    I ask him for them.

             (ii) Ndizicela yena.

                    I ask him for them.

          (c)   (i)   Ndimvimba wona.

                    I deny it to him.

             (ii) Ndiwavimba yena.

                    I deny it to him.

### 2.9.7.2.2  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE [-A]
###        THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]

(131)     (a)      Ndibuza ihotele ityala.

                   I ask the hotel for an account.

             (i)   Ndiyibuza ityala.

                   I ask it for an account.

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      (ii) Ndilibuza ihotele.
           I ask the hotel for it.

  (b)      Ndicela ibhanki imali.
           I ask the bank for some money.
    (i)  Ndiyicela imali.
           I ask it for some money.
    (ii) Ndiyicela ibhanki.
           I ask the bank for it.

  (c)      Ndivimba isikolo umdlalo.
           I deny the school a match.
    (i)  Ndisivimba umdlalo.
           I deny it a match.
    (ii) Ndiwuvimba isikolo.
           I deny it to the school.

In (i) the indirect objects are clitics:

(132)    (a)    [pro [AGR [yi; - buza [pro;][ityala]
        (b)    [pro [AGR [yi; - cela [pro;][imali]
        (c)    [pro [AGR [si; - vimba [pro;][umdlalo]

In (ii) the direct objects are clitics:-

(133)    (a)    [pro [AGR [li; - buza [ihotole][pro;]
        (b)    [pro [AGR [yi; - cela [ibhanki][pro;]
        (c)    [pro [AGR [wu; - vimba [isikolo][pro;]

One pronominal can be a clitic and another one an absolute pronoun:

(134)    (a)  (i)  Ndiyibuza lona.
             I ask it for it.
        (ii)  Ndilibuza yona.
            I ask it for it.

(b)  (i)  Ndiyicela yona.

I ask it for it.

(ii) Ndiyicela yona.

I ask it for it.

(c)  (i)  Ndisivimba wona.

I deny it to it.

(ii) Ndiwuvimba sona.

I deny it to it.

## 2.9.7.2.3  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]

### THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]

(135)  (a)  Ndibuza abazali umntwana.

I ask the parents for a kid.

(i)  Ndibabuza umntwana.

I ask them for a kid.

(ii) Ndimbuza abazali.

I ask the parents for him.

(b)  Ndicela umakhulu inkukhu.

I ask grandma for a chicken.

(i)  Ndimcela inkukhu.

I ask her for a chicken.

(ii) Ndiyicela umakhulu.

I ask grandma for it.

(c)  Ndivimba inkwenkwe intaka.

I deny the boy a bird.

(i)  Ndiyivimba intaka.

I deny him a bird.

(ii) Ndiyivimba inkwenkwe.

I deny it to the boy.

In (i) the clitics are indirect objects:

(136)  (a)  [pro [AGR [ba; - buza [pro;][umntwana]

(b)  [pro [AGR [m;  - cela [pro;][inkukhu]

(c)  [pro [AGR [yi; - vimba[pro;][intaka]

In (ii) the clitics are the direct objects:

(137)    (a)   [pro [AGR [m;  - buza [abazali][pro;]
         (b)   [pro [AGR [yi; - cela [umakhulu][pro;]
         (c)   [pro [AGR [yi; - vimba [inkwenkwe][pro;]

One pronominal may appear as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun:

(138)    (a)   (i)  Ndibabuza yena.
                    I ask them for him.
               (ii) Ndimbuza bona.
                    I ask them for him.

         (b)   (i)  Ndimcela yona.
                    I ask her for it.
               (ii) Ndiyicela yena.
                    I ask her for it.

         (c)   (i)  Ndiyivimba yona.
                    I deny it to him.
               (ii) Ndiyivimba yona.
                    I deny it to him.

## 2.9.7.2.4  <u>THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]</u>
## <u>THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE       [+A]</u>

(139)    (a)       Ndibuza ihotele umpheki.
                   I ask the hotel for a chef.
               (i)  Ndiyibuza umpheki.
                    I ask it for the chef.
               (ii) Ndimbuza ihotele.
                    I ask the hotel for him.

         (b)       Ndicela umzi iinkomo.
                   I ask cattle from the home.
               (i)  Ndiwucela iinkomo.
                    I ask cattle from it.

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(ii) Ndizicela umzi.

I ask them from the home.

In (i) the indirect objects are clitics:

(140)     (a)   [pro [AGR [yi; - buza [pro;][umpheki]
          (b)   [pro [AGR [wu; - cela [pro;][iinkomo]

In (ii) the direct objects are clitics:

(141)     (a)   [pro [AGR [m; - buza [ihotele][pro;]
          (b)   [pro [AGR [zi;- cela [umzi][pro;]

Two pronominals can be used but one can be used as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronoun:

(142)     (a)   (i)   Ndiyibuza yena.
                      I ask it for him.
                (ii)  Ndimbuza yona.
                      I ask it for him.

          (b)   (i)   Ndiwucela zona.
                      I ask them from it.
                (ii)  Ndizicela wona.
                      I ask them from it.

## 2.9.7.2.5  SUMMARY

In this section abstract non-applied verbs are used with clitics and four sets of objects.  In the first instance either the indirect or the direct object may be a clitic.

If the indirect object is a clitic, the direct object is an absolute pronoun and vice versa.

## 2.9.7.3    COMPARISON BETWEEN APPLIED AND NON-APPLIED ABSTRACT DITRANSITIVE VERBS WITH CLITICS.

In the above section two objects of the applied and non-applied verbs have been used with clitics.  Attention has been given to abstract verbs.  It has been proved that these two verbs are not treated differently.

In the first instance we have used either the direct or the indirect object as a clitic.  If either the direct of the indirect object is a clitic the other one does not change.  Only the structures show the difference between these objects.

We have two objects, therefore we may use two pronominals, one as a clitic and another one as an absolute pronou, i.e. each of the objects will either be a clitic or an absolute pronoun.

## 2.9.7.4    SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS OF THE CONCRETE, MOTION AND ABSTRACT VERBS WITH CLITICS.

Concrete, motion and abstract applied and non-applied verbs have been examined with four sets of objects and clitics.  The above summaries prove that these verbs are treated similarly in Xhosa.

The first similarity is the use of either the direct or the indirect object as a clitic.  The second similarity is the use of two pronominals because of the presence of the two objects in the sentences.  One pronominal may be a clitic and another one an absolute pronoun, i.e. each of the objects will either be a clitic or an absolute pronoun.

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2.10    THE PASSIVE

According to Du Plessis (pg 13):

"The single most important effect of passive morphology on
the structure of sentences is that it always de-
externalized the subject of the sentence.  The external
theta-role may land somewhere else as agent or theme:.

Passivization is one of the three criteria that determine which
of the two objects that appear with ditransitive verbs is a true
object.  It also supports our hypothesis that the two post-verbal
NPs are treated differently in Xhosa.

Baker makes the following assertion when exploring the process
of passivization:

"Indeed, becoming the subject of a passive is the third
important signal of direct-objecthood in most Bantu
studies, along with appearing immediately after the verb
and controlling object prefix (1986:384)

## 2.10.1    CONCRETE  VERBS

## 2.10.1.1  APPLIED VERBS

## 2.10.1.1.1. THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE    [+A]
##            THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]

(143)      (a)      Ndisengela utata ubisi.
                    I milk the milk for dad.
                (i)  Utata usengelwa ubisi.
                     The milk is milked for dad.
                (ii) Ubisi lusengelwa utata.
                     The milk is milked for dad.

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   (b)      Ndiphekela abantwana ukutya.

            I cook food for the children.

     (i)   Abantwana baphekelwa ukutya.

           Food is cooked for the children.

   (ii)  Ukutya kuphekelwa abantwana.

           Food is cooked for the children.


   (c)      Ndilimela abazali intsimi.

            I plant the fields for parents.

     (i)   Abazali balinyelwa intsimi.

           The field is planted for parents.

   (ii)  Intsimi ilinyelwa abazali.

           The field is planted for parents.

All the above sentences have an ambiguous interpretation, that is clearly seen in both cases, i.e. (i) and (ii). The reason for this type of interpretation is found in the fact that Xhosa treats such examples in the same way. In sentences (i) and (ii) utata, abantwana and abazali may be interpreted as either direct and indirect objects and the same is applicable to ubisi, ukutya and intsimi.

The objects differ in features because one is animate and the other is inanimate.

We may try another way to resolve this issue, i.e. by using the clitic with the passive:

(144)     (a)   (i)   Utata uyalusengelwa.

                It is milked for dad.

        (ii)* Ubisi luyamsengelwa.

                Milk is milked for him.


     (b)   (i)   Abantwana bayakuphekelwa.

                It is cooked for the children.

(ii)*Ukutya kuyabaphekelwa.
        Food is cooked for them.

(c)  (i)  Abazali bayayilinyelwa.
            It is planted for parents.
   (ii)*Intsimi iyabalinyelwa.
        The field is planted for them.

The ambiguity can be made clear through the above interpretations. The sentences (ii) are ungrammatical because m (utata), ba (abantwana) and ba (abazali) are treated as direct objects whereas they are indirect objects.

The sentences (ii) have the correct interpretation as lu (ubisi), ku (ukutya) and yi (intsimi) are direct objects. This proves the fact that double object verbs with the passive suffix - w - retain only the direct object as an object of the verb and the clitic with such verbs refers to the direct object only.

The absolute pronoun may appear in all the above sentences without being a pronominal as such because it retains its basic meaning of emphasis:

(145)    (a)  (i)  Utata usengelwa lona.
                    It is milked for dad.
              (ii) Ubisi lusengelwa yena.
                    Milk is milked for him.

         (b)  (i)  Abantwana baphekelwa kona.
                    Food is cooked for the children.
              (ii) Ukutya kuphekelwa bona.
                    Food is cooked for them.

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(c)  (i)  Abazali balinyelwa yona.

It is planted for parents.

(ii) Intsimi ilinyelwa bona.

The field is planted for them.

In sentences (i) the direct objects are absolute pronouns, i.e.
ubisi is lona, ukutya is kona and intsimi is yona.  The absolute
pronouns which are the direct objects may appear as NPs with
empty head nouns:

(146)    (a)  [utata;]  usengelwa [t;] [   [ e ]  [lona]
                                        NP    N

         (b)  [abantwana;] baphekelwa [t;] [   [ e ]   [kona]
                                              NP    N

         (c)  [abazali;] balinyelwa [t;] [   [ e ] [yona]
                                          NP    N

In sentences (ii) the indirect objects are absolute pronouns:

(147)    (a)  [ubisi;]  lusengelwa  [   [ e ] [yena] [t;]
                                       NP    N

         (b)  [ukutya;] kuphekelwa [   [e ] [bona] [t;]
                                      NP  N

         (c)  [intsimi;] ilinyelwa [   [e ] [bona] [t;]
                                      NP  N

## 2.10.1.1.2  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]
##             THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE     [-A]

(148)    (a)       Ndisengela umzi ubisi.

                   I milk the milk for the household.

         (i)  Umzi usengelwa ubisi.

              Milk is milked for the household.

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(ii) Ubisi lusengelwa umzi.

Milk is milked for the household.


(b)      Ndiphekela isikolo ukutya.

I cook food the school.

(i)  Isikolo siphekelwa ukutya.

Food is cooked for the school.

(ii) Ukutya kuphekelwa isikolo.

Food is cooked for the school.


(c)      Ndilimela icawe umbona.

I plant mealies for the church.

(i)  Icawe ilinyelwa umbona.

Mealies is planted for the church.

(ii) Umbona ulinyelwa icawa.

Mealies is planted for the church.


In the above sentences the indirect objects are inanimate but they have human control within them.  All the above sentences have an ambiguous interpretation, that is shown clearly in (i) and (ii).  There is another way in which we may try to resolve this issue, i.e. by using the clitic with the passive verb:

(149)     (a)  (i)  Umzi uyalusengelwa.

It is milked for the househeld.

(ii)*Ubisi luyawusengelwa.

Milk is milked for it.


(b)  (i)  Isikolo siyakuphekelwa.

It is cooked for the school.

(ii)*Ukutya kuyasiphekelwa.

Food is cooked for it.


(c)  (i)  Icawe iyawulinyelwa.

It is planted for the church.

(ii)*Umbona uyayilinyelwa.

Mealies is planted for it.

The (ii) sentences are incorrect because the indirect objects, i.e. wu (umzi), si (isikolo) and yi (icawe) are treated as direct objects whilst (i) sentences are correct as lu (ubisi), ku (ukutya) and wu (umbona) are direct objects.  The absolute pronoun may figure in all the above sentences without being a pronominal as such because of its retention of its basic meaning of emphasis:

(150)      (a)   (i)   Umzi usengelwa lona.

                        It is milked for the household.

                 (ii)  Ubisi lusengelwa lona.

                        Milk is milked for it.


           (b)   (i)   Isikolo siphekelwa kona.

                        It is cooked for the school.

                 (ii)  Ukutya kuphekelwa sona.

                        Food is cooked for it.


           (c)   (i)   Icawe ilinyelwa wona.

                        It is planted for the church.

                 (ii)  Umbona ulinyelwa yona.

                        Mealies is planted for it.


In sentences (i) the direct objects are absolute pronoun which may appear as NPs with empty head nouns:


(151)      (a) [umzi;] usengelwa [t;]  [    [e ]  [lona]

                                        NP  N

           (b) [isikolo;] siphekelwa [t;] [    [e ] [kona]

                                            NP  N

           (c) [icawe;] ilinyelwa [t;] [   [e ] [wona]

                                        NP  N

In sentences (ii) the indirect objects are absolute pronouns
which may appear as NPs with empty head nouns:

(152)     (a) [ubisi;] lusengelwa [  [e ] [wona] [t;]
                                  NP N

          (b) [ukutya;] kuphekelwa [  [e ] [sona] [t;]
                                   NP N

          (c) [umbona;] ulinyelwa [  [e ] [yona] [t;]
                                  NP  N

## 2.10.1.1.3  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]
##             THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE     [+A]

(153)      (a)        Ndisengela utata inkomo.
                      I milk the cow for dad.
                (i)   Utata usengelwa inkomo.
                      A cow is milked for dad.
                (ii) Inkomo isengelwa utata.
                      A cow is milked for dad.


           (b)        Ndiphekela amakhwenkwe umvundla.
                      I cook the hare for the boys.
                (i)   Amakhwenkwe aphekelwa umvundla.
                      The hare is cooked for the boys.
                (ii) Umvundla uphekelwa amakhwenkwe.
                      The hare is cooked for the boys.

In the above examples (153) both objects are animate.

The indirect object is human and the direct object is animal.
In this case the passives favour the human and do not accept the
animal:

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(154)      (a)  (i)  Utata uyayisengelwa.
                     It is milked for dad.
               (ii)*Inkomo iyamsengelwa.
                     The cow is milked for him.


           (b)  (i)  Amakhwenkwe ayawaphekelwa.
                     It is cooked for the boys.
               (ii)*Umvundla uyawaphekelwa.
                     The hare is cooked for them.


The sentences (i) have an acceptable interpretation as <u>yi</u>
<u>(inkomo)</u> and <u>wu(umvundla)</u> are representing the direct objects.

The sentences (ii) have an incorrect interpretation because
<u>m(utata)</u> and <u>wa(amakhwenkwe)</u> are treated as direct objects
whereas they are indirect objects.  Sentences (i) are correct
because the passives favour the human whilst sentences (ii) are
incorrect because they do not accept the animal.  Absolute
pronouns may be used with passives:


(155)      (a ) (i)  Utata usengelwa yona.
                     It is milked for dad.
               (ii) Inkomo isengelwa yena.
                     The cow is milked for him.


           (b)  (i)  Amakhwenkwe aphekelwa wona.
                     It is cooked for the boys.
               (ii) Umvundla uphekelwa wona.
                     The hare is cooked for them.


The direct objects may be absolute pronouns, i.e. <u>inkomo</u> may be
<u>yona,</u> <u>umvundla</u> may become <u>wona</u> which may appear as NPs with empty
head nouns in (i) sentences:

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(156)      (a)    [utata;] usengelwa [t;] [ [e ] [yona]
                                              NP N

           (b)    [amakhwenkwe;] aphekelwa [t;] [ [e ] [wona]
                                                    NP  N


In (ii) sentences the indirect objects may be absolute pronouns,
i.e. _utata_ may be _yena_ and _amakhwenkwe_ may be _wona_, which may
appear as NPs with empty head nouns:


(157)      (a)    [inkomo;] isengelwa [ [e ] [yena] [t;]
                                         NP  N

           (b)    [umvundla;] iphekelwa [ [e ] [wona] [t;]
                                           NP  N


## 2.10.1.1.4    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]
##               THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE      [+A]


(158)      (a)           Ndisengela icawe inkomo.
                         I am milking the cow for the church.
                  (i)    Icawe isengelwa inkomo.
                         The cow is being milked for the church.
                  (ii)   Inkomo isengelwa icawe.
                         The cow is being milked for the church.

           (b)           Ndiphekela umzi inkukhu.
                         I am cooking the chicken for the home.
                  (i)    Umzi uphekelwa inkukhu.
                         The chicken is being cooked for the home.
                  (ii)   Inkukhu iphekelwa umzi.
                         The chicken is being cooked for the home.


Both sentences have an ambiguous interpretation.  By using a
clitic with the passive this ambiguity can be resolved:

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(159        (a)   (i)   Icawe iyayisengelwa.
                        It is being milked for the church.
                  (ii)*Inkomo iyayisengelwa.
                        The cow is being milked for it.


           (b)   (i)   Umzi uyayiphekelwa.
                        It is being cooked for the home.
                 (ii)*Inkukhu iyawuphekelwa.
                        The chicken is being cooked for it.


The clitics in (i) sentences are representing the direct objects,
so they have a correct interpretation.  In (ii) sentences the
indirect objects are treated as direct objects as a result they
have an incorrect interpretation.  To prove this ambiguity one
can use an absolute pronoun to represent either a direct or an
indirect object:


(160 (a)   (i)   Icawe isengelwa yona.
                        It is being milked for the church.
           (ii)  Inkomo isengelwa yona.
                        The cow is being milked for the church.


     (b)  (i)   Umzi uphekelwa yona.
                        It is being cooked for the home.
          (ii)  Inkukhu iphekelwa wona.
                        The chicken is being cooked for it.


In (i) sentences the direct objects are absolute pronouns which
appear as NPs with empty head nouns:


(161        (a)   [icawe;] isengelwa [t;][    [e][yona]
                                            NP  N
            (b)   [umzi;]  uphekelwa [t;][    [e][yona]
                                            NP  N

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In (i) sentences the indirect objects are absolute pronouns which appear as NPs with empty head nouns:

(161)        (a) [inkomo;] isengelwa [   ][e][yona][t;]
                                      NP  N

             (b) [inkukhu;] iphekelwa [  [e][wona][t;]
                                       NP N


## 2.10.1.1.5  SUMMARY

In this section the concrete applied ditransitive verbs appear with the passive.  In (i) sentences we have the indirect objects as subjects and the direct objects as objects.  In (ii) sentences we have the direct objects as subjects and the indirect objects as objects.  All these sentences have an ambiguous interpretation because both objects are treated as either direct or indirect objects.

When the passive occurs with a clitic the (i) sentences are correct whereas the (ii) sentences are incorrect because the indirect objects are treated as direct objects.

An absolute pronoun may represent either the direct or the indirect object which appear as NPs with empty head nouns.


## 2.10.1.2  NON-APPLIED VERBS

## 2.10.1.2.1 THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE [+A]
##           THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE [-A]

(163) (a)      Ndinika umntwana ibhola.
               I give a ball to the child.
       (i)  Umntwana unikwa ibhola.
               A ball is given to the child.

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(ii) Ibhola inikwa umntwana.

A ball is given to the child.


(b)      Ndiboleka intombi ilokhwe.

I borrow a dress to the girl.

(i)   Intombi ibolekwa ilokhwe.

A dress is borrowed to the girl.

(ii)  Ilokhwe ibolekwa intombi.

A dress is borrowed to the girl.


(c)      Ndihlawula indoda imali.

I pay the man some money.

(i)   Indoda ihlawulwa imali.

The man is paid some money.

(ii)  Imali ihlawulwa indoda.

Money is paid to the man.


All the above sentences have an ambiguous interpretation.  We can
use a clitic with a passive to solve this ambiguity:


(164) (a) (i)   Umntwana uyayinikwa.

It is given to the child.

(ii)*Ibhola iyamnikwa.

The ball is given to him.


(b)  (i)   Intombi iyayibolekwa.

It is borrowed to the girl.

(ii)*Ilokhwe iyayibolekwa.

The dress is borrowed to her.


(c)  (i)   Indoda iyayihlawulwa.

It is paid to the man.

(ii)*Imali iyayihlawulwa.

The money is paid to him.

In sentences (i) the clitics <u>yi (ibhola)</u>, <u>yi (ilokhwe)</u> and <u>yi (imali)</u> represent the direct objects and they have a correct interpretation. In (ii) sentences the clitics <u>m(umntwana)</u> and <u>yi(intombi,indoda)</u> represent the indirect objects, thus their interpretation is incorrect. An absolute pronoun may be used to solve this ambiguity:

(165) (a) (i)  Umntwana unikwa yona.
              It is given to the child.
          (ii) Ibhola inikwa yena.
              The ball is given to him.

      (b) (i)  Intombi ibolekwa yona.
              It is borrowed to the girl.
          (ii) Ilokhwe ibolekwa yona.
              The dress is borrowed to her.

      (c) (i)  Indoda ihlawulwa yona.
              It is paid to the man.
          (ii) Imali ihlawulwa yona.
              Money is paid to him.

In (i) sentences the direct objects are absolute pronouns, i.e. <u>ibhola</u>, <u>ilokhwe</u> and <u>imali</u> is <u>yona</u> which appear as NPs with empty head nouns.

(166) (a) [umntwana;] unikwa [t;][   [e][yona]
                              NP  N
      (b) [intombi;]  ibolekwa[t;][   [e][yona]
                              NP  N
      (c) [indoda;] ihlawulwa [t;][   [e][yona]
                              NP  N

In (ii) sentences the indirect objects are absolute pronouns, i.e. <u>umntwana</u> is <u>yena</u>, <u>intombi</u> and <u>indoda</u> is <u>yona</u>, which appear as NPs with empty head nouns:

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```
(167)(a)    [ibhola;] inikwa [    [e][yena][t;]
                      NP  N
     (b)    [ilokhwe;] ibolekwa [  [e][yona][t;]
                      NP N
     (c)    [imali;] ihlawulwa [  [e][yona][t;]
                      NP N
```

## 2.10.1.2.2. THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE [-A]
##            THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]

(168)(a)        Ndinika umzi ukutya.

                I give food to the home.

      (i)   Umzi unikwa ukutya.

            Food is given to the home.

      (ii)  Ukutya kunikwa umzi.

            Food is given to the home.


     (b)        Ndiboleka icawe imali.

                I borrow the church some money.

      (i)   Icawe ibolekwa imali.

            Money is borrowed to the church.

      (ii)  Imali ibolekwa icawe.

            Money is borrowed to the church.


     (c)        Ndihlawula ivenkile ityala.

                I pay an account to the shop.

      (i)   Ivenkile ihlawulwa ityala.

            An account is paid to the shop.

      (ii)  Ityala lihlawulwa ivenkile.

            An account is paid to the shop.


The interpretation in the above sentences is ambiguous.  The use
of the clitic with a passive may resolve this problem.

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(169)(a)    (i)   Umzi uyakunikwa.
                  It is given to the home.
            (ii)*Ukutya kuyawunikwa.
                  Food is given to it.


      (b)   (i)   Icawe iyayibolekwa.
                  It is borrowed to the church.
            (ii)*Imali iyayibolekwa.
                  Money is borrowed to it.


      (c)   (i)   Ivenkile iyalihlawulwa.
                  It is paid to the shop.
            (ii)*Ityala liyayihlawulwa.
                  An account is paid to it.

The direct objects in (i) sentences are represented by clitics,
i.e. <u>ukutya</u> by <u>ku</u>, <u>umali</u> by <u>yi</u> and <u>ityala</u> by <u>li</u>.  These sentences
have a correct interpretation.  In (ii) sentences the clitics
<u>wu(umzi)</u> <u>yi</u> (<u>icawe</u> and <u>ivenkile</u>) represent the indirect objects
although they are used as direct objects.  Their interpretation
is incorrect.  To solve this ambiguity one can use absolute
pronouns as either direct or indirect objects.

(170)(a)    (i)   Umzi unikwa kona.
                  It is given to the home.
            (ii)  Ukutya kunikwa wona.
                  Food is given to it.


      (b)   (i)   Icawe ibolekwa yona.
                  It is borrowed to the church.
            (ii)  Imali ibolekwa yona.
                  Money is borrowed to it.


      (c)   (i)   Ivenkile ihlawulwa lona.
                  It is paid to the shop.

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(ii) Ityala lihlawulwa yona.

An account is paid to it.


In sentences (i) the direct objects are represented by absolute pronouns, i.e. ukutya by kona, imali by yona and ityala by lona, which appear as NPs with empty head nouns:


(171)    (a)   [umzi;] unikwa [t;][  [e][kona]
                                 NP N

         (b)   [icawe;] ibolekwa [t;][   [e] [yona]
                                    NP  N

         (c)   [ivenkile;]ihlawulwa [t;][  [e][lona]
                                      NP N


In sentences (ii) the indirect objects are represented by absolute pronouns, i.e. umzi by wona, icawe and ivenkile by yona, which appear as NPs with empty head nouns:


(172)    (a)   [ukutya;] kunikwa [   [e][wona][t;]
                                   NP  N

         (b)   [imali;] ibolekwa [  [e][yona][t;]
                                  NP  N

         (c)   [ityala;]lihlawulwa [  [e][yona][t;]
                                    NP N


**2.10.1.2.3  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]**

          **THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE     [+A]**


(173)(a)        Ndinika umama ikati.

                I give mom a cat.

      (i)  Umama unikwa ikati.

           Mom is given a cat.

      (ii) Ikati inikwa umama.

           A cat is given to mom.

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(b)         Ndiboleka utitshala ihashe.
            I borrow a horse to the teacher.
      (i)   Utitshala ubolekwa ihashe.
            A horse is borrowed to the teacher.
      (ii)  Ihashe libolekwa utitshala.
            A horse is borrowed to the teacher.


(c)         Ndihlawula intombi inkomo.
            I pay a cow to the girl.
      (i)   Intombi ihlawulwa inkomo.
            A cow is paid to the girl.
      (ii)  Inkomo ihlawulwa intombi.
            A cow is paid to the girl.

In the above examples all the objects are animate. Their animacy
differ because the indirect objects are human and the direct
objects are the animals. Both objects are treated as either
direct or indirect objects. Clitics may be used with a passive:

(174)(a)  (i)   Umama uyayinikwa.
                It is given to mom.
          (ii)*Ikati iyamnikwa.
                The cat is given to her.


      (b)  (i)   Ititshala iyalibolekwa.
                It is borrowed to a teacher.
          (ii)*Ihashe liyambolekwa.
                The horse is borrowed to him.


      (c)  (i)   Intombi iyayihlawulwa.
                It is paid to the girl.
          (ii)*Inkomo iyayihlawulwa.
                The cow is paid to her.

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As stated in (154) the indirect objects are human and the direct objects are the animals.  This also applies in (174).  In these cases the passives favour the human and do not accept the animal thus (ii) sentences have an incorrect interpretation.   The indirect objects are clitics in (ii).  This can be resolved by using the absolute pronoun as either the direct or the indirect objects:

(175)(a)  (i)  Umama unikwa yona.
                It is given to mom.
          (ii) Ikati inikwa yena.
                The cat is given to her.

     (b)  (i)  Utitshala ubolekwa lona.
                It is borrowed to the teacher.
          (ii) Ihashe libolekwa yena.
                The horse is borrowed to him.

     (c)  (i)  Intombi ihlawulwa yona.
                It is paid to the girl.
          (ii) Inkomo ihlawulwa yona.
                The cow is paid to her.

In (i) sentences the direct objects are represented by absolute pronouns, i.e. ikati by yona, ihashe by lona and inkomo by yona, which appears as NPs with empty head nouns:

(176)    (a)  [umama;] unikwa [t;][  [e][yona]
                                    NP N
         (b)  [utitshala;]ubolekwa [t;][  [e][lona]
                                       NP N
         (c)  [intombi;] ihlawulwa [t;][  [e][yona]
                                       NP N

In (ii) sentences the indirect objects are represented by absolute pronouns, i.e. <u>umama</u> by <u>yena,</u> <u>utitshala</u> by <u>yena</u> and <u>intombi</u> by <u>yona,</u> which appear as NPs with empty head nouns:

(177)(a)   [ikati;] inikwa [  [e][yena][t;]
                      NP N

      (b)   [ihashe;] libolekwa [  [e][yena][t;]
                         NP N


      (c)   [inkomo;] ihlawulwa [  [e][yona][t;]
                         NP N


## 2.10.1.2.4   THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE [-A]
## <u>THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE      [+A]</u>


(178)(a)      Ndinika icawa umntwana.
              I give a child to the church.
       (i)   Icawa inikwa umntwana.
             A child is given to the church.
       (ii)  Umntwana unikwa icawa.
             A child is given to the church.


      (b)     Ndiboleka isikolo uZola.
              I lend the school to Zola.
       (i)   Isikolo sibolekwa uZola.
             The school is lent to Zola.
       (ii)  UZola ubolekwa isikolo.
             The school is lent to Zola.


      (c)     Ndihlawula inkundla inkomo.
              I pay the court a cow.
       (i)   Inkundla ihlawulwa inkomo.
             The cow is paid to the court.
       (ii)  Inkomo ihlawulwa inkundla.
             The cow is paid to the court.

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The interpretation of the above sentences is ambiguous, that is shown by (i) and (ii) where both objects are either direct or indirect objects.  One can use a clitic to solve this ambiguity:

(179)(a)   (i)* Icawe iyamnikwa.
                He is given to the church.
           (ii) Umntwana uyayinikwa.
                A child is given to it.


     (b)   (i)* Isikolo siyambolekwa.
                The school is lent to him.
           (ii) UZola uyasibolekwa.
                It is lent to Zola.


     (c)   (i)* Inkundla iyayihlawulwa.
                It is paid to the court.
           (ii) Inkomo iyayihlawulwa.
                A cow is paid to it.


In (i) sentences the direct objects are clitics and their interpretation is incorrect.  In (ii) sentences the indirect objects are direct objects and their interpretation is correct. Non-applied concrete verbs are treated differently here.  The reason is semantic in nature.  In (158) only animals are direct objects while in (178) (a) and (b) humans are direct objects. One can use an absolute pronoun with a passive as either direct or indirect object:

(180)(a)   (i)  Icawe inikwa yena.
                He is given to the church.
           (ii) Umntwana unikwa yona.
                A child is given to it.


     (b)   (i)  Isikolo sibolekwa yena.
                The school is lent to him.

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     (ii) UZola ubolekwa sona.

         It is lent to Zola.


  (c)  (i)   Inkundla ihlawulwa yona.

           It is paid to the court.

    (ii) Inkomo ihlawulwa yona.

         A cow is paid to it.


In (i) sentences the direct objects are absolute pronouns, which appear as NPs with empty head nouns:


(181)(a)  [icawe;] inikwa [t;][  [e][yena]

                     NP N

    (b)  [isikolo;] sibolekwa [t;][  [e][yena]

                       NP N

    (c)  [inkundla;] ihlawulwa [t;][  [e][yona]

                       NP N


In (ii) sentences the indirect objects are absolute pronouns, which appear as NPs with empty head nouns:


(182)(a)  [umntwana;] unikwa [  [e][yona][t;]

                   NP N

    (b)  [uZola;] ubolekwa [  [e][sona][t;]

                   NP N

    (c)  [inkomo;]ihlawulwa [  [e][yona][t;]

                   NP N


## 2.10.1.2.5    SUMMARY


As in the case with the applied concrete verbs, the non-applied concrete verbs have been examined with the passive.  Firstly, we have said these verbs are used with the passive and they have an ambiguous interpretation because the objects are used as either direct or indirect objects.

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Secondly, when they are used with clitics the (i) sentences have a correct interpretation. The (ii) sentences have an incorrect interpretation because the direct objects are treated as direct objects. Non-applied verbs are treated differently because of semantic reasons. In (158) only animals are direct objects while in (178) humans are direct objects.

These objects may be used as absolute pronouns which may represent either a direct or an indirect object. Structures show the difference between absolute pronouns which are either direct or indirect objects.

## 2.10.1.3  COMPARISON BETWEEN APPLIED AND NON-APPLIED CONCRETE DITRANSITIVE VERBS WITH PASSIVES

In the above section we have used the applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs with the passives. Only the concrete verbs have been considered.

Considering the summaries of the findings, it is shown clearly that these verbs are treated almost alike. When used with the passive, the objects are treated as either direct or indirect objects as a result we have an ambiguity in their interpretation.

When used with clitics, the (ii) sentences become incorrect because the indirect objects are treated as direct objects. Non-applied verbs are treated differently here, the reason is semantic in nature. In (158) only animals are direct objects while in (178) humans are direct objects. Absolute pronouns may be used as either direct or indirect objects for the sake of emphasis. Structures show the difference between direct and indirect objects which are used as absolute pronouns.

## 2.10.2  MOTION  VERBS


## 2.10.2.1  APPLIED VERBS


## 2.10.2.1.1  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]
##              THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]


(183)(a)        Ndiqengqela usana ibhola.
                I roll the ball for the baby.
        (i)   Usana luqengqelwa ibhola.
              The ball is rolled for the baby.
        (ii)  Ibhola iqengqelwa usana.
              The ball is rolled for the baby.


    (b)         Ndiqhubela utata imoto.
                I drive a car for dad.
        (i)   Utata uqhutyelwa imoto.
              The car is driven for dad.
        (ii)  Imoto iqhutyelwa utata
              The car is driven for dad.


    (c)         Nditsalela umalume intambo.
                I pull the rope for uncle.
        (i)   Umalume utsalelwa intambo.
              The rope is pulled for uncle.
        (ii)  Intambo itsalelwa umalume.
              The rope is pulled for uncle.


All the above examples have an ambiguous interpretation.  This
is caused by the fact that the two objects are treated as either
direct or indirect objects.  There are other means by which this
ambiguity can be resolved, i.e. by using the clitic with the
passive verb:

## 2.10.3.2  NON-APPLIED VERBS

## 2.10.3.2.1  THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE  [+A]
##             THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE  [-A]

(233)    (a)      Ndibuza umfundi umbuzo.
                  I ask a question to the student.
            (i)  Umfundi ubuzwa umbuzo.
                  A question is asked to the student.
           (ii)  Umbuzo ubuzwa umfundi.
                  A question is asked to the student.


         (b)      Ndicela utata iilekese.
                  I ask father for sweets.
            (i)  Utata ucelwa iilekese.
                  Father is asked for sweets.
           (ii)  Iilekese zicelwa utata.
                  Father is asked for sweets.


         (c)      Ndivimba umhambi amanzi.
                  I deny water to the traveller.
            (i)  Umhambi uvinjwa amanzi.
                  Water is denied to the traveller.
           (ii)  Amanzi avinjwa umhambi.
                  Water is denied to the traveller.

The above sentences have an ambiguous interpretation.  This is
caused by the fact that the two objects are treated as either
direct or indirect objects.  There are other means by which this
ambiguity may be resolved, that is, by using the clitic with the
passive:

(234)    (a)   (i)  Umfundi uyawubuzwa.
                      It is asked to the student.

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(ii)*Umbuzo uyambuzwa.

A question is asked to him.


(b)  (i)  Utata uyazicelwa.

They are asked from dad.

(ii)*Iilekese ziyamcelwa.

Sweets are asked from him.


(c)  (i)  Umhambi uyawavinjwa.

It is denied to the traveller.

(ii)*Amanzi ayamvinjwa.

Water is denied to him.


The (i) sentences have an acceptable interpretation as wu(umbuzo), zi (iilekese) and wa (amanzi) are representing the direct objects.   The (ii) sentences have an unclear interpretation because m (umfundi), m (utata) and m (umhambi) are treated as direct objects.   One can use absolute pronouns to resolve this ambiguity:

(235)      (a)  (i)  Umfundi ubuzwa wona.

It is asked to the student.

(ii) Umbuzo ubuzwa yena.

The question is asked to him.


(b)  (i)  Utata ucelwa zona.

They are asked from dad.

(ii) Iilekese zicelwa yena.

Sweets are asked from him.


(c)  (i)  Umhambi uvinjwa wona.

It is denied to the traveller.

(ii) Amanzi avinjwa yena.

Water is denied to him.

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In (235) absolute pronouns are either the direct or the indirect objects.


## 2.10.3.2.2    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE    [-A]
##              THE DIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE      [-A]


(236)    (a)        Ndibuza ihotele ityala.
                    I ask the hotel for an account.
            (i)   Ihotele ibuzwa ityala.
                  The hotel is asked for an account.
            (ii)  Ityala libuzwa ihotele.
                  The hotel is asked for an account.


        (b)        Ndicela ibhanki imali.
                   I ask some money from the bank.
            (i)   Ibhanki icelwa imali.
                  Money is asked from the bank.
            (ii)  Imali icelwa ibhanki.
                  Money is asked from the bank.


        (c)        Ndivimba isikolo umdlalo.
                   I deny a match to the school.
            (i)   Isikolo sivinjwa umdlalo.
                  A match is denied to the school.
            (ii)  Umdlalo uvinjwa isikolo.
                  A match is denied to the school.


The above sentences have an ambiguous interpretation because both objects are treated as either direct or indirect objects.  By using a clitic with the passive verb this problem may be resolved:


(237)    (a)  (i)   Ihotele iyalibuzwa.
                     The hotel is asked for it.

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(ii)* Ityala liyayibuzwa.

It is asked for an account.


(b)  (i)  Ibhanki iyayicelwa.

It is asked from the bank.

(ii)* Imali iyayicelwa.

Money is asked from it.


(c)  (i)  Isikolo siyawuvinjwa.

It is denied to the school.

(ii)* Umdlalo uyasivinjwa.

A match is denied to it.


In (i) sentences the direct objects are represented by clitics,
i.e. li, yi and wu respectively.  The interpretation of these
sentences is correct.  In (ii) the indirect objects are
represented by clitics, i.e. yi and si.  Their interpretation is
incorrect because the indirect objects are treated as direct
objects.  Absolute pronouns may be used as either the direct or
the indirect objects:

(238)      (a)  (i)  Ihotele ibuzwa lona.

The hotel is asked for it.

(ii)  Ityala libuzwa yona.

It is asked for an account.


(b)  (i)  Ibhanki icelwa yona.

It is asked from the bank.

(ii)  Imali icelwa yona.

Money is asked from it.


(c)  (i)  Isikolo sivinjwa wona.

It is denied to the school.

(ii)  Umdlalo uvinjwa sona.

A match is denied to it.

## 2.10.3.2.3    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE    [+A]
## THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE    [+A]

(239)      (a)        Ndibuza abazali umntwana.
                      I ask the parents for the kid.
             (i)      Abazali babuzwa umntwana.
                      Parents are asked for the kid.
             (ii)     Umntwana ubuzwa abazali.
                      Parents are asked for the kid.


           (b)        Ndicela umakhulu inkukhu.
                      I ask grandma for a chicken.
             (i)      Umakhulu ucelwa inkukhu.
                      Grandma is asked for a chicken.
             (ii)     Inkukhu icelwa umakhulu.
                      Grandma is asked for a chicken.


           (c)        Ndivimba inkwenkwe intaka.
                      I deny a bird to the boy.
             (i)      Inkwenkwe ivinjwa intaka.
                      A bird is denied to the boy.
             (ii)     Intaka ivinjwa inkwenkwe.
                      A bird is denied to the boy.


The interpretation of the above sentences is ambiguous, that is
shown by (i) and (ii) which have both objects treated as either
direct or indirect objects.  The use of clitics with passive
verbs may resolve this problem:

(240)      (a)  (i)  Abazali bayambuzwa.
                      Parents are asked for him.


             (ii)*Umntwana uyababuzwa.
                      They are asked for the kid.

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(b)  (i)  Umakhulu uyayicelwa.
          Grandma is asked for it.
    (ii)*Inkukhu iyamcelwa.
          She is asked for a chicken.


(c)  (i)  Inkwenkwe iyayivinjwa.
          It is denied to the boy.
    (ii)*Intaka iyayivinjwa.
          A bird is denied to him.


In (i) sentences the direct objects are clitics, i.e. umntwana
is m, inkukhu is yi and intaka is yi.  These sentences have a
correct interpretation.  In (ii) sentences the indirect objects
are clitics, i.e. abazali is ba, umakhulu is m and inkwenkwe is
yi.  Their interpretation is incorrect because the indirect
objects are used as direct objects.  The ambiguity may be
resolved by the use of absolute pronouns:


(241)    (a)  (i)  Abazali babuzwa yena.
                   Parents are asked for him.
             (ii)  Umntwana ubuzwa bona.
                   They are asked for the kid.


         (b)  (i)  Umakhulu ucelwa yona.
                   Grandma is asked for it.
             (ii)  Inkukhu ibuzwa yena.
                   She is asked for a chicken.


         (c)  (i)  Inkwenkwe ivinjwa yona.
                   It is denied to the boy.
             (ii)  Intaka ivinjwa yona.
                   A bird is denied to him.


Absolute pronouns are used as either direct or indirect object.

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**2.10.3.2.4    THE INDIRECT OBJECT IS INANIMATE   [-A]**
**                THE DIRECT OBJECT IS ANIMATE          [+A]**


(242)      (a)        Ndibuza ihotele umpheki.

                      I ask the hotel for a cooker.

                (i)   Ihotele ibuzwa umpheki.

                      The hotel is asked for a cooker.

                (ii)  Umpheki ubuzwa ihotele.

                      The cooker is asked for a hotel.


           (b)        Ndicela umzi iinkomo.

                      I ask cattle from the home.

                (i)   Umzi ucelwa iinkomo.

                      Cattle are asked from the home.

                (ii)  Iinkomo zicelwa umzi.

                      Cattle are asked from the home.


The interpretation of the above sentences is ambiguous, that is
shown by (i) and (ii) sentences where both objects are treated
as either direct or indirect objects.  Clitics may be used to
resolve this ambiguity.


(243)      (a)  (i)   Ihotele iyambuzwa.

                      The hotel is asked for him.

                (ii) *Umpheki uyayibuzwa.

                      It is asked for the cooker.


           (b)  (i)   Umzi uyazicelwa.

                      They are asked from the home.

                (ii) *Iinkomo ziyawucelwa.

                      Cattle are asked for it.


In sentences (i) the direct objects are represented by clitics,
i.e. <u>umphathi</u> is <u>m</u> and <u>iinkomo</u> is <u>zi</u> their interpretation is
correct.

In sentences (ii) the indirect objects are represented by clitics, i.e. <u>ihotele</u> is <u>yi</u> and <u>umzi</u> is <u>wu</u>  Their interpretation is incorrect because the indirect objects are used as direct objects.  We can use the absolute pronouns with a passive as either direct or indirect objects:

(244)    (a)   (i)   Ihotele ibuzwa yena.
                     The hotel is asked for him.
               (ii)  Umpheki ubuzwa yona.
                     It is asked for the cooker.

         (b)   (i)   Umzi ucelwa zona.
                     They are asked from the home.
               (ii)  Iinkomo zicelwa wona.
                     Cattle are asked from it.

**2.10.3.2.5   SUMMARY**

In this section attention has been given to the non-applied ditransitive verbs, which are used with the passive verb.
Only the abstract verbs have been considered.

In the first case, when these verbs are used with the passive verb, they are ambiguous.  This is caused by the fact that the two objects are treated as either the direct or the indirect objects.

Secondly, the problem of ambiguity may be resolved by using the clitic with the passive verbs as either the direct or the indirect object.  When it is a direct object, the interpretation of the sentence is acceptable.  When it is an indirect object the interpretation is incorrect because the indirect object is treated as a direct object.

Thirdly, when the passive is used with the absolute pronoun it has a correct interpretation. The absolute pronoun may be either the direct or the indirect object.

## 2.10.3.3   COMPARISON BETWEEN APPLIED AND NON-APPLIED DITRANSITIVE VERBS WITH THE PASSIVES.

In the above section we have used the applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs with the passive verbs. Only the abstract verbs have been considered.

Considering the summaries of the findings, it is clear that these verbs are treated similarly. When used with the passive, the objects are treated as either direct or indirect objects as a result they have an ambiguous interpretation.

When used with the clitics the (ii) sentences are incorrect because indirect objects are treated as direct objects. Absolute pronouns may be used as either direct or indirect objects for the sake of emphasis.

## 2.10.3.4   SUMMARY OF FINDINGS OF THE CONCRETE, MOTION AND ABSTRACT VERBS WITH THE PASSIVE VERB.

Concrete, motion and abstract applied and non-applied verbs have been used with four sets of objects and the passive verbs. The above summaries prove that these verbs are treated mostly similarly in Xhosa.

When these verbs are used with the passive verb they are ambiguous. This is caused by the fact that the two objects are treated as either the direct or the indirect objects.

The problem of ambiguity may be resolved by using the clitic with the passive verb.

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When the direct object is a clitic, the interpretation of the sentence is correct.  If the indirect object is a clitic, the interpretation is incorrect because the indirect objects are treated as direct objects.  When both objects are animate, i.e. the direct object is animal and the indirect object is human, the passive favours the human thus the interpretation in (i) sentences are correct, it does not accept the animal, thus (ii) sentences are incorrect.

Absolute pronouns may be used as either direct or indirect objects for the sake of emphasis.  The interpretation of the sentences is correct.

# CHAPTER  III

## GOVERNMENT AND BINDING THEORY AND DITRANSITIVE VERBS.

### 3.1  AIM

The main aim of this study is to compare the applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs in Xhosa.  In this chapter we are going to apply the principles of the Government and Binding theory to the applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs.  This theory will help us to refine the applied, non-applied and direct objects in Xhosa sentences.

### 3.2  THE GOVERNMENT AND BINDING THEORY

This is one of the transformational generative grammar's versions which was propounded by Chomsky (Sells 1985:19).  It represents sentences with four levels namely:- Deep structures, surface structure, phonetic form (P.F.) and logical form (L.F.)

The phrase structure rules generate the deep structures of sentences and the rules of the transformational component of the syntax map these into surface structures, the surface structures are also mapped into phonetic form and logical form by the rules of the phonetic form and logical form components:

```
            D - structure
                 |
            S - structure
           /          \
        PF              LF
```
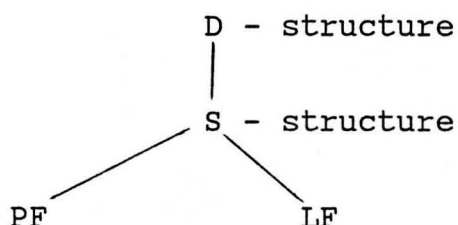
These levels are constrained by seven subsystems of the principles of Government and Binding theory viz:- (i) X - bar theory, (2) Theta theory, (3) Case theory  (4) Binding theory, (5) Bounding theory,  (6) Control theory and the  (7) Government theory.  In this chapter we will look at the X- bar theory, Theta theory, Government theory and the Case theory.

## 3.2.1    THE X - BAR  THEORY

This theory was introduced by Chomsky in the 1970s (op. cit. p.27).  It introduces an X which may represent any category, i.e. N,A, V or P.  This theory was propounded after there were some criticisms towards the Phrase Structure syntax on the following grounds by i.a. Radford (1981:91):-

(1)   It is too restricted in the number of types of catergories it permits.
(2)   It is too unconstrained in the sets of possible phrase structure rules it permits.

In Xhosa more categories are needed than the one provided by the P - S rules.  For example there is a need for intermediate categories between lexical and phrasal catergories.  The P - S syntax omits this category.  This view can be illustrated by considering the internal structure of an NP like the following

(1)   (a)   Le ndoda inde
            This tall man

```
                      NP
            _____/  |  _____
        DET           N            ADJP
         |            |             |
         |            |             A
         |            |             |
         le         ndoda          inde
```
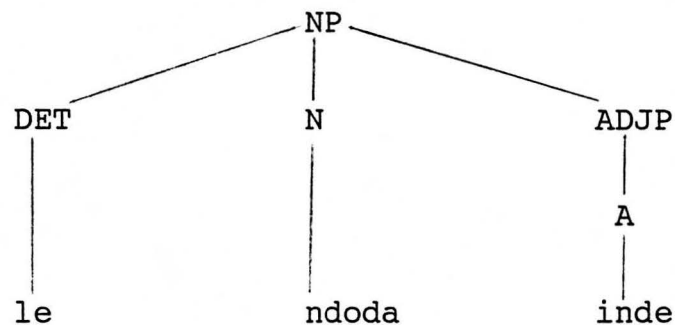
This structure will violate the binary system of rules and the category of DET will have to be taken out of this structure because it has an influence on the definiteness of both indoda and inde.  The presence of the DET le guarantees the difiniteness of both the following constituents.

A structure with DET taken from the other categories may look like this:-

(b)

```
                              NP
                 _____/    _____
            DET                                ?
                                     _____/ _____
                                  N                        AP
```
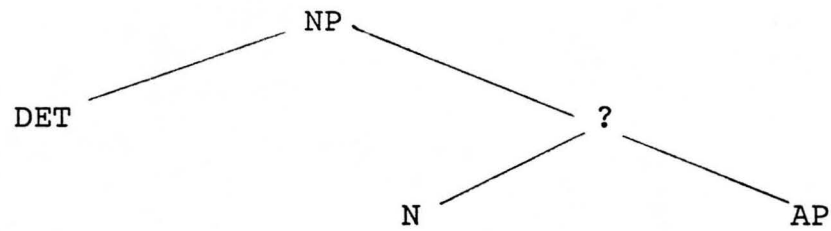
It is the aim of X - bar theory to supply intermediate categories as in the structure above.

An X which is introduced by this theory can represent any category as stated above.  The following is the range of category types of the X - bar theory where the number of bars may be determined for a specific language.

(1)   $X^3$  =  $\overline{\overline{\overline{X}}}$

(2)   $X^2$  =  $\overline{\overline{X}}$

(3)   $X^1$  =  $\overline{X}$

(4)   $X^0$  =  X

These categories guarantee a uniform hierarchy of ranks for the X - bar syntax within a schema as the following:

$$X^n \quad -> \quad X^{n-1}$$

If X is N or A then the structure above will have to make use of the following rules:-

$$N^2 -> DET \quad N^1$$

$$N1 -> N \; A^1$$

$$A^1 -> A$$

These rules will give a structure such as the following:-

(c)



```
                         N²
            DET                    N¹
                      N                    A¹
                                           A
            le        ndoda                inde
```
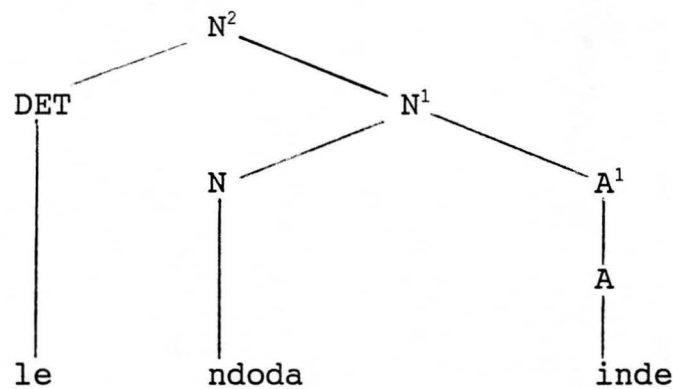
This theory introduces feature-based syntax. In this theory categories are left out and features are introduced. In this system four principal lexical categories are suggested by Chomsky. These are Verb, Noun, Adjective and Preposition. These can be analysed as complexes of just two syntactic features, i.e.

|   | N  | V  |
|---|----|----|
| V | -N | +V |
| N | +N | -V |
| A | +N | +V |
| P | -N | -V |

$$V = \begin{bmatrix} -N \\ +V \end{bmatrix}$$

$$N = \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -V \end{bmatrix}$$

$$A = \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +V \end{bmatrix}$$

$$P = \begin{bmatrix} -N \\ -V \end{bmatrix}$$

In this theory the structure of (1)(a) may appear like this:-

(d)



```
                   ⎡+N⎤²
                   ⎣-V⎦
         DET                 ⎡+N⎤¹
                             ⎣-V⎦
              ⎡+N⎤                     ⎡+N⎤¹
              ⎣-V⎦                     ⎣+V⎦
```
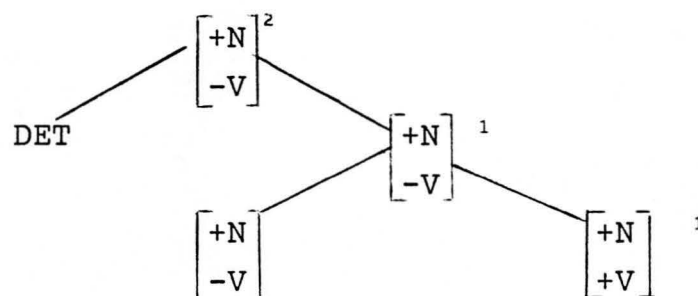
## 3.2.1.1    X-BAR THEORY AND DITRANSITIVE VERBS

The double object construction of the ditransitive applied and non-applied verbs can be explored with respect to X-bar theory, one of the subsytems of principles of G.B. Theory.

One of the advantages of this theory is that the X represent any category and the categories are differentiated by the number of bars.  We can use sentences (1b) and (20) as examples of applied and non-applied verbs respectively.
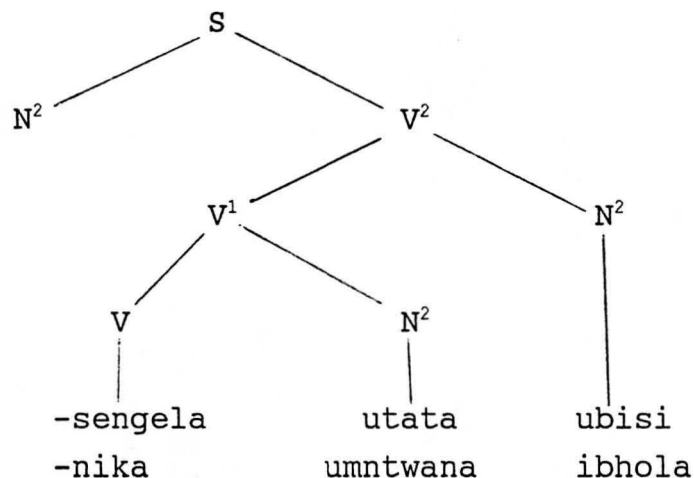
(2)  (a)  Ndisengela utata ubisi.
          I milk the milk for dad.
     (b)  Ndinika umntwana ibhola.
          I give the child a ball.

These sentences may be represented in two possible structures:-
(3)(a)
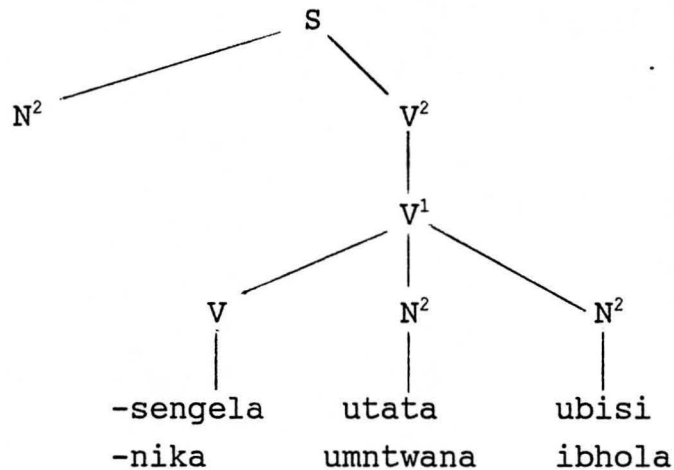


(b)

In both structures the indirect objects are animate and are adjacent to the verbs. The direct objects are inanimate and are further away from the verbs. Their theta roles differ, the indirect objects are assigned benefactive theta-roles whilst the direct objects have patient theta-roles.

The issue of intermediate categories is shown in both structures whereas there is a slight difference between these structures. In 3(a) the two objects are sisters, i.e. they are daughters of $V^1$, therefore structurally they are similar. In 3(b) these objects are structurally different. The indirect objects are daughters of $V^1$ whilst the direct objects are daughters of $V^2$. The indirect objects are at a lower level than the direct objects.

### 3.2.2    THETA THEORY

It concerns the relation between the verb and its arguments. It deals with the assignment of thematic roles to referential expressions, i.e. expressions which have inherent reference. It is closely related to subcategorization because a verb assigns θ-roles to NPs for which it is subcategorized. θ-role assignment requires government, i.e. the verb assigns θ-roles to the categories it sub-categorizes for and these catergories are governed by the verb. e.g.

(4)

(a)   Utata ufaka imali epokothweni.
       Father puts some money in the pocket.

(b)
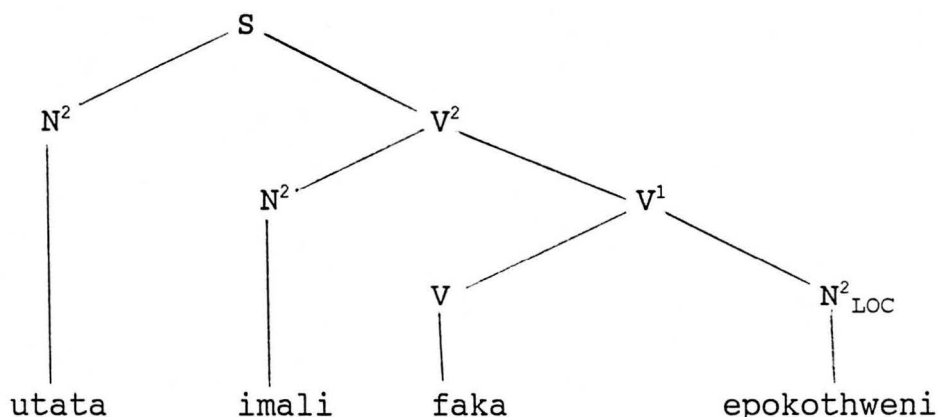
The verb -<u>faka</u> directly assigns theta-roles to those categories which fall within the first projection, i.e those categories for which it subcategorizes, i.e. <u>imali</u> and <u>epokothweni</u>: these are the internal arguments.  It also assigns a theta-role to <u>utata</u> but indirectly through a rule of predication.  This is an external argument.  θ - theory has provisions for the assignment of θ - roles and a well - formed condition  which ensures that all θ - roles have been properly assigned.  This is known as θ -criterion which is defined as follows by Sells (1985:37)

> "Each argument bears one and only one θ - role, and each θ - role is assigned to one and only one assignment".

The term argument refers to an expression which bears a thematic role as opposed to non-argument which does not have any thematic role.  e.g. the existential pro in Xhosa.

The compliments of a verb occupy the θ - positions.  Deep structure is an immediate projection of the lexicon therefore it is regarded as a representation of θ - role assignment.

At the level of logical form it is required that each referential expression such as <u>uThemba</u>, <u>incwadi</u>, <u>thina</u>, etc must have a thematic role.  The following are the names of thematic roles with their definitions:-

### 3.2.2.1   AGENT

It is an expression (NP) which is specified as doing, causing or controlling the action, possibly intentionally.  This expression (NP) always refers to living things.

(5)   [inkwenkwe] ibetha inja.
      The boy beats a dog.

In (5) <u>inkwenkwe</u> is the agent, an external argument assigned indirectly by the verb <u>betha.</u>

## 3.2.2.2    PATIENT

An expression which the verb characterises as having something
happening to it and as being affected by what is happening to it.

e.g.
(6)    Inja iluma ihagu.
       The dog bites a pig.

In (6) ihagu is the patient, an internal argument.

## 3.2.2.3    THEME   refer to 2.6.2

## 3.2.2.4    EXPERIENCER

This NP argument is characterized by being aware of something.
e.g.
(7)    [usana] luyagula.
       The baby is sick.

In (7) usana is the experiencer.

## 3.2.2.5    INSTRUMENT

An NP argument which functions as the instrument by which the
action denoted by the verb is performed. e.g.

(8)    Ndibhala [ngosiba]
       I write with a pen.

In (8) usiba is the instrument assigned to it.

## 3.2.2.6    SOURCE     refer to 2.6.5
## 3.2.2.7    GOAL       refer to 2.6.3
## 3.2.2.8    RECIPIENT  refer to 2.6.4
## 3.2.2.9    BENEFICIARY  refer to 2.6.1
## 3.2.2.10.   THETA THEORY AND DITRANSITIVE VERBS.

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Theta theory in this section is concerned wsith the assignment of thematic roles to the NPs that appear in applied and non-applied ditransitive verbs in Xhosa.  However the assignement of theta-roles to these two NPs will be different in these two cases.

With non-applied ditransitive verbs the verb itself will directly assign two internal arguments.

(9)      Ndinika utata imali.
         I give father some money.

The verb -nika is a non-applied ditransitive verb and it has assigned two internal arguments, i.e. utata and imali.

With applied ditransitive verbs the assignment of theta-roles does not work in the same way as above.  The verb itself will assign one internal argument to the position of direct object while the applicative -el- will assign an internal argument to the position of indirect object as shown below.

(10)     Ndifunela utata imali.
         I want money for dad.

### 3.2.2.10.1  BENEFACTIVE AND PATIENT

(11) (a)  Ndisengela utata ubisi.
          I milk the milk for dad.
     (b)  Ndisengela umzi ubisi.
          I milk the milk for the household.
     (c)  Ndiphekela amakhwenkwe umvundla.
          I cook the hare for the boys.
     (d)  Ndiphekela umzi inkukhu.
          I cook the chicked for the home.

The indirect object may have the semantic role of benefactive while the direct object has the semantic role of patient.

In (a) and (c) the indirect objects <u>utata</u> and <u>amakhwenkwe</u> respectively, have the feature animate while the ones in (b) and (d) <u>umzi</u> is inanimate but with the additional feature of human control. All these objects are beneficiaries. The direct object in (a) and (b) is <u>ubisi</u> and is animate while <u>umvundla</u> and <u>inkukhu</u> in (c) and (d) respectively are animate.

These objects have a theta-role of patient. Only the applied verbs appear in this category. All arguments in the indirect object position are assigned by the applicative affix -el- while the direct objects are assigned by the verb stem.

### 3.2.2.10.2  BENEFACTIVE AND THEME

(12) (a)  Ndiqengqela usana ibhola.
         I roll the ball for the baby.
     (b)  Ndiqhubela ilali ibhasi.
         I drive the bus for the village.
     (c)  Nditsalela uThemba intombi.
         I pull a girl for Themba.
     (d)  Ndifunela umzi abahlali.
         I want for the home residents.

In (a) and (c) the indirect objects <u>usana</u> and <u>uThemba</u> are animate while the ones in (b) and (d) <u>ilali</u> and <u>umzi</u> are inanimate with human control. They are assigned a theta-role of beneficiary by the applicative affix <u>-el-</u>. The direct objects in (a) <u>ibhola</u> and (b) <u>ibhasi</u> are inanimate, while those in (c) <u>intombi</u> and (d) <u>abahlali</u> are animate and are assigned a theta-role of theme by their verb stems.

### 3.2.2.10.3  RECIPIENT AND THEME

(13) (a)  Ndinika umntwana ibhola.
         I give the child a ball.
     (b)  Ndiboleka icawa imali.
         I lend money to the church.
     (c)  Ndihlawula intombi inkomo.
         I pay the girl a cow.

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 (d) Ndiboleka isikolo uZola.

    I lend Zola to the school.


The indirect objects <u>umntwana</u> and <u>intombi</u> in (a) and (c) are animate while those in (b) <u>icawa</u> and (d) <u>isikolo</u> are inanimate with human control, are assigned a theta-role of recipient. The direct objects <u>ibhola</u> in (a) and <u>imali</u> in (b) are inanimate while those in (c) <u>inkomo</u> and <u>uZola</u> in (d) are animate. They are assigned a theta-role of theme. Both of these theta-roles are assigned by the verbs in (13).


### 3.2.2.10.4 THEME AND PURPOSE


(14) (a) Ndithuma inkwenkwe umgubo.

    I send the boy for mealie-meal.

  (b) Ndithuma ilali isonka.

    I send the village for bread.

  (c) Ndithuma umfana iinkomo.

    I send the young man for cattle.

  (d) Ndithuma ilali iinkomo.

    I send the village for cattle.


The indirect objects <u>inkwenkwe</u> in (a) and <u>umfana</u> in (c) are animate while <u>ilali</u> in (b) and (d) is inanimate but with human control, are assigned a theta-role of theme. The direct objects <u>umgubo</u> in (a) and <u>isonka</u> in (b) are inanimate while <u>iinkomo</u> in (c) and (d) is animate. They have a theta-role of purpose. These theta-roles are assigned by the verb <u>thuma.</u>


### 3.2.2.10.5 SOURCE AND THEME


(15) (a) Ndibuza umfundi umbuzo.

    I ask the student a question.

  (b) Ndicela ibhanki imali.

    I ask the bank for some money.

  (c) Ndivimba inkwenkwe intaka.

    I deny the boy a bird.

In (a) and (c) the indirect objects umfundi and inkwenkwe respectively are animate while the one in (b) ibhanki is inanimate. These objects are assigned a theta-role of source by their verbs. The direct objects in (a) umbuzo and (b) imali are inanimate, while in (c) intaka is animate. All these objects are assigned a theta-role of theme.

### 3.2.2.10.6  CAUSE AND THEME

(16) (a)  Ndilithandela umdyarho ihashe.
         I like the horse for the race.
     (b)  Ndiyithandela umzi ipeyinti.
         I like the paint for the home.
     (c)  Ndimthandela ixhego umolokazana.
         I like the daughter in law for the old man.
     (d)  Ndibathandela ihotele abahambi.
         I like the travellers for the hotel.

The indirect objects umdyarho in (a), umzi in (b) and ihotele in (d) are inanimate but those in (b) and (d) have a feature of human control within them, while the one in (c) ixhego is animate. All these objects have a theta-role of cause which is assigned by the applicative affix -el-. The direct objects ihashe, umolokazana and abahambi are animate while the one in (b) ipeyinti is inanimate. All these objects are assigned a theta-role of theme by the verb stem.

### 3.2.3  GOVERNMENT THEORY AND DITRANSITIVE VERBS.

The extent to which government theory can be invoked to explain the grammatical nature of the objects of the ditransitive applied and non-applied verbs is dealt with in this section.

According to Sells (1985:38):

> "Government is a fundamental concept in G.B. theory that is used to get at this notion of a lexical domain;
> the idea that some category B is in the domain of some other catergory A just in case A governs B"

This means that Government theory expresses a particular relation in labelled bracketing, namely the relation between the head and its complements, i.e. its sisters.  This theory is closely related to subcategorization thus:-

(a)  The head governs the categories for which it is subcategorized or in the terminology of X-bar theory, a lexical head governs its complements. e.g.

(17) (a)  Ndilimela abazali intsimi.
         I plant the field for the parents.
     (b)  Ndihlawula indoda imali.
         I pay the man some money.

The above sentences may be structurally represented like this:-

(18) (a)  [ [pro] [  [-limela][abazali][intsimi]
         S  NP  ·VP  V        NP        NP

     (b)  [ [pro] [-hlawula][indoda][imali]
         S  NP   VP          NP       NP

The verb _-limela_ is an applied ditransitive verb that subcategorizes for two NPs, i.e. it governs the applied object _abazali_ and the direct object _intsimi._  In (b) the non-applied verb _-hlawula_ also subcategorizes for two NPs, i.e. it governs the indirect object _indoda_ and the direct object _imali._

(b)  The head governs its complements in the phrase in which it is the head, as indicated in (22) (a) and (b) where the complements of the verbs are two NPs therefore the heads which are the verbs govern their complements which are NPs.

One feature about government is that it plays a central role in most of the subsystems.

### 3.2.3.1  CONDITIONS ON GOVERNMENT

The notion of government must meet several kinds of conditions, namely:-

(1)  Conditions on choice of governor.
(2)  Conditions on governed terms.
(3)  Structural conditions on the relation of government.

These conditions are met through the use of the rules of government which are spectified like this:-
The governing category is determined by the government rule which is defined like this by Chomsky (1981:25)

A category A governs a category B iff:-

"(1) A = $X^0$
 (2) A c-commands B
 (3) Every maximal projection dominating B dominates A"

The symbol $X^0$ in (1) refers to any lexical category like this:- N,V,P,A, etc.  This rule implies that lexical categories can be governors but the phrasal categories like NP, VP, PP, AP etc cannot be governors.

The notion of c-command referred to in (2) can be defined like this by Chomsky:- (1981:25)

> "A category A c-commands B iff A does not dominate B and B does not dominate A and the first maximal branching category dominating A dominates B".

(19) (a)  Umama uphekela amakhwenkwe ukutya.
         Mother cooks food for the boys.

     (b)  Utata uboleka utitshala ihashe.
         Father borrows the teacher a horse.

The above sentences may be structurally represented like this:-

(20) (a)   [ [umama][    [cl-1(a)]    [-phekela][amakhwenkwe]
           S NP₁     INFL  AGR       VP  V         NP₂
           [ukutya]
           NP₃


    (b)   [ [utata][    [cl-1(a)]  [-boleka][utitshala][ihashe]
          S  NP₁   INFL  AGR       VP  V      NP₂        NP₃

In (a) and (b) NP₁ c-commands all the categories which are in S,
i.e. VP, NP₂ NP₃.  It must be noted that we can say VP c-commands
NP₁ because the two modes are not on the same level, i.e. NP₁ is
on a higher level than NP₂ therefore NP₂ c-commands VP and VP c-
commands NP₂.

In 25(a) and (b) V governs NP₂ and NP₃.  The V node governs all
the nodes reflected above because it fulfills all the rules of
government, i.e. it is a lexical category, it c-commands the two
categories and all the governed notes fall within the same
phrasal projection as the governor (V) i.e. the path connecting
NP₂ and NP₃.

NP₁ c-commands VP₁ but cannot be regarded as a governor because
it is not a lexical category.

The subject NP of a sentence is governed by an agreement element
of inflection.  Agreement entails identity of the grammatical
features, person, number, gender and case.  The subject NP in 25
(b) therefore is governed by the agreement element.


## 3.2.4   CASE THEORY


This is one of the subsytems of the principles of the G.B.
theory.  According to Sells (1985:52):-

    "Case theory is responsible for determining in large part
    the distribution of NPs and possibly other maximal
    projections too".

Horrocks (1987:102) explains it like this:-
   "Case theory deals with the principles of case assignment
    to constituents".

This means that it deals with the assignment of case to NPs.
Constituent structure analysis provides categorial labels like:-


     S    -->  NP --  INFL  -  VP


     INFL-->  M    -    T   -  AGR


     NP   -->  DET -    N


     VP   -->  V   -    NP


as seen in the following sentence:-
(21)(a)    Inja iluma ihagu.
           The dog bites a pig.


The above sentence may be represented as follows:-
(b)
[  [  [inja] [     [ind.] [Pres.] [cl-9.S.][ [-luma][   [ihagu]
 S  NP  N     INFL  M       T        AGR      VP V       NP N


Traditional grammar, on the other hand provides us with the
following information:-

(1)  The NP inja functions as a subject of the sentence.

(2)  The verb -luma in VP functions as a predicate.

(3)  The NP ihagu functions as an object.

Grammatical relations of the sort that hold between inja and -
luma,and between -luma and ihagu are defined in terms of these
functional relations.  This implies that information concerning
grammatical functions is directly taken from the rewriting rules
of the base.

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The above structure contains a verb and NPs which are associated with each other in a particular case relationship. The Case theory works on case assignment. The notion of case assignment remains a central part of G.B. The basic instances of Case assignment are stated as follows by Chomsky (1981:70):-

(1) NP is assigned nominative case if governed by agreement of inflection, i.e. if it is the subject of non-infinitival clauses.

(2) NP is assigned objective or accusative case if governed by V [V - NP]

(3) NP is assigned oblique case if governed by P.

(4) NP is assigned genitive case if governed by a possessive.

(5) NP is assigned locative case if it has a locative morphene affixed to it.

(6) Nouns and adjectives do not assign case.

The following example and structure illustrate case assignment by different case assigners.

(22)

(a) Umfazi usika inyama yenkomo ngemela etafileni enkulu.
    Mother cuts the beef with a knife on a big table.

(b)  [  [umfazi][   [cl-l.s.][  [-sika][inyama][  [a] [inkomo]
     S  NP$_1$      INFL AGR.    VP  V      NP$_2$      PP P    NP$_3$

     [  [nga]  [imela][etafileni] [      [khulu]
      PP  P     NP$_4$    NP$_{LOC}$       ADJP   ADJ

(1) The subject NP$_1$ is assigned a nominative case by agreement which governs it.

(2) The object NP$_2$ is assigned an objective case by the verb-sika which governs it.

(3) NP$_3$ is assigned a genitive case by the possessive -a_ which governs it.

(4) NP$_4$ is assigned an oblique case by the preposition nga- which governs it.

(5)  NP_{LOC} is assigned a locative case by the locative morpheme
     e- which is affixed to the NP <u>itafile.</u>


## 3.2.4.1   CASE ASSIGNMENT ON DITRANSITIVE VERBS


The ditransitive applied and non-applied verbs can be viewed
further with respect to case assignment.  The basic idea is that
case is assigned under government, the choice of case being
determined by the governor in any given example.
Government is a traditional notion involving the delimitation of
the sphere of influence of a particular category with respect to
adjacent categories.

In the context of the G.B.theory the essential point is that
there can be no case-marking without government, ungoverned
positions cannot receive case.  Governed positions may or may not
be case-marked according to the properties of the governing and
governed categories in any given example.

A requirement of the phonetic form component is that all NPs with
phonetic content must have case.  This requirement is stated as
the case filter which is defined by Sells as:-

     "if some NP fails to be assigned case or more strictly
     fails to be in a position to which case is assigned, then
     the structure is ruled ungrammatical" (1985:53)

or in simpler terms:-

     "NP, if NP has phonetic content and no case".

According to Horrocks, the case filter may be stated as follows:-

     "one of the most important principles of case theory is the
     case filter which states that any S - structure that
     contains an NP with lexical content but no case is
     ungrammatical" (1987:104)

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(23)

(a)  Umama uhlambela usana impahla.

    Mother washes the clothes for the baby.

(b)  Utata unika umntwana ibhola.

    Father gives the child a ball.

(24)

(a)[  [umama][    [cl-1(a).s][ [-hlambela][usana][impahla]

    S   $NP_1$     INFL  AGR      VP  V          $NP_2$    $NP_3$

(b)[ [utata][    [cl-1(a)S] [    [-nika] [umntwana] [ibhola]

    S   $NP_1$    INFL  AGR      VP  V        $NP_2$       $NP_3$

In (a) above $NP_1$ is assigned a nominative case by the agreement
of inflection.  We have an applied verb in this sentence.  $NP_2$ is
assigned an objective case by the suffix -el- and $NP_3$ is assigned
an objective case by the verb stem -hlamba-.

In (b) $NP_1$ is assigned a nominative case by the agreement of
inflection which governs it.  We have a non-applied verb in this
example.  $NP_2$  and $NP_3$ has a problem because we have only one
verb.

Baker solves this problem by saying:-

    "a  standard  G.B.  theory  analysis  is  that  the  verb  can
    assign another type of case, inherent case, in addition to
    its one other case" (1988:366).

According to Baker this non-applied verb can assign two cases.
To $NP_2$ it may assign an objective case, to $NP_3$ it may assign an
inherent case.

### 3.3  SUMMARY

In this chapter we have applied the principles of the G.B.theory
to the applied and non-applied verbs.

The  X-bar  theory  treated  the  applied  and  non-applied  verbs
similarly, i.e. when the principles of this theory are used with
the constructicn which has these two verbs we  do not see any
difference.

In the theta-theory there is a slight difference in the assignment of theta-roles.  Using examples which have been used in our second chapter of this work we have in these sets of theta-role assignment the following findings:-

| VERBS | 1<br>BEN. & PAT | 2<br>BEN. & THEME | 3<br>REC. & THEME |
|---|---|---|---|
| applied | + | + | - |
| non-applied | - | - | + |

| VERBS | 4<br>THEME &  PAT | 5<br>SOURCE &THEME | 6<br>CAUSE & THEME |
|---|---|---|---|
| applied | - | - | + |
| non-applied | + | + | - |

We want to see whether the assignment of theta-roles in the constructions with applied and non-applied verbs is different or similar.  In the first set where we have the direct object assigned the benefactive role and the indirect object assigned the patient role, only the applied verb constructions fitted well.

In the second set where we have the benefactive and theme theta-roles assigned to the direct and indirect objects respectively, only the applied verb constructions fitted well.

In the third set where we have the recipient and theme roles assigned to the two objects, only the non-applied verb constructions fitted.  In the fourth set where the theme and purpose theta-roles are assigned to the two objects, only non-applied verb constructions fitted well.

In the fifth set where the source and theme theta-roles are assigned to the two objects, only non-applied verb constructions fitted well.

In the sixth set where the cause and theme theta-roles are assigned to the two objects, only applied verb constructions fitted well.

With respect to the government theory the two verbs, i.e. applied and non-applied verbs are treated similarly.  Even on the conditions of government there is no difference.  These verbs govern their compliments similarly and c-command them similarly.

In the case theory we have five instances where NPs are assigned case.  Here there is a difference in the manner in which the two types of verbs are assigned case.  The constructions with applied verbs are assigned two cases, i.e. the nominative and objective cases.  The two object NPs are assigned the objective case.  The subject NP is assigned the nominative case.  The first NP is assigned by the suffix -el- and the second one is assigned by the verb stem.

The constructions with non-applied verbs are assigned three cases, i.e. the nominative, objective and the inherent cases. The subject NP is assigned the nominative case.  The first object NP is assigned the objective case by the verb and the second NP is assigned the inherent case by the same verb.

# CHAPTER  IV

## SUMMARY

A study of the nature of the object in Xhosa has been dealt with
in this work.  The most important aspect which is emphasized is
the nature of the two postverbal objects which are found in
ditransitive applied and non-applied verb sentences.

In Chapter 1 we looked at previous studies on the nature of the
object NPs in African languages.  Most linguists use the three
basic criteria, i.e. word order, cliticization and passivization
to determine the real object.  The data which is used come from
Kikuyu, Hausa, Swahili, Haya, Kichaga, Chimwini and Chichewa as
seen from 1.3.1 to 1.3.7.  In some of these languages it is shown
that the two object NPs are real objects while in others only one
object NP is the real object.

In Chapter II the hypothesis which is proposed is that the two
objects of the ditransitive applied and non-applied verbs are
treated differently with regard to word order, cliticization,
passivization and semantic interpretation.  Three types of verbs,
i.e. concrete, abstract and motion, have been used in this
chapter.  The word order in Xhosa ditransitive verbs is
established as subject-verb-indirect object-direct object.  In
applied and non-applied sentences it is shown that the applied
object or the indirect object is found immediately adjacent to
the verb and the direct object is found after the indirect or
applied object.

Cliticization is another criterion which determines the
objecthood of the two postverbal objects in Xhosa.  The data
which is supplied show that an object argument cliticizes with
an empty pro, i.e. only one of these objects may appear with a
pronominal thus an indirect or applied object cliticizes.

Two pronominals may be used instead of the objects but the use
of two pronominals is prohibited.  Only one pronominal in the
form of a clitic may appear while the other one takes on the form
of an absolute pronoun.

Passivization is one of the criterion which is used to show the objecthood of the two postverbal NPs.  The data which is supplied demonstrate that with ditransitive applied and non-applied verbs the applied or the indirect object argument passivizes, the direct object argument does not passivize, the beneficiary object argument with an animate feature may passivize and the purposive object argument with an inanimate feature does not passivize.

The arguments are assigned different theta-roles by the three types of verbs.  The concrete verbs assign a theta-role of benefactive to the applied objects while they assign a theta-role of recipient to the indirect objects.  To the direct objects they assign a theta-role of theme.  The motion verbs assign a theta-role of benefactive to the applied objects while they assign a theta-role of theme to the indirect objects.  To the direct objects of the applied constructions they assign a theta-role of theme.  To the direct objects of the non-applied constructions they assign a theta-role of purpose.

The abstract verbs assign theta-roles of benefactive and cause to the applied objects while they assign a theta-role of source to the indirect objects.  To the direct objects they assign a theta-role of theme.

There are some concepts which are explained with a view to provide useful terminology for this study.  These include the predicate argument structure.  Here concepts such as external and internal arguments are discussed.  They also include the types of objects, i.e. direct object, indirect object, basic object, applied object,  causal object, primary object and subsidiary object.
They also include the interpretation of theta-roles, i.e. benefactive, theme, goal, recipient, source, purpose, cause, direction and location.  They also include animate and inanimate objects.

In Chapter III the Government and Binding theory is also another means by which the objecthood of the two postverbal NPs may be determined.

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Four subsystems of principles are used, i.e. the X -bar theory, government theory, case theory and theta theory.

The government theory determines that the two postverbal NPs are true objects because the verb governs them.  The case theory shows that a verb stem may assign an accusative case to one NP and another NP may be assigned by the applied suffix -el- in applied verb constructions.  In the theta-theory the theta-role assignment help to determine the objecthood of these NPs.  The Government and Binding theory supply the criteria by which the problem of the postverbal NPs in ditransitive verbs can be resolved.

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