

**PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN TSONGA AND MOZAMBICAN PORTUGUESE: A  
COMPARATIVE STUDY**

**by**

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis contrasts the system of pronominal clitics (also known as subject and object markers) in Tsonga, a Bantu language spoken in Mozambique, with that of European Portuguese; and seeks to establish how the co-existence of the two languages in the bilingual section of the community is reflected in the variety of Portuguese spoken by Tsonga native speakers, referred to here as "Popular Mozambican Portuguese (PMP)". The theoretical framework within which the languages are analyzed is Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), which has been used extensively in the past for describing subject and object markers in Bantu languages. In addition, it has a mechanism for differentiating between grammatical and anaphoric agreement, which is a central issue in the syntax of Tsonga and European Portuguese pronominal clitics.

Chapter 1 outlines the aims of the thesis, and the structure and administration of the questionnaire used to investigate the usage of pronominal clitics in PMP. It also discusses the position of Tsonga and European Portuguese in the Mozambican constellation of languages; and presents the main aspects of LFG relevant to the thesis. Chapter 2 discusses the Tsonga class and number system and the European Portuguese systems of number, gender and case, features of which are signalled by the pronominal clitics.

Chapter 3 looks at the argument structure and syntax of verbs in both languages, focusing on the types of objects selected by different verbs, and on

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the ways such objects are marked in these languages. Furthermore, this chapter also considers Tsonga verbs which are derived by means of the applicative and causative affixes. Chapter 4 is the core of the thesis. For, while dealing with the subject and object pronominal clitics in Tsonga and European Portuguese, concentrating on the main distributional and functional differences between them, it seeks to determine the conditions under which the pronominal clitics mark anaphoric agreement and grammatical agreement in the two languages. It also provides an account of independent pronouns in Tsonga and European Portuguese, paying particular attention to their discourse functions. Chapter 5 discusses the Tsonga reflexive marker, comparing it with its counterpart in European Portuguese and considering its distribution and the effects on the verbs that host it. It also argues that while the situation of the reflexive markers in other Bantu languages remains unclear in the literature, the Tsonga reflexive marker is nothing more than a derivational suffix and, therefore, should be treated in conjunction with the applicative, causative, passive and reciprocal affixes.

Chapter 6 discusses the pattern of grammatical variation found in the forms and function of the pronominal clitics in PMP, concluding with a general consideration as regards the future of the Portuguese language in Mozambique. Chapter 7 contains concluding remarks which highlight the the results of the thesis.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

hope that in time you will feel able to forgive me.

It only remains for me to say in Tsonga

*Ku ga hi ku yengeta!*

"To eat is to go on (eating)!"

"Gratitude is the sense of favours to come!"

## ABBREVIATIONS

1:	first person
2:	second person
3:	third person
ACC:	accusative
APPL:	applicative
ASP:	aspect
AUX:	auxiliary
CAUS:	causative
COND:	conditional
DAT:	dative
DM:	demonstrative
F:	feminine
FOC:	focus
FUT:	future
HAB:	habitual
IMP:	imperative
IND:	indicative
INF:	infinitive
LOC:	locative
M:	masculine
NEG:	negative
OBJ:	object
OM:	object marker
PASS:	passive
PI:	plural
PN:	proper noun
PRF:	perfect
PRCP:	participle
PRG:	progressive
PRN:	pronoun
PRS:	present
PST:	past tense
Q:	question
RCP:	reciprocal
REL:	relative
RFL:	reflexive
SBJ:	subjunctive
Sg:	singular
SM:	subject marker
STATV:	stative
SUBJ:	subject
TOP:	topic

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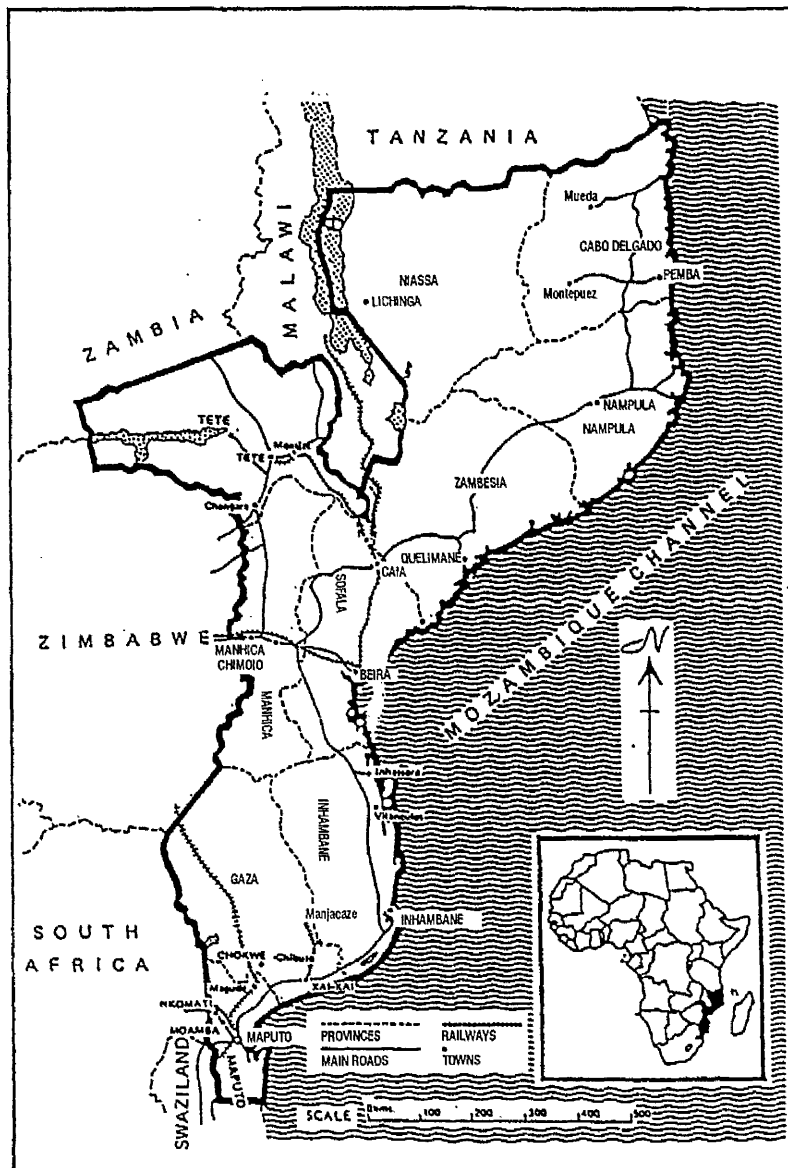
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**Fig. 1: Mozambique**

## **1 INTRODUCTION**

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### **1.0 PREAMBLE**

With an area of 799,380 square kilometres and a population of 16.142 millions (World Bank [1993:9]), Mozambique lies on the east coast of Southern Africa between the Republics of Tanzania in the North and South Africa in the South, where it is also bordered by the Kingdom of Swaziland. On the West, it shares its borders with Malaŵi, Zambia and Zimbabwe (see map in Figure 1). With regard to the composition of its population, although there are minorities of Asian and European descent, the majority of the population are of Bantu origin and, consequently, most languages spoken in the country belong to the large family of Bantu languages, including Tsonga, which features in this study.

Although the first Portuguese disembarked on the Mozambican coast in 1498, the effective administration of Mozambique by Portugal and the settlement of the Portuguese started only at the beginning of the twentieth century (Mondlane [1969:23,27]). For instance, the first government secondary school in the country was built in 1912 (Azevedo ([1991:xviii])). The history of the contact between European Portuguese and the Bantu languages of Mozambique, including Tsonga, can therefore be regarded as being fairly recent. Nevertheless, the settlement process created a fertile ground for the development of bilingualism in Mozambique. That is, apart from the Bantu languages, which they spoke as their mother tongues, the Mozambicans had

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to learn European Portuguese, which, as the language of the dominant group, was beginning to take precedence over the local languages in specific areas of daily life.

After independence in 1975, it seemed rather important that European Portuguese was retained as the official language at the time when the number of native speakers of Portuguese was radically reduced. In a sense, such a decision meant, on the one hand, the institutionalization of bilingualism and, on the other, an increasing need to learn and master the Portuguese language. This also resulted in increased contact between Portuguese and the Bantu languages, the consequences of which are one of the main concerns of this study.

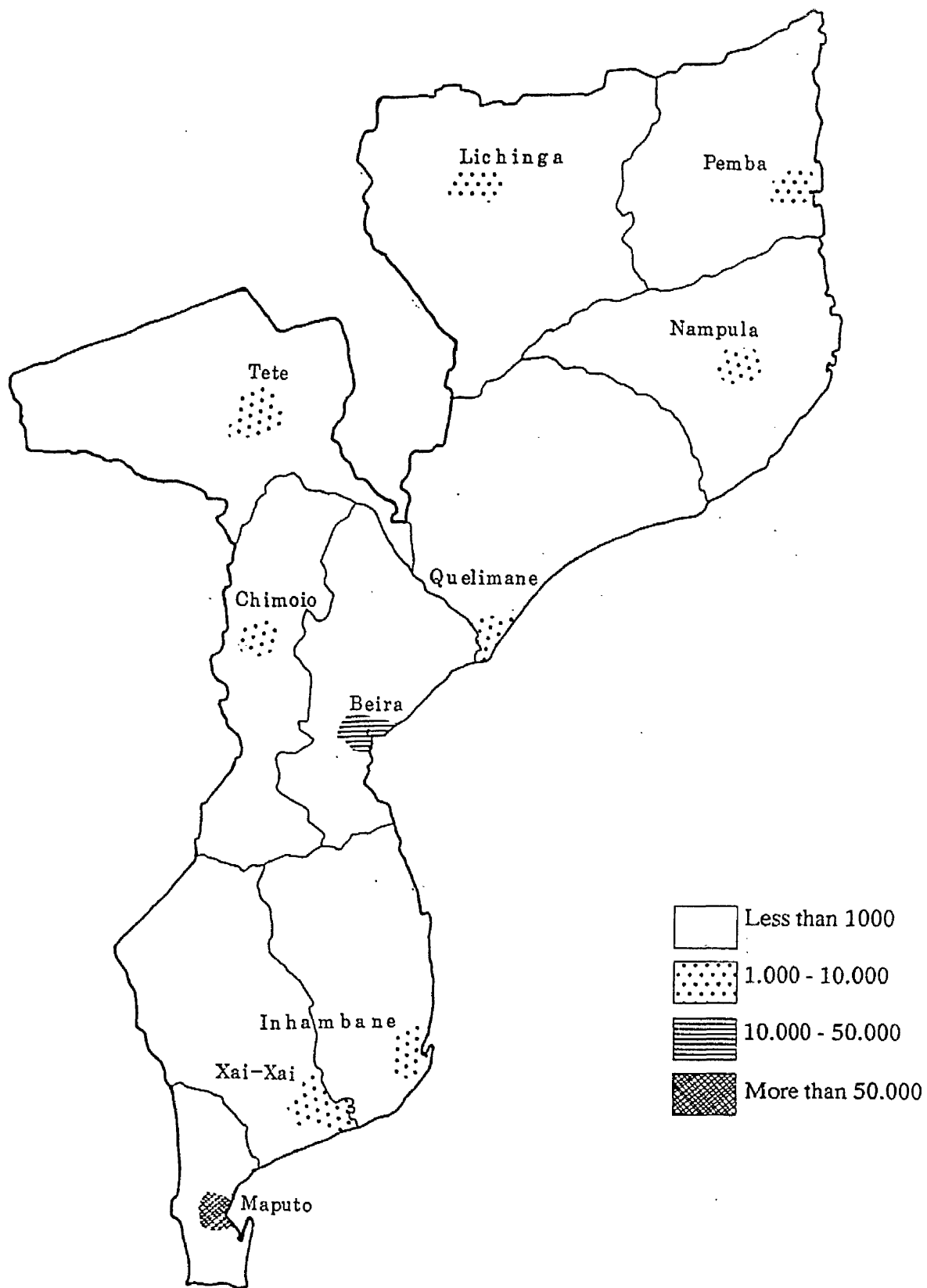
### 1.1 Language situation in Mozambique

What characterizes the linguistic situation in Mozambique is the co-existence of Bantu languages, which are used by the large majority of the population, and European Portuguese, which is the official language and, as such, is used in formal education and official communiqués. We may therefore argue that in Mozambique we have a degree of bilingualism and diglossia (Batibo [1992:90], Ferguson [1959]). In what follows, we shall focus on Portuguese and Tsonga.

### 1.1.1 The Portuguese language in Mozambique

Despite the fact that only 1.2% and 23.2% of the 13<sup>1</sup> million inhabitants speak Portuguese as a mother tongue and as a second language respectively, Portuguese is the official language of Mozambique and the sole medium of instruction in all aspects of formal education. It is also exclusively used for conducting the official business of the government and in the media (magazines, newspapers and television).<sup>2</sup> 75.6% of the population do not speak Portuguese, which is mainly confined to the urban areas (see Figure 2). Hence, in the rural areas, Bantu languages are exclusively spoken (1980 census).

Historical factors are normally invoked to justify the adoption and official use of Portuguese in Mozambique. Thus, whenever the language issue is discussed, it is argued that the war which led to the independence of the country brought together people with different mother tongues. In order to facilitate communication and conduct the war successfully, Portuguese was exclusively adopted as FRELIMO's official language.<sup>3</sup> After independence, it was seen as a vital factor for achieving national unity among the Mozambicans divided by speaking different Bantu languages. However, what seems to be the crux of the matter here is that the present linguistic situation of Mozambique reflects the assimilationist model of colonization adopted by Portugal in her colonies, the aims of which included the suppression of the culture of the colonized, language being the vehicle of that culture. In fact, as



**Fig2: Distribution of Portuguese in Mozambique**  
[Adapted from NELIMO (1989)]

Spencer (1974:170) succinctly puts it:

In pursuance of their restrictive assimilation policy, the Portuguese authorities discourage the vernacular languages to the extent of a legal requirement that nothing may appear in print in an African language without a concurrent translation in Portuguese. Portuguese is the only language permitted in education but so far there have not been very extensive opportunities for Africans to receive schooling, especially in rural areas.

Spencer's article was written one year before Mozambique gained her independence from Portugal. Almost two decades after independence, the situation remains the same. Thus, knowledge of Portuguese is usually associated with high socio-economic status. In other words, Portuguese is always regarded as the key to success, i.e. Portuguese is seen as a prerequisite for upward social mobility.<sup>4</sup> These perceptions of Portuguese have hindered any initiative aimed at researching and using the Bantu languages of Mozambique for conducting the affairs of the country.<sup>5</sup>

### 1.1.2 The Tsonga language

The name Thonga (pronounce t + aspirated h, not the English th) was applied to them [the Tsonga] by the Zulu or Ngoni invaders, who enslaved most of their clans between 1815 and 1830. The origin of this Zulu name is probably the term Ronga, which means Orient (buronga = dawn) and by which the clans round Lourenço Marques used to call themselves.<sup>6</sup>

(Junod [1863-1934:15])

Junod seems to be of the opinion that the term Tsonga was originally used to refer to the people who were found by the Nguni when they expanded their

## INTRODUCTION

territories towards the eastern part of South Africa.

In much the same way as Junod, Baumbach (1974b) concludes his introduction by stating that:

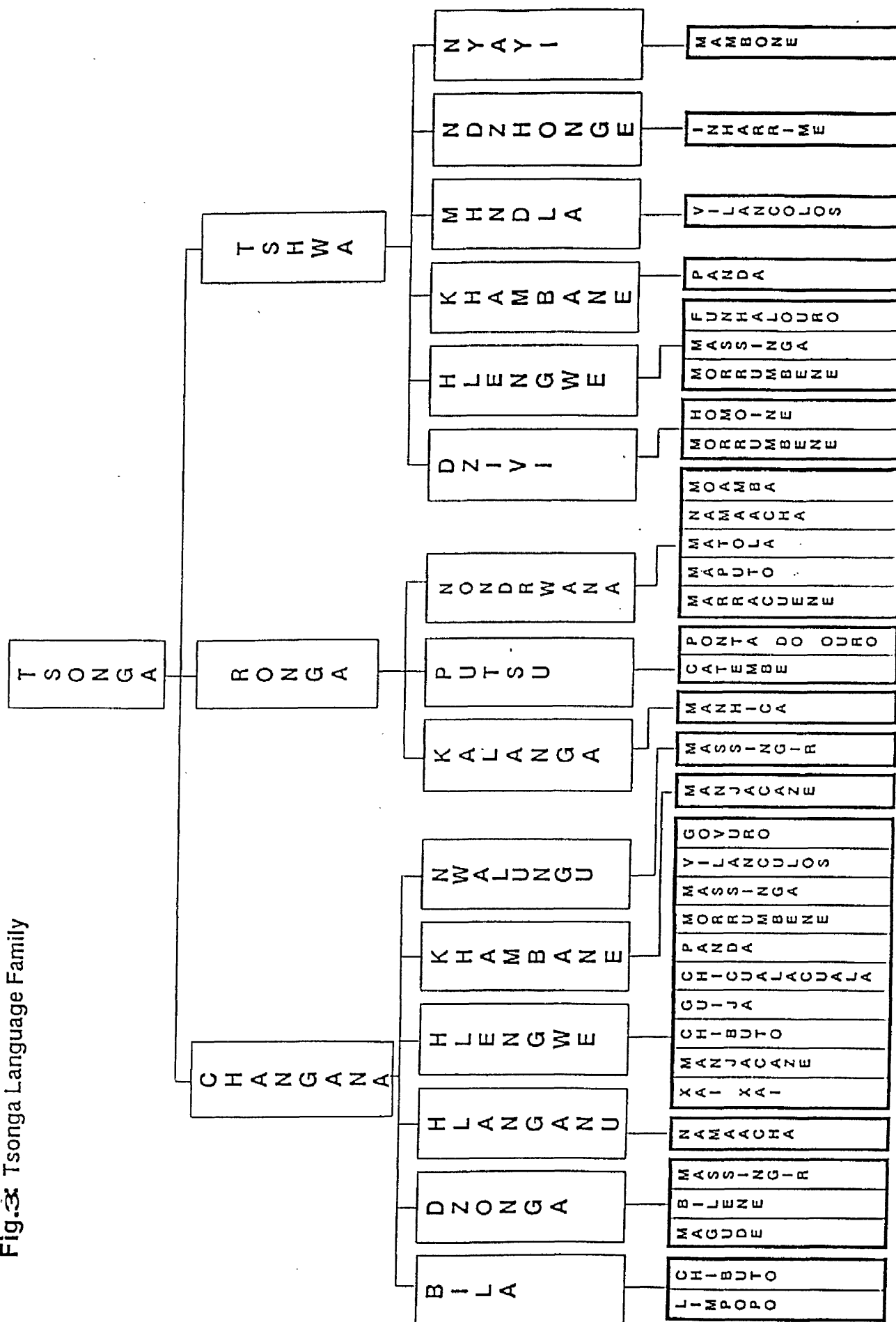
The term Tsonga is therefore, linguistically, only an embracing or generic name which does not indicate a specific language actually spoken, but only the totality of all Tsonga dialects.

At the present time, the use of this term appears to parallel Baumbach's view. Hence, Tsonga is the name given to a group of closely related Bantu languages<sup>7</sup> spoken in Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, which includes the Changana, Ronga and Tshwa languages of Mozambique spoken by approximately three million people<sup>8</sup> (see Figure 3<sup>9</sup>). Numerically, after Makhuwa, which has nearly five million speakers, Tsonga is the second most widely spoken language in Mozambique.

In geographical terms, with the exception of the Chopi and Tonga enclaves, Tsonga is spoken from the south bank of the Save river up to the borders with South Africa and Swaziland. In other words, Tsonga covers the southern edge of Mozambique (see Figure 4). In South Africa, it is spoken in northern and north-eastern Transvaal as well as the northern part of Kwazulu in Natal. In Swaziland, Tsonga is spoken on the eastern slopes of the Lebombo mountains. In Zimbabwe, it is spoken in the south-eastern part of the country (cf. Baumbach [1987]). All the languages and dialects that comprise the Tsonga group are mutually intelligible.

While in his classification of Bantu languages Doke (1954) places

Fig.3x Tsonga Language Family



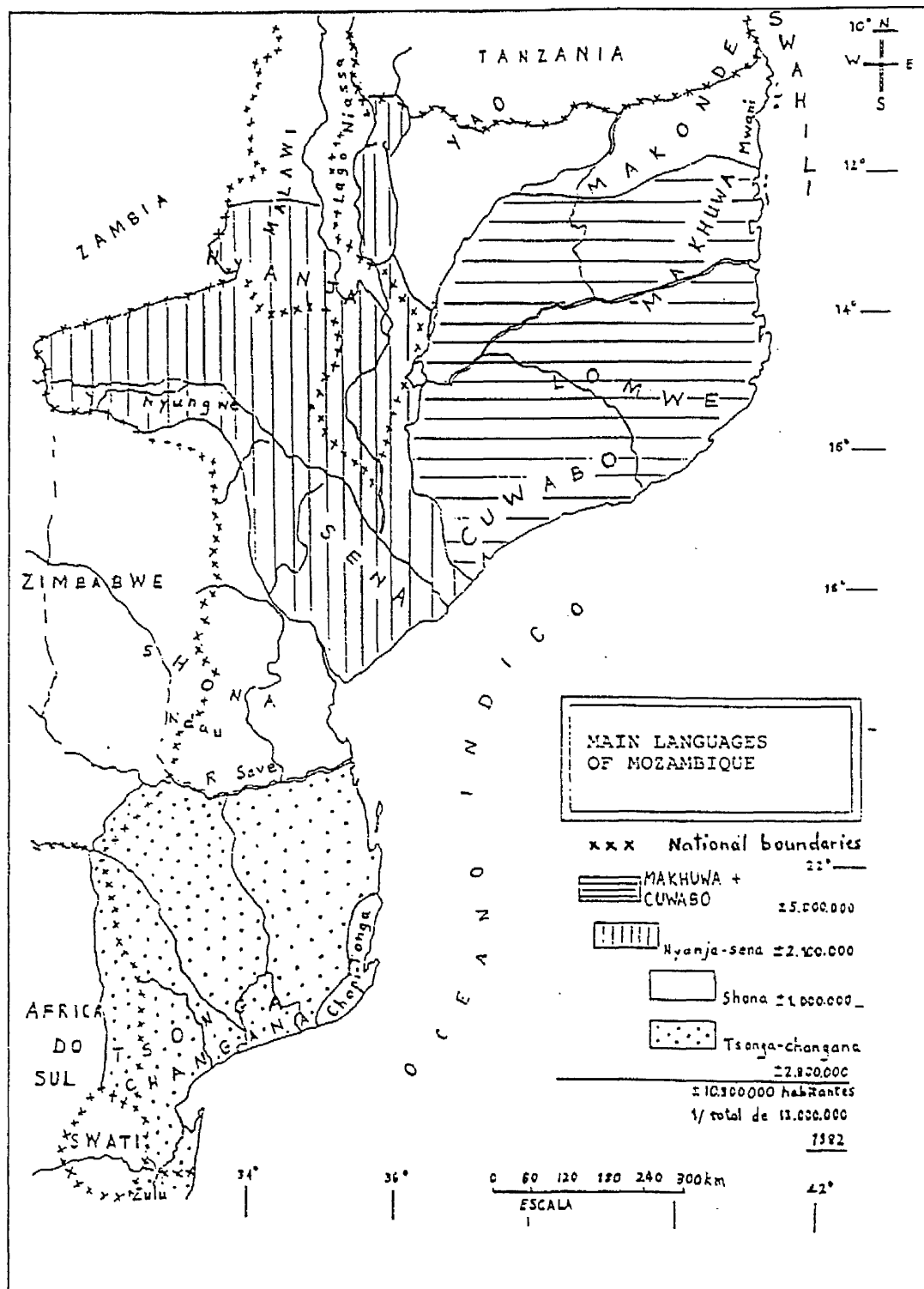


Fig.4: Major languages of Mozambique

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Tsonga in the South-Eastern Zone, in Guthrie (1967-71, III:15) it is placed in Zone S, under group S50 (Tswa-Ronga Group), together with the Tswa, Gwamba and Ronga languages.

### 1.1.3 Earlier studies on Tsonga

Previous studies of Tsonga were largely pedagogical, addressed to foreign learners, usually missionaries, and as result, the description is mostly from the perspective of Portuguese (cf. Ribeiro [1965]), English and French, rather than being an objective description of Tsonga. They relate mainly to Ronga as spoken around the capital city Maputo or to Tshwa as spoken in the Homoine and Vilanculo districts in Inhambane province. More recently, Baumbach (1987) has published a linguistic description of Tsonga as spoken in the Transvaal (South Africa).

After independence in 1975, efforts were made to study the Bantu languages of Mozambique. As a result, in 1989, NELIMO (Nucleus for the Study of Mozambican Languages), University Eduardo Mondlane, published a report on the first international meeting on the standardization of the orthography of the Mozambican Bantu languages, held in Maputo in 1988. Among other things, the report contains proposals for orthographies, brief descriptions of the sound systems and dialects of the different languages as well as the dialect chosen for the standardization of individual languages. While the report has the merit of being the first of its kind to see the light of

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day in Mozambique, it appears to be a compilation from various sources rather than a result of field work.

As far as Tsonga is concerned, the report seems to be inaccurate in many respects. For instance, while it claims that Xihlengwe covers the entire Manjacaze district, the people living in the north-eastern part of this district (from where the data for the present study is mainly drawn) call their dialect Xikhambane. For them, Xihlengwe is spoken in the north-western part of the district towards Chicualacuala and Panda districts. Here, it is also of interest to note that the report describes Xikhambane as a dialect of the Chopi language, and it is said to be spoken in Homoine and parts of Chibuto, Manjacaze and Panda districts.

The author can, therefore, maintain that this study constitutes the first attempt to provide a linguistic description of the Tsonga language as spoken in Mozambique, using data collected among its native speakers. Furthermore, although it concentrates on specific aspects of the language, we believe that this study may form the basis for further research on the Tsonga language.

As mentioned earlier, for the purpose of this study, the data will mainly be drawn from the Xikhambane dialect, as spoken in the north-eastern part of Manjacaze district, which is the author's mother tongue.

### **1.1.4 Second language effects on Portuguese**

The departure of the great majority of native speakers of European

## INTRODUCTION

Portuguese after independence seems to have contributed greatly to the emergence and spread of non-standard varieties of the Portuguese language. In fact, during this period, there has been an attempt to improve the standard of education of the majority of the people: the school network has been expanded, and massive literacy campaigns have been launched. As a result, the number of people exposed to the Portuguese language has increased and with greater contacts between Portuguese and the Bantu languages, a large number of Mozambicans have become bilingual. It should be observed, however, that more often than not, the people who teach Portuguese do not possess a perfect command of the medium of instruction, i.e. European Portuguese. This also tends to be the pattern amongst the civil servants who had to occupy the posts left by the Portuguese (cf. Firmino [1987:11] and Carvalho [1991:61]). As a result, apart from European Portuguese used in formal education and official documents and communiqués, new varieties have been emerging which are used by second-language speakers, including speakers of Tsonga. These varieties seem to be competing for a space in the Mozambican linguistic mosaic. Thus, it is no longer possible to speak of a single variety of Portuguese, but it has become necessary to posit a constellation of varieties, or as Baxter (1992:16) put it, when describing the situation of the Portuguese language in African states:

Portuguese mainly constitutes a continuum of second language varieties ranging from very rudimentary knowledge to sophisticated second language competence approaching first language competence.

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Consequently, the tasks associated with the teaching of Portuguese in Mozambique, viz. language curriculum designing, preparation and production of new text-books and language-teacher training have become complicated. Lecturers of the future Portuguese-language teachers undergoing training at the university, for instance, found themselves in a dilemma: they had, on the one hand, to teach European Portuguese as prescribed in the syllabus and existing text-books, and, on the other hand, they were obliged to take note of the linguistic manifestations of their students, which contain features that distinguish them from European Portuguese. Carvalho (1988:25), who was a member of a team entrusted with the task of designing the curriculum, writing text-books and training the Portuguese-language teachers, presents this problem in simpler terms, when she writes, (translation is ours)

If the aim of teaching foreign languages is to achieve a "performance" which is as close as possible to that of a native speaker, in the case of Portuguese as the official language in Mozambique there is the problem of defining what is understood by the ideal speaker. This problem involves issues related to the standard variety of Portuguese "inherited" from the past and the hypothetical Mozambican variety in which "errors" in relation to the standard variety may crystallise or stabilize, and be regarded as a new variety of Portuguese. Then, given this scenario, the crucial question is: which variety of Portuguese is to be taught in the Mozambican schools?

In order to cast light on the problem posed in this quotation, language curriculum designers and Portuguese-language lecturers began to write about the emerging varieties of Portuguese. However, their research was rather superficial and mainly consisted of studies aimed at resolving specific

## INTRODUCTION

problems related to the teaching of European Portuguese. That is, the aim of such research was to improve the teaching of Portuguese as a second language and prevent, as far as possible, an increase in the drop-out rate from schools, which to some extent was attributed to difficulties with communicating in Portuguese. Put differently, it was necessary to isolate errors that could be pedagogically managed from widespread new forms of Portuguese which ought to be accommodated by the learning process. Otherwise a great majority of pupils would fail and be driven out of schools (see Gonçalves [1983:247] and Carvalho [1988:25]).

At this point, by way of introduction, we shall present some of the findings of the earlier studies on the Portuguese spoken by bilingual Mozambicans, which may be regarded as representative of the emerging varieties of this language in Mozambique. For the sake of clarity, we shall divide the findings into different linguistic realms, namely phonetics and phonology, morphosyntax, and lexicon and semantics.

### **I      Phonetics and Phonology**

While discussing issues pertaining to the standardization of the Portuguese language in Mozambique, Firmino (1987:14) observes that speakers of Gitonga - a Bantu language mainly spoken in the Mozambican province of Inhambane (see Figures 1 and 4) - tend to articulate the Portuguese voiced velar stop [g] as if it were a fricative sound. Tsonga

## INTRODUCTION

speakers pronounce this voiced stop with uvular rather than velar articulation. In Makhuwa, the most widely spoken Bantu language in Mozambique (see section 1.1.2), the voiced bilabial stop [b] and the voiced alveolar stop [d] do not occur and therefore, in the Portuguese spoken by Makhuwa native speakers, these sounds are replaced by their voiceless counterparts [p] and [t] respectively. Hence a Makhuwa speaker would tend to say pater instead of bater "to beat"; teto instead of dedo "finger", and ientittate instead of identiddade "identity".

## II Morphosyntax

### (a) Use of prepositions

Using a data base involving 120 essays (about 12000 words) produced by pupils whose mother tongue is Tsonga, Gonçalves (1983) found that the use of prepositions seems to constitute one area of "errors", providing insight into current changes taking place in Portuguese as spoken in Mozambique. The prepositions *a* "at/to", *em* "in" and *de* "of" tend to be the most affected, accounting for 83% of the total of the "errors" found in the essays. She found that there was a tendency to use the preposition *em* "in" in contexts where the preposition *a* "at/to" would be appropriate in European Portuguese. This phenomenon accounted for 43% of the "errors" registered. To make this point clear consider the following examples from Gonçalves (1983:248):

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Cheguei em casa (cheguei à casa.) [1a]  
Arrive PST1sg in house  
"I arrived at home."

Fui na escola (fui à<sup>10</sup> escola.) [1b]  
Go PST1sg in + the school  
"I went to school."

Evidence that lends support to Gonçalves' findings comes from work carried out by Firmino (1987) and Carvalho (1991). They also found that the preposition *a* "at/to" was replaced by the preposition *em* "in" whenever a noun denoting a location occurred, as shown in the examples given below.

Cheguei em casa ao meio-dia (cheguei a casa ao meio dia.) [2a]  
Arrive PST1sg in house to + the midday  
"I arrived home at midday."

Eu vou na escola (eu vou a escola.) [2b]  
I go PRS1sg in + the school  
"I am going to school"

Firmino (1987:19)

Vai nos outros países (vai a outros países.) [3a]  
Go PRS3sg in + the others countries  
"He goes to other countries."

Vou até no Maputo (vou até ao<sup>11</sup> Maputo.) [3b]  
Go PRS1sg until in + the Maputo  
"I am going up to Maputo"

Carvalho (1991:20, 36,38)

In addition, Gonçalves (1983) found that there was a generalized use of the preposition *em* "in" in contexts where the prepositions *de* "of", *para* "for" and *com* "with" would be used in European Portuguese. She also reports that the preposition *de* "of" was the most used of them all in contexts where

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it would never be used in European Portuguese (see Gonçalves (1983:248)).

In a subsequent work, Gonçalves (1989:16) reports the generalized use of the preposition *a* "to" with direct objects that carry the semantic feature [+human], as indicated by the examples in (4), collected from students who were being trained as Portuguese-language teachers at the university in Maputo.

A filha do imperador amou ao Manuel(amou o Manuel.) [4a]  
The daughter of + the emperor love PST3sg to + the Manuel  
"The daughter of the emperor loved Manuel."

A natureza não pode dominar ao homem (dominar o homem.) [4b]  
The nature not can PST3sg dominate to + the man  
"Nature cannot dominate man."

Gonçalves (1989:16-17) seems to be of the opinion that the examples in (4) represent a generalized use of the preposition *a* "to" or a re-assignment of functions performed by this preposition. This view is based on the fact that in European Portuguese nouns which function as indirect objects take the preposition *a* "to" when they carry the semantic features [+animate] and [+human] and occur with verbs that express feelings, as shown in the examples in (5) from Gonçalves (1989:17).

Vou dizer ao João. [5a]  
Go PSR1sg say INF to + the John  
"I'm going to tell John."

Só teme aos leões. [5b]  
Only fear PST3sg to + the lions  
"He only fears the lions."

### (b) Agreement

Another salient feature which may be taken to illustrate the emerging variety of Portuguese as spoken in Mozambique is the lack of agreement in number within the noun phrase, and between the subject and the predicate.

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Within the noun phrase, for instance, Gonçalves (1983:249) found that in 79% of cases where a noun occurred with a plural determiner, the head noun was singular; and that in 40% of cases where a plural determiner would be expected to be accompanied by a plural head noun and a plural verb, each of the latter were singular. In 75% of examples containing a first person subject this was used with a third person verb. To illustrate what is involved, consider the examples in (6). See also Diniz (1987:36).

\*Os caderno (os cadernos.) [6a]  
The pl exercise-book sg  
"The exercise books."

\*Os granizo começou (os granizos começaram.) [6b]  
The pl hail sg started PST3sg  
"The hail started to fall."

\*Eu esperou (eu esperei.) [6c]  
I wait PST 3sg  
"I waited."

### (c) Omission of determiners (definite articles)

The determiner which marks the definiteness of the noun that functions as direct object is often omitted, as indicated in (7).

\*Eu chamou menino (eu chamei o menino.)<sup>12</sup> [7]  
I call PST3sg boy  
"I called the boy."

Mateus et al.(1983:25)

### (d) The structure of reported speech

The rules governing the changes that are associated with the conversion from direct speech into indirect or reported speech are not normally observed

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in the Portuguese spoken by bilingual Mozambicans speakers, viz. both the shift from first person to third person pronoun and the conversion from present to past tense (which Quirk et al. [1972:785] refer to as "back-shift").

The lack of conversion associated with the change from direct speech to reported speech was found in a survey conducted by Eduardo Mandlane University<sup>13</sup> in collaboration with the National Institute for the Development of Education, which involved bilingual Mozambicans whose mother tongue is Nyanja (see figures 1 and 4). The results of the survey are summarized in Gonçalves (1986), and the examples in (8) are taken from that summary:

Responderam que estamos a fugir do fogo (que estavam.) [8a]  
Reply PST3pl that be PRS1pl to run away INF of +the fire  
"They replied that we are running away from the fire (they were running)."

O coelho falou que eu vi os macacos (que ele viu os macacos.) [8b]  
The hare speak PST3sg that I see PST1sg the baboons  
"The hare said that I saw the baboons (that he saw the baboons)."

O João disse que estou cansado (que (ele) estava cansado.) [8c]  
The John say PST3sg that be PRS1sg tired  
"John said that I am tired (that he was tired)."

Gonçalves (1986:19, 20)

There are three clearly distinct entities involved in examples (8): (i) the subject of the matrix clause; (ii) the subject of the embedded clause (whether it represents direct or indirect speech); and (iii) the speaker of the whole sentence. In PMP, the sentences (8) are ambiguous because (ii) may be coreferential either with (i) or with (iii). But when the embedded clause is

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converted into appropriate reported speech form, it becomes clear that (ii) is coreferential with (i), as indicated in the European Portuguese version in parenthesis.

**(e) Subordination**

As regards subordination, it was found in the survey referred to above that the subordinator *que* "that" is generally used in restrictive relative clauses to replace the genitive relative pronouns *cujo, cuja, cujos and cujos* "whose" and the locative *onde* "where". It seems that this phenomenon is not restricted to native speakers of Nyanja, but also occurs with speakers of other Bantu languages, as shown by a study on relative clauses undertaken by Diniz (1987), which involved students whose mother tongue was Tsonga. Consider examples (9) from Gonçalves (1986:12) and (10) from Diniz (1987:33-34).

Poem      ao sol para secar e levam para [9a]  
Put PRS3pl to +the sun for dry INF and take PRS3pl to  
"They put to the sun to dry and take to

outras zonas que comem peixe.  
 other zones that eat PRS3pl fish  
 other zones that eat fish.  
 "They put them in the sun to dry and take them to other zones that  
 they eat fish."

```
(...para outras zonas onde comem peixe.)
( to others zones where eat PRS3pl fish)
("...to other zones where they eat fish".)
```

Os elefantes, bois, cavalos e leões são animais [9b]  
The elephants, oxen, horses and lions be PRS3pl animals  
"The elephants, oxen, horses and lions are animals

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bravios que a pele deles serve para confecção...  
wild that the skin their serve PRS3sg for manufacture  
wild that their skin is used for manufacturing."

"Elephants, oxen, horses and lions are wild animals that their skin serves for manufacturing..."

(...são animais selvagens cujas pele serve para confecção...)  
(...be PRS3pl animals wild whose skin use PRS3sg to manufacturing...)  
("...are wild animals whose skin is used for manufacturing...")

Aqui a frente da nossa escola há uma grande [10a]  
Here in front of + the our school be PRS3sg a big  
"Here in front of our school there is a big

estrada que passam os meios de transporte.  
road that pass PRS3pl the means of transport  
road that pass the means of transport."  
"Here in front of our school there is a big road that pass the means of transport."

(Aqui a frente da nossa escola há uma grande estrada  
(Here in front of + the our school be PRS3sg a big road  
(Here in front of our school there is a big road

por onde passam os meios de transporte.)  
by where pass PRS3pl the means of transport  
by which pass the means of transport.)  
("...where pass the means of transport.")

Os carros que eu conheço os nomes são... [10b]  
The cars that I know PRS1sg the names be PRS3pl  
"The cars that I know the names are..."

(Os carros cujos nomes eu conheço são..."  
The cars whose names I know PRS1sg be PRS3pl  
"The cars whose names I know PRS1sg be PRS3pl..."

In (9a) and (10a) the subordinator *que* "that" is used instead of *onde* "where", which would be appropriate in European Portuguese, as it introduces subordinate (relative) clauses that are associated with locations. With regard to examples (9b) and (10b) *que* "that", with or without a genitive expression,

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is used for replacing the genitive relative pronoun *cujo* "whose" in contexts where according to the grammar of European Portuguese it would not be suitable.<sup>14</sup>

The subordinator *que* "that" is also more often than not used in clauses which require time-when subordinators (cf. Leech & Svartvik [1975:79]), as indicated by the following example from Diniz (1987:33).

Infiltra            as nossas casas a entrarem [sic] da janela            [11]  
Infiltrate PRS3sg the our houses in enter PRS3pl of + the window  
"It infiltrates our houses through the window

no momento que nesta casa não esteja ninguém.  
in + the moment that in + this house not be SBJ3sg nobody  
in the moment that there is nobody in the house."  
"It infiltrates our houses through the window at the moment that  
in this house there is nobody."

(...quando nesta casa não está ninguém.)  
(...when in + this house not be PRS3sg nobody)  
("...when there is nobody in this house".)

The embedded clause denotes the time at which a certain event takes place and, as such, it should be linked to the matrix clause by a temporal relative pronoun (since the clause modifies the noun 'moment'). However, as example (11) shows, *que* "that" is used instead of *quando* "when".

A further point relating to *quando* "when" is that, in the dialect in question, it is used to mean not only "when" but also "if", whereas European Portuguese distinguishes between *quando* "when" and *se* "if". For instance, consider examples (12) from Gonçalves (1986:19, 20, 22).

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Quando esses homens acabam de tocar dão [12a]  
When those men finish PRS3pl of play give PRS3pl  
"When these men finish playing, they give

um trabalho às mulheres para ir trabalhar na casa deles.  
a work to + the women for go INF work INF in + the house of + them  
some work to the women to do in their houses."

Quando fazem isso, agora esses homens chamam chioda.<sup>15</sup>  
When do PRS3pl that, now those men call PRS3pl chioda  
"When they do that, now these men call chioda."

"When these men finish playing, they give some work to the women  
to go and do it at their houses. When they do that, then those men  
call chioda."

(Quando esses homens acabam de tocar dão um trabalho  
(When these men finish PRS3pl of play INF give PRS3pl a work  
(When these men finish playing, they give some work

às mulheres para ir fazer nas suas casas.  
to + the women for go INF work INF in + the their houses.  
to the women to go and do it at their houses.

Se fizerem isso, agora esses homens chamam chioda.)  
If do SBJ3pl that, now those men call PRS3pl chioda.)  
If they do that, then those men call chioda."

"When those men finish playing, they give the work to the women to go and  
and do it at their houses. If they do that, then those men call chioda."

Quando apanhar muito peixe, vamos vender. [12b]  
"When catch INF lot fish, go PRS1pl sell INF."  
"When we catch a lot of fish, we shall sell."

(Se apanharmos muito peixe, vamos vendê-lo.)  
(If catch SBJ1pl lot fish, go PRS1pl sell PRS1pl it.)  
("If we catch a lot of fish, we shall sell it.")

In (12a) and (12b) the subordinator *quando* "when" is used with clauses  
that express an open condition. This may give rise to ambiguity, as there is no  
distinction between the location of a given event at a specific time and the

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possibility of it becoming a reality. For instance, (12b) could mean that the speaker is certain about catching enough fish and, therefore, will sell. In fact, what the speaker intends to convey to the listener is an open condition which may or may not be realised (cf. Gonçalves [1986:22]).

Another subordinator which features in studies on the Portuguese spoken by bilingual Mozambicans is *enquanto* "while". As is the case with its English translation, in European Portuguese it is used to link clauses that express simultaneous actions or events. To make this point clear, consider example (13).

O Pedro comia o seu almoço enquanto dançava. [13]  
The Peter eat PSr3sg the his lunch while dance PST3sg  
"Peter was eating his lunch while dancing."

Peter performed the actions of eating and dancing simultaneously. In order to indicate this fact, the subordinator *enquanto* "while" is used to link the two clauses. Gonçalves (1986:19-20) and Firmino (1987:17) report that in Portuguese as spoken by bilingual Mozambicans this conjunction is also used in clauses where contrastive conjunctions such as *embora* "although" would be expected, as indicated in example (14) from Firmino (1987:17).

A mamã bateu-me enquanto não tenho culpa. [14]  
The mother beat PST3sg me while not have PRS1sg blame  
"Mummy smacked me while I am not to blame."

(A mamã bateu-me embora não tivesse culpa.)  
(The mother beat PST1sg me although not have SBJ1sg blame)  
("Mummy smacked me although I am not to blame.")

The subordinator *enquanto* "while" is not appropriate for linking the

clauses in (14), as they carry contrastive messages and would, therefore, never be expected to occur in such a context in European Portuguese.<sup>16</sup>

### III Lexicon and Semantics

Turning to semantic, including lexical aspects, studies on the Portuguese as spoken by bilingual Mozambicans show - among other facts - many instances of semantic extension (cf. Romaine [1989:56-7]). The meanings of existing words in European Portuguese are extended to include a wider range of referents. Thus, *continuador* "follower" is used to mean "child" in the Mozambican context. Likewise, *estrutura* "structure" has its meaning extended to include "authority, people in position of power, i.e. establishment." (cf. Gonçalves [1983:251] and Carvalho [1991:20-21]). Further examples involving semantic aspects are given in (15). (15a) shows that the verb *querer* "to want" is used in the context in which European Portuguese uses the verb *ser* "to be". Similarly, in (15b) we see that the verb *comer* "to eat" is used in contexts where European Portuguese uses *utilizar* "to use".

Ontem **queria** morrer de fome. [15a]  
 Yesterday want-PST1sg die-INF of hunger  
 "Yesterday I wanted to die of hunger."

(Ontem estava a morrer de fome.)  
 (Yesterday be PST1sg to die INF of hunger.)  
 "Yesterday I was dying of hunger."

O secretário do bairro **comeu** o dinheiro do povo. [15b]  
 The secretary of quarter eat-PST3sg the money of the people  
 "The secretary of the quarter **ate** the money of the people."

(O secretário do bairro utilizou o dinheiro do povo.)  
 (The secretary of + the quarter utilize PST3sg the money of + the people.)  
 ("The secretary of the quarter used people's money.")

## 1.2 Popular Mozambican Portuguese (PMP)

In the foregoing, we have seen some examples of changes taking place in the Portuguese language as spoken by bilingual Mozambicans, and what appears to be a common opinion amongst the researchers mentioned above is that a decision ought to be taken regarding the status of such changes. For it might well be argued that this newly emerging, local variety of Portuguese, which for our purposes here is termed Popular Mozambican Portuguese (PMP), should be encouraged and developed as the Mozambican standard. There is a practical reason for this position. If the local features are the result of interference from the speakers' first language, they will prove in practice hard to suppress and correct, especially without the presence of the standard model in the form of first-language speakers of Portuguese. One might furthermore argue that, if these features are due to interference from the speakers first languages, they should prove structurally uniform to some extent so that the result is unlikely to be chaotic. Similar restructuring must often have occurred during the spread of a language across a territory occupied by a population with different first languages (see, for instance, case-studies in Thomason &

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Kaufman [1988]). What is needed, then, is a systematic grammatical analysis of PMP with reference to European Portuguese on the one hand, and Bantu languages (including Tsonga), on the other.

### 1.2.1 Aim of the study

In our experience, the area in which PMP differs most widely from European Portuguese is the syntax of pronouns and pronominal clitics. This study therefore aims to present a systematic analysis of this area of the grammar of PMP in the light of both European Portuguese and Tsonga. The following examples (16-17) illustrate the central issues. In (16) we see that PMP employs independent pronoun subjects in contexts where European Portuguese does not. In (17) we see non-standard use of object pronominal clitics: (17a) has dative *lhe* "(to) her/him" where European Portuguese has accusative *lo* "him"; in (17b) we see that the dative *vos* "you" is used in the post-verbal position where European Portuguese places it in the pre-verbal position; in (17c) the reflexive *nos* "us" follows the verb while in European Portuguese it precedes. Finally, in (17d), we see that the dative *te* "you", of the familiar pronoun, is used together with the possessive *seu* "your" of the polite pronoun.

A minha filha **ela se** casou em Maio. [16a]  
The my daughter she RFL marry-PST3sg in May  
"My daughter [**she**] married in May."

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Os bolos que comprei **eles** são bons. [16b]  
The cakes that buy-PST1sg they are good  
"The cakes which I bought **they** are good."

Eu vi- **lhe** ontem. [17a]  
I see-PST-1sg him-DAT-3sg yesterday  
"I saw him yesterday."

**Que** o próximo ano traga- **vos** a paz. [17b]  
That the next year bring-SBJ3sg you the peace  
"[We hope] that the next year will bring you peace."

Já vai bastante tempo **que não** correspondemo- **nos**. [17c]  
Already go-PRS enough time that not correspond-PRS RCP1pl us  
"It has been a long time since we corresponded (exchanged letters)."

Desejo- **te** que o **seu** aniversário se repita... [17d]  
Wish-PRS you-2sg that the your-3sg anniversary RFL repeat-PRS  
"I wish that your anniversary repeats itself [I wish you many returns]."

It will be shown in chapters 4 and 6 that these structures "make sense" from the perspective of the rules governing the placement of independent pronouns and pronominal clitics in Tsonga and in closely related Bantu languages.

### 1.3 Data and theoretical framework

#### 1.3.1 Data

A researcher who studies his own language tends to combine or perform two tasks: while he strives for objectivity, he also uses his own intuitions as a native speaker to analyze his data. This means that he is both the researcher and the object of research. His conclusions may not be representative and, therefore, it is always desirable that he supports his

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intuitions with independent data.

In order to avoid the problems mentioned above, we have based this study on a corpus of relevant data.<sup>17</sup> Two types of primary sources were used: firstly, Tsonga folktales recorded by the author among Tsonga native speakers; secondly, spontaneous speech and recorded responses to a questionnaire, both relating to PMP.

The questionnaire consists of sets of European Portuguese sentences. The first set contains sentences with direct and indirect object lexical NPs. Tsonga speakers were asked to replace the lexical object NPs with appropriate object clitics. The second set consists of sentences with pronominal direct and indirect objects. The respondents were asked whether they considered this set of sentences to be correct or not. If they gave a negative answer, they were asked to give their own versions of the sentences. In order to make sure that it would achieve its objectives, the questionnaire was tried several times before being taken to the field. Since it was difficult to find suitable Tsonga translations for "direct" and "indirect object" and because the aim was to establish how Tsonga native speakers use Portuguese clitics, we decided that the questionnaire should be administered in Portuguese. However, whenever it was felt necessary, Tsonga was used to set the scene for the administration of the questionnaires. (See Appendix 4).

A total of 50 respondents answered the questionnaire. All of them have the same academic qualifications, i.e. higher secondary education and they all speak the same Tsonga dialect, i.e. the author's dialect. Their occupations

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include teaching and public administration. While the author knows most of the informants personally, others were introduced to him by friends and relatives.

At this point, it is important to mention that the instructions and the stimulus sentences were constructed so that they approximate the kinds of exercises found in textbooks for teaching the Portuguese syllabus in Mozambique at secondary school level. The intention was that, given the level of education of the respondents, these exercises would be familiar in both style and content.

The responses to the questionnaires were then recorded, transcribed, codified, computerized and compared with the spontaneous Portuguese speech which had been collected and transcribed. These two primary sources were then combined and examined in order to determine how Tsonga native speakers employ Portuguese clitics: the use of a dative pronominal clitic for instance in contexts where an accusative one would be appropriate in European Portuguese, or the placement of a clitic in a pre-verbal position where it would come after the verb in European Portuguese. Consider again examples (16-17) above.

Concerning the recorded Tsonga folktales, twelve of them were selected, transcribed and thoroughly studied. Here, the main objective was to elicit the occurrence of Tsonga clitics in a variety of contexts. At times, in order to preserve the context in which the clitics occur, extracts longer than sentences are used in the analysis, as will be seen below.

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As there were always problems with collecting the folktales, either because the informants were nervous when they became aware of the tape recorder's presence or because they did not know the author well enough to cooperate, different strategies were adopted. These included paying visits to the informants and offering them some presents in the form of a *capulana* "a piece of clothing" which is used by Tsonga women to cover the lower part of their bodies". This proved effective, as it created mutual trust between the author and his informants.

For the description of the Tsonga and European Portuguese noun class systems, two types of sources were used: for the former, the folktales mentioned earlier were supplemented by the writer's intuition; in the latter, relevant literature was consulted. It should be mentioned here that the frequency of certain constructions involving verbal extensions in the folktales was found to be unsatisfactory. Thus, using the author's intuitions, appropriate sentences were constructed and then discussed with respondents. Here, special attention was paid to the meaning as well as to the contexts in which such verbs would normally be used.

### 1.3.2 Lexical Functional Grammar

In this section, we shall present some aspects of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), which is the framework adopted in this study. However, in view of the fact that this study is more data than theory-orientated, instead

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of attempting to make a contribution to the theory, we regard LFG as a convenient framework which copes well with syntax and discourse pragmatics, as it has a mechanism for differentiating between grammatical and anaphoric agreement, which is a central issue in the syntax of both Tsonga and of European Portuguese pronominal clitics. In particular, we shall draw on Bresnan & Mchombo's (1987) application of LFG to the analysis of grammatical and anaphoric agreement in Chicheŵa (also known as Nyanja in Mozambique and Zambia [cf. page 16]), a Bantu language closely related to Tsonga and mainly spoken in Malawi. In other words, we shall pay special attention to the aspects of LFG that are found to be relevant to the analysis of our data. Further details and references are found in Bresnan (1982), Kaplan & Bresnan (1982), Sells (1985), Bresnan & Kanerva (1989), Bresnan & Moshi (1990), and Mchombo (1993).

LFG recognises three structural levels, namely C(onstituent) Structure, F(unctional) Structure and A(rgument) Structure. In Kaplan & Bresnan's words (1982:175):

A constituent structure (or "c-structure") is a conventional phrase structure tree, a well-formed labelled bracketing that indicates the superficial arrangement of words and phrases in the sentence. This is the representation on which phonological interpretation operates to produce phonetic strings. Surface grammatical functions are represented explicitly at the other level of description called functional structure. The functional structure ("f-structure") provides a precise characterization of such traditional notions as subject, "understood", object, complement and adjunct.

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A clear difference between c-structure and f-structure is discernible from the quotation: while the former contains constituents dominated by nodes whose terminals are words, the latter contains syntactic functions. With regard to argument structure, Bresnan & Moshi (1990:166) maintain that it is a product of recent expansion of LFG and represents a universal hierarchy of thematic roles, ranging from agent, beneficiary/maleficiary, goal/experiencer, instrument, patient/theme to locative.

Ag > ben/mal > go/exp > inst > th/pt > loc [18]

Predicates chiefly select some of these roles for forming their predicate argument structure (cf. Bresnan & Moshi [1990:168]). These thematic roles will feature in chapter 5, where the status of the Tsonga reflexive affix *-ti-* is discussed in association with other affixes, viz. applicative *-el-*, causative *-is-*, passive *-iw-* and the reciprocal *-an-*.

Although the three levels can be related by mapping processes, (for instance the agent role is usually linked with the syntactic function 'subject'), each stands on its own. Demuth & Johnson (1989:22-23) argue that:

While each c-structure node is associated with exactly one f-structure element, an f-structure element may be associated with zero, one or more than one c-structure nodes. The annotation on the lexical entry or the phrase structure rule which expands a given c-structure node supplies the constraints that determine the f-structure element associated with that node.

To illustrate Demuth & Johnson's main point, consider examples (19).

The buffalos, the lions, and the zebras live in the Kruger National Park. [19a]

There is always a fight between the buffalos and the lions. [19b]

In (19a) the syntactic function of subject is associated with one NP in the c-structure dominating three conjoined NPs viz., *the buffalos, the lions and the zebras* whereas in (19b) there is no element to which the syntactic function of subject can be related. The relationship between constituent structure and thematic roles on the one hand, and between thematic roles and syntactic functions on the other is regulated by mapping principles which are laid down in a sub-theory of Lexical Functional Grammar known as Lexical Mapping theory (LMT) (cf. Alsina [1990], and Mchombo [1993]).

Syntactic functions are characterized by binary classificatory features ([ $\pm$  r], [ $\pm$  o]). Bresnan & Kanerva (1988:30-31) maintain that syntactic functions can be either semantically unrestricted [-r] or semantically restricted [+r], on the one hand, and [-o] (non-object function) or [+o] (object function), on the other. For instance, subject and object functions are semantically unrestricted [-r] in that they can be linked to an <agent> or to a <theme> in the a-structure, depending on whether the sentence is active or passive. They differ however, in that the object is [+o]. Furthermore, the subject can be associated with a goal. By contrast, semantically restricted functions, such as the oblique, which is both [-o] and [+r] tend to be typically related to specific thematic roles, and as a result they are semantically [+r].

For instance, the fact that the object is semantically [-r] allows it to

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surface as the subject of a passive sentence. In other words, it can alternate with the subject of an active sentence, which is also [-r]. By contrast, a syntactic function such as oblique object (OBL<sub>o</sub>), which is [+r], can be associated only with the instrument thematic role in the a-structure.

Considering the features [+r] and [-r], on the one hand, and [+o] and [-o] on the other, natural classes of syntactic functions can be identified. Thus, the subject and the object syntactic functions form one class of semantically unrestricted functions [-r]. The oblique object and the subject may be classed as [-o]. As for the objects, they form one class because they are [+o]. Finally, the oblique would be [+r] [+o] (cf. Bresnan & Kanerva [1989:31]).

As already indicated, the relationship between thematic roles in the a-structure and the syntactic functions in the f-structure is specified by lexical mapping principles and three types of such principles are found in the literature on LFG. Firstly, there is the intrinsic classification of thematic roles (IC). Here the meanings of the thematic roles are closely related to specific syntactic functions. For instance, an <agent> cannot be realised as an object, but can be encoded either as subject or in the oblique function. This is motivated by the fact that the subject is both [-o] and [-r]. <Theme> or <patient> can be intrinsically related to either object or subject; but a <locative> cannot be associated with the object and, therefore, it is [-o]. Intrinsically, the <agent>, <theme> and <locative> roles share the feature [-r] (cf. Bresnan & Kanerva [1989:26-27]), and Mchombo (1991)).<sup>18</sup> Secondly, there are the morpholexical operations which are responsible for applying lexical rules such as passive and

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locative inversion which alter the predicate argument structure of predicates.<sup>19</sup>

Thirdly, there is the default classification of thematic roles (DC). As mentioned earlier, the intrinsic classification of thematic roles is mainly based on their meaning. By contrast, the default classification is not. It comes to the rescue when the former fail - for instance, the rule that assigns the feature [-r] to the object and allows it to be the subject of a passive sentence. This may occur when the <theme> is the highest role in the hierarchy of thematic roles, which may seem to be incompatible with the hierarchy presented in (18). Bresnan & Kanerva (1989), and Bresnan & Moshi (1990) argue that the default classification applies between the application of morphological operations and lexical insertions. Hence, it may add features, but cannot delete or alter them. In other words, lexical rules are not cyclical.

In order to clarify what is involved in the lexical mapping principles, consider a verb such as *ku dlaya* "to kill", which selects a subject and an object. These syntactic functions are intrinsically mapped on to <agent> and <theme> theta roles respectively. Schematically, this may be represented as follows:

Dlaya "kill" <ag th> [20a]

IC [-o] [-r]

DC SUBJ OBJ

When the passive lexical rule applies to the predicate argument structure of the predicate *ku dlaya* "kill", the agent is suppressed (or expressed optionally as an adjunct) and the <theme> becomes the highest

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theta role in the hierarchy and, consequently, it is classified [-r] and linked to the subject by default, as schematically indicated in (20b) below. This is consistent with the fact that the subject is regularly the highest thematic role in the hierarchy.

Dlaza "kill" <ag th> [20b]

IC	[-o]	[-r]
Passive	Ø	
DC	SUBJ	

With the aim of ensuring the grammaticality of sentences, usually termed "lexical forms", the mapping of syntactic functions in the f-structure on to thematic roles in the a-structure is regulated by well-formedness conditions. There are three well-formedness conditions. The first one is the subject condition, and it requires that every sentence ("lexical form") must have a subject. Here, it is of interest to mention that it is not clear whether the subject condition only holds with regard to lexical subjects or not. For instance, data from languages such as Portuguese, which allow constructions without a lexical subject, may cast doubt on the universality of the subject condition. For instance, constructions like the ones in (21) which are usually known as impersonal, do not display a lexical subject.

Sabe-se "it is known." [21a]

Chove em Londres "it is rainy in London." [21b]

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Although both the sentences in (21) are well-formed, a lexical subject is not identifiable in them. While sentence (21a) denotes general or common knowledge about something, sentence (21b) tells us about the weather in London. It seems that some scholars working on LFG are aware of the problems involving the subject condition. Thus Bresnan & Kanerva (1989:28) remark that:

The generality of the subject condition is open to question, because many languages have constructions in which there is no overt subject. It remains unclear whether the cases involve an empty nonlogical subject or whether the subject condition itself is language dependent.

Taking into account examples such as the ones in (21), we are inclined to think that the subject condition is indeed language-dependent.

The second well-formedness condition is known as the biuniqueness condition. Central to this condition is that there should be a one-to-one relationship between thematic roles and syntactic functions. This condition will play a crucial role with regard to the relationship between a clitic and its coreferential noun phrase when anaphoric agreement is dealt with in chapters 4 and 6.

The last well-formedness condition is termed the extended coherence condition. According to Bresnan & Mchombo (1987:746), this condition

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requires that all functions in f-structure be BOUND. An ARGUMENT function (i.e. subcategorizable function like SUBJ, OBJ) is bound if it is the argument of a predicator (PRED). An agent is bound if it occurs in f[unctional] structure which contains a PRED. Finally, a topic or focus is bound whenever it is functionally identified with, or anaphorically binds a bound function.

As can be seen from the quotation, discourse functions such as TOP(ic) and FOC(us) have a place in the LFG framework, and they are associated with elements in the f-structure. This means that, as will be seen later, they are non-subcategorizable discourse functions anaphorically related to syntactic functions. Hence, grammaticalized topics are likely to be related to TOP function (cf. Givón [1976]).

Before leaving the LFG framework, it should be reiterated here that the well-formedness conditions as well as the morpholexical operations described above will play an important role in chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. These figures were released after the census in 1980. Since then, the population of Mozambique has increased by 3.142 millions. See World Bank's figure on page 1.
2. A private television channel was recently created in Maputo and, apart from Portuguese, it uses Tsonga to present the news.
3. Frelimo stands for Front for the Liberation of Mozambique.
4. Situations similar to the one described here in connection with the role of Portuguese in Mozambique have been described in other African countries. For instance, while discussing the language situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire), Ndolo (1992:93) argues that:

The main cause for the maintenance of the status quo is that the old colonial languages still carry prestige and power, and they are the embodiment of upward mobility and opportunity and a lot of privileges.

See also Nahishakiye (1991:13-14) for a similar situation obtaining in Burundi.

5. This has happened not only in Mozambique, but also in other Portuguese colonies. For instance, Wald (1970:134) has this to say in relation to Angola:

Although Umbundu is the major Bantu language of Angola, Portuguese colonial policy does not grant it any recognition, not to mention official status. Many Ovimbundu, as a result, have lost pride in the language.

6. Before independence, Maputo (the capital city of Mozambique) was called Lourenço Marques.
7. Contrary to what Baumbach suggests, here the term **languages** is preferred to **dialects** because within each language that is a member of the Tsonga group there are main varieties (dialects) which in turn are comprised of different dialects. See figure 3.
8. Figure released after the census in 1980.

9. Figure 3 refers only to the Tsonga language in Mozambique.
10. À "to the (feminine)" results from the contraction of the preposition *a* "to" with the definite article *a* "the".
11. Ao "to the (masculine)" results from the contraction of the preposition *a* "at/to" with the definite article *o* "the".
12. In this example, apart from the omission of the definite article, there is the problem of lack of agreement between the subject and the verb (cf. [6c]).
13. The University is named after 'Mondlane' mentioned above.
14. As mentioned earlier, the studies under consideration here are very superficial. For instance, as regards examples (9) and (10) there is no mention of the fact that the speakers use a resumptive pronoun, e.g. *que a pele deles* "that the skin of them."
15. Chioda is a traditional dance, which is common among the Nyanja people who live on the shores of lake Nyasa and is mainly performed by men. That is why after they have completed the preparations, e.g. playing the drums to call each other to the place where the dance is performed, they send the women away, giving them some work to do at home.
16. There may well be, however, a universal connection between temporal and concessive meanings, as the following example in English suggests:  
  
While I sympathise with your predicament, I have no intention of helping you.
17. The collection of data for this study started in the summer of 1989 and concluded in the summer of 1990.
18. It seems that the implication here is that each object needs to be classified in terms of both [ $\pm$  o] and [ $\pm$  r].
19. As will be seen later, the applicative -el-, the causative -is-, the reciprocal -an-, and the reflexive -ti- markers are viewed as instances of morphological operations. For one thing, they alter the predicate argument structure of the verbs they are attached to.

## **2.THE NOUN CLASSIFICATION AND AGREEMENT MARKING IN TSONGA AND EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE**

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### **2.1 Introduction**

Tsonga exhibits a large number of third person pronouns, and of subject and object clitics, which are determined by the class of the noun head of the corresponding lexical NP. The functions of these various pronominal elements will be discussed in chapter 4, but it is appropriate first of all to outline the noun class system. Similarly, chapter 4 will discuss the functions of the subject and object pronouns of the Portuguese language, but it is appropriate first of all to introduce the Portuguese gender system in the present chapter. In short, taking into account the foregoing, it would be difficult for us to discuss the functions of the subject and object clitics in chapter 4 without first looking at the noun classification and agreement markers in Tsonga and European Portuguese. In this chapter, we therefore present an overview of the noun classification and agreement markers in these languages, which will serve as a background against which the discussion in chapter 4 will be conducted.

For quite some time, Bantuists have believed that classification of nouns into specific classes in Bantu languages was based on meaning. That is, members of a given class not only regularly share a common noun class prefix, but they are also semantically associated in that they have a common element in their meaning (cf. Spitulnik [1989]). While discussing the different Tsonga noun classes, we shall also examine whether the distribution of nouns into specific classes in this language is semantically motivated or not.

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As we shall see in chapter 4, subject-verb agreement is obligatory in both Tsonga and European Portuguese. However, while in the former language this agreement is signalled by the subject clitic, in the latter it is indicated by the verb inflections. In relation to subject-verb agreement, an issue which has featured prominently in Bantu studies is what Givón (1970) terms gender conflict. Specifically, given conjoined subjects which belong to different noun classes, which noun class prefix is chosen when the lexical subject NP is replaced by a subject marker or for controlling subject-verb agreement? Different rules have been formulated for different Bantu languages. For instance, see Bosch (1985), and Corbett & Mtenje (1987) for Zulu and Chicheŵa respectively. Here, in association with the discussion on Tsonga noun classes, we shall also examine the strategies used in this language for resolving the gender conflict.

At the end of this chapter, by way of summary, we shall present the main differences found in this respect between Tsonga and European Portuguese.

### 2.1.1 The noun classification and agreement marking in Tsonga

A typical feature of Bantu languages is the spreading of lexical gender from nominals to other sentential constituents. Thus, adjectives, demonstratives, possessives, and similar nominal qualifiers and quantifiers agree formally with their head nouns, as do verbs with their subjects nouns, and under some special syntacto-semantic and pragmatic constraints, with their object nouns.

Hinnebusch (1989:467-68)

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As Hinnebusch suggests, not only is there a close association between subject and object pronominal clitics and the noun class system in Bantu languages, which include Tsonga, but the organization of nouns into different classes also constitutes the hallmark of these languages. Thus, nouns belonging to the same class are identifiable through a distinctive prefix which serves as a concordial element, controlling subject and object agreement, modifier agreement, and quantifier agreement. Individual noun stems are normally associated with two classes, one for singular and one for plural. In some classes the singular class prefix may not be overtly displayed, appearing only in the concords. The number of classes varies from language to language. In Tsonga, such classes are eighteen in number. Noun classes in Bantu languages are normally referred to by numbers, as shown in the glosses of the examples used in this study, the system going back to Bleek (1862) and Meinhof (1932).

Returning to the distribution of nouns into different classes on semantic grounds which we referred to earlier, while scholars such as Guthrie (1948), Doke (1935), Myachina (1981) and others seem to believe that the meaning of specific nouns is taken into consideration, others like Givón (1970) seem to dispute it. The latter argue that, although noun classes in Bantu languages may have been semantically motivated in the past, they appear to have undergone a revision process which resulted in losing such motivation. Corbett (1991:72) seems to share this view, when he writes that

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While the system may have been a purely semantic one at some earlier time, this is no longer the case.

Concerning Tsonga, Baumbach (1987:95) is of the opinion that

The classificatory function which prefixes perform, is an important principle for the Tsonga morphology, syntax and semantics.

Here, while we accept Givón's proposal, we shall maintain that the Tsonga noun class system is still undergoing a process of change, and that one of the main factors which contributes to a such a process of change is contact between Tsonga and languages like Portuguese <sup>1</sup> that, as we shall see below, do not possess a noun class system similar to the one found in Tsonga. In due course, we shall provide examples of words from Portuguese and other languages which are already part of the Tsonga lexicon. In what follows, specific noun classes will be considered in detail.

### 2.1.1.1 Classes 1 and 2

#### MU/VA

**Mu-nhu mu-kulu a-fik- ile tolo.** [22a]  
1 person 1 big 1 arrive PST yesterday  
"A big person arrived yesterday."

**Va-nhu va-kulu va-fik- ile tolo.** [22b]  
2 person 2 big 2 arrive PST yesterday  
"Big people arrived yesterday."

**N'wa-mpfundla a-ta- xenga n'wa-futsu.** [22c]  
1 of hare 1-FUT-deceive 1 of tortoise  
"Mr Hare will deceive Mr Tortoise."

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**Va-n'wa** mpfundla **va-ta-** xenga **va-n'wa-**futsu. [22d]  
 2 1 of hare 2 -FUT-deceive 2 1 of tortoise  
 "Messrs Hare will deceive Messrs Tortoise."

**Va-n'wa** rigwe **va-tiy-** ile. [22e]  
 2 1 6 stone 2 tough-PST  
 "Messrs stone are tough."

Classes 1 and 2 denote human beings and personified animals or objects. As (22c) and (22d) indicate, *n'wa* is a sequence of class 1 prefix **mu-** and **-a**, the genitive formative; it is here used for personifying animals and objects (cf. [22c] and [22d]). It is not, strictly, a class prefix and, as a result, the plural noun class prefix **va-** is prefixed to it. If *n'wa* were a prefix, it would alternate with plural noun class prefix. For instance, compare (22a) with (22b).<sup>2</sup>

## 2.1.1.2 Classes 1a and 2a

### Ø/VA

Dokodela **a-lav-** a male **yo-tala.** [23a]  
 1a doctor 1 want-PRS 9 money 9 many  
 "The doctor wants a lot of money."

**Va-dokodela** **va-lav-a** male **yo-tala.** [23b]  
 2 doctor 2 want-PRS 9 money 9 much  
 "The doctors want a lot of money."

Tate **a-xav-a** nguwu. [23c]  
 1a elder sister 1 buy-PRS.PRG 9 cloth  
 "My elder sister is buying a garment."

**Va-tate** **va-xav-a** **ti-nguwu.** [23d]  
 2a elder sister 2 buy-PRS.PRG 10 cloth  
 "My elder sisters are buying garments."

Classes 1a and 2a refer in the first instance to kinship, and nouns belonging to class 1a do not display a noun class prefix. It appears only in concords and, therefore, they can be said to have a latent prefix (cf. Baumbach [1987]). It is this absence of a class prefix which formally distinguishes nouns belonging to class 1a from those belonging to class 1. Thus, when nouns which refer to professions are brought into Tsonga from languages such as English, they tend to be integrated into class 1a or more rarely into class 1 (see the noun *dokodela* < doctor in [23a]). This fact provides us with further evidence to support the claim that the form as well as the meaning still play a role when it comes to placing Tsonga nouns into different classes. Further examples are found in nouns such as *karapiteri/vakarapiteri* < carpenter; *diaconil/mudiaconi* < deacon; *mupirista/vapirista* < priest; *muhedeni/vahedeni* < heathen; *mutoloki/vatoloki* < (Afrikaans "interpreter, translator"), and *xoferi/vaxoferi* < chauffeur.

**MU/MI**

**Nkondzo wu+a- mina wu+a- vavis- a.**<sup>3</sup> [24c]  
 3 foot 3 it+of me 3 it+of painful PRS  
 "My foot is painful."

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**Mi-kondzo ya-mina ya-vavis- a.** [24d]  
 4 foot 4 me 4 painful PRS  
 "My feet are painful."

**Nambu wu-kw-ile.**<sup>4</sup> [24e]  
 3 river 3 dry-PST  
 "The river is dry."

**Mi-lambu yi-kw-ile.** [24f]  
 4 river 4 dry-PST  
 "The rivers are dry."

Classes 3 and 4 contain miscellaneous nouns which include parts of the body (24c) and (24d), and natural phenomena (24e) and (24f). Here, it is also of interest to observe that in these classes, the agreement marker is phonologically different from the noun class prefix (cf. **mu-** versus **a-** with class 1).

## 2.1.1.4 Classes 5 and 6

### RI/MA

**Ri-wa ri-wupf- ile.** [25a]  
 5 pumpkin 5 ripe- PST  
 "The pumpkin is ripe."

**Ma-riwa ma-wupf-ile.** [25b]  
 6 pumpkin 6 ripe-PST  
 "The pumpkins are ripe."

**Mhisi yi-ta-fa rito hi ku-rhila.**<sup>5</sup> [25c]  
 9 hyena 9-FUT-die 5 voice because of 15 cry-INF  
 "The hyena will become hoarse because of crying."

**Ti-mhisi ti-ta-fa ma-rito hi ku-rhila.** [25d]  
 9 hyena 9-FUT-die 6 voice because of 15 cry-INF  
 "The hyenas will become hoarse because of crying."

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Tiko ri + a- hina ri- le nyimpini. [25e]  
 5 country 5 it+ of us 5 DEM 9 war  
 "Our country is at war (there is war in our country)."

Ma-tiko ya-hina ma-le nyimpini. [25f]  
 6 country 6 us 6 DEM 9 war  
 "Our countries are at war (there is war in our countries)."

Gambu ri-pel- ile. [25g]  
 5 sun 5 go down PST.PRF  
 "The sun has gone down (it is sunset)."

Mamana a-wuy- ile ni ri-hlahla. [25h]  
 1a mother 1-return-PST with 5 piece of thin fire-wood  
 "My has returned with a piece of thin fire-wood."

Mamana a-wuy- ile ni ma-hlahla. [25i]  
 1a mother 1-return-PST with 6 piece of thin fire-wood  
 "My mother has returned with pieces of thin fire-wood."

Muhlava a-pfal- ile ndlela hi ri-hlampfu.<sup>6</sup> [25j]  
 1a PN 1-block-PST 9 path with 5 branch  
 "Muhlava has blocked the path with a branch."

Muhlava a-pfal- ile ndlela hi ma-hlampfu. [25l]  
 1a NP 1-block-PST 9 path with 6 branch  
 "Muhlava has blocked the path with branches."

Classes 5 and 6 include types of food (25a) and (25b), natural phenomena (25c), (25d), (25e) and (25f); and as (25a) and (25c) indicate, with some monosyllabic nouns stems, the singular noun class prefix **ri-** has become part of the stem. In these cases, the plural noun class prefix **ma-** is prefixed to the singular one. Furthermore, while some polysyllabic noun stems such as the ones in (25e), and (25g) do not display the singular prefix **ri-** and, therefore, may be said to have a zero prefix which appears only in concords (cf. [25a] and [25c] above), others display it. For instance, compare (25h) with

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(25i), and (25j) with (25l). The absence of an overt prefix in some polysyllabic noun stems of class 5 makes this class the favoured recipient of loan words from languages such as Afrikaans, English and Portuguese (see examples in Appendix 1).<sup>7</sup>

All the words in Appendix 1 select the prefix **ma-** of class 6 to form their plural counterparts. As mentioned earlier, the integration of many loan words into class 5 in Tsonga contributes to a great extent to the semantic heterogeneity of the nouns found in classes 5 and 6.

### 2.1.1.5 Classes 7 and 8

#### XI/SWI

**Xi-khwa xi + a-** wena **xi-tsem-a** khwatsi. [26a]  
7 knife 7 it+of you 7 cut PRS well  
"Your knife cuts well."

**Swi-khwa swa-wena swi-tsem-a** khwatsi. [26b]  
8 knife 8 8 cut PRS well  
"Your knives cut well."

**Xi-yandla xi + a-** mina **xi-yanam-ile.** [26c]  
7 palm 7 it+of me 7 large PRS  
"The palm of my hand is large."

**Swi-yandla swi + a-** mina **swi-yanam-ile.** [26d]  
8 palm 8 it+of me 8 large PRS  
"The palms of my hands are large."

**Xi-ginya xi-** swek-iw- ile tolo. [26e]  
7 food 7 SM cook-PASS-PST yesterday  
"The food was cooked yesterday."

**Xi-tsonga xi-nabyal-ile.** [26f]  
7 (language) 7 be easy PST  
"Xitsonga is easy (the Tsonga language is easy)."

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Mamana a-xav- ile xi-kotela xa-meleko nyamuntla. [26g]  
 1a mother 1 buy PST 7 tin 7 milk today  
 "My mother bought a tin of milk today."

Swi-tiv-iw- ile leswaku hi yena a-nga-yiva mbuti. [26h]  
 8 know-PASS-PST that by 1 him 1-PST-steal 9 goat  
 "It was known that he is the one who stole the goat."

Swi-vang-iw- ile hi Dumakudani. [26i]  
 8 cause-PASS-PST by PN  
 "It was caused by Dumakudani."

Classes 7 and 8 include instruments (26a) and (26b), parts of the body (26c) and (26d), types of food (26e), and languages (26f). Also, as shown in (28h) and (28i), class 8 can be regarded as neutral or used for expressing generality. The prefixes **xi-** and **swi-** are also used with nouns which denote bad behaviour, qualities or physical defects e.g. *xiphuta/swiphuta* "stupid person, idiot", and *xidakwa/swidakwa* "drunkard", *xilema/swilema* "cripple". The claim that classes 7 and 8 are also used to express generality is further supported by examples such as (27).

Namuntla u- ta- xi- vul-a le- xi xi- nga<sup>8</sup> [27a]  
 Today 1 SM you-FUT-7 OM-say-PRS DM 7 that 7 OM it REL

mit- iw- a hi huku.  
 swallow-PASS PRS by 9 fowl  
 "Today you will tell me the truth."

A: Ínjhe u- ta- pas- a Maria? [27b]  
 Ideop-really 1 SM you FUT-pass-PRS 1a Mary  
 "Will you pass, Mary?"

B: Swi-ta- ti-komba.  
 8 FUT-RFL-see  
 "We shall see."

## THE NOUN CLASSIFICATION AND AGREEMENT MARKING IN TSONGA AND EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

**A:** Kasi **swi**-ini u-        nga na- **swo**-na wena? [27c]  
 But 8 what 1 SM you REL with 8 them 1 you  
 "What is the matter (what is wrong with you)?"

**B:** A-ndzi- **swi**- tiv- i.  
 Neg-1 me 8 OM know-NEG  
 "I don't know it."

Sentence (27a) is from a folktale in which the hare plays detective and, therefore, interrogates the tortoise. Instead of using a lexical NP, the hare simply uses the prefix **xi**- of class 7 to indicate that the tortoise will tell him the truth, i.e. he will confess. Likewise, in (27b) when Mary, (**A**), is asked by her mother, **B**, whether she will pass her exams or not, she gives a general answer, by using the prefix **swi**- of class 8. Finally, in (27c) **A** (husband) asks **B** (his wife) what is troubling her. In order to give a general answer, she uses the prefix **swi**- of class 8 which appears incorporated in the *ku tiva* "to know".

As we shall see below, the prefix **swi**- also serves as an agreement marker with verbal (infinitive) subjects of class 15. In short, all that has been said so far in connection with classes 7 and 8 goes to suggest that indeed these classes may be regarded as neutral. This has already been suggested in the literature on Bantu languages; cf. Kimenyi (1980:176). In short, the generalization is that, if a clause does not carry a specific indication as to which class prefix is to be used, it is the class prefix **swi**- which is used for agreement.

It is also of interest to observe that loan words that begin with /s/ are integrated into class 7 when they are borrowed into Tsonga. In other words,

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this sound is interpreted by Tsonga speakers as being the [ʃ] of class 7 (see *xikotela* in [28g] from Afrikaans *skotte/* "tin"). This seems to be a widespread phenomenon in Bantu languages. For instance, see Madiba (1989:47), and Corbett (1991:72-73). Further examples are given in Appendix 2 in the appendixes.

Borrowing from other languages is tending to erode further the semantically motivated placement of the Tsonga nouns into various classes. All the nouns in Appendix 2 select the prefix *swi-* of class 8 for forming their plural counterpart.

### 2.1.1.6 Classes 9 and 10

#### YI[N]/TI[N]

Yingwe *yi-ni* mavala. [28a]  
9 leopard 9 have PRS.HAB 6 spots  
"A leopard has spots."

Tyingwe *ti-ni* ma-vala. [28b]  
10 leopard 10 PRS.HAB 6 spots  
"Leopards have spots."

Ndleve *yi + a-* khumba *yi-kulu*. [28c]  
9 ear 9 of +it pig 9 big  
"The pig's ear is big."

Ti-ndleve *ti + a-* khumba *ti-kulu*. [28d]  
10 ear 10 of +it 5 pig 10 big  
"The pig's ears are big."

Classes 9 and 10, as shown in (28), include various types of nouns, ranging from animals (28a) and (28b) to parts of the body (28c) and (28d). In



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Comparative Bantu terms *yi-* is regarded as a noun class prefix. In Tsonga terms there is no evidence that it is in fact a noun class prefix. For 'leopard' never occurs without *yi-*.

As we have seen above, noun classes which do not possess an overt singular prefix or where the singular prefix has become part of the stem, tend to accommodate loan words easily (see examples [25] above). Not surprisingly, a few nouns brought into Tsonga from Afrikaans and English are found in class 9, as indicated in Appendixes 3.1 and 3.2 respectively in the appendixes.

It should be observed here that all the nouns in Appendixes 3.1 and 3.2 use the prefix *ti-* to form their plural counterparts. At this stage, it is not clear why these nouns have been integrated into class 9, instead of class 5.<sup>9</sup> However, it should be pointed out that according to Madiba (1989:47) in Venda, a Bantu language mainly spoken in South Africa, loan-words are mostly integrated into class 9.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.1.1.7 Class 11

#### RI/TI[N]

Ri-rhandzu *ri + a-* mamani a- *ri-hel-i*. [29a]  
11 love 11 of mother NEG 11 SM end-NEG  
"A Mother's love never ends."

Ri-vati *ri-pfulekile*. [29b]  
11 door 11 open-PRS  
"The door is open."

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**Ti-vati ti-pfulek-ile.** [29c]  
 10 door 10 open- PRS  
 "The doors are open."

**Ri-mhondzo ri + a- homu ri-tsem-iw-ile.** [29d]  
 11 horn 11 of cow 11-cut-PASS-PST  
 "The cow's horn has been cut short."

**Ti-mhondzo ti + a- homu ti-tsem-iw-ile.** [29e]  
 10 horn 10 of cow 10-cut-PAS-PST  
 "The cow's horns have been cut short."

Class 11 includes, among others, abstract nouns derived from verbs (29a) and nouns denoting long objects (29b), (29c), (29d) and (29e). Class 11 shares the class prefix **ri-** with class 5. For instance, see (25a) and (25e) above.<sup>11</sup> However, while the former selects the prefix **ti[N]-** of class 10 for plural, the latter takes the prefix **ma-**. Also, there may be semantic differences among the nouns belonging to these two classes.

It is of interest to note here that, since plurals up to now have had a class one higher than the corresponding singular, it seems odd that the plural of nouns in class 11 is class 10. Presumably the reason for this is that classes 9 and 11 form their plurals exactly in the same way. It is also possible that this is due to the fact that classes 12 and 13 do not exist in the Tsonga dialect under consideration in this study. It is not easy for us to provide a plausible explanation. All we can say is that similar cases have been reported in other Bantu languages. For instance, with respect to Lingala, a Bantu language mainly spoken in Zaire and the Congo Republic, Guthrie & Carrington (1988:13) give the following example:

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Class 11: lokásá "leaf"

Class 10: nkásá "leaves"

### 2.1.1.8 Class 14

#### WU

**Wu-tivi ri-tlula ntamu.** [30a]  
14 intelligence 11 be better 3 force  
"Intelligence is better than force."

**Wu-lombe ri-nandziha ngopfu.** [30b]  
14 honey 11 be sweet very  
"Honey is very sweet."

**Wu-sokoti ri-ta- fa hi mpfula.** [30c]  
14 small ants 11-FUT-die by 9 rain  
"The small ants will die with rain (the small ants will die because of the rain)."

Generally, abstract nouns (30a), nouns denoting mass liquids (also solid substances) (30b), and collective nouns (30c) are found in class 14. Nouns in this class select the prefix *ri-* of class 11 for agreement, as indicated in the glosses.<sup>12</sup>

### 2.1.1.9 Class 15

#### KU

**Vona va-lava ku-yiv- a khumba.** [31a]  
2 they 2-want 15 steal-INF 5 pig  
"They want to steal the pig."

**Ku-tsutsum-a ku+ a yena ku- hi- tsak- is- ile.** [31b]  
15 run INF 15 of he 15 1 we OM-please-CAUS-PST  
"His running has pleased us (his way of running has pleased us.)"

\* **Ku-tsutsuma swa-yena swi-hi-tsak-ile.** [31c]

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- Ku-famb-is-a** movha a- swi-karhat- i. [31d]  
 15 go-CAUS-PRS 3 car NEG-8- be difficult-PRS-NEG  
 "Driving a car is not difficult."
- Ku-tsutsuma swi-** tiy- is- a mirhi. [31e]  
 15 run 8 strengthen-CAUS-INFV 6 body  
 "Running strengthens the body."
- Ku-tsutsuma ku-** tiy- is- a mirhi. [31f]  
 15 run 15 strengthen-CAUS-INF 6 body  
 "Running strengthens [the] body."
- Ku-famb-a** kwatsi **swi-** tlula **ku-** tsutsum-a. [31g]  
 15 walk INF slow 8 surpass 15 run INF  
 "Going slowly is better than running (slow but sure)."

Class 15 contains only verbal infinitives; as happens in other Bantu languages, verbal infinitives in Tsonga display features of both nouns and verbs. As nouns, they can be the object of a verb (31a), or its subject (31b), (31c) and (31d), (31f) and (31g), and as such they control agreement through the class prefix **ku-**, as shown in the glosses. Like verbs, they can take extensions (31d) or be followed by any syntactic constituent which can follow a verb, say an object as in (31a) and (31b).

In Tsonga, the prefix **ku-** can be used in free variation with the prefix **swi-** of class 8 for controlling agreement (see [31e] and [31g]). But, when the subject is modified as in (31b), the use of this prefix renders the sentence ungrammatical, as indicated in (31c). However, it should be pointed out that in Kinyarwanda, a Bantu language spoken mainly in Rwanda, the prefix **bi-** of class 8 is solely used for agreement with infinitives (see Kimenyi [1980:54]).

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### 2.1.1.10 Classes 16, 17 and 18

#### HA (PA)/KU/MU

Ha-ndle ku + a yindlo ku- ni xi-rhami. [32a]  
 16 outside 17 of house 17 have 7 cold  
 "It is cold outside the house."

Ti-nfenhe ti-tlang- a ku-suhi ni mati. [32b]  
 10 monkey 10 play PRS 17 near with 6 water  
 "The monkeys are playing near the water."

Ndza-ku- won-a ma-hosi ku-basile. [32c]  
 1 I 17 OM-see-PRS 18 back of house 17 be clean-INF  
 "I (can) see that the back of the house is clean."

Tsonga has lost the productive use of the Proto-Bantu locative class prefixes **\*PA**, **\*KU** and **\*MU** which are only found in what are here termed primitive locative expressions, as in (32). The expressions in question (*handle* "outside", *kusuhi* "near" and *mahosi* "back of house") are morphologically unanalysable and, therefore, can hardly be associated with locative classes 16 (**pa**), 17 (**ku-**) and 18 (**mu-**) found in other Bantu languages.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, as is also apparent from (32), all of them use the prefix **ku-** for concord. However, as we shall see below, in Tsonga the locative affixes 16 **pa-**, 17 **ku-** and 18 **mu-** are fully realised on demonstratives, and here they function as suffixes rather than prefixes. Tsonga uses the suffix **-ini** productively to derive locatives from other nouns whenever semantically applicable, as we see in (33).

Mkaka leyi yi-nga-ta-twala vanhu- ini. [33a]  
 9 matter 9 this 9 -NEG-FUT-be sound 2 people LOC  
 (Vanhu + ini > vanhwinini)  
 "This matter will not convince people."

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Va- hany-ile wusiwana- **ini** malembe manyingi. [33b]  
 2 SM live-PST 14 poverty LOC 6 year 6 many  
 (Wusiwana + **ini** > **wusiwaneni**)  
 "They lived in poverty for many years."

Ku-fa- **ini** ku- t- ile vanhu vanyingi. [33c]  
 17 die LOC 17 come-PST 2 people 2 many  
 (Kufa + **ini** > **kufeni**)  
 "To the place of death (where death occurred) came many people."

Ndza-ku- won-a tihlo-**ini** ku+ a- wena ku- ni. [33d]  
 1 I 17 OM see-PRS 5 eye LOC 17 of you 17 have-PRS

xilavi.  
 7 object  
 "I see an object in your eye."

\* Wutlarhi- **ini**. [33e]  
 14 expertise LOC

Like the ones in section 2.1.1.9, the locative expressions in (33) select the prefix **ku-** for concord. As a result, the expressions *kufeni* (33c) and *tihlweni* (33d) take the prefix **ku-** for subject and object agreement respectively. In example (33e) a locative cannot be derived from the abstract noun *wutlarhi* "expertise" because it is semantically inappropriate in the sense that it is difficult to imagine the conditions the world would have to meet in order for an action to be located in "expertise".

Although productive, the locative suffix **-ini** can neither occur with primitive locative expressions nor with proper nouns or kinship terms. This is what Aronoff (1976) calls the **Blocking Condition**, i.e. the use of the locative suffix **-ini** is blocked by the existence of primitive locative expressions and by the fact that proper nouns and kinship terms use **eka**, as shown in (34).

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\* Handleni (see [32a]). [34a]

\* Mahosini (see [32c]). [34b]

\* Mamanini. [34c]  
(Mamani + ini)  
(Mother LOC)

E-ka mamani. [34d]  
17 1a mother  
"[To] my mother."

Ku + a-Matsinhe ku-hany-a vanhu vanyingi. [34e]  
17 of PN 17 live PRS 2 people 2 many  
"At Matsinhe's there live many people."

Eka is mainly used to begin letters, and in greetings, especially by broadcasters when they begin their programmes.

In Tsonga there are also nouns which carry neither *ini* nor *(e)ka* but which can still be used to denote location and, consequently, select *ku* for agreement (compare [35a] with [35b]). Those nouns refer to names of places: countries, cities, towns, villages, and cardinal points. Examples: *xitolo* "shop", *xibehlela* "hospital", *mananga* "desert", *lwandle* "sea", *Mboweni* "Portugal", *Jonasibeke* "Johannesburg", *Wuxa* "east", *Dzonga* "South", *Nyingitimo* "West", *N'walungo* "North", *kaya* "home", and so on. Such nouns are termed here "inherent locatives".

Xitolo ku-xavis-iw- a tinguwu to-saseka. [35a]  
7 shop 17 sell-Pass-PRS 10 cloth 10 beautiful  
"Beautiful clothes are sold in the shop."

Xitolo xi-fulel-iw-ile hi mathayela. [35b]  
7 shop 7 cover-PASS-PST by 6 zinc-sheet  
"[The] shop is covered with zinc-sheets (the roof of the shop is covered with zinc-sheets)."

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The examples in (35) lend further evidence to support the view that nouns in Tsonga can be divided into different classes on the basis of not only the form of their prefix, but also their referent. The noun *xitolo* "shop" in (35a) denotes a location where an entity, i.e. *tinguwu* "clothes", is sold and, therefore, it selects the class prefix **ku-** for concord which is required by all locatives. By contrast, in (35b) it stands for a physical entity (building) and, as such, is placed in class seven (class of things) requiring the class prefix **xi-** for agreement.

### 2.1.2 Gender conflict resolution in Tsonga

As indicated earlier, in clauses containing conjoined lexical NPs in subject position a gender conflict may arise and, consequently, the speaker has to decide which subject marker is to be used for subject-verb agreement (cf. Poulos & Louwrens [1994:172-174]). As regards Tsonga, the question is what strategies are used in this language for resolving the gender conflict. Consider examples (36).

Muyivi a-balek-ile **ni male.** [36a]  
1 thief 1 run away-PST with 6 money  
"The thief has run away with the money."

N'wana ni mutswali **va-kombeli-wi-ile** ku ta [36b]  
1 child and 1 parent 2 ask- PASS-PST 15 come-INF  
xikolweni  
7 school-LOC  
"The child and the parent have been asked to come to school."

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Xingove ni khondlo **swi** won-ile muhloti. [36c]  
7 cat and 5 mouse 8 see-PST 1 hunter  
"The cat and the mouse saw the hunter."

Chukela ni misava **swi** patsan-ile. [36d]  
5 sugar and 4 sand 8 mix up PST  
"The sugar and the sand have mixed up."

Ku yambala ni ku famba **swa** tsakis-a. [36e]  
15 dress-INF and 15 walk-INF 8 be pleasant-PRS  
"Dressing up and walking around is nice."

If one of the NPs is [+human] as in (36a), it takes precedence over the [-human] one and the subject marker of that [+human] noun is used for realising subject-verb agreement. Semantically, the implication here is that the NP which is [+human] is more in control of the action expressed by the verb than the [-human] NP. If both NPs are [+human], then the subject marker **va-** of class 2 is used for securing subject-verb agreement, as (36b) shows. If the two NPs belong to different classes and neither of them is [+human], the subject marker **swi-** of class 8 is then used. This is indicated in (36d) and (36e).

After considering the noun classification and agreement marking in Tsonga, we proceed to discuss the structure of the noun phrase and agreement marking in European Portuguese.

### 2.2 Noun classification and agreement marking in European Portuguese

In section 2.1.1 we dealt with the classification and agreement marking in Tsonga. The main aim of that section was to prepare the ground for

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chapters 4 and 6. Likewise, the main aim of this section is to provide a brief description of the noun classification and agreement markers in European Portuguese. Such a description will pave the way for the discussion of the subject and object markers in this language, to be undertaken later. We shall therefore pay special attention to the aspects which are relevant to the present study.

Nouns in European Portuguese fall into two grammatical genders, namely masculine and feminine. In a few cases grammatical gender coincides with natural gender. With regard to agreement the following aspects should be distinguished: at the clause level, the verb agrees with the subject in number and person. For instance in (37a) we see that the verb *comprar* "to buy" and the subject *o homem* "the man" agree in number and person, i.e. singular and third person respectively. Predicative adjectives agree with the subject in gender and number. This is what we find in (38a-b). Past participles in passive constructions agree in gender and number with the subjects; and this is what is taking place in (38c), where the past participle (PST PRCP) *beijada* "kissed" selects the gender and number of the subject *gazela* "gazelle", i.e. feminine and singular respectively. Finally, we have agreement within the NP with the head. That is, all dependent elements, e.g. modifiers (articles, adjectives, demonstratives and possessives) agree in gender and number (and case) with the head. This is evident from (37) to (40), as shown in the glosses.

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O homen comprou uma mesa. [37a]  
The man buy PST-3sg a F table F  
"A man has bought a table."

A mulher comprou um vestido. [37b]  
The F woman buy PST-3sg a M gown M  
"A woman has bought a gown."

O vestido de + a Rosa é lindo. [38a]  
The M dress M of F Rose be-PRS-3sg beautiful M  
"Rose's dress is beautiful."

A camisa de + o Rui é linda. [38b]  
The shirt F of M PN be-PRS-3sg beautiful F  
"Rui's shirt is beautiful."

A Gazela foi beijada pelo leão. [38c]  
The gazelle F AUX-PST-3sg kiss-PST PRP by + the lion  
"The gazelle was kissed by the lion."

O pianista ganhou um prémio. [39a]  
The M pianist M win PST-3sg a M prize M  
"The pianist has won a prize."

A pianista ganhou um prémio. [39b]  
The F pianist F win PST-3sg a M prize M  
"The pianist has won a prize."

O teu cão gosta de crianças, [40]  
The M your M dog M like-PRS-3sg of children

mas a tua cadela odeia-as  
but the F your F dog F hate-PRS-3sg them OM F  
"Your dog likes kids, but your bitch hates them."

With regard to gender in European Portuguese, it should be observed here that it may be determined on formal and to some extent on semantic grounds. Or, in other words, on the whole the assignment of nouns to one or other gender is semantically arbitrary. In the case of the higher animals and of

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humans, however, grammatical and natural gender coincide. For instance, *homen* "man" in (37a) is masculine and denotes a male entity. Likewise, the gender of *mulher* "woman" in (37b) is feminine. Formally, except for some cases, (see Rossi [1945:330-336]) feminine and masculine nouns end in -a and -o respectively (cf. Mateus et al. [1983:278]). Compare, for instance, *mesa* "table" in (37a) with *vestido* "gown" in (38a).

It is of interest to observe that the Portuguese articles, besides signalling the distinction between definite and indefinite, also mark gender; and in cases where the noun itself is not marked for gender, the latter may be indicated only by the article. This occurs in nouns like *pianista* "pianist". Thus, in (39a) the gender of this noun is indicated by the masculine article *o* "the". Similarly, in (39b) it is the feminine article *a* which shows that *pianista* "pianist" is female.<sup>14</sup>

As mentioned earlier, another grammatical category associated with nouns and their syntactically dependent constituents, and which also features in subject-verb agreement is number, i.e. singular and plural. Generally, in European Portuguese the plural is formed by adding the suffix -s to the singular noun. In other words, all plural nouns (and their dependents) in European Portuguese carry this suffix (cf. Mateus et al. [1983:278]).

Os meus sapatos estão sujos. [41]  
The M PL mine M PL shoes M PL be-3pl dirty-M PL  
"My shoes are dirty"

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The head noun *sapatos* "shoes" in (41) is plural and, consequently, all the constituents which are syntactically associated with it are likewise plural, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. Here we should bear in mind that example (41) illustrates only the general rule governing the formation of plural in European Portuguese. A detailed description of the rules pertaining to plural formation in this language can be found in Rossi (1945:24-29).

### 2.3 Main differences

After describing noun classification and agreement marking in Tsonga and European Portuguese, the main differences between these two languages are presented here, by way of conclusion. In section 2.1.1, we saw that the classification of Tsonga nouns is not entirely based on their meaning, but partially based on their form, i.e. the noun class prefix. In this language, although animacy is important, natural (sex) gender is not relevant to the classification of nouns. By contrast, as we saw in section 2.1.2, in European Portuguese many nouns are distinguished by grammatical gender and in a few cases this coincides with natural gender.

With regard to number, it is particularly relevant that the distinction between singular and plural is expressed by means of prefixation in Tsonga whereas in European Portuguese it is indicated by suffixation.

We have also seen that the definite/indefinite contrast in European Portuguese is expressed by means of definite and indefinite articles

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respectively. By contrast, Tsonga lacks definite articles and, as a result, this language uses object markers for indicating definiteness, as we shall see in chapter 4.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Tsonga has also been in contact with languages such as Afrikaans and English. Here, I only mention Portuguese, but during the discussion of the specific Tsonga noun classes, words borrowed from Afrikaans and English will also be considered.
2. The Tsonga bilabial nasal [m] of classes 1, 1a, and 3 undergoes velarization when next to the velar [u] or [w].

- \* muana > n'wana "child"
- \* muini > n'wini "owner"
- \* muala > n'wala "nail"

With regard to the genitive formative n'wa "of", it is also a result of a phonological process, as indicated below.

- \* mua > n'wa "of"

Semantically, apart from personifying, n'wa "of" also seems to locate an animal to its family or group. Thus, the most accurate glossing for *n'wampfundla* appears to be "the one who belongs to the hare family or group." Evidence to support this claim comes from the use of n'wa, when a woman is called by her maiden name or by her father's name at her husband's family. This is normally done in order to show respect.

**N'wa Matsinhe** "the one who comes from the Matsinhes"  
**N'wa Bungeni** "Bungeni's daughter"

3. The Tsonga high back vowel [u] is elided, and then the bilabial stop /m/ becomes velar nasal stop /n/ before the velar stop /k/.

- Mu + kondzo** > **nkondzo** "foot"
- Mu + kanyi** > **nkanyi** "name of a tree"
- Mu + kuhlu** > **nkuhlu** "name of a tree"
- Mu + kuku** > **nkuku** "cock"

4. When the noun stem is polysyllabic, the bilabial stop /m/ becomes alveolar nasal /n/ before the lateral /l/.

- Mu + lambu** > **nambu** "river"
- Mu + landzu** > **nandzu** "debt"

5. Here **hi** is a short form of *hikuva* "because of" (cf. example [86a]).

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6. *Rihlampfu* stands for a branch cut off to be specifically used for fencing whereas *rhavi* simply means "branch."
7. The English and Portuguese loan words in the tables in the appendixes were gathered using my knowledge of these languages. In the case of Afrikaans, I had to seek assistance from native speakers of this language. However, it should be observed here that it was not always easy for me to decide on the language from which some were borrowed. For instance, the Tsonga word *buku* could have been borrowed either from the Afrikaans word *boek* or from the English word *book*. In order to solve this kind of problem, I compiled two lists containing the problematic words: one in Afrikaans and another in English. I then asked a native speaker of English and a native speaker of Afrikaans to record the words at UNISA's sound studio. After listening to the recordings several times, I decided which sound pattern was closer to the Tsonga one. In the case of the word *buku*, for instance, it turned out that its sound pattern is much closer to English and, consequently, I decided that it must have been borrowed from English.
8. Two points deserve elucidation here: firstly *u-* "thou" is used as a subject marker for second person singular. Secondly, in Tsonga, apart from the relative clauses I discuss in chapter 4, there are also headless relative clauses such as the ones in (27a) and (27c).
9. Some Tsonga speakers in the dialect under consideration use *makereke* "churches" as plural of *kereke* "church" (see Appendix 3).
10. See also Corbett (1991:73).
11. Here it is also of interest to observe that the prefix *ri-* of class 11 can be used in free variation with the prefix *li-*. By contrast, the prefix *ri-* of class 5 cannot.

Rirandzu ~ lirandzu "love"

Rivati ~ livati "door"

Rimhondzo ~ limondzo "horn"

Riwa ~ \*liwa

12. The fact that the prefix *ri-* can be replaced with the prefix *li-* lends further support to the claim that the former does not really belong to class 11 (see note 11). Thus, the following sentences are possible in the Tsonga dialect under consideration here.

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**Wutivi li** tlula ntamu "intelligence is better than force"

**Wulombe li** nandziha ngopfu "honey is very sweet"

**Wusokoti li** ta fa hi mpfula "the small ants will die because of rain"

13. These class prefixes can be commuted, as may be seen in the following examples in Shona, a Bantu language mainly spoken in Zimbabwe, taken from Fortune (1955) by Ruzicka (1959-60: 208-50, 604-669, 181-219).

(a) **Pa-musha pa-ke pa-tsa pa-ka** kwiririra ndino **pa-ziva**  
16 village 16 he 16 new 16 REL high 1 I 16 know  
"At his new village it is high, I know it."

(b) **Ku-musha kwa-ke ku-tsa ku-ne** mhuka zhinji; ndino **ku-ziva**  
17 village 17 he 17 new 17 be animals many 1 I 17 know  
"At his new village there are there many animals, I know it."

(c) **Mu-mba ma-ngu mu-tsa mu-no** dzia  
18 house 18 me 18 new 18 be warm  
"In my new house it is warm."

These examples also feature in Gregoire (1975:152).

14. Gender in Portuguese can also be indicated by an adjective, in the absence of an article.

(a) Alta pianista.  
Great F pianist  
"A great pianist."

(b) Alto pianista.  
Great M pianist  
"A great pianist."

### **3.THE VERB PHRASE IN TSONGA AND EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE**

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#### **3.1 Introduction**

In Tsonga and in European Portuguese an object pronominal clitic which fills the object syntactic position stands for a lexical NP which is contextually given. It appears appropriate, therefore, to consider the number and types of object NPs a verb can take in Tsonga and in European of Portuguese before discussing object pronominal clitics in chapter 4. Hence, in this chapter, we shall address the following questions: what types of lexical object NPs can a verb select? Are different kinds of objects distinguished? Is there any hierarchy which determines the order of such objects? Is their order reversible? In order to seek answers to these questions, we shall consider different types of verbs in Tsonga and European Portuguese.

Although we shall discuss this aspect in detail in chapter 5, it seems relevant to point out here that as is the case in other Bantu languages, Tsonga verbal affixes such as the applicative suffix **-el-**, the causative suffix **-is-**, the passive suffix **-iw-**, and the reciprocal suffix **-an-** change the valency of the verb they are attached to, by adding or suppressing arguments. While primarily looking at the number and types of object NPs a verb can select, we shall consider those introduced by the applicative suffix **-el-** and the causative suffix **-is-**. This will set the scene for the discussion of the status of the reflexive prefix **-ti-** in Tsonga that we shall undertake in chapter 5, i.e. whether the reflexive prefix **-ti-** is an object pronominal clitic, as suggested in some literature, or whether it is a derivational affix and, as such, should be grouped together with the applicative, causative, passive and reciprocal verbal affixes.

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The focus of this chapter is ultimately on which NPs can be pronominalized. We shall begin our discussion with inherently monotransitive verbs in Tsonga.

### 3.1.1 Inherently monotransitive verbs in Tsonga

The term "inherently monotransitive" is used here to refer to the subclass of Tsonga verbs which select only one object NP. It is used in opposition to derived monotransitive verbs which, as we shall see below, are made transitive by means of the applicative suffix **-el-** and the causative suffix **-is-**. First, consider (42).

Roza a-xav-ile xi-katawu. [42a]

Rose 1 buy-PST 7 blouse  
"Rose has bought a blouse."

Dumeyani a-swek-a ma-kwembe. [42b]

PN 1 cook-PRS 6 pumpkin  
"Dumeyani is cooking pumpkins."

Ma-djaha ma-pend-a xi-tolo. [42c]

2 boys 2 paint-PRS 7 shop  
"The boys are painting the shop."

\* Ma-djaha ma-pend-a namuntlha xi-tolo. [42d]

2 boys 2 paint-PRS today 7 shop

Before we proceed to discuss the object NPs in (42), two things should be remembered here. Firstly, Tsonga nouns such as *xitolo* "shop" in (42c) can be used in locative as well as non-locative contexts, depending on whether they denote a place or a physical entity (building), respectively. For instance,

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compare (42c) with (35a) in chapter 2. Secondly, several tests for objecthood have been used in Bantu studies. Chief among them are word order, cliticization and passivization (cf. Morolong & Hyman [1977] and Hyman & Duranti [1982]). Thus, in order for an NP to be regarded as an object, it should immediately follow the verb, be replaceable by an object pronominal clitic and be able to occupy the subject position through passivization (Hyman & Duranti (1982:220)). What we are describing here, is illustrated in example (43),<sup>1</sup> which is based on Hyman & Duranti (1982:217-220).<sup>2</sup>

Borodelani a-tshov-ile mbuti nenge. [43a]  
 PN 1 break-PST 9 goat 3 leg  
 "Borodelani broke the goat's leg."

Borodelani a-yi- tshov-ile nenge. [43b]  
 PN 1 9 OM it break-PST 3 nenge  
 "Borodelani broke its leg."

Mbuti yi-tshov-iw- ile nenge hi Borodelani. [43c]  
 9 goat 9 break-PASS-PST 3 leg by Borodelani  
 "The goat got its leg broken by Borodelani."

?Borodelani a-tshov-ile nenge mbuti. [43d]  
 PN 1 break-PST 3 leg 9 goat

\*Borodelani a-wu- tshov-ile mbuti. [43e]  
 PN 1 3 OM it break-PST 9 goat

\*Nenge wu-tshov-ile mbuti hi Borodelani. [43f]  
 3 leg 3 break-PST 9 goat by PN

The object NP *mbuti* "goat" meets all the requirements for objecthood described above, namely adjacency to the verb (43a), cliticization (43b) and passivization (43c). As a result, the NP *mbuti* "goat" may be regarded as an object. By contrast, the NP *nenge* "leg" can neither be replaced with an object

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pronominal clitic, as we see in (43e) nor promoted to the subject position through passivization, as we see in (43f). In addition, when it immediately follows the verb, the sentence becomes unacceptable, as we see in (43d).<sup>3</sup> This suggests that the NP *nenge* "leg" cannot be regarded as an object.<sup>4</sup>

Taking into account the tests for objecthood discussed in connection with examples (43), we now return to the object NPs in (42). But, before we proceed, it should be pointed out that, since the subject and object pronominal clitics will be the focus of interest in chapter 4, passivization only will be considered here. When we look at those examples, we firstly find that all the object NPs are adjacent to the verb. Specifically, they immediately follow the verb. The interposition of a constituent between the verb and its object NP yields an ungrammatical sentence as shown in (42d), where the adverbial *namuntlha* "today" is placed between the verb *ku penda* "paint" and the object NP *xitolo* "shop". Secondly, as shown below in (44), they have access to the subject position through passivization.

Xi-katawu xi-xav-iw- ile (hi Roza). [44a]  
7 blouse 7 buy-PASS-PST by Rose  
"The blouse was bought by Rose."

Makwembe ma-swek-iw- a (hi Dumeyani). [44b]  
6 pumpkin 6 cook-PASS-PRS by Dumeyani  
"The pumpkins are being cooked by Dumeyani."

Xi-tolo xi-pend-iw- a (hi ma-djaha). [44c]  
7 shop 7 paint-PASS-PRS by 2 boys  
"The shop is being painted by the boys."

The NPs *xikatawu* "blouse" (44a), *makwembe* "pumpkins" (44b) and *xitolo*

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"shop" (44c) are able to become the subject of the corresponding passive sentence. This shows that they indeed perform the syntactic function of object.

After discussing the lexical object NPs in inherent monotransitive verbs, we shall now turn to derived monotransitive verbs in Tsonga.

### 3.1.2 Derived monotransitive verbs in Tsonga

We have already mentioned in passing that the term "derived monotransitive" is meant to distinguish a subclass of Tsonga inherently transitive verbs from those which are inherently intransitive but are transformed into monotransitive verbs by the applicative suffix *-el-* and the causative suffix *-is-*. The generalization here is that given an inherently intransitive verb in Tsonga a monotransitive verb can be derived by attaching the applicative suffix *-el-*, or the causative suffix *-is-* to the root of that verb. This is a widespread phenomenon in Bantu languages and has led scholars such as Machobane (1989) to call the applicative and the causative suffixes "transitivizing morphemes".

Ti-nhenha ti-lw- *el-* ile tiko. [45a]  
10 hero 10 fight-APPL-PST 5 country  
"The heroes have fought for the country."

U- nga- hi-hlwel *-is-* i, hi tsutsum-*el-* a xitimela. [45b]  
You-NEG-us-be late-CAUS-NEG, we run- APPL- PRS 7 train  
"Do not delay us, we are rushing for the train."

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Hambi loko va-lala va-hi- pfuk- el- a, <sup>5</sup> [45c]  
Even if 2 enemy 2 us wake up-APPL-PRS

a- hi-tiy- eni hi y-a mahlweni.  
IMP-we-persevere-IMP we-go-PRS 6 front-LOC  
"Even if our enemies attack us, let us persevere and go ahead."

U- nga-tsham-el- i thyaka. [45d]  
You NEG-sit-APPL-NEG 5 rubbish  
"Do not sit on the rubbish."

Maria a-yim- el- a nuna wa ye-na. [45e]  
Mary 1-wait-APPL-PRS 1 husband GN him of 1 her  
"Mary is waiting for her husband."

Mubaqekwani a tirh-el-a Gijani. [45f]  
PN 1 work-APPL-(LOC)  
"Mubaqekwani works in Gijani."

\* Ti-nhenha ti-lw- el- ile swinene tiko. [45g]  
10 hero 10-fight-APPL-PST truly 5 country

Vhelemu a- famb-is-a movha. [46a]  
PN 1 go-CAUS-PRS 3 car  
"Velemu is driving a car."

Mamana a-yetlel-is-a n'wana. [46b]  
1 a mother 1-sleep-CAUS-PRS 1 child  
"My mother is making the child sleep."

Hi tlav- iw-a hi mintwa hi ku f- is- a [46c]  
We pierce-PASS-PRS by thorns because of die-CAUS-PRS

tisundhu.  
10 wild dates palm  
"We are being pierced by thorns because we want/are dying for the wild date palm." <sup>6</sup>

\* Mamana a-yetlel-is- a hi ndzhaku n'wana. [46d]  
1 a mother 1-sleep-CAUS-PRS on back 1 child  
"My mother is making the child sleep on his back."

The facts about derived monotransitive verbs in Tsonga are much the

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same as with inherent monotransitive verbs, in the sense that the lexical object NPs introduced by the applicative suffix *-el-* or by the causative suffix *-is-* must immediately follow the verbs, otherwise the sentence becomes unacceptable. For instance, (45g) and (46d) are ungrammatical because the adverbials *swinene* "truly" and *hi ndzhaku* "[on] his back" are placed between the verb and the object NPs *country* "tiko" and *n'wana* "child" respectively. As regards accessibility to the subject position through passivization, any of the object NPs in (45) and (46) can fulfil the syntactic function of subject in a corresponding passive sentence of the kind in (47).<sup>7</sup>

Tiko li-lw- **el-** iw- ile hi ti-nhenha. [47a]  
 5 country 5-fight-APPL-PASS PST by 10 hero  
 "The country has been fought for by the heroes."

Movha wu-famb-**is-** iw- a hi Vhelemu. [47b]  
 3 car 3 go- CAUS-PASS-PRS by PN  
 "The car is being driven (by Vhelemu)."

Syntactically, as we saw in (46) and (47), the applicative affix *-el-* and the causative affix *-is-* have a similar effect on the valency of the verb to which they are attached, in the sense that they make one slot available for a "new" argument. To make this point clearer, consider (48a) and (48b), which represent the subcategorization frames of the base and derived verbs respectively.

BASE <sub>verb</sub>	[NP, _____ V]	[48a]
DERIVED MONOTRANSITIVE <sub>verb</sub> (-el-/is-)	[NP, _____ V, _____ NP]	[48b]

In (48a), we have a representation of intransitive base verbs, which only

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subcategorize for a subject NP. Such verbs include *ku lwa* "to fight", *ku tsutsuma* "to run", *ku pfuka* "to wake up", *ku tshama* "to sit down", *ku yima* "to stand up", *ku tirha* "to work", *ku famba* "to go", *ku yetlela* "to sleep" and *ku fa* "to die". As already mentioned, when the applicative suffix *-el-*, or the causative suffix *-is-* is attached to these verbs, they become monotransitive, as a slot for an object NP is made available. This is what (48b) represents.

Semantically, however, the two suffixes differ with regard to the thematic roles associated with the "new" argument. The applicative suffix *-el-* introduces an argument which can be linked to various thematic roles, which may include <goal>, <theme> and <locative> (cf. Matsinhe [1994: 165-166]). For instance, in (45a), the object NP *tiko* "country" represents the goal for which the heroes have fought and, consequently, encodes the <goal> thematic role.<sup>8</sup> Likewise in (45b) *xitimela* "train" stands for the entity towards which *hi* "we" are rushing and, consequently, encodes the <goal> thematic role. In (45c) the argument *hi* "us" encodes the <theme> thematic role. For it experiences the action expressed by the applicative verb *ku pfukela* "to attack". In a similar fashion, in (45d), the applicative suffix *-el-* introduces the argument *thyaka* "rubbish", which encodes the <theme> thematic role. In (45e), it is the argument *nuna* "husband" which is introduced by the applicative affix *-el-*, and it represents the person for whom Mary is waiting and, as such, it encodes the <goal> thematic role. Finally, in (45f) the applicative *-el-* introduces the argument *Gijani*, which encodes the <locative> thematic role. In fact, it refers to the place where *Mubaqekwani* works.

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It is important to observe at this stage that, when used with infinitival verbs in a descriptive possessive construction, the applicative suffix *-el-* derives an applicative verb whose action describes the function of the object which is associated with the introduced argument or the place where such action happens, as we see in (49) (cf. Baumbach [1987:179]).

Bazia la ku hlamb-el- a (ka lo-na).<sup>9</sup> [49a]  
5 basin 5 of 15 wash-APPL-INF 15 5 it  
"A basin to wash with/in."

Ndhawu ya ku tlang-el- a (ka yo-na). [49b]  
9 place 9 GN of 15 play-APPL-INF 15 9 it  
"A place which serves to play in ("a playing ground)."

As for the causative suffix *-is-*, it introduces an argument which encodes the <causer> thematic role. In (46a) it is *Vhelemu* who instigates the action expressed by the causative verb *ku fambisa* "to make go, to cause to go" and, consequently, *Vhelemu* encodes the <causer> thematic role. This is also the case with (46b), where *mamana* "mother" makes the baby sleep. Finally, in (46c), we find *tisundhu* "wild date palm" which causes the boy to be hurt by the thorns and, therefore, encodes the <causer>. All examples in (46) go to suggest that the causative suffix *-is-* in Tsonga introduces a "new" argument which always encodes the <causer> thematic role.

Although we shall discuss this aspect in detail in chapter 5, it should be mentioned here that the applicative suffix *-el-* and the causative suffix *-is-* not only transform inherently intransitive verbs into monotransitive ones, (compare [48a] with [48b]), but they also give rise to semantically different applicative

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and causative verbs, which gradually lexicalize and enter the lexicon of the Tsonga language. For instance, depending on the context, the applicative verb *ku pfukela* "to attack" in (45c) can mean either "to attack", as in this example, or "to wake up early for something". In (45e), the applicative verb *ku yimela* "to wait for" can be used literally, as in this example, or to mean "to defend or to protect somebody". In a similar way, the causative verb *ku yetlelisa* "to cause to sleep" in (46b) may be used in its literal sense, as in this example, as well as to mean that "my mother is tricking the child".

### Applicative

[50]

Ku pfuka "to wake up" > ku pfukela	"to wake up for"
	"to attack"
Ku yima "to stand" > ku yimela	"to wait for"
	"to defend, protect"

### Causative

[51]

Ku yetlela "to sleep" > ku yetlelisa	"to cause to sleep"
	"to trick"

Apart from undergoing lexicalization, applicative and causative verbs can also nominalize and produce lexical NPs whose meanings are cognate with these verbs (cf. Mchombo [1991:10-11]).<sup>10</sup> For instance, consider again the

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applicative verbs *ku yimela* "to defend, to protect, to wait for" in (45e) and *ku tlangela* "to play" in (49b), which are repeated here as (52a) and (52b) respectively. For nouns derived from causative verbs see (53). It should be observed that the examples provided here represent a productive process, as suggested by the existence of many Tsonga nouns that contain applicative and causative suffixes (cf. Cuenod [1967:257-286]).<sup>11</sup>

Ku yimela "to defend, to protect, to wait for"	>	vuyimelo "background"	[52a]
Ku tlangela "to play for, to rejoice"	>	xitlangelo "stage, platform"	[52b] <sup>12</sup>
Ku tivisa "to cause to know, to announce"	>	xitiviso "announcement"	[53]
Ku kombisa "to cause to see, to exemplify"	>	xikombiso "example"	
Ku komisa "to shorten"	>	xikomiso "sign, mark"	

Although the syntactic and semantic effects on the verb they attach to seem to be straightforward, the applicative suffix *-el-* and causative suffix *-is-* have been the subject of protracted debate and different analyses as to their status have been put forward by various scholars. For instance, see Guthrie (1970), Baker (1988), Alsina & Mchombo (1990), and Alsina & Mchombo (1993).

In the traditional descriptive approach, the applicative *-el-* and the causative *-is-* are regarded as verbal extensions. For instance, see Cole (1955:196-7) for Tswana, Doke (1930:130) for Zulu, Guma (1971:151-2) for

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Southern Sotho, and Poulos (1990:178) for Venda.<sup>13</sup> Here, what seems to be the main motivation for this designation is the fact that these verbal suffixes extend the verbal root physically. However, if their effects on the predicate argument structure of the verbs which host them are taken into consideration, it turns out that such a designation can be misleading. In fact, within this approach, the lexicalised forms brought about by the applicative suffix *-el-* and the causative suffix *-is-*, as in (50) and (51) cannot be accounted for satisfactorily.

Within the syntactic approaches is the Incorporation theory of Baker (1988). Here, applicatives and causatives are viewed as instances of a syntactic movement (head word movement), known as incorporation, whose side effect is "grammatical function changing" (Baker 1988:1). More precisely, basing his arguments on data drawn from Chicheŵa, a Bantu language mainly spoken in Malaŵi, Baker regards the causative as a case of "verb incorporation" (cf. Baker [1988:11, 149f]), and he takes the applicative to be an instance of "preposition incorporation" (cf. Baker [1988:229f]).<sup>14</sup>

Although the Incorporation theory may account for the effects of the applicative and causative suffixes on the predicate argument structure of the verb to which the incorporation applies, i.e. with regard to changing the predicate argument structure of that verb, it appears to remain silent about the lexicalized applicative and causative verbs found in Bantu languages, including Tsonga, as illustrated (50), (51), (52) and (53).

In the framework adopted for this study, i.e. Lexical Functional

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Grammar, applicatives and causatives are seen as manifestations of morphological operations which apply lexical rules to the predicate argument structure of a given verb. The implication here is that, contrary to Baker's proposals, the applicatives and causatives should be handled in the derivational morphology in conjunction with other verbal affixes such as the passive, the stative, the reciprocal and the like. See Alsina & Mchombo (1990), Bresnan & Moshi (1988), Mchombo (1991) and Mchombo (1993).

Without attempting an extended discussion of the relative merits of syntactic and lexical approaches to the applicative and the causative suffixes, we wish to observe that to regard them as lexically derived and, as mentioned above, locate them in the derivational morphology makes it possible to treat them in conjunction with other lexical processes such as nominalization (cf. [52] and [53]) above. This also makes it much easier to handle the data from Bantu languages like Tsonga, and new avenues leading to a satisfactory account of the lexicalized verbal forms may be explored. In addition, as we shall see in chapter 5, it will also become much easier to account for the concatenation of the applicative suffix *-el-* and the causative suffix *-is-* with the reflexive *-ti-*, and to explain some of the characteristics which it displays (cf. Matsinhe [1994:171-174]).

### 3.1.3 Inherently ditransitive verbs in Tsonga

In each Bantu language there exist a small number of simplex (monomorphemic) verbs which, in addition to the subject, can take two nominal complements without marking either one with

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a preposition.

Hyman & Duranti (1982:218)

Tsonga has a share of the verbs described by Hyman & Duranti. The term "inherently ditransitive" is therefore used to refer to a sub-class of verbs in this language which take more than one object, without making use of the applicative suffix *-el-* or of the causative suffix *-is-*. "Inherently ditransitive" verbs thus contrast with ditransitive verbs which are derived from monotransitive verbs by attaching either the applicative suffix *-el-* or the causative suffix *-is-* to their root. Such verbs in Tsonga include *ku komba* "to show", *ku nyika* "to give", *ku tola* "to smear", and *ku tsona* "to refuse, to withhold". At times, sentences involving inherent ditransitive verbs, such as these, are referred to as double object constructions (cf. De Guzman [1987] and Larson [1988]). Apart from the number and types of objects an inherently ditransitive verb can take, the context in which it occurs will also be taken into consideration.

While in most Bantu languages, including Tsonga, as we saw above, the function of objects which occur with inherently and monotransitive verbs can be easily determined, this is not the case with objects that are selected by ditransitive verbs, whether inherent or derived. In this regard, De Guzman (1987:309), using data from Siswati - a Bantu language spoken mainly in the Kingdom of Swaziland - remarks that,

One problem that remains unresolved in accounting for the grammatical relations in Bantu languages is determining the status of two unmarked nominals, i.e. occurring without a

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marker, following the verb in ditransitive constructions.

The problematic nature of the lexical object NPs selected by ditransitive verbs has attracted the attention of various Bantuists. As Hyman & Duranti (1982:217) observe,<sup>15</sup>

The object relation in Bantu has been the subject of a number of excellent papers. Whether descriptive or theoretical in orientation, these studies have revealed an intricate network of (direct) object properties which, although varying from language to language, expose a general Bantu character.

Some such studies have shown that factors such as animacy, definiteness, and thematic role may determine the order in which objects of a ditransitive verb occur. As a result, scholars such as Hawkinson & Hyman (1974) and Duranti (1979) have argued that the order of objects occurring with a ditransitive verb is subject to a certain hierarchy which is determined by these factors and, as we shall see below, the relevant data in Tsonga provide support for this argument. In what follows, we consider some of the inherently ditransitive Tsonga verbs listed above.

Mamana a-komb-a kokwani ndlela. [54a]

1a mother 1-show-PRS 1a grandmother 9 footpath  
"My mother is showing the footpath to the grandmother."

\* Mamana a-komb-a ndlela kokwani. [54b]

1a mother 1-show-PRS 9 footpath 1a grandmother

Nyawkavani a-komb-a tatana ti-mbuti. [54c]

PN 1-show-PRS 1a father 10 goat  
"Nyawkavani is showing the goats to the father."

\* Nyawkavani a-komb-a ti-mbuti tatana. [54d]

PN 1-show-PRS 10-goat 1a father

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Tatana a-tson- a n'wana wu-swa. [54e]  
 1a father 1-refuse-PRS 1 child 14 porridge  
 "The father refuses the child porridge."

\* Tatana a-tson- a wu-swa n'wana. [54f]  
 1a father 1-refuse-PRS 14 porridge 1 child

Va-fana va-tson-ile tihomu byanyi. [54g]  
 2 boy 2-refuse-PST 10 cow 14 grass  
 "The boys refused the cattle the grass."

\* Va-fana va-tson- ile byanyi tihomu. [54h]  
 2 boys 2 refuse-PST 14 grass 10 cow <sup>16</sup>

Rhakhelani a-nyik-a Tsakani rirhandzu. [54i]  
 PN 1-give-PRS PN 11 love  
 "Rhakhelani gives love to Tsakani."

\* Rakhelani a-nyik-a rirhandzu Tsakani. [54j]  
 PN 1-give-PRS 11 love PN

Tate a-komb-a hahani n'wana. [54k]  
 1a elder sister 1-show-PRS 1a aunt 1 baby  
 "My elder is showing the baby to my aunt."

? Tate a-komb-a n'wana hahani. [54l]  
 1a 1-show-PRS 1 baby 1a aunt

Futsu yi-chel-a ndzilo mati. [54m]  
 9 tortoise 9 pour PRS 3 fire 6 water  
 "The tortoise is pouring water into the fire."

? Futsu yi-chel-a mati ndzilo. [54n]  
 9 tortoise 9 pour PRS 6 water 3 fire

In Tsonga, as we see in (54), the objects occurring with inherent ditransitive verbs lack formal differentiation. That is, neither of them is preceded by a preposition. As we shall see below, this is the main aspect that distinguishes Tsonga from European Portuguese. As regards their order, the generalization in Tsonga is that it is the object NP that encodes the

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<beneficiary> thematic role which immediately follows the verb. Such an object is usually either [+ human] or [+ animate] (see (54a), (54c), (54e) (54g) and (54i)). Even where both lexical object NPs are [+ human] as in (54k), or [- human] as in (54m), the <beneficiary> comes immediately after the verb. When this order is reversed, ungrammatical sentences are produced, as indicated in (54b), (54d), (54f), (54h), and (54j), (54l), and (54n). Another factor which comes into the ordering of object NPs in Tsonga is definiteness. Thus, whether it be [+ human] or [+ animate], a definite object NP tends to be directly adjacent to the verb, i.e. if the <theme> is definite and the <beneficiary> indefinite, the <theme> precedes the <beneficiary>. To make this point clear, consider example (55).

Ndzi komb-ile xifaniso munghana wa wena. [55]  
1 I show-PST 7 picture 1 friend of 1 your  
"I showed [the] picture to [a] friend of yours."

Because it is definite, i.e. its referent is clearly identifiable from the sentence or from the context, the object NP *xifaniso* "picture" in (55) immediately follows the verb *ku komba* "to show". The object NP *munghana wa wena* "[a] friend of yours", on the other hand, whose referent is not definite occurs at the end of the sentence. What seems to be the case here is that "given" participants in an event precede "new" participants and that the <beneficiary> is more often "given" than "new". Hence, the <beneficiary> comes first not by virtue of the fact that it has an inherent priority over the <theme>, but simply because it is more likely to be "given". All we have said here with regard to the order of the object NPs in (54) and

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(55) suggests that in Tsonga there is interaction which involves animacy, the thematic roles hierarchy and definiteness (cf. Morolog & Hyman [1977:213-214; 223-224]).

As for passivization, if we consider the role played by the [+ human] and [+ animate] factors, on the one hand, and by the thematic roles hierarchy, on the other, in determining the order of the object NPs in (54), we would expect some constraints on the passivization of these examples. However, in principle, as we see in (56), either object NP in (54) can be promoted to subject through passivization.<sup>17</sup>

Ndlela yi-komb-iw- a kokwani (hi mamana). [56a]  
 9 path 9-show-PASS-PRS 1a grandmother (by 1a mother)  
 "The footpath is being shown to the grandmother (by my mother)."

Kokwani a-komb-iw- a ndlela (hi mamana). [56b]  
 1a grandmother 1-show-PASS-PRS 9 path (by 1a mother)  
 "My grandmother is being shown a footpath (by my mother)."

N'wana a-tson- iw- a wuswa (hi tatana). [56c]  
 1 child 1-refuse-PASS-PRS 14 porridge (by 1a father)  
 "The child is being refused porridge by (my father)."

Wuswa li-tson- iw- a n'wana (hi tatana). [56d]  
 14 porridge 14-refuse-PASS-PRS 1 child (by 1a father)  
 "The porridge is being refused the child (by my father)."

Ndzilo wu-chel-iw- a mati (hi futsu). [56e]  
 3 fire 3 pour -PASS-PRS 6 water (by 9 tortoise)  
 "The fire is having water poured on it (by the tortoise)."

? Mati ma-chel-iw-a ndzilo (hi futsu).<sup>18</sup> [56f]  
 6 water 6 pour-PASS-PRS 3 fire by 9 tortoise

Mati ma-chel-iw- a ndzilweni (hi futsu). [56g]  
 6 water 6 pour-PASS-PRS 3 fire LOC (by tortoise)  
 "(The) water is being poured into the fire (by the tortoise)."

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Seeing that either object NP in (54) can fulfil the grammatical function of subject in a corresponding passive sentence, as indicated in (56), we may then suggest that passivization in Tsonga cuts across the [+human/animate], definiteness factors as well as the thematic roles hierarchy.

### 3.1.4 Derived ditransitive verbs in Tsonga

We use the term "derived ditransitive" for inherently monotransitive verbs made ditransitive by attaching the applicative suffix *-el-* or the causative suffix *-is-*. All the verbs in (57) and (58) are inherently monotransitive, but they have been made ditransitive by adding the applicative suffix *-el-* as in (57a), (57b) and (57d), or the causative suffix *-is-* as in (58a) and (58b). Thus, in principle, any Tsonga inherent monotransitive verb can be transformed into a ditransitive verb by the use of these suffixes. First, consider examples (57).

Victoria a-swek-el- a va-na mi-tsumbula. [57a]  
Victoria 1-cook-APPL-PRS 2 child 4 cassava  
"Victoria is cooking cassava for the children."

Va-fana va-dy-el- a n'wana wuswa. [57b]  
2 boy 2-eat-APPL-PRS child 14 porridge  
"The boys are eating the child's maize porridge."

? Va-fana va-dy-el- a wuswa va-na [57c]  
2 boy 2-eat-APPL-PRS 14 maize porridge 2 child

Va-pfhumba va-ta-dy-el- a ndlwini swa-kudya. [57d]  
2 visitor 2-FUT-eat-APPL-PRS 9 house LOC 7 food  
"The visitors will eat the food in the house."

? Va-pfhumba va-ta-dy-el- a ndlwini hi mandla swakudya. [57e]  
2-visitor 2-FUT-eat-APPL PRS 9 house-LOC with 6 hands 8 food

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N'wamhuti a-dy- el- ile n'wamhisi male. [57f]  
 1 Mr Gazelle 1-eat-APPL-PST 1 Mr Hyena 6 money  
 "Mr Gazelle has used up Mr Hyena's money."

John a-rhim- is- a va-nhu nsimu. [58a]  
 1 PN 1-cultivate-CAUS-PRS 2 people 5 field  
 "John is making people plough the field."

Mudumani a-yak- is- a bava yindlu. [58b]  
 1 PN 1-build-CAUS-PRS 1 a father 9 house  
 "Mudumani is helping my father build a house."

? Mudumani a-yak- is- a yindlu bava. [58c]  
 PN 1-build-CAUS-PRS 9 house 1a father

? Mudumani a-yak- is- a bava ni mixo yindlu. [58d]  
 PN 1-build-CAUS-PRS 1 a father in 4 morning 9 house

Morphologically, as we have already seen in (45) and (46), it is the presence of the suffixes *-el-* and *-is-* in the verbal complex which typically characterizes applicative and causative verbs respectively, as we see in (57) and (58). Syntactically, as we also saw earlier, these suffixes entail the availability of an extra argument position in the predicate argument structure of the verbs they are attached to. This may be represented as follows:

BASE TRANSITIVE <sub>Verb</sub>	[NP, ____ V, ____ NP]	[59a]
DERIVED DITRANSITIVE <sub>Verb{-el-/-is-}</sub>	[NP, ____ V, ____ NP1 ____ NP2]	[59b]

(59a) represents the subcategorization frame of transitive base verbs which select only one object NP. When the applicative suffix *-el-*, or the causative suffix *-is-* is attached, an extra object is added to the predicate argument structure of these verbs. This is what (59b) indicates. Various terms have been proposed to designate objects such as the ones in (59b), among which we find the following: 'principal', 'subsidiary', 'proximate', 'applied',

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`directional', `partitive', `prepositional' (cf. Doke [1957:399-401] and Jacottet [1936:160-163]).<sup>19</sup> In Tsonga, the two objects represented in (59b) lack a formal differentiation and, as indicated below in (60), the objects represented in (59) behave in a similar way syntactically. We therefore use numbers to distinguish them (cf. [64]) below.

Although syntactically similar, applicative and causative verbs differ in terms of the thematic roles associated with the argument which occupies the position made available by applicative affix *-el-* and causative affix *-is-*. In the interests of clarity, we shall look at the applicative and causative verbs separately.

Semantically, the argument which occupies the argument position created by the applicative suffix *-el-* can be associated with various thematic roles, depending on the meaning of the derived verb. In (57a), for example, *vana* "children" encodes the <beneficiary> thematic role. In (57b), *n'wana* "child" benefits negatively from the action expressed by the applicative verb *kudyela* "to eat for, to eat someone's food". It is deprived of *swakudya* "food" by *vafana* "[the] boys". Consequently, the thematic role which *n'wana* "child" encodes can only be viewed as a <maleficiary>. Finally, in (57d) *ndlwini* "in the house" encodes the <locative> thematic role.

In the causative verbs, the argument introduced by the causative affix *-is-* encodes the <causer>. In (58a), for instance, it is John who is the instigator of the action expressed by the causative verb *ku rhimisa* "to make plough" and, consequently, he should be regarded as the <causer>.

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With regard to the order of NPs, examples (57) show that the object NP which is introduced by the applicative *-el-* must immediately follow the verb and then comes the NP which is the object of the base verb. Reversing this order as in (57c) or placing a constituent between the two lexical object NPs as in (57e) gives rise to unacceptable sentences. This is also the case with the causative verbs, as (58c) and (58d) indicate.

Except for (57d), where we have a <locative>, all the arguments introduced by the applicative suffix *-el-* are linked to <beneficiary> [or <maleficiary>] thematic roles that are regularly [+ human] or highly animate. In a similar fashion, the arguments introduced by the causative suffix *-is-* are [+ human] or highly animate. Compare (58a) and (58b) with (58c). What seems to be the reason for this requirement is the fact that the semantic role associated with the argument introduced by the causative is <causer>, who instigates an action. It is therefore fairly logical that this thematic role should be either human or highly animate.

Here it is also of interest to note that, besides coming immediately after the verb, the NP which is the added object of the applicative verb carries old or presupposed information or, as already seen, the referent of such an object is definite (cf. Hyman & Duranti [1982:228]). For instance, the existence of *vana* "children" in (57a) is presupposed and they are definite in the sense that both the speaker and the listener are aware of their identity. Hence, "children" comes immediately after the verb. What constitutes new information is the fact that Victoria is preparing food for them and, as a result,

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*swakudya* "food" follows *vana* "children".

Concerning passivization, either object of derived ditransitive verbs, i.e. applicative and causative verbs, can be promoted to subject through passivization, as we see in (60)) and (61).

Va-na va-swek-el-iw- a mi-tsumbula (hi Victoria). [60a]  
2 child 2-cook-APPL-PASS-PRS 4 cassava by Victoria  
"The children are being cooked cassava for (by Victoria)."

Mi-tsumbula yi-swek-el-iw- a va-na hi Victoria. [60b]  
6 cassava 6-cook-APPL-PASS-PRS 2 child by Victoria  
"Cassava is being cooked for the children (by Victoria)."

Ndlwini ku-ta- dy-el- iw-a swakudya (hi va-pfhumba). [60c]  
9 house-LOC 17-FUT-eat-APPL-PASS 8 food by 2 visitor  
"In the house will be eaten food (by the visitors)."

Swakudya swi-ta-dy- el-iw- a ndlwini (hi va-pfhumba). [60d]  
8 food 8-FUT-eat-APPL-PASS-PRS 9 house-LOC (by 2 visitor)  
"The food will be eaten in the house (by the visitors)."

Va-nhu va-rhim- is- iw- a nsimu (hi John). [61a]  
2 people 2 cultivate-CAUS-PASS-PRS 9 field (by John)  
"The people are made to cultivate the field (by John)."

Nsimu yi-rhim- is- iw- a va-nhu (hi John). [62b]  
9 field 9 cultivate-CAUS-PASS-PRS 2 people (by John)  
"The people are made to cultivate the field (by John)." <sup>20</sup>

Like the applicative verbs in (45c) and (45e), the applicative verbs in (58) tend to lexicalize and become semantically different from the base verb. For instance, the applicative verb *ku dyela* "to eat someone's food" as in (58b) or to "eat food somewhere" as in (58d) is being used in its basic meaning. In (58f), it means "to use up someone's money, to deceive". In fact, this example comes from a folktale, in which *N'wamhisi* "Mr Hyena" had given

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some money to *N'wamhuti* "Mr Gazelle" to buy paraffin in town. When Mr Gazelle got to town, instead of buying paraffin, he decided to spend Mr Hyena's money on beads for himself. In order to convince Mr Hyena that he had been attacked by bandits, who took all the money, Mr Gazelle scratched himself all over his body. The story-teller uses the applicative verb *ku dyela* to mean that "Mr Gazelle has deceived Mr Hyena". This lexicalized verb can also be nominalized, yielding an object noun (cf. [52a]).

Ku dyela "to eat for" > "to deceive" [62a]

Ku dyela "to eat in" > xidyelo "manger, plate,  
stomach" [62b]

The meaning of lexicalized applicative verbs such as (62) is unpredictable. They gradually fossilize and enter the lexicon of the Tsonga language as independent lexical items and, as such, feature in most dictionaries of the language.

Semantically, the causative verbs in (58) include coercive (cause, force make someone do something), and assistive (assist, help someone do something) meanings. For instance, while in (58a) the verb *ku rhimisa* "to cause to plough" carries a coercive meaning, the verb *ku yakisa* in (58b) conveys an assistive meaning. That is, "Mudumani is helping my father build the house". As we have mentioned in passing, when this verb carries this meaning, it is not easy to assign a thematic role to the lexical NP *Mudumani*.<sup>21</sup> As we have already indicated, the position of the object NPs of ditransitive verbs (inherent and derived) has attracted the attention of Bantuists and, as

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a result, they have featured prominently in the literature on Bantu languages.

Recently, while comparing Kichaga - a Bantu language spoken on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania - with Chicheŵa, and building on work by Alsina & Mchombo (1989), Bresnan & Moshi (1990) postulate the Object Asymmetry Parameter (OAP). First, we shall consider Bresnan & Moshi's proposals, and then see how Tsonga fits into the OAP.

### **3.1.5 The object asymmetry parameter (OAP) and ditransitive verbs in Tsonga**

The OAP emanates from the quest for a solution to the problems related to postverbal NPs occurring with ditransitive verbs like the ones we saw in (55), (58) and (59), and making a generalization about them in Bantu languages.<sup>22 23</sup> For this purpose, Bresnan & Moshi (1990:147) divide these languages into two groups: asymmetrical and symmetrical languages. They argue that in the asymmetrical languages only one NP exhibits "primary object" properties, viz. it occurs immediately after the verb, is able to occupy the subject position through passivization, can be replaced by an object pronominal clitic, or left unspecified or deleted without rendering the sentence ungrammatical,<sup>24</sup> and can be reduced through reciprocalization. That is, a "proper object" is likely to be affected when a reciprocal verb is derived from the base verb that selects such an object. In the symmetrical languages, on the other hand, both objects display these properties.

Furthermore, the OAP arises from the desire to attempt a theoretical

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description of the behaviour obtaining in the NPs selected by ditransitive verbs. In fact, by way of conclusion, Bresnan & Moshi (1990:180) state that,

we have presented a new theory of the symmetric-asymmetric object typology in Bantu, one that succeeds in reducing the extensive covariation of syntactic differences to a single parameter of variation, and which also predicts surprising further differences between the two types.

When we consider the LFG classification of syntactic functions discussed earlier, we see that only one object can be assigned the [-r] feature in a given argument structure. If we take a Tsonga verb like *ku komba* "to show" for instance, the two objects which it selects cannot both be [-r], otherwise we have two elements in the f-structure competing for the same position in the a-structure. This would constitute a violation of the function-argument biuniqueness condition that requires a one-to-one relationship between syntactic functions and thematic roles, and vice-versa. Intuitively, the AOP constitutes an exception to this well-formedness condition.

If we consider Bresnan & Moshi's OAP, on the one hand, and the Tsonga facts shown by examples (54), (57), and (58), on the other, it would be difficult to decide whether this language is symmetrical or asymmetrical. If we take passivization as a criterion, Tsonga would be symmetrical, since either object has access to the subject position through passivization, as (56), (60), and (61) indicate. But, if we take the order of the two objects as the basis for our decision, Tsonga would be an asymmetrical language. For instance, compare (54a) with (54b), or (58b) with (58c). Thus, in the end we

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would not be able locate Tsonga in either of the two types of languages.

Although theoretically well argued, Bresnan & Moshi's OAP seems to fail to achieve the aims for which it was designed. First, as we saw above, the NPs they deal with occur with different types of verbs, i.e. inherent ditransitive, applicative and causative. It is not clear why they have singled out the applicative verbs (see note 23). In fact, right from the onset of their discussion, Bresnan & Moshi (1990:148) observe that "our evidence will be drawn from the Bantu applicative construction". In addition, in a footnote, they seem to suggest that they just have not yet got around to causatives and inherently ditransitive verbs. Despite the fact that Bresnan & Moshi (1990:147) recognise the role that animacy plays in the ordering of NPs in double object constructions in languages such as Sotho [and Tsonga, as we saw in examples (54), (57) and (58)], they do not seem to attempt to accommodate it in the OAP. However, in order to make firm generalizations, it is desirable that all the constructions which involve double objects, as well as the factors which may influence the order of these objects, should have been scrutinized.

Secondly, one cannot be certain as to what extent word order and unspecified object deletion fall exclusively under the domain of syntax and, consequently, should be regarded as syntactic properties of objects. As we saw in (54), (57) and (58) pragmatic and semantic factors play a role in the ordering of objects in double object constructions. With regard to the possibility of deleting the object, discourse factors are also important. For

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instance, in Bresnan & Moshi's examples (11) and (12) the object can presumably be deleted because it has been mentioned in the previous discourse with the result that the listener can recover it.

All we are saying here is that not only semantic but also discourse factors interact with syntax in determining the ordering of objects in Tsonga in particular and in Bantu languages general, or as Morolong & Hyman (1977:216) put it in simpler terms:

To maintain the DO as a notion devoid of meaning or discourse function makes it difficult to explain why animacy should play any role at all in determining the grammatical status of an argument.

After dealing with the verb phrase in Tsonga, we proceed to look at the verb phrase in European Portuguese. We shall begin with monotransitive verbs in this language.

### 3.1.6 Monotransitive verbs in European Portuguese

We use the term "monotransitive" here to refer to Portuguese verbs which select one object only. First, consider the examples (63).

Ontem o cágado comprou um fato amarelo. [63a]

Yesterday the tortoise buy PST-3sg a suit yellow

"Yesterday the tortoise bought a yellow suit."

\* Ontem o cágado um fato amarelo comprou. [63b]

Yesterday the tortoise a suit yellow buyPST-3sg

Os rapazes viram a Maria ontem de manhã. [63c]

The boys see PST-3pl the Mary yesterday in morning

"The boys saw Mary yesterday morning."

\* Os rapazes viram ontem de manhã a Maria. [63d]

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The boys see PST-3pl yesterday of morning the Mary

As is the case in Tsonga, the object in European Portuguese must come immediately after the verb, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. Compare, for instance, (63a) with (63b), and (63c) with (63d). In addition, the object has access to the subject position through passivization as indicated in (64).

Ontem um fato amarelo foi comprado (pelo cágado). [64a]  
Yesterday a suit yellow be PST-3sg buy PST-PRCP (by tortoise)  
"Yesterday a yellow suit was bought by the tortoise."

A Maria foi vista (pelos rapazes) ontem de manhã [64b]  
The Mary be PST-3sg see PST-PRCP (by boys) yesterday in morning  
"Mary was seen (by the boys) yesterday morning."

It is of interest to observe that the past participle agrees with the subject *Maria* "Mary" in gender and number (cf. [64a] and [64b]).

After dealing with monotransitive verbs in European Portuguese, we proceed to look at ditransitive verbs in this language.

### 3.1.7 Ditransitive verbs in European Portuguese

Here we use the term "ditransitive" to refer to those verbs in European Portuguese which select two objects. Compared to Tsonga, this category comprises many European Portuguese verbs, including *dar* "to give", *pedir* "to ask (something)", *perguntar* "to ask (a question)", *emprestar* "to lend", *pedir emprestado* "to borrow", *mostrar* "to show", *enviar* "to send", *encomendar*

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"to order", *perdoar* "to forgive" and *oferecer* "to offer".

O Pedro deu os brinquedos aos gatos. [65a]  
 The Peter give PST-3sg the toys M + Pl cats  
 "Peter gave the toys to the cats."

Perguntámos o número do telefone ao porteiro. [65b]  
 Ask PST-2pl the number of + the telephone M + sg porter  
 "We asked the porter the telephone number."

Emprestaste dinheiro ao polícia. [65c]  
 Lend PST-2sg money to + the policeman  
 "You lent money to the policeman."

As (65) indicates, in contrast to Tsonga (cf. [69b]), there is a formal differentiation between the two objects occurring with ditransitive verbs in European Portuguese. Specifically, the objects which encode the <beneficiary> thematic role are introduced by the preposition *a* "to".<sup>25</sup> In European Portuguese, the distinction between direct and indirect object is therefore formally overt, in the sense that the indirect object will always require a dative case or the preposition *a* "to". As we shall see in chapter 4, the corresponding constructions with clitics show case differences. The implication emanating from such a distinction is that some of the syntactic properties which we used earlier to characterize objects will only apply to the direct object, namely immediate adjacency to the verb and ability to form the subject of a passive sentence.

\* O Pedro deu aos gatos brinquedos. [66a]  
 The Peter give PST-3sg M + pl cats toys

Os brinquedos foram dados aos gatos (pelo Pedro). [66b]  
 The toys be PST-3pl give-PST-PRCP M + pl cats (by Peter)

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"The toys were given to the cats by Peter."

\* Os gatos foram dados os brinquedos (pelo Pedro). [66c]  
The cats be PST-3pl give-PST-PRCP the toys (by Peter)

\* O Pedro deu ontem brinquedos aos gatos. [66d]  
The Peter give PST-3sg yesterday toys M + pl cats

When the order of the objects is reversed as in (66a), or when the indirect object is promoted to the subject position through passivization as in (66c), an ungrammatical sentence results. Similarly, (66d) is ungrammatical because the adverb *ontem* "yesterday" is interposed between the verb and the direct object, consequently violating the adjacency requirement.

As we shall see in chapter 4, the formal distinction between direct and indirect objects in European Portuguese will also be reflected in the functions of the object markers in this language, in the sense that we shall have two sets of object markers: an accusative and a dative sets.

On the other hand, European Portuguese is similar to Tsonga in that the indirect object <beneficiary> is either [+ human] or [+ animate].<sup>26</sup>

### 3.2 Main differences

The main differences in the treatment of syntactic objects in Tsonga and European Portuguese were highlighted in the previous sections. Here, we present a summary of such differences. While in European Portuguese a formal distinction is made between direct and indirect objects either in terms of NP versus PP or in terms of accusative versus dative case, such a distinction is

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not made in Tsonga and, as we shall see in chapter 6, the European Portuguese dichotomy has no reflex in PMP, i.e. it tends to be neutralized.

Locatives participate in the Tsonga noun class system and, as such, they behave morphologically and syntactically like objects with respect to passivization and the possibility of being replaced with object markers, as we shall see in the next chapter. By contrast, in European Portuguese locatives are expressed by prepositional phrases (PPs), which regularly fulfil the oblique function. As a result, locatives in this language are neither promoted to the subject position through passivization nor replaceable with object pronominal clitics.<sup>27</sup>

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. These examples represent what authors such as Voeltz (1976) refer to as "inalienable possession". That is, the NP which experiences the action expressed by the verb is intrinsically associated with the possessor. In the case of the examples under discussion, *nenge* "leg" is part and parcel of the possessor *mbuti* "goat".
2. Hyman & Duranti (1982) use examples from Sotho, a Bantu language spoken in the Kingdom of Lesotho and some parts of the Republic of South Africa.
3. There may be other reasons why (43d) is unacceptable. As we shall see below, in Tsonga objects which are [+human] take precedence over those that are [+animate], or [-animate].
4. Hyman & Duranti (1982:222) call an NP such as *nenge* "leg" a "prepositionless oblique".
5. As indicated below in (51), the applicative suffix *-el-* may give rise to verbs with an idiomatic meaning which is not directly related to the meaning conveyed by the base verb. So, from "to wake up for", we get to "to attack".
6. While collecting the data for this study in my home village, one afternoon I was invited by a group of boys to go and look for dates "*sundhu*". During the process of collecting such fruits, one of the boys was hurt by a thorn of the wild date palm tree. As he was screaming, the boy uttered sentence (46c).
7. Due to space constraints, I cannot provide all the passive counterparts of (45) and (46). I believe the examples given here are representative.
8. Here I am invoking a broad concept of "goal" as subsuming both "motive" and "purpose". I am aware, however, of the fact that the problem of where one draws the line remains.
9. This sentence means that *bazia* "basin" is used especially for washing, as opposed to being used especially for mixing or storing food, for example.
10. Mchombo (1991:10-11) uses Chicheŵa data to show that reciprocalization is rather a lexical process than a syntactic one and, consequently, reciprocal verbs can be cognate with the verb, "yielding nominals whose meanings are cognate with the verb". As we shall see in due course, some applicative and causative Tsonga verbs can also

undergo nominalization.

11. See also chapter 5.
12. *Xitlangelo* can also mean a gift offered to somebody who has achieved something, i.e. to congratulate him or "to play for him".
13. Tswana, Zulu, Southern Sotho and Venda are Bantu languages spoken mainly in South Africa.
14. For criticism and evaluation of Baker's account of the applicative in Chicheŵa, see Alsina & Mchombo (1990).
15. The languages investigated by Hyman & Duranti (1982) include Haya, Logooli, and Sesotho.
16. Example (54h) is unacceptable because it suggests something on the order of "the grass deserved being given to the cows, but the boys refused it", which is obviously hard to imagine happening in the real world. As a result, although syntactically correct, this sentence is semantically odd in Tsonga. Also compare (54i) with the one given below.

?Rakhelani a-nyik-a ribye lirhandzu  
 PN 1 give PRS stone 11 love

17. Due to space limitations, I only provide the passive counterparts of (54a), (54e), and (54m). I take these examples to be representative.
18. In order to produce a version with *mati* "water" as subject that is necessarily interpreted differently from (56e), the object NP *ndzilo* "fire" has to be transformed into a locative, as in (56g).
19. Terms such as 'applied', 'directional' and 'prepositional' were used in association with the object introduced by the applicative suffix -el-. Such terminology appears to be motivated by the fact that this object is equated with the English indirect object (prepositional phrase).
20. The gloss in (61b) is misleading, as it creates the impression that there is no difference between this example and (61a). In fact, (61b) should be glossed along the lines of "the field is made to be cultivated by people by John" which, although not good English, provides a clear idea of the meaning of (61b).
21. When attached to some inherent transitive verbs, the causative suffix -is- also creates antonymous relations between the base verb and the

derived one, i.e. the causative verb.

Ku xava "to buy" > ku xavisa "to sell"

What is of particular interest here is that, contrary to what happened with other verbs we saw earlier, the causative suffix *-is-* does not transform the verb *ku xava* "to buy" into a ditransitive one.

22. Here, I need not go into details of the different proposals put forward prior to Bresnan & Moshi's article. Instead, I refer the reader to Bresnan & Moshi (1990:157-165) for a critical revue of such proposals.
23. However, as we shall see below, one of the problems with the OAP is that it is only based on the applicative verbs.
24. Unspecified object deletion is presented in examples (a) and (b), which are translations of Bresna & Moshi's examples (11) and (12) respectively.

(a) A- dy- a  
He/she 1 eat-PRS  
"He/she is eating"

(b) A- dy- el- a nsati  
She 1-eat-APPL-PRS 1 wife  
"He/she is eating for/on the wife"

In (a), although the object of the verb *ku dya* "to eat" is not specified, i.e. is deleted, the sentence is grammatical. Similarly, in (b), where the lexical NP object *nsati* "wife", which is the object of the applicative verb *-dyela* "eat for/on" is present, the object of the base verb is deleted or omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. However, what I would like to point out here is that the deletion of an object in Tsonga is normally used for denoting habitual actions. Example (a), for instance, would normally be used for referring to somebody who is glutton. Unspecified object deletion in Tsonga may not, therefore, be regarded as a reliable test for objecthood.

25. Where the indirect object is introduced by a definite article, the preposition *a* contracts with the article as follows:

a + a > à  
a + o > ao  
a + as > às  
a + os > aos

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26. In my Tsonga example (56g), I treat "the fire" as though it were <beneficiary>. The corresponding English sentence would be 'directional' and into the fire would represent a 'goal'. Tsonga has a choice between expressing the fire as an NP or converting it into a locative expression with a 'goal' function. Compare (56g) with (56e). But where it appears as an NP, if <beneficiary> is an appropriate label for its function, then in Tsonga, as well as in Portuguese some beneficiaries are not necessarily human/animate.
27. Although not directly relevant to the main subject matter of my study, it is worth pointing out that the difference between locative NPs in Tsonga and prepositional phrases in Portuguese has implications for PMP, as the following example suggest:

European Portuguese:    Sai            para fora  
   Get-IMP-2sg to    outside  
   "Get to outside!"  
   ("Get out!")

PMP:                                   Sai            fora  
   Get-IMP-2sg outside  
   "Get out!"

The PMP example comes from a woman who was shouting to the family's dog, to make it get out of the kitchen. In Tsonga *fora* "outside" is equivalent to the Tsonga locative *handle* "outside" (cf. [32a] section 2.1.1.10, chapter 2). So, when the woman uses *fora* "outside", she does see any reason for her to introduce it with a preposition.

## 4 SUBJECT AND OBJECT CLITICS IN TSONGA AND EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

### 4.1. Introduction

Clitics, by definition, represent an intermediate stage between independent words and affixes. Linguists have suggested a number of properties to distinguish clitics from both affixes and words. For instance, Sadock (1991:52-53) points out, among other things, that, (1) clitics lack phonological independence and, consequently, can neither carry stress nor occur on their own - i.e. outside the domain of their host;<sup>1</sup> (2) clitics have semantic content and pronominal clitics specifically can encode NPs in argument position;<sup>2</sup> and (3) a sequence consisting of clitic and host never undergoes lexicalization, in the sense of 3.1.2.<sup>3</sup> Here, we single out these properties because they are of particular importance in the present context. For, (1) highlights the contrast with stressed independent pronouns used for emphasising and contrasting; (2) justifies the use of the term "pronominal clitic" we have adopted in this study for they are referential elements that, given the appropriate contextual or discourse environment, are used for encoding subject and object functions; and finally, (3) will be used as a criterion for distinguishing pronominal clitics from the reflexive prefix *-ti-*.

Taking into account the foregoing, in this chapter we shall analyze subject and object clitics in Tsonga and in European Portuguese. Specifically, in considering the rules governing the placement of subject and object clitics

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in these languages, we shall address the following questions. Under what circumstances do clitics appear? What are the effects of the subject and object pronominal clitics on the word order? Can pronominal clitics stand for any of the lexical NPs discussed in chapter 2. In short, we shall seek to make generalizations regarding the syntactic distribution of subject and object clitics, including the conditions governing clitic doubling. We begin with a review of earlier studies on clitics.<sup>4</sup>

### **4.1.1 Earlier studies on clitics in Bantu languages**

Earlier studies on clitics within the Bantu language family have tended to pursue two lines of enquiry. In the first, scholars have concentrated mainly on the object clitics in relation to the lexical object NP they are co-referential with. Moreover, the ability for a lexical NP object to be replaced with an object clitic is taken as evidence that such an NP has object status. This seems to form common ground amongst Bantuists. Bantuists who have pursued this approach include Hawkinson & Hyman (1974), Kimenyi (1980) Kisseberth & Abasheikh (1977), Morolong & Hyman (1977), and Duranti (1979). As we have seen already, some verbs in Bantu languages can take two objects without using any formal means of distinguishing them. Hence the pronominal object clitic has also been taken as a means of establishing object symmetries and asymmetries (cf. Alsina & Mchombo [1989], and Bresnan & Moshi [1990]). For instance, as mentioned earlier (see section 3.1.5), it is argued

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that while in a symmetrical language both objects are replaceable with a pronominal object clitic, in an asymmetrical one, only one object may be replaced with a pronominal object clitic (Bresnan & Moshi [1990:147]).

In the second line of enquiry, scholars such as Bresnan & Mchombo (1986, 1987) have discussed subject and object clitics together. As we shall see in due course, these scholars deal with pronominal clitics in connection with both syntax and discourse, that is to say they include discourse functions such as FOC(us) and TOP(ic) and the notion of anaphoric agreement. Other researchers who have followed this approach include Kunene (1975), Byarushengo & Tenenbaum (1976), Givón (1976, 1984), Louwrens (1982), and Demuth (1989). The fact that Bresnan & Mchombo (1987) deal with both subject and object clitics and with grammatical and anaphoric agreement makes their study suitable for our purpose here. This study will therefore draw on Bresnan & Mchombo's account of subject and object clitics in Chicheŵa, a Bantu language closely related to Tsonga and mainly spoken in Malaŵi. In addition, this study will briefly consider Givón's (1976) proposals, on which Bresnan & Mchombo based their study.

### **4.1.2 Givón's approach to clitics**

Givón (1976:155,156) argues for a diachronic process whereby independent pronouns evolve into agreement markers. Basically, he maintains that independent pronouns become unstressed and lose their emphatic and

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contrastive functions when they cliticize. After reaching the stage of being and functioning as pronominal clitics, independent pronouns shrink phonologically and become agreement markers. That is, from referential elements, pronominal clitics turn into non-referential agreement markers. Givón represents the process described here as follows:

**Independent PRO > unstressed PRO > clitic PRO > verb agreement**

Givón claims further that what leads to this process is the grammaticalization of topic and he uses the formula in (67) to represent such a process (Givón [1976:155]).

**Subj.: TS ("MARKED")                      NEUTRAL (RE-ANALYZED)                      [67a]**

*The man*, he came = = = = >  
TOPIC    PRO

*The man he*-came  
SUBJECT AGREEMENT

**Obj.: TS ("MARKED") AT ("SEMI-MARKED") NEUTRAL ("UNMARKED") [67b]**

The man, I saw him = = > I saw him, the man = = > I saw-him the  
man  
TOPIC            PRO            PRO AFTERTHOUGHT            AGR OBJECT

T(opic) S(hift) is thus claimed to be behind the process that leads to both subject and object agreement. However, as (67a) suggests, the main difference is that in the former a topic initiates a reanalysis process, whereas in the latter the topic change is effected through an A(fter) T(hought) strategy, as (67b) indicates.<sup>5</sup> The logical conclusion Givón draws from his reasoning is that object agreement and subject agreement are part and parcel of the same

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process and, as such, are barely distinguishable diachronically or synchronically. It is this claim which constitutes the contentious part in Givón's proposal. As we shall see, Bresnan & Mchombo (1987) show that synchronically there is a need to distinguish anaphoric from grammatical agreement, as they may coexist in a given language.

However, variation within the Bantu language family with regard to the use and functions of object clitics seems to lend weight to Givón's arguments about the historical process represented in (67). For instance, in Swahili the object clitic is obligatory with human objects. In Yao, according to Ngunga (1991:160), it is only used with certain verbs. In Chicheŵa, as we shall see below, the object clitic is never obligatory. Instead, its occurrence is regulated by discourse/pragmatic factors. If the process proposed by Givón were to be explained in terms of a scale, at the beginning of the scale we would place languages such as Chicheŵa in which the object clitics are still referential elements related to the TOP discourse function. At the other end of the scale, we would place languages such as Yao and Swahili where, in certain instances, the process has reached completion and, therefore, object clitics function as non-referential agreement markers. We now turn to Bresnan & Mchombo's account of subject and object clitics.

### **4.1.3 Bresnan & Mchombo's approach to subject and object clitics**

Bresnan & Mchombo (1987), while subscribing to Givón's proposal

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about the diachronic process which gives rise to clitics and to agreement markers on a verb, reject the claim that synchronically pronominalisation and agreement are mutually exclusive; using Chicheŵa data, they demonstrate that pronominalisation and agreement may both be found in a given language and that their distinction is synchronically possible. In other words, in order to understand the interaction between pronominalisation and agreement, it is necessary to distinguish anaphoric agreement from grammatical agreement. While the former belongs to discourse, the latter belongs to grammar. In order to support their claim, Bresnan & Mchombo use syntactic, discourse/pragmatic and phonological arguments.

These researchers show the distinction that obtains between the syntactic and discourse functions of the subject and object clitics and argue that there is a need to decide which status a clitic has, i.e. whether it is a referential pronominal clitic or whether it is an agreement marker. In order to elucidate the difference between the subject marker (SM) and the object marker (OM), consider the Chicheŵa in example (68) from Bresnan & Mchombo (1987:744-745).

- |  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| <p>Njúchi zi- ná- luma alenje.<br/>         Bees SM PST bite hunters<br/>         "The bees bit the hunters."</p>      | <p>(SVO) [68a]</p> |
| <p>Zi-ná- luma alenje njúchi.<br/>         SM PST bite hunters bees<br/>         "They bit the hunters, the bees."</p> | <p>(VOS) [68b]</p> |
| <p>* Alenje zináluma njúchi.</p>   | <p>(OVS) [68c]</p> |
| <p>* Njúchi alenje zináluma.</p>   | <p>(SOV) [68d]</p> |

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Concerning the subject marker (SM), Bresnan & Mchombo argue that it is functionally ambiguous - i.e. it can either be a non-referential agreement marker as in (68a) or a referential pronominal clitic as in (68b), depending crucially on whether the morpheme in question is or is not preceded by a lexical subject NP. The ambiguity of the SM may however be resolved by the biuniqueness and subject conditions of LFG, i.e. when the lexical NP is present in subject position, the possibility of interpreting the SM as subject is excluded by the biuniqueness condition which requires a one to one relation between constituents and grammatical functions. If the lexical NP is not in subject position, as the subject condition requires every sentence to have a subject, the SM has to satisfy this condition by filling the subject function. On the other hand, OM<sup>6</sup> is always a referential pronoun in Chicheŵa which bears an argument relation to the verb. If it co-occurs with a co-referential lexical NP, the OM fulfils the syntactic function of object and is anaphorically bound to the lexical NP after it. This relates to the fact that Chicheŵa is syntactically an SVO language and, as such, in simple transitive sentences where there is no OM, while the lexical NP matching the SM can be re-ordered, the object must immediately follow the verb, otherwise the sentence becomes ungrammatical (Bresnan & Mchombo [1987:744]). For instance, compare (68a) and (68b) with (68c) and (68d).

However, when the pronominal object clitic (OM) is present, word orders represented by (68c) and (68d) are permissible in Chicheŵa, as may be seen in (69).

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Alenje zi-ná- **wá**-luma njúchi. (OVS) [69a]  
Hunters SM-PST-OM-bite bees  
"The hunters, they bit them, the bees."

Njúchi alenje zi-ná- **wá**-luma. (SOV) [69b]  
bees hunters SM-PST-OM-bite  
"The bees the hunters, they bit them."

Here the object pronominal clitic (OM) **-wá-** fulfils the object syntactic function, and the co-referential NP *alenje* "hunters" is an adjunct linked to the discourse function of TOP. As regards the sentence structure, the generalization is that the lexical NP object is within the VP only if the pronominal object clitic is absent from the sentence.

The difference between the SM and OM, as described above, is taken as a clear guide to the distinction between grammatical agreement and anaphoric agreement. Consequently, Bresnan & Mchombo maintain that whereas the former is obligatory, the latter is not. The "locality" principle is used for deciding when a clitic has which status. Locality, therefore,

refers to the proximity of the agreeing elements within the clause structure; a local agreement relation is one which holds between elements of the same simple clause, while a non-local agreement relation is one which may hold between elements of different clauses.

Bresnan & Mchombo (1987:752)

While grammatical agreement is subject to locality, in the sense that it operates within a simple clause, anaphoric agreement is not. Given the locality principle, the generalization is that, if a clitic and the corresponding lexical NP that binds it occur in the same single clause, then such a clitic is a non-

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referential agreement marker. If, on the other hand, the clitic and the matching lexical NP occur in different clauses, then the clitic is a referential pronominal clitic. As it is relevant to the Tsonga data to be considered below, it appears worth emphasising here that the scope of anaphoric agreement can be defined at the sentence or discourse<sup>7</sup> levels. In addition, the lexical NP that matches the referential pronominal clitic may be part of the mutual knowledge shared by the speaker and listener and, therefore, may not be expressed at all. In this case, it can only be contextually or situationally retrieved.

The argument that when the SM and the OM function as subject and object respectively and the lexical NPs to which they are anaphorically related are adjuncts which bear the discourse TOP function, is motivated by the **Extended Coherence Condition** which, according Bresnan & Mchombo (1987:746)

requires that all functions in f-structure be bound. An argument function (i.e. subcategorizable function like SUBJ, OBJ, OBL) is bound if it is the argument of a predicator (PRED). An adjunct is bound whenever it is functionally identified with, or anaphorically binds, a bound function.

Taking into account this condition, they argue for a separation between argument functions and non-argument functions. The former refer to syntactic functions such as subject, object and oblique; the latter to discourse functions such as topic and focus. In Bresnan & Mchombo's (1987:757) words

Grammatical functions in our theory can be partitioned into ARGUMENT FUNCTIONS, like SUBJ, OBJ, and OBL(IQUE), vs. NON-ARGUMENT FUNCTIONS like TOP, FOC, and ADJUNCT. Argument functions are directly mapped onto semantic or

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thematic roles in the lexical predicate-argument structures. In contrast, non-argument functions, by the extended coherence condition, must be linked to grammatical functions (or in the case of adjuncts, must co-occur with a PRED attribute); hence non-argument functions are only indirectly associated with predicate argument structure.

With regard to the roles of these two types of functions, Bresnan & Mchombo continue to maintain that argument functions

provide a uniform way of designating the participants in the events, actions, and situations which are depicted by various subclasses of lexical predicators.

By contrast, the non-argument functions

serve to structure the information content of an utterance so as to facilitate communication between the speaker and the hearer.

Building on Chafe (1976), Givón (1976), and Wald (1979), Bresnan & Mchombo take topics to represent the subject matter of a discourse. As for focus, drawing on Chafe (1976), they regard this as being used to indicate an entity that is contrastive or not-presupposed or new in the context. As mentioned earlier, this means that TOP and FOC refer to given and new information respectively; and it follows, then, that the pronominal object clitic (OM) and WH-words in object function are mutually exclusive. Or perhaps we should express this differently: taking into consideration that the OM is anaphorically linked to TOP, which encodes old or given information, Bresnan & Mchombo make a number of predictions in regard to the occurrence of the OM.

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Firstly, they predict that the OM should not occur in interrogative clauses because the WH-word is normally related to the discourse function of FOC and hence to new information. This means that the same constituent cannot be associated with both TOP and FOC at the same time. For instance compare (70a) with (70b) from Bresnan & Mchombo (1987:759-760).

(Kodí) mu-ku-fúná chíyâni? [70a]

Q you-PRS-want what

"What do you want?"

[Kodí [mu-kufúná chíyâni]]

Q SUBJ FOC

OBJ

?? (Kodi) mu-ku- **chi**- fúna chíyâni? [70b]

Q you-PRS-OM (7)-want INDIC what (7)

"What do you want (\*it)."

[Kodí [mu-ku-chí-fúná] chíyâni.]

Q SM OM FOC

TOP ] function clash

While (70a) is grammatical, (70b) is not, because the WH-word *chíyâni* "what" cannot refer to both given and new information.

Secondly, Bresnan & Mchombo predict that a relative marker (RM) in a relative construction or cleft construction is typically related to TOP and, consequently, the OM can be expected to occur in these constructions, as indicated in example (71) from Bresnan & Mchombo (1987:763).

Munthu a-méné ndí-ná-mú- yéndera. [71]

Person (1) 1 REL I PST OM (1) visit

"The person that I visited."

Thirdly, while citing Givón/Kameyama's generalization, "that all

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languages have two kinds of pronominals that can be used anaphorically - those used for reference recoverable in discourse [pronominal clitics], and those used for 'contrast, emphasis, or focus' [independent pronouns]", Bresnan & Mchombo (1987:768-769) predict that independent pronouns cannot be anaphorically bound to TOP or pick up lexical NPs that are linked to it, as this is incompatible with their function - i.e. contrasting, emphasising and focusing. They point out that Chicheŵa has two types of anaphoric pronouns, namely pronominal clitics, such as the ones in (69) and independent pronouns used for emphasising or contrasting. The examples in (72) show the structural test Bresnan and Mchombo use for showing the difference in function between pronominal clitics and independent pronouns. In (72a) we see that the OM -ú- "it" is anaphorically linked to the lexical NP *TOP mkángó* "lion" and, therefore, we have a grammatical sentence. By contrast, in (72b) we see that the inclusion of the independent pronoun *iwo* "it" renders the sentence ungrammatical. This shows that the function of this pronoun is incompatible with that of anaphorically binding the lexical NP *TOP mkángo* "lion".

Ndi-ku- lír- ír- a mkángó u-mémé físi á- ná- ú- dy- a. [72a]  
 I PRS cry-APPL IND lion(3) 3 REL hyena SM PST OM(3) eat IND  
 "I'm crying for the lion that the hyena ate."

\*?Ndi-ku- lír- ír- a mkángo u-méné físi á-ná- dy-á iwo [72b]  
 I PRS cry-APPL IND lion(3) 3 REL hyena SM PST eat IND it(3)  
 "I'm crying for the lion that the hyena ate."

As Table 1 below shows, Tsonga is like Chicheŵa in the sense that it distinguishes between referential pronominal clitics and independent pronouns.

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First, we shall consider the former in association with anaphoric and grammatical agreement in this language.

Independent Pronouns								
Absolute		Demonstrative			Quantitative		Clitics	
		(1)	(2)	(3)	Inclusive	Exclusive	Subject	Object
1sg	mina					ndzoxe	ndzi/ni	ndzi
1pl	hina				hinkwerhu	hoxe	hi	hi
2sg	wena					wexe	u	wu/ku
2pl	n'wina				hinkwerhu	n'wexe	mi	mi
3sg	1 yena	lweyi	lweyo	lwiya	hinkwayo	yexe	a/o	mu
	2 vona	lava	lavo	lavaya	hinkwavo	voxe	va	va
	3 wona	lowu	lowo	lowuya	hinkwawo	woxe	wu	wu
	4 yona	leyi	leyo	leyiya	hinkwayo	yoxe	yi	yi
	5 rona	leri	lero	leriya	hinkwaro	rox	ri	ri
	6 wona	lawo	lawo	lawaya	hinkwawo	woxe	ma	ma
	7 xona	lexi	lexo	lexiya	hinkwaxo	xoxe	xi	xi
	8 swona	leswi	leswo	leswiya	hinkwaswo	swoxe	swi	swi
	9 yona	leyi	leyo	liya	hinkwayo	yoxe	yi	yi
	10 tona	leti	leto	letiya	hinkwato	toxe	ti	ti
	11 rona	leri	lero	leriya	hinkwaro	rox	ri	ri
	14 lona	leli	lelo	leliya	hinkwalo	loxe	li	li
	15 kona	loku	loko	hinkwako	hinkwako	koxe	ku	ku
	16 kona	laho	laho	lahaya	hinkwako	koxe	ku	ku
	17 kona	loku	loko	lokuya	hinkwako	koxe	ku	ku
	18 kona	lomu	lomo	lomuya	hinkwako	koxe	ku	ku

Table 1: Independent pronouns and pronominal clitics in Tsonga

### 4.2 Anaphoric and grammatical agreement in Tsonga

As we have already observed, grammatical agreement refers to cases where the presence of the agreement marker is obligatory, e.g. subject-verb agreement whereas anaphoric agreement stands for cases in which the

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presence of the agreement marker is "optional", or say, its presence in a sentence is governed by discourse factors rather than by grammatical ones, viz. verb-object agreement in Tsonga. Here we shall begin with the former, and then proceed to the latter.

Like Chicheŵa, Tsonga is an SVO language, and in a discourse initial sentence, the subject and the object are expressed by means of lexical NPs, as indicated in (73). This example is an excerpt from a folktale. The subject NP *Hosi n'wa Ndlopfu* "The king, Mr Elephant" and object *swihari* "animals" are expressed lexically because it is a discourse initial sentence.

Hosi n'wa Ndlopfu a-rhamb-ile swi-hari ku-ta cela xi-hlowo. [73a]  
 King 1 he of elephant 1 summon-PST 8 animal 15 come dig 7 well  
 "The king, Mr Elephant, summoned the animals to come to dig a well.

Hinkwaswo swi- t- ile. Loko swi- fik- ile,  
 All 8 SM they come PST. When 8 SM they arrive PST  
 All the animal came. When they arrived,

a- swi- phakel- ile swi-komu. Se a- tsumbula  
 1 SM he 8 OM them distribute PST 8 hoe. Then 1 SM he discover PRS  
 he gave them hoes. He then discovered

leswaku n'wa mpfundla a-nga-tang-i.  
 that 1 he of hare NEG come NEG.  
 that Mr Hare did not come."

\* Hosi n'wa Ndlopfu Ø-rhamb-ile swi-hari ku-ta cela xi-hlowo. [73b]  
 King 1 he of elephant summon PST 8 animal 15 come dig 7 well.

As regards the status of the clitic *a-* "he", which occurs between the subject NP *Hosi n'wa Ndlopfu* "The king, Mr Elephant" and the verb *-rhamba* "summon", as is the case in Chicheŵa, it can function as an agreement marker or a referential pronominal clitic bound to the NP TOP. Hence, when the

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lexical subject NP is present in the clause in the subject position, the clitic is an agreement marker and, as such, it signals the subject-verb agreement, as is the case in (73a). What validates this claim is the fact that, when this clitic is omitted, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as we see in (73b).

However, given an appropriate contextual situation or in sentences related to the previous discourse, the lexical NP subject can be omitted without rendering the sentence ungrammatical. In this case, the clitic is referential and functions as the subject although from the discourse perspective it is bound to an NP TOP. If we examine the folktales in the appendixes, it emerges that at the beginning of each folktale, the narrator introduces the characters, expressing them with lexical NPs but inside the folktale, he uses the appropriate clitic to refer to his characters. This can be seen in (74), which illustrates this discourse function of the SM.

**Narrator:** Karingani wa karingani.<sup>8</sup>

[74]

**Audience:** Karingani

Ko-suketanyana i munwe wa nuna o-tek- a nsati.  
 17 there happen is 1 one 1 of 1a man 1 take PRS 1a wife  
 "There was a man who married a woman.

O- tswal-a n'wana wa-nhanyana. O- hum- a  
 1 SM she bear PRS 1 child 1 of girl. 1 SM She come out PRS  
 She bore him a baby girl. She came out

na-he ni ncila. Va- wundl- a n'wana lweyi  
 1 with be 3 tail. 2 SM they bring up PRS 1 child 1 that  
 with a tail. They brought up the child.

loko a- kul- ile, ko-humelel- a munwe wa- mamani.  
 when 1 SM she grow up PST 17 there appear PRS 1 one 1 of 1a mother.  
 when she grew up, there came a lady

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A- famb- a a- lav- a ku-tshemb- is- a ntombi.  
 1 SM she go PRS 1 SM she want PRS 15 promise CAUS INF 9 girl.  
 She was going around, looking for a girl to propose to.

O- y- a fik- a. O-komb- is- an- a ni va-mamani<sup>9</sup>  
 1a SM she go PRS arrive PRS 1 show CAUS RCP PRS with 2 mother  
 She went and arrived to discuss with the mothers

va-kona. Ndzi- t- a hi xi-khalo xa- ku-lav- a  
 2 of her. 1 SM I come PRS with 7 request 7 of 15 want INF  
 of the girl. I come here with the request of wanting

ku-t- a lowola ntombi. Vo- hi ye-lwe  
 15 come INF pay dowry 9 girl. 2 SM they say 1 she is  
 to come to pay dowry for the girl. They said here she is

n'wana wa-hina; kunene o- y- a lung- is- a male  
 1 child 1 of our; in fact 1 SM she go PRS arrange CAUS PRS 6 money  
 our daughter; in fact she went to prepare her money

ya-kwe ya-tlhambi. O- t- a fik- a.  
 1 of her 6 of dowry. 1 SM She come PRS arrive PRS  
 to pay the dowry. She arrived and

A- lowol- a ntombi ya-yena. Loko a- lowol- ile,  
 1 SM she pay dowry PRS 9 girl 1 of her. When 1 SM she pay dowry PST,  
 paid the dowry for her girl. When she paid,

vo- longel -is- a ntombi. Vo- yi- heleket- a 2 SM they  
 prepare CAUS PRS 9 girl. 2 SM they 9 OM her accompany PRS  
 they prepared the girl. They accompanied her

wukat- ini. Vo- y- a fik- el- a.  
 14 husband's place LOC. 2 SM they go PRS arrive APPL PRS.  
 to her husband's place. They went and arrived there.

Va- yi- siy- a. Vo- suk- a.  
 2 SM they 9 OM her leave PRS. 2 SM they leave PRS.  
 They arrived there and left her, then they left

Va- tlhel- a va- wuy- a kaya. O- sal- a. 2 SM they return  
 PRS 2 SM they come PRS 5 home. 1 she remain PRS.  
 They returned back home. She remained.

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Lo- x- a ntombi li-ya o- e ndzi- y- a  
5 SM it become day PRS 9 girl 9 that 9 SM she says 1 SM I go PRS  
The following day that girl said that she was going to

tihuny- ini. A- tek- a bewula la-yena.  
firewood LOC. 1 SM she take PRS 5 axe 9 of her.  
fetch firewood. She takes a axe of hers.

A- famb-a na-lo, a-y- a fik- el- a. A- kum- a  
1SM she go PRS with it, 1 SM she go PRS arrive APPL PRS. 1SM she find PRS  
And she goes with it, she arrives there. She finds

xi-godo xa-xikulu na- xi tsham-ile. A- lulam- is- a ncila  
7 trunk 7 of big while 7 seat- PST. 1 SM she arrange CAUS PRS 3 tail a big  
trunk which was seated and she put straight that tail

lo- wu-ya. A- tek- a bewula la- kwe.  
DEM 3 that. 1 SM she take PRS 5 axe 5 of her.  
then she took her axe."

"There was a man who married a woman. She bore him a baby girl, who was born with a tail. They brought up that child, and when she grew up, there came a lady who was going around, looking for a marriageable girl. She went to talk to the mother and aunts of the girl. 'I come here with a request to come and pay the bride price for the girl', she said. They replied: 'here is our daughter.' Then she went to prepare her money to pay for the bride price; she arrived and paid the bride price for her girl. When she paid, they prepared the girl and accompanied her to her husband's home, they arrived there and left her. They returned home. She remained and the following day, she said that she was going to look for firewood. She took her axe and went out with it. When she got to the place, she found a big trunk sitting on the ground and she put her tail straight against the trunk and then she took the axe."

As is the case with (73a), example (74) is an excerpt from a folktale.

As we have already indicated, when the narrator begins to tell the story, he introduces the main characters, expressing them by means of lexical NPs. Thus in line 1, the narrator uses two lexical NPs for introducing the main characters of the folktale, namely *munwe wa nuna* "one man" and *nsati* "wife". Unless there is a switch from one topic to another, the narrator uses

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pronominal clitics for referring to his characters. For instance when new characters are introduced, whenever the narrator needs to refer to these NPs, he uses the corresponding clitic, either to pick up both or one of them, depending on the circumstances. For instance, in line 3 we find the subject clitic *va-* "they" of class 2 being used to resume together the lexical NPs *munwe wa nuna* "one man" and *nsati* "wife". Syntactically, this pronominal clitic functions as the subject of the verb *-wundla* "bring up". We find a similar case in line 6, where the narrator uses the lexical subject NP *vamamani* "mothers" to bring the 'mothers' (mother and aunts) of the girl into the story. Then, whenever he needs to refer to them, he uses the corresponding subject pronominal clitic, as we can see in line 8, where the narrator uses the subject pronominal clitic *vo-* "they" of class 2 to refer to the mothers. By way of summary, we can reiterate that the generalization is that the narrator tends to use lexical NPs only in discourse initial sentences - specifically at the beginning of the folktale, where he introduces his characters or when he needs to bring new ones into the story. Otherwise, he uses the corresponding pronominal clitics to refer to them whenever necessary. After dealing with the subject clitic, we shall return to the object clitic.

As Table 1 shows, generally, the object clitic is phonologically identical with the subject clitic and the noun class prefix of the matching lexical NP. It always occupies the same position in the verbal complex, i.e. between the subject clitic and the verb stem.<sup>10</sup> As regards its function, the object clitic functions as an incorporated anaphoric object pronoun bound to a TOP NP in

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some constructions and as a non-referential agreement marker in others. We first consider the cases where the object clitic is an incorporated object pronoun. In order to illustrate this, we return to line 12 of example (74). Here, we find the object clitic *-yi-* "her" of class 9, which refers back to the lexical NP *ntombi* "girl", which is introduced for the first time in line 5. In this case, the clitic *-yi-* "her" is an incorporated object pronoun, which functions as the object of the verb *heleketa* "accompany". From the discourse point of view, it is bound to the TOP NP *ntombi* "girl".<sup>11</sup> Recall that what distinguishes grammatical agreement from anaphoric agreement is locality. While the former operates between the elements of the same single clause, the latter holds between elements that are found in different clauses, and this is what the clitic *-yi-* "her" and the matching NP *ntombi* "girl" show. Also, remember that we mentioned in passing earlier that the Tsonga data seem to suggest that the scope of locality can be defined at the clause and discourse levels; and the TOP NP to which the pronominal clitic is bound may not be expressed at all and, consequently, can only be contextually or situationally recovered. Example (75) illustrates the point we are making here.

Nkatanga papela ya-wena ndzi- yi- kum- ile [75a]  
 2 darling 5 letter of you 1 SM I- 5 OM it receive PST  
 "Darling your letter I have received it

Futhi ndzi- swi- tw- ile hinkwa-swo le- swi  
 Also 1 SM I 8 OM them-understand PST all 8 that 8  
 Also I have understood all that

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u- swi- wule-k- e  
 1 SM you 8 OM them say REL PST  
 you have said

hambi loko swi- xanis- a a- ndzi-nge-swi- khohlw- i.  
 even if 8 SM they trouble PRS NEG 1 I NEG 8 OM them-forget- NEG  
 even if they trouble me I can't forget them.

Wutomi la-swoswi li-lav- a ku-rhendzevet-iw- a;  
 14 life of now 14 want PRS 15 be tried PASS PRS  
 In our days life needs trying;

va-nyingi va- swi- kot- a ku-swi- rhendzevet-a  
 2 many 2 SM they 8 OM them manage-PRS 15 8 OM them try PRS  
 many have tried and managed them

va- kot- a va-swi- sus- a tihlkw- eni  
 2 SM they succeed PRS 2 8 OM them remove PRS 10 head LOC

ta- vona.  
 10 of them.  
 they succeed in removing them from their heads."

"My darling, your letter I have received it. I have also understood all that you have said, even if it troubles me, I cannot forget it. Nowadays, life requires us to manage it by all possible means. There are people who manage life, and forget about all their troubles."

The referents of the lexical NPs resumed by pronominal clitics in (75a), such as *swi* "them, matters" of class 8 are only contextually definable, in the sense that they can only be recovered by the writer and the addressee of the letter, who share a common knowledge about them. Thus, in her response to her husband's letter, the writer finds the use of the lexical NPs unnecessary; instead, she replaces them with the pronominal clitics. As for lexical NPs which may only be situationally recovered, consider example (76b).

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Mu- won- i a- t- a. [75b]  
 1 OM him see-IMP 1 OM he-come-PRS  
 "See him, he is coming."

The example in (75b) was uttered by a woman selling prawns at a market. It was meant to warn her fellow seller that their regular customer was coming. In order to do this, she uses the object pronominal clitic *mu* "him" of class 1 and the subject pronominal clitic *a* "he" also of class 1.

The conclusion to be drawn from examples (75) is that the object pronominal clitics *swi* "them, matters" in (75a) and *mu* "him" in (75b) and the subject pronominal clitic *a* "he" also in (76b) resume lexical NPs that were never mentioned in the discourse. They encode lexical NPs which are part of the contextual knowledge (mutual knowledge) shared by the speaker and the hearer (75a), and situationally motivated (75b).

So far the discussion of pronominal object clitics has been confined to object clitics of monotransitive verbs. In what follows we shall focus on the pronominal clitics in ditransitive verbs. As mentioned earlier (sections 3.1.2 and 3.1.4) there are basic and derived verbs in Tsonga which subcategorize for two lexical NP objects without requiring a preposition to introduce the second lexical NP object and, therefore, give rise to SVOO order. Consider examples (54a) and (57a) and (58a) repeated here as (76) and (77).

Mamani a- mu -komb- a ndlela (kokwani). [76a]  
 1a mother 1 1 OM her show PRS 9 path (1a grandmother)  
 "My mother is showing her the path, (my grandmother)."

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Mamani a- yi- komb-a kokwani (ndlela). [76b]  
 1a mother 1 9 OM it show PRS 1a grandmother (9 path)  
 "My mother is showing it to my grandmother, (the path)."

Victoria a- va- swek- el- a mi-tsumbula (va-na). [76c]  
 Victoria 1 2 OM them cook APPL PRS 4 cassava (2 child)  
 "Victoria is cooking cassava for them (the children) cassava, the children."

Victoria a- yi -swek-el- a va-na (mi-tsumbula). [76d]  
 Victoria 1 9 OM them cook-APPL-PRS 2 child (4 cassava)  
 "Victoria is cooking it for them, the children, (cassava)."

John a -yi- rhim -is- a va-nhu (nsimu). [76e]  
 John 1 9 OM it plough CAUS PRS 2 people (9 field)  
 "John is making people plough it, the field."

John a-va- rhim- is- a nsimu (va-nhu). [76f]  
 John 1-2 OM them plough CAUS PRS 9 field (2 people)  
 "John is making them plough the field, the people."

\* Mamani a-mu- komb-a kokwani ndlela. [77a]  
 1a mother 1 1 OM her show PRS 1a grandmother 9 path  
 "My mother is showing her, grandmother the path."

\* Mamani a-yi- komb-a ndlela kokwani. [77b]  
 1a mother 1 9 OM it show PRS 9 path 1a grandmother  
 "My mother is showing it, the path to my mother."

The first point that needs to be made here is that, contrary to what happens in other Bantu languages such as Haya (Hyman & Duranti [1982]) and Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi [1980]), in Tsonga, although either object can in principle be replaced with a pronominal object clitic, as we see in (76), only one clitic slot is available in the verb morphology at any one time.

The fact that the examples (77) are unacceptable in Tsonga can in principle be attributed to two factors: firstly, once the grammatical function of one object is filled by a pronominal object clitic the lexical NP with which it is associated can no longer bear an argument relationship to the verb,

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otherwise there will be two constituents competing for the same syntactic function, viz. the pronominal clitic and the coreferential lexical NP; and this violates the biuniqueness condition of LFG referred to above. Secondly, there is the violation of the adjacency condition. If the lexical NP TOP which is co-referential with the object pronominal clitic follows the verb immediately, the other lexical NP object will no longer be adjacent to the verb, and this is not permissible. In order for them to be bound to the predicator, the two objects must remain within the domain of the VP constituent (cf. [59b] above). For instance, (76a) shows that after the object argument position has been filled with the object pronominal clitic *mu* "her", the lexical NP *kokwani* "grandmother" can no longer function as an object and, consequently, has to be placed outside the VP domain. In other words, it becomes an "optional" floating NP that encodes the TOP discourse function and, as such, can be omitted, as indicated by the bracketing, or placed anywhere outside the VP domain. This is shown in (78) in initial position.

Kokwani,     mani         a-mu-    komb- a ndlela. [(TOP), SVO]         [78]  
 1a grandmother 1a mother 1 1 OM her show PRS 9 path  
 "My grandmother, my mother is showing her the path."

There are two points we would also like to make in connection with example (78). The first one has to do with the effect of the object pronominal clitic on the word order, and the second one is related to the semantic effects of the presence of both object clitic and the matching lexical NP in the sentence. As we saw while dealing with example (73), Tsonga is an SVO

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language. However, when the object pronominal clitic is used in a sentence, this word order becomes flexible. For instance, the presence of the object pronominal clitic *-mu-* in (78) allows the SOVO word order. With regard to the second point, recall that we mentioned earlier that definite articles do not exist in Tsonga. Definiteness in this language is achieved by using the object pronominal clitic together with the corresponding NP - i.e. by employing clitic doubling. In (78), without the lexical NP *kokwani* "grandmother", the object pronominal clitic *-mu-* could stand for a wide range of NPs belonging to class 1. The presence of this lexical NP in the example indicates which particular member of the class is involved.<sup>12</sup> So far we have dealt with cases where the object pronominal clitic is optional in the sense that omitting it does not cause the sentence to be ungrammatical (though there will often be a concomitant change with regard to the definiteness of the object). There are, however, in Tsonga instances of obligatory use of the object clitic, e.g. topicalized (left dislocation) constructions and relative clauses. In what follows, we shall focus on these types of constructions. Before we proceed, it should be remembered that Bresnan & Mchombo (1987:763) maintain that the relative marker which occurs in relative clauses or in cleft constructions is typically associated with TOP function and, as a result, a pronominal object clitic may be expected in these constructions.

We use the expression "topicalized construction" here to refer to certain constructions in Tsonga which are similar to what is described as **topicalization** in the literature. For example, see Duarte (1989), Demuth

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(1990), and Trask (1993:154, 243, 280). In such constructions, a subordinate clause, which functions as the complement of the verb in the main clause and is associated with TOP, is moved to the beginning of the sentence and its original position is filled with an object clitic, as illustrated in (79).

Leswaku dokodela a-ta- lav- a male yo-tala, [79a]  
 That 1 doctor 1 FUT want PRS 6 money 6 many,  
 "That the doctor will need a lot of money

hi- swi- tiv- ile.  
 1 we 8 OM them know PST  
 we knew it."  
 "That the doctor will ask a lot of money we knew."

\*Leswaku dokodela a-ta- lav- a male yo-tala, [79b]  
 That 1 doctor 1 FUT want PRS 6 money 6 many  
 "That the doctor will want a lot of money,

hi-Ø-tiv- ile.  
 we know PST

Hi- tiv- ile leswaku dokodela a-ta- lav- a male yo-tala. [79c]  
 1 we know PST that 1 doctor 1 FUT want PRS 6 money 6 many  
 "We knew that the doctor will want a lot of money"

What is of interest to note in (79a) is that, when the subordinate clause *dokodela a ta lava male yotala* "the doctor will want a lot of money", which functions as the object of the verb *-tiva* "know" in the main clause, is moved to the beginning of the sentence, the presence of the object clitic *swi* is obligatory, otherwise the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as we see in (79b). Notice also that this object clitic is not present in the corresponding unmarked sentence, as (79c) shows. Now we proceed to consider clitics in relative clauses.

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### 4.2.1 Clitics and relative clauses in Tsonga

This section has a twofold objective. Firstly, we shall consider the strategies used in Tsonga for forming relative clauses. Secondly, we shall analyze the status of the object clitic which is present in the relative clause when it is the object which is relativized; we shall also consider the status of the relative pronoun and that of the relative marker *-k-*, which are found in relative clauses in this language. That is, we shall attempt to determine whether such a clitic is an example of anaphoric or grammatical agreement, and whether any member of this set can occur without the others.

Studies of relative clauses have generally revolved around the following issues: firstly, the strategies that languages use for forming relative clauses; secondly how the relativized NP is represented in the relative clause, and thirdly, the means which can be used to identify the syntactic status of the relativized NP. Meeussen's (1971) survey of relative formation in Bantu languages is just one example. Here, instead of trying to review or summarize all previous studies on relative clauses, we shall confine ourselves to Keenan & Comrie (1977), Comrie & Keenan (1979), and Comrie (1981) whose studies suit our purposes. Keenan & Comrie (1977:63-64) define a relative clause as follows:

We consider any syntactic objects (perhaps a one-member set) in two steps: a larger set is specified, called domain of relativization, and then restricted to some subset of which a certain sentence, the *restricting sentence*, is true. The domain of

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relativization is expressed in surface structure by the head NP and the restricting sentence by the *restricting clause*, which may look more or less like a surface sentence depending on the language.

It follows from this definition that, in order for a clause to be relative, there must be a head NP associated with a range of potential referents such that the restricting clause reduces that range to an identifiable referent.

Given different types of strategies languages can adopt in the formation of relative clauses, Keenan & Comrie (1977:65), Comrie & Keenan (1979:656), and Comrie (1981:137-138) establish two main criteria that can be used to identify relative clause formation strategies. Firstly, taking into account the position of the head NP in relation to the restricting clause at surface level, they identify postnominal, prenominal and internal strategies depending, respectively, on whether the restricting clause follows the head NP, or precedes it or whether the head NP occurs inside the restricting clause. Secondly, depending on whether the relativized NP is overtly marked for case or not, they identify [+ case] and [- case] strategies respectively.

In relation to the second criterion, i.e. how the head NP is represented in the restricting clause, Comrie (1981:140-143) identifies four types of relative clauses: (1) Non-reduction: here the head NP appears unreduced in the relative clause. Comrie maintains that this typically happens in languages that use the internal head relative clause formation strategy referred to above. (2) Pronoun-retention: the head NP is pronominally represented in the restricting clause. (3) Relative pronoun: the head NP is represented by means of a relative

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pronoun, and because it is displaced by the relativization, such a pronoun is normally case marked so as to indicate the grammatical relations expressed by the head noun inside the relative clause. This type of relative clause mainly occurs in European languages, such as English, French and Portuguese. (4) Gap: in this type of relative clause, the head is not encoded.

With regard to Tsonga, researchers working on this language normally distinguish two types of relative clauses (at times also referred to as predicative relative construction and verbal relative construction),<sup>13</sup> namely direct relative clause and indirect relative clause.<sup>14</sup> While in the former type, the antecedent is represented as the subject of the relative, in the latter it is not (cf. Baumbach [1987:238 ff] and Mayevu [1978:31 ff]). All the NPs discussed in chapter 2 can in principle be relativized. However, since the status of the clitic that occurs in the relative clause when an object NP is relativized is one of the main concerns of this section, we shall concentrate on relative clauses which involve the relativization of the object. Consider (80a) and (80b).

**Swi-gono** [le-**swi** va- **swi**- nyike- k- e Jorigina [80a]  
 8 dwarf PRN 8 which 2 SM they 8 OM them give REL PST Georgina  
 "The dwarfs which they gave Georgina

kuva **swi**- ta- mu- pfun-a ta wukati,  
 for 8 SM they FUT 1 OM her help PRS of 14 marriage,  
 in order to help her in marriage,

*swi* dyay-iw- ile hi nuna wa yena.  
 8 OM them kill PASS PST by 1 husband 1 of 1 her  
 they have been killed by husband of her  
 "The dwarfs which were given to Georgina to help her with marriage problems  
 have been killed by her husband."

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??Swi-gono [le-swi va-Ø nyike-k- e Jorigina [80b]  
 8 dwarf PRN 8 2 OM them give REL PST Georgina  
 "The dwarfs which they gave Georgina

kuva swi- ta- mu- pfun-a ta wukati,] swi dyay-iw- ile  
 for 8 SM they FUT 1 SM her help PRS of 14 marriage, 8OM kill PASS PST  
 in order to help her marriage, they have been killed

hi nuna wa yena.  
 by 1 husband 1 of 1 her  
 by her husband."  
 "The dwarfs which were given to Georgina to help her with marriage problems  
 have been killed by her husband."

Swi-gono [va- swi- nyike-k- e Jorigina kuva [80c]  
 8 dwarf 2 SM 8 OM give REL PST Georgina for  
 "The dwarfs they gave them to Georgina for

swi- ta- mu- pfun-a ta wukati,] swi dyay-iw- ile  
 8 SM they FUT 1SM her help PRS of 14 marriage, 8OM them kill PASS PST  
 they will help her in marriage, they have been killed

hi nuna wa yena.  
 by 1 husband 1 of 1 her  
 by her husband."  
 "The dwarfs they gave to Georgina to help her with marriage problems have  
 been killed by her husband."

\*Swi-gono [le-swi va-Ø- nyike-Ø-e Jorigina kuva [80d]  
 8 dwarf PRN 8 which 2 SM they give REL PST Georgina for

swi- ta- mu- pfun-a ta wukati,] swi-dyay-iw- ile  
 8 SM they FUT 1 SM her help PRS of 14 marriage, 8 OM kill PASS PST

hi nuna wa yena.  
 by 1 husband 1 of 1 her

\*Swigono [le-swi va- swi- nyike-Ø-e Jorigina [80e]  
 8 dwarf PRN 8 which 2 SM they 8 OM them give PST Georgina

kuva swi- ta- mu- pfun-a ta wukati,] swi- dyay-iw- ile  
 for 8 SM they FUT 1OM her help PRS of 14 marriage 8 OM kill PASS PST

hi nuna wa yena.  
 by 1 husband 1 of 1 her

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Ntombi yi-ta- tsem-a ncila [lo- wu yi- wu- [81]  
 9 girl 9 FUT cut IND 3 tail PRN 3 which 9 SM she 3 OM it  
 "The girl will cut the tail, which she is putting it

veka-k- a henhla ka xi-godo] hi bewula.  
 put REL PRS 16 above 16 of 7 trunk with 5 axe  
 on the trunk with an axe."

"The girl will cut the tail, which she is putting on the trunk, with an axe."

As we see in (80a) and (81), a relative clause in Tsonga consists of a relative pronoun, which carries the noun class prefix of the relativized NP, a matching clitic showing the function of the relativized NP and the relative affix -k- (followed by the tense marker). As (80c) indicates, while the relative pronoun may be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence, the clitic and the relative suffix are obligatory and, consequently, their omission renders a sentence ungrammatical. As a case in point, when the objects *swigono* "dwarfs" in (80a) and *ncila* "tail" in (81) are relativized, the corresponding object clitics -*swi*- "them" and -*wu*- "it", respectively, and the relative suffix -k- must be present in the relative clause, otherwise the sentences are ungrammatical, as we see in (80d) and (80e). Similarly, as the contrast between (80a), (81) and (80b), (80d), (80e) shows, whenever it is the object that is relativized, the use of the respective object clitic and the relative suffix -k- is obligatory. The relative pronoun which represents the relativized NP within the relative clause may be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence, as we see in (80c).<sup>15</sup>

It is important to note here that in the simple clauses from which the relative clauses are derived, the object clitic cannot be present - see (82)

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related to (80c).

Va- nyik-ile Jorigina swi-gono kuva swi- ta -mu- pfun-a. [82]  
2 SM give PST Georgina 8 dwarf for 8 SM FUT 1 OM her help PRS

ta wukati  
of 14 marriage

"They have given dwarfs to Georgina to help her with marriage problems."

To summarize, there seems to be enough evidence to suggest that the object clitic that appears in Tsonga relative clauses when it is the object which is relativized is an example of grammatical agreement, in the sense that its omission renders the sentence ungrammatical.

Once again, if we refer to examples (80) and (81), we can argue for Tsonga having pronoun retention plus an optional TOP NP in (matrix) clause-initial position. In the case of the headless relative clauses, as we saw in (27a) and (27c) in chapter 2, we would have the relative pronoun (or COMP) and the relative marker *nga*, which is used in this type of relative clauses.<sup>16</sup>

### 4.2.2 Clitics and interrogative clauses in Tsonga

In Bantu languages there are various WH-words which are used for forming interrogative clauses. The choice of a particular WH-word to be used depends, inter alia, on the syntactic status of the questioned constituent (see Bennett [1977] and Bokamba [1976]). As regards Tsonga, a comprehensive description of the different WH-words used in this language can be found in Baumbach (1987:265-267). Here we shall concentrate on the question of the

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relationship between the WH- word and the pronominal clitic, referred to earlier. Consider examples (83).

Ku- t- ile mani? [83a]  
17 there come PST who?  
"Who came?"

\* Ku- mu- t- ile mani? [83b]  
17 there 1 OM him come PST who?

U- won-ile mani? [83c]  
1 SM you see PST who?  
"Whom did you see?"

? U- mu- won-ile mani? [83d]  
1 SM 1 OM him see PST who

As in the case of the Chicheŵa examples in (70b), in the Tsonga examples in (83) there is a function clash. That is, the WH-word is used for conveying new information and hence related to the discourse function of FOC. Consequently, the WH-word cannot co-exist with the OM which refers to old information and, as such, to the discourse function of TOP. In short the WH-word cannot be linked to FOC and TOP at the same time.

### 4.2.3 Clitics and independent pronouns in Tsonga

As we have already seen, SM and OM are referential elements that, given the appropriate contextual or discourse environment, can encode the subject and object syntactic functions respectively. In LFG terms, SM and OM bear an argument relation to the verb and, as such, are governed by the

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predicator. By contrast, independent pronouns are used for focusing or contrasting and therefore associated with the discourse function of FOC. In LFG terms, independent pronouns do not bear an argument relation to the verb and, as a result, cannot be governed by the predicator. They can only anaphorically bind grammatical functions which are governed by the predicator (cf. chapter 1, section 1.3.2). In what follows, we turn to the different types of Tsonga independent pronouns shown in Table 1 above.

### **4.2.3.1 Absolute pronouns in Tsonga**

The absolute pronouns in Tsonga morphologically consist of two elements: a prefix which reflects the class of the matching lexical NP, and *-na-*, an invariable element found in all classes - at times termed "stabilizer" in the literature on Bantu languages (for instance, see Baumbach [1987:158]).

In principle an absolute pronoun can anaphorically bind a subject, object, complement and so on. From the discourse perspective, the absolute pronouns are used for contrasting or focusing and hence fulfil the FOC function (cf. Louwrens [1985]). For instance in (84a), we see that *yena* "he" anaphorically binds the subject clitic *a-* "he", and has a contrastive function, in that its referent contrasts with Mageva. (The background of the conversation in question is that one day after finishing their contract with a mining company, two friends, Botoro and Mageva, went to town to buy some means of transport which they would use when they returned to their home village.

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Another mine worker, who had known about their shopping trip, comments on what happened between Botoro and Mageva. In his comment, he uses the absolute pronoun *yena* "he" to contrast Botoro, who could afford a car, with Mageva, who could only buy a bicycle due to shortage of money.)

Yena a- xav-ile mova tolo [84a]  
 1 + he 1 SM he buy PST 3 car yesterday  
 "He bought a car yesterday

Mageva a-yo- xava basikeni ntsena  
 1a PN 1 PST buy 5 bicycle only  
 Mageva bought a bicycle only

hikuva a- kiyel-el- iw- ile hi male.  
 because 1SM short-APPL PASS PST by 6 money.  
 because he was short of money."  
 "Him, he bought a car yesterday. Mageva only bought a bicycle because he was short of money."

As we see in (84b), the independent pronoun *yena* "he" has a contrastive function. Example (84c) was uttered by a mother while warning her son. In this example, we have two independent pronouns, namely *wena* "you" and *leswo* "that". The former is used for emphasising whereas the latter is used for focusing.

Ndzi- mu- won-ile **yena** tolo. [84b]  
 I/me- 1 OM-see-PST 1 him yesterday  
 "I saw **him** yesterday."

**Wena**-u- ta- b- iw- a, loko u- mah-a **leswo**. [84c]  
 You- 1 you-FUT-beat-PASS if 1 you-do-PRS 8 that  
 "You, you will be beaten, if you do that."

As we have already remarked, within the LFG approach, as in the case with TOP, FOC is associated with non-subcategorizable elements at f-

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structure, whose presence in the sentence is dispensable (cf. chapter 1, section 1.3.2). Such elements may therefore be removed or omitted without rendering the sentence in which they occur ungrammatical. For instance, consider (85a) and (85b), derived from (84b) and (84c) by omitting the absolute pronouns *yena* "him" and *wena* "you".

Ndzi- mu- won-ile tolo. [85a]  
 I + 1 SM 1 OM him see PST yesterday  
 "I saw him yesterday."

U- ta- b- iw-a. [85b]  
 1 + you FUT-beat PASS.  
 "You will be beaten."

Both sentences in (85) are grammatical, despite the fact that the absolute pronouns have been removed. However, these sentences have lost their contrastive, or emphatic meaning. Example (85a) is a simple statement about somebody who had been seen the previous day. Similarly, (85b) only provides information about what will happen to someone. In fact, it can be used as an answer to a question such as *Mama, loko ndzo teka lexi, swingo yini?* "Mummy what would happen, if I took this?" Furthermore, mobility may be used to support the claim that the absolute pronouns in (85) perform a discourse function. That is, they can either be placed at the beginning or at the end of a clause, without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. For instance in (86), derived from (84a), we see that *yena* "him" can be moved to the end of the clause.

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A- xav-ile movha tolo yena. [86]  
1 SM buy PST 3 car yesterday 1 + he  
"He bought a car yesterday, him."

To summarize, when the absolute pronouns are absent, the examples in (84) lose their contrastive and emphatic functions. This shows that their presence in the sentence is required by discourse rather than syntactic factors.

### 4.2.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

In Tsonga, as we saw in section 2.1.1.9 (see examples [32] and [33]), the locative prefixes 16 **pa-**, 17 **ku-** and 18 **mu-** normally found in other Bantu languages such as Shona (see note 13 in chapter 2) are displayed only by demonstratives, and occur as suffixes rather than prefixes. The prefix **ku-**, which has been regarded as the sole agreement marker with all the examples in (32) and (33) is shown to be in class 17 in the demonstrative system too, as we see in (87).

Laha tafuleni ku-ni bibe. [87a]  
DM 16 5 table-LOC 17 have-PRS 5 bible  
"Here, on the table there is a bible."

Laho henhla ku + a- nsinya ku-tshame xi-khova. [87b]  
DM 16 above-LOC 17 of + it 3 tree 17-sit-PRS 7 owl  
"There, up there in the tree is sitting an owl (there is an owl sitting in the tree there.)"

Wa- ku-khumbul- a lo-ku-ya hi-ku-woneke. [87c]  
You 17-remember-PRS DM-17-there we-17-see-REL-PST  
"Do you remember that place we have seen."

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Lomu                      tikweni   ku-ni   ndlala.                      [87d]

DM-18 inside [here] 5 country-LOC 17-have 9 hunger

"Inside the country there is hunger (there is hunger in the country)."

Lomo bokisweni      hi-vek- ile tinguwu.                      [87e]

DM-18 6 suitcase-LOC we-keep-PST 9 cloth

"There, in the suitcase we have kept garments"

Lo-mu-ya              ku-sasekile.                      [87f]

DM-18 inside far 17-be beautiful-PRS

"Inside there is beautiful (It is beautiful inside there.)"

Morphologically, although there may be a problem of segmentation, it is clear from the table that the demonstrative pronouns contain one invariable element *le-* that may be taken as the base from which all the demonstrative pronouns are derived. It is followed by the class prefix that signals the NP which the demonstrative pronoun binds.

Syntactically, as was the case with the absolute pronouns, demonstrative pronouns are non-subcategorizable functions, in the sense that they do not bear an argument relation with a verb. They are used for contrasting and emphasising. Hence they can only be related to syntactic functions by binding. However, demonstrative pronouns differ from absolute pronouns in that they only anaphorically bind locative NPs. In (87a), for instance, we see that the demonstrative pronoun *laha* "here" is used to focus on the locative NP *tafuleni* "on the table". Likewise, in (87d) we see the demonstrative pronoun *lomu* "inside" used to focus on the locative NP *tikweni* "in the country".

As is the case with the absolute pronouns in (84), the demonstrative

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pronouns in (87) can be omitted without rendering the sentence ungrammatical. This shows that they do not bear an argument relation with the verb.

Tikweni ku-ni ndlala. [88a]  
5 country LOC 17 have 9 hunger  
"There is hunger in the country."

Bokisweni hi-vek- ile tinguwu. [88b]  
6 suitcase LOC we keep PST cloth  
"We kept garments in the suitcase."

The demonstrative pronouns have been removed from (88) and the sentences remain grammatical. However, they have lost their focusing or emphatic meaning. Thus, these sentences can be used as statements or answers to questions.

As is evident from the table, demonstratives in Tsonga fall into three types, depending on the degree of closeness of the location in question (cf. Baumbach [1987:164-5]). Such a division is comparable to the distinction between the first, second and third persons and it intersects with the class distinction. In other words, demonstratives can be classified horizontally and vertically. The former classification is comparable to the grammatical distinction of first, second and third persons whereas the latter corresponds to the division of nouns into classes, taking into account their meanings, as we saw earlier. As a result, while the examples in (87a) and (87d) denote a location which is relatively nearer to the speaker than to the listener, the ones in (87b) and (87e) stand for a location which is relatively nearer to the listener than to the speaker. Finally, the examples in (87c) and (87f) refer to a place

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which is relatively far from both the speaker and the listener (Matsinhe [1989]).

To make the foregoing discussion clearer, and by way of recapitulation, the demonstrative pronouns in the examples (87) can be paired off according to their meaning: *Laha* (87a)//*lomu* (87d) "proximity/interior" (nearer the speaker than the listener [first person]), *laho* (87b)//*lomo* (87e) "proximity/interior" (nearer the listener than the speaker [second person]) and *lokuya* (87c)//*lomuya* (87f) "proximity/interior" (far from both the speaker and the listener [third person]).

All the examples in (87) provide further evidence to support the claim that the prefix **ku-** of class 17 is the sole agreement marker for locatives. In fact, it overrides at least the residual locative class markers **ha-** of class 16 and **mu-** of class 18, dominating the agreement pattern, as we see in (87a), (87b), (87d) and (87f).

It is of interest to observe here that the absolute pronoun *kona* can not only stand for any of the locative expressions in Tsonga, as indicated in the table, but can also be used in apposition to any of them for conveying contrastive meaning.

Namuntlha ku-his-a swinene. [89a]  
Today 15 hot-PRS very  
"Today is very hot."

La-ha ha-ndle ko-na ka-pep-a, loko wo-tw- a lo-mu-ya. [89b]  
DM-16 16 outside 17 here 17 cool if you-feel-PRS DM-18-there  
"Outside here it is cool, if you feel inside there .

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**ndlwini**      **ahi-**      **ku-his-a**      **ku + a**      **kona.**  
 9 house-LOC extremely 17-hot-PRS 17 of +it there.  
 the house there is extremely hot.

Niku hi-ta yetler- is- a ku yini a- ndzi-swi-tiv- i.  
Even we-FUT sleep-CAUS-PRS 17 what NEG I 8 know - NEG  
Even how we are going to sleep I don't know."

"Outside here is cool, inside the house there it is extremely hot, I don't even know how we are going to sleep."

One evening in mid-summer, a mother was sitting outside her house with her daughter. She complained that it was extremely hot, uttering example (89a). The daughter replied, using (89b) to observe that the outside was cooler than inside the house; to such an extent that she did not even know how they were going to sleep in the house. In order to contrast *laha handle* "here outside" with *ndlwini* "inside the house", she uses the former with the absolute pronoun *kona*.

#### 4.2.3.3 Quantitative pronouns

As for quantitative pronouns, they display two forms: inclusive and exclusive (see Table 1). The former anaphorically binds an NP as a whole whereas the latter anaphorically binds a particular NP that is part of a whole (Baumbach [1987:172], Doke [1930:93-97]). Examples (90) indicate that the terms "inclusive" and "exclusive" mean "all" and "sole" respectively.

Muzamani a-t- ile ni nghamu yakwe **hinkwa-yo.** [90a]  
 1a PN 1-come-PST with 9 family 9 his all 9  
 "Muzamani came with all his family."

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(Ma-buluku ya- mina) **hinkwa-*yo*** ma-wom-ile Ndza ha-famb-a. [90b]  
 5 trousers 5 of me all 5 5 dry-PST I I go- PRS  
 "All my trousers are dry, I am going

ndzi-ya-matek- a.  
 I -go-remove-PRS  
 to remove them (from the washing line.)  
 "All my trousers are dry, I am going to put them away."

Mama, ndzi-swiyei-a **lo-mu** ndwini **hinkwa-ko**. [91a]  
 1a mother I - sweep-PRS DM 18 9 house-LOC all 17  
 "Mummy, do you want me to sweep the whole inside of the house."

Swiyei-a gozinheni **ko-xe**. [91b]  
 Sweep-IMP 5 kitchen-LOC 17 only  
 "Clean only the kitchen."

Morphologically, inclusive quantitative pronouns consist of an invariable stem *hinkwa*- "all" with the marker of the class of the corresponding lexical NP (cf. [90a], [90b] and [91a]). With regard to the exclusive quantitative pronouns, they are formed by an invariable stem *-xe* to which the noun class prefix of the matching NP is attached (cf.[91b]).

As is the case with the other independent pronouns discussed above, quantitative pronouns are used for contrasting and emphasising and, as such, anaphorically bind lexical NPs which are governed by the predicator. In (90a) for instance, Muzamani was polygamous. He was invited to a wedding party and brought all his four wives along. One of the people who was in charge of laying places for the guests remarked that six chairs should be reserved for Muzamani and his family. In his remark, he used the sentence in (90a) to contrast Muzamani with other people who only brought part of their family to the wedding. Thus *hinkwayo* "all" in that sentence refers to Muzamani's

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family as a whole. Likewise, *hinkwayo* "all" (90b) refers to all the trousers which are dry. There is not one of them which is not yet dry, as opposed to someone else's trousers that are not all dry. By contrast, in (91b), when the mother replies to her daughter's question, she uses the exclusive pronoun *koxe* "only, alone" to refer to the kitchen.

All the quantitative pronouns in (90) and (91) can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence in which they occur. If this were to happen, however, these examples would lose the contrastive meaning (cf. examples [85]).

The generalization about independent pronouns in Tsonga is that they represent non-subcategorizable functions and, as such, anaphorically bind subcategorizable functions in f-structure. As regards their use, independent pronouns are mainly used for contrasting or emphasising. In order to verify the validity of this generalization, in (92) we apply the structural test used by Bresnan & Mchombo for contrasting pronominal clitics with independent pronouns (cf. example [72b]).

Va- tek- a swa-kuga va- mu- nyik-a. [92a]  
 2 SM they take PRS 8 food 2 SM they 1 OM him give PRS  
 "They took food and gave it to him"

Se Ndale a- hlamul-a, a- ku:  
 Then PN 1 SM he reply PRS, 1 SM he say PRS:  
 Then Ndale replied, saying:

a-ndzi- swi- lav- i.  
 NEG 1 SM I 8 OM it want NEG.  
 "I don't want it."

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Se Ndale a- hlamul-a a- ku: [92b]  
Then PN 1 SM he reply PRS 1 SM he say PRS:  
"Then Ndale replied, saying:

\* A- ndzi- swi- lav- i swo-na.  
NEG 1 SM I 8 OM it want NEG 8 it

In (92a) the object pronominal clitic *swi* "it" recovers the lexical NP TOP *swakuga* "food". By contrast in (92b), the independent *swona* "it" cannot refer back to food, as in this example its function is contrasting and hence the sentence is ungrammatical. This implies that in an interpretation where the referent of *swona* "it" is different from that with which the OM is coreferential, the sentence would be grammatical and the independent pronoun would then be contrasting food with something else.

After dealing with subject and object clitics in Tsonga, we shall proceed to consider clitics and the personal pronoun system in European Portuguese.

### 4.3 Clitics and the personal pronoun system in European Portuguese

In this section, while considering clitics and the personal pronoun system in European Portuguese, we shall seek to distinguish between anaphoric and grammatical agreement in this language in much the same the way we have done for Tsonga (cf. Section 4.1).

As we see in (93), subject-verb agreement in European Portuguese is realised by means of verbal subject inflections (SM) on the verb.

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O coelho **leva** o vinho à casa do macaco. [93a]  
 The hare take PRS3sg the wine to + the house of + the monkey  
 "The hare takes the wine to the baboon's house."

Os polícias **levam** o ladrão à esquadra. [93b]  
 The policemen take PRS3pl the thief to + the police station  
 "The policemen take the thief to the police station."

Eu e o Pedro **levamos** o carro à garagem. [93c]  
 I and the Peter take PRS1pl the car to + the workshop  
 "Peter and I take the car to the workshop."

The affixes in bold in these examples show that the verb *levar* "to take" displays a paradigm of forms, each of which is uniquely related to a specific number, person and tense. Thus, a mismatch between a subject and the subject marker renders the sentence ungrammatical. For instance, (94a) is unacceptable because there is a mismatch between the lexical subject NP *as meninas* "the girls" - third person plural and the form *-a*, which is used for subject-verb agreement in the third person singular. Similarly, as (94b) indicates, the omission of the third person singular subject agreement renders this sentence ungrammatical.

\*As meninas **leva** o bebé ao hospital. [94a]  
 The girls take PRS3sg the baby to + the hospital

\*O leão **levØ** o presente à gazela. [94b]  
 The lion take the gift to + the gazelle

However, as with Tsonga, given an appropriate discourse context a lexical subject NP can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of a sentence, as we see in (95).

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Leva o vinho à casa do macaco. [95]  
 Take PRS 3sg the wine to+the house of+the monkey  
 "He/she/it takes the wine to the baboon's house."

Since the SM -a is uniquely used with the third person singular, the omitted lexical subject NP is expected to be recoverable from the situational context.

Turning to the syntactic status of the person-number affix (SM) in European Portuguese, it has a dual function, i.e. is functionally ambiguous. When the corresponding lexical subject NP is present in the sentence as in (93), it functions as an agreement marker. In the absence of an overt lexical subject NP as in (95), it is referential and represents the subject although the listener has to go outside the sentence to determine its referent - either from the linguistic context or from the situational context. That is to say, the SM is here bound to an empty lexical subject NP which has the TOP function in the wider discourse.

All that we have said so far with regard to grammatical agreement in European Portuguese goes to indicate that the person-number affix (SM) in this language functions in much the same way as the SM in Tsonga. However, these languages differ in one important respect. As we saw earlier, while the SMs in Tsonga occupy pre-verbal position, the European Portuguese markers are post-verbal. This difference is crucial. For, it may help explain certain aspects of subject-verb agreement in PMP (cf. examples [6]).

After considering subject-verb agreement in European Portuguese and

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highlighting the main difference between this language and Tsonga, we now proceed to consider anaphoric agreement in association with the different types of object clitics that exist in European Portuguese. As we see in Table 2, atonic object clitic pronouns (OM) in this language fall into three groups, depending on the syntactic function of the matching lexical object NP. Namely, we have direct object (accusative), indirect object (dative) and reflexive pronouns. While discussing clitics in French - a Romance language closely related to Portuguese - Grimshaw (1982:88) observes that "accusative clitics occur with verbs which take direct object NPs and occur with verbs which absolutely require NPs." As for dative and reflexive clitics, while the former occur with verbs selecting indirect objects, the latter occur with verbs which express an action performed on the subject. Given this, although some clitics are phonologically similar - as Table 2 indicates - they may be distinguished according to the syntactic function of the lexical object NP they refer to. It should be observed here that the distinction between accusative and dative clitics is particularly important. For, it may help us understand the use of the object clitics in PMP in chapter 6.

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PERSONAL PRONOUNS					
Subject	Object			Prepositional pronouns	
	Direct	Indirect	Reflexive	1	2
<i>eu</i> (I)	<i>me</i> (me)	<i>me</i> (to me)	<i>me</i> (myself)	<i>mim</i> (me)	<i>comigo</i> (with me)
<i>tu</i> (you)	<i>te</i> (you)	<i>te</i> (to you)	<i>te</i> (yourself)	<i>tí</i> (you)	<i>contigo</i> (with you)
<i>você</i> (you)	<i>o/a</i> (you)	<i>lhe</i> (to you)	<i>se</i> (yourself)	<i>si</i> (you)	<i>consigo</i> (with you)
<i>ele/ela</i> (he/she/it)	<i>o/a</i> (him,her,it)	<i>lhe</i> (to him,her,it)	<i>se</i> (him/her/itself)	<i>si, ele, ela</i> (him, her, it)	<i>consigo, com ele/ela</i> (with him/ her/ it)
<i>nós</i> (we)	<i>nos</i> (us)	<i>nos</i> (to us)	<i>nos</i> (ourselves)	<i>nós</i> (us)	<i>connosco</i> (with us)
<i>vós</i> (you)	<i>vos</i> (you)	<i>vos</i> (to you)	<i>vos</i> (yourselves)	<i>vós</i> (you)	<i>convosco</i> (with you)
<i>vocês</i> (you)	<i>os/as</i> (you) <i>vos</i> (you)	<i>lhes</i> (to you) <i>vos</i> (to you)	<i>se</i> (yourselves)	<i>vocês</i> (you)	<i>convosco, com vocês</i> (with you)
<i>eles/elas</i> (they)	<i>os/as</i> (them)	<i>lhes</i> (to them)	<i>se</i> (themselves)	<i>si, eles/elas</i> (them)	<i>consigo, com eles/elas</i> (with them)

Jones (1990:67)

**Table 2: Personal pronouns in European Portuguese**

Contrary to Tsonga where the object clitics always occupy a pre-verbal position regardless of the type of the sentence in which they occur, in European Portuguese the placement of objects clitics depends on the type of the sentence in which they occur. Here, taking this into consideration, we shall proceed in two stages: firstly, we shall focus on the positions that object clitics may occupy in a clause in European Portuguese, in particular the fact that they occupy pre-verbal position and post-verbal position, and the placement of object clitics in clauses that involve the future and conditional.

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Such a description will provide us with the essential background against which we shall analyze clitic placement in PMP. It should be noted here that the rules governing the placement of object clitics in European Portuguese are complex and, therefore, we shall confine ourselves to the basic principles which, we believe, may help in chapter 6. For further description of the rules which govern the placement of object clitics in European Portuguese see Martins (1994), Madeira (1992), Rouveret (1989) Duarte (1983), Mateus et al. (1983), and Jones (1990). Secondly, we shall address the issue of the syntactic status of object clitics in European Portuguese, i.e. is an object clitic the object of the verb and is the matching lexical NP a topic to which it is bound anaphorically? We shall also try to establish the status of object clitics in sentences which involve clitic doubling in this language.

We return now to the question of the rules obtaining for the placement of object clitics in European Portuguese. As we see in (96), in simple declarative and positive clauses, object clitics in this language follow the verb.

A tartaruga encontrou- *nos* no rio. [96a]  
The tortoise find PST3sg ACC us in the river  
"The tortoise found us in the river."

A raposa mandou- *lhe* um presente. [96b]  
the fox send PST3sg DAT him a gift  
"The fox sent him a gift."

Object clitics precede the verb in negative clauses such as (97), interrogative clauses that contain WH-words like (98),<sup>17</sup> and in subordinate clauses as in (99).

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**Ninguém** nos mostrou o aviso. [97a]  
 Nobody ACC us show PST3sg the notice  
 "Nobody showed us the notice."

**Nada** lhes serve. [97b]  
 Nothing DAT them suit PRS3sg  
 "Nothing suits them."

**Nunca** o vi zangado. [97c]  
 Never ACC him see PST1sg annoyed  
 "I never saw him annoyed."

**João:** já levantaste o teu salário? [97d]  
 Already fetch PST 2sg the your salary  
**John:** "Have you already fetched your salary?"

**Maria:** Não, ainda não o levantei.  
 No, yet not ACC it fetch PST1sg  
**Mary:** "No, I haven't fetched it, yet."

**Quem** te disse que a avestruz não voa? [98a]  
 Who DAT you tell-PST3sg that the ostrich not fly PRS3sg  
 "Who told you that the ostrich does not fly?"

**Pedro:** Ontem, a Marisa estava bem vestida. [98b]  
 Yesterday the PN be PST 3sg well dressed  
**Peter:** "Yesterday, Marisa was well dressed."

**Bernardo:** Onde a encontraste?  
 Where ACC her find PST2sg  
**Bernard:** "Where did you meet her?"

**Por que é** que nos exploram? [98c]  
 Why is PRS3sg that DAT us exploit PRS3pl  
 "Why do they exploit us?"

O Pedro disse-me que o cágado [99a]  
 The Peter tell PST3sg DAT me that the tortoise  
 "Peter told me that the tortoise  
**lhe** trouxeum ovo.  
 DAT him bring PST3sga egg  
 brought him an egg."

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**Quando o** viste ficaste assustado. [99b]  
 When ACC him see PST2sg remain PST2sg frightened  
 "When you saw him, you were frightened."

**A:** Como foi o caso da Maria? [99c]  
 How be PST3sg the case of Mary  
 "How was Mary's case."

**B:** Se eu te contasse toda a história dela,  
 If I DAT you tell PST CONJ3sg all the story of her  
 "If I told you all her story,  
 tu choravas.  
 you cry PST CONJ2sg  
 you would cry."

In a clause where an adverbial such as *ainda* "still", *aqui* "here", *já* "already", *muitas vezes* "many times", *pouco* "little" - as in (100) - or a certain indefinite pronoun such as *alguém* "somebody", *ambos* "both", *todos* "everybody", and *tudo* "everything" - as in (101) - precedes the verb, the object clitic also precedes the verb.

Tu **ainda me** debes muitos favores. [100a]  
 You still DAT me owe PRS2sg many favours  
 "You still owe me many favours."

**Victoria:** Mamã, onde está o meu lápis? [100b]  
 Mum, where be PRS3sg the my pencil  
**Victoria:** "Mum, where is my pencil?"

**Mum:** **Aqui o** tens  
 Here it have PRS2sg  
**Mum:** "Here you have it."

Nós **já lhe** mandámos uma carta. [100c]  
 We already DAT him send PST1pl a letter  
 "We have already sent him a letter."

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**Muitas vezes te** procurei. [100d]  
 Many times ACC you search PST1sg  
 "Many times I searched for you."

**Pouco me** disseram. [100e]  
 Little DAT me tell PST3pl  
 "They told me little."

**Alguém me** disse. [101a]  
 Somebody DAT me tell PST3sg  
 "Somebody told me."

**Ambos lhe** beijaram. [101b]  
 Both DAT him kiss PST3pl  
 "Both kissed him."

**Tudo lhe** provoca náuseas. [101c]  
 Everything DAT him provoke PRS3sg sickness  
 "Everything causes him sickness."

**A:** Quem põe a mesa? [101d]  
 Who lay PRS3sg the table  
 "Who lays the table?"

**B:** Todos a põem.  
 Everybody ACC it lay PRS3pl  
 "Everybody lays it."

However, it should be observed that, when a sentence contains adverbials which express the "**time when**", the object clitic comes after the verb. For instance, compare the position of the object clitic *me* "me" in (100a) where we have the adverbial of time *ainda* "still" and the position of the object clitic *lhe* "him" in (100c) where we have the adverbial of time *já* "already" with the position of the clitic *te* "you" in (102) where we have the adverbials *hoje* "today" and *amanhã* "tomorrow", expressing the "**time when**."

**Hoje dei-te** uma lição, [102]  
 Today give PST1sg DAT you a lesson,  
 "Today I gave you one lesson, tomorrow, I shall give you

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**amanhã** dou-        **te**        duas.  
 tomorrow give PRS1sg DAT you two.  
 "Today I gave you one lesson, tomorrow I shall give you two."

In infinitival clauses introduced by a preposition - whether simple, as in (103), or complex, as in (104) - the object clitic precedes the verb.

A Maria gostou **de me** conhecer. [103a]  
 The Mary like PST3sg of ACC me know INF  
 "Marie was pleased to know me."

A Laura veio **para nos** ver. [103b]  
 The PN come PST3sg to us see INF  
 "Laura came to see us."

Tu foste **sem lhes** pagar o dinheiro. [103c]  
 You leave PST2sg without DAT them pay in INF the money  
 "You left without paying them the money."

**Depois de** vos mostrar o que traziam nos sacos, [104a]  
 After of DAT you show INF the that bring PST3pl in the bags  
 "After showing you what they brought in the bags,

elas começaram a dançar.  
 they start PST3pl to dance INF  
 they started to dance."  
 "After showing us what they brought in the bags, they started to dance."

**Além de me** abraçar, a Djamila beijou- me. [104b]  
 Besides of ACC me hug INF, the PN kiss PST3sg ACC me  
 "Besides hugging me, Djamila kissed me."

In clauses that contain modal auxiliaries, or aspectual verbs, the object clitic can either be attached to the main verb as in (105), or to the auxiliary as in (106) (Mateus et al. [1983:501]).

O patrão deve pagar- **nos** hoje. [105a]  
 The employer should-PRS pay INF DAT us today  
 "The employer should pay us today."

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Uma aspirina pode aliviar- te as dores. [105b]  
 A aspirin can PRS3sg alleviate INF DAT the pain  
 "An aspirin can alleviate your pain."

Quando tu chegaste, o Chico estava a contar- me [105c]  
 When you arrive PST2sg, the PN be PST3sg ASP tell INF DAT me  
 "When you arrived, Chico was telling me

uma fábula engraçada.  
 a folktale funny  
 a funny folktale."  
 "When you arrived, Chico was telling me a funny folktale."

O patrão deve- nos pagar hoje. [106a]  
 The employer should PRS3sg DAT pay INF today  
 "The employer should pay us today."

Uma aspirina pode- te aliviar as dores [106b]  
 A aspirin can PRS3sg DAT you alleviate the pain  
 "An aspirin can alleviate your pain."

Quando tu chegaste, o Chico estava- me [106c]  
 When you arrive-PST2sg, the Chico be PST3sg DAT me  
 "When you arrived, Chico was telling me

a contar uma fábula engraçada.  
 ASP tell INF a folktale funny  
 a funny folktale.  
 "When you arrived, Chico was telling me a funny folktale."

Finally, in clauses involving the future tense as in (107), or in conditional clauses as in (108), the object clitic occupies an intermediate position - i.e. it is placed between the verbal root and the inflections (Jones [1990:87-88]).

A Stella ajudar- te- á a transportar os teus livros .[107a]  
 The PN help INF DAT you FUT3sg to carry INF the your books  
 "Stella will help you carry your books."

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Tu compra- lo-<sup>18</sup> ás no bazar. [107b]  
 You buy INF ACC it FUT2sg in the market  
 "You will buy it in the market."

Se tu tivesses tempo, ajudar- me- ias. [108]  
 If you have PST SBJ 2sg time, help INF DAT me COND2sg  
 "If you had time you would help me."

What shows that the position of the object clitic in European Portuguese is determined by the presence of elements such as adverbials and WH-words in the sentence is the fact that when these elements are omitted, the object clitic follows the verb. For instance, compare examples (100) with (109).

Tu dever- me muitos favores. [109a]  
 You owe PRS2sg DAT many favours  
 "You owe me many favours."

Nós mandámos- lhe uma carta. [109b]  
 We send PST1pl DAT him a letter  
 "We have sent him a letter."

Before we proceed to consider the syntactic status of object clitics in European Portuguese, it is important to note here that in this language both objects of a ditransitive verb can be represented by object clitics. Moreover, as we see in (110), when this is the case, it is the dative object clitic which comes immediately after the verb, followed by the accusative object clitic.

O João disse- mo (me + o). [110a]  
 The PN tell PST3sg DAT me + ACC it  
 "John has told me about it."

A Ana ofereceu- lhos (lhe + os). [110b]  
 The PN offer-PST3sg DAT him + ACC them  
 "Anne has offered them to him."

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Returning to their syntactic status, the object clitics in (96)-(110) represent the lexical object NP and, as such, bear an argument relation to the verb. For instance, in (96a) we see that the accusative clitic *nos* "us" functions as a direct object of the verb *encontrar* "to find". Similarly, in (96b) we find that the dative clitic *lhe* "him" functions as an indirect object of the verb *mandar* "to send". From the discourse point of view, these object clitics are anaphorically bound to the TOP NP.

Apart from the person-number affix (SM) and the atonic object clitic (OM), which has a referential meaning and, given the appropriate contextual or discourse environment, can represent the subject and object syntactic functions respectively, European Portuguese also distinguishes between subject and prepositional personal pronouns (cf. Table 2). In order to distinguish these type of personal pronouns from object clitics which do not carry stress, some scholars call them "tonic forms of pronouns" (Mateus et al. [1983:280] and Cunha & Cintra [1984:279]). As was the case with independent pronouns in Tsonga, pronouns of this type do not bear an argument relation with the verb and can only be anaphorically related to the arguments of the verb. As we shall see below, from the discourse point of view, subject and prepositional personal pronouns have emphatic and contrastive meanings. In LFG terms they are associated with the discourse function of FOC. In what follows, we shall consider subject and prepositional personal pronouns. While dealing with the former, we shall also attempt to establish the syntactic status of the object clitic in sentences which involve

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clitic doubling in this language.

### 4.3.1 Subject personal pronouns

The subject personal pronouns anaphorically bind the lexical subject NP. As is the case with the independent pronouns in Tsonga, this type of personal pronouns in European Portuguese has a contrastive and focusing function and, as such, encodes the discourse function of FOC. For instance, in (111b) *e/le* "he" carries a focusing meaning. This example is an excerpt from a conversation between two young ladies - *Rita* and *Marisa* - about Pedro "Peter" who had gone shopping. During the course of their conversation, *Rita* argues that, among other items, *Pedro* "Peter", had bought a shirt. In the course of stressing that in fact what Peter had bought was a coat, *Marisa* uses the subject pronoun *e/le* "he". In (112), we have an excerpt of a conversation between *Laura* and her friend *Amina*. The background is that one evening, Laura took her husband and children out for a meal. *Rui*, her youngest child, ate everything that appeared in the menu. By contrast, *Sónia*, the eldest of the girls, decided to have soup only. In order to contrast *Sónia* with *Rui*, *Laura* uses the subject personal pronoun *e/la* "she". Hence this pronoun has a contrastive meaning.

**Rita:** O Pedro comprou uma camisa. [111a]  
The Peter buy PST3sg a shirt.  
"Peter has bought a shirt."

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Marisa: Não, *ele* comprou um casaco. [111b]  
No, he buy PST3sg a coat  
"No, he has bought a coat."

O Rui comeu tudo o que estava na ementa, [112]  
The PN eat PST3sg all the that be PST3sg in + the menu,  
"Rui has eaten everything which was in the menu,

mas *ela* só pediu a sopa.  
but she only order PST3sg the soup  
but she has ordered soup only."

As we saw above, discourse functions such as FOC and TOP are related to constituents which do not bear an argument relation to the predicate and, as such, only bind syntactic functions. This entails that such constituents may be removed, without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence in which they occur (cf. [85a] and [85c]). However, in this case, as we see in (113) derived from (111b) by removing the tonic subject pronoun *ele* "he", the sentence loses its contrastive, or focusing meanings. In fact, (113) can be used as an answer to a yes/no question.

Não, comprou um casaco. [113]  
No, bought PST3sg a coat  
"No, he bought a coat."

After considering subject personal pronouns in European Portuguese, we shall proceed to focus on the prepositional personal pronouns in this language.

### 4.3.2 Prepositional personal pronouns

Prepositional personal pronouns (Mateus et al. [1983:280] and Cunha

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& Cintra [1985:270]), as the name implies, occur only with prepositions. From the syntactic point of view, prepositional personal pronouns anaphorically bind the "oblique" lexical NPs which are usually [+human]. Pragmatically, they are used for focusing and contrasting and therefore encode the discourse function of FOC. For instance, consider (114) taken from Mateus et al. (1983:280). In (114a) we see that the prepositional phrase *a mim* "to me" serves the discourse function of focusing. This is also true of *a ele* "to him" in (114b). In (115) *para ti* "for you" is used for contrasting.

Ele fez- me um favor, a mim. [114a]  
He do PST3sg DAT me a favour, to me  
"He did me a favour, to me."

Não lhe diga nada, a ele. [114b]  
Not DAT him say PRS3sg nothing, to him  
"Don't tell him anything, to him"

Esse lápis é para ti. [115]  
That pencil be PRS3sg for you 2sg  
"That pencil is for you."

Like the subject personal pronouns, the prepositional personal pronouns may be removed from a sentence without rendering it ungrammatical. In (116), (cf. [114b]), we see that the removal of the prepositional personal pronoun cause the sentence to lose its emphatic meaning. It becomes a simple statement used to convey a particular message to the listener. This indicates that the use of prepositional pronouns is determined by discourse factors.

Não lhe diga nada. [116]  
Not DAT say PRS3sg nothing  
"Don't tell him anything."

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The prepositional personal pronouns in (114) and (115) 'double' the OM in the sentence. This phenomenon is known as "clitic doubling" in some literature (cf. C. Lyons [1990]). The crucial point here is whether the occurrence of the OM is obligatory with the tonic pronouns. In other words, can we have the prepositional pronoun without the OM and vice-versa? With regard to Spanish, Lyons (1990) argues that the clitics should be regarded as an agreement marker. This amounts to saying that their presence in the sentence is obligatory. As regards European Portuguese, according to Matos & Duarte (1984:480-484), although it can involve both direct and indirect object clitics, clitic doubling in this language is subject to certain conditions, viz (1) the doubled NP should be [+definite], (2) it should mainly be [+human] and (3) it should be represented by a free pronoun. By way of illustration, they give the examples reproduced in (117). In (117a) and (117b) we see that the OMs double the prepositional pronouns *a ele* "to him" and *a ela* "to her" respectively. In this case the sentences are grammatical because the referents of the pronouns are [+human]. However, when the doubled NP is expressed by a lexical NP, the sentences are ungrammatical. This is what we see in (117c) and (117d). In examples (117e) and (117f) the OMs double NPs which are represented by indefinite ([-definite]) pronouns, and this fact renders the sentences ungrammatical.

Já        o<sub>i</sub>        vimos        a ele<sub>i</sub> hoje.  
 Already ACC him see PST1pl to him today  
 "We already saw him today."

[117a]

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Já     lhe<sub>i</sub>     demos     a carta     a ela<sub>i</sub>.     [117b]  
 Already DAT her give PST1pl the letter to her  
 "We already gave her the letter."

\*Vimo-     lo<sub>i</sub>     ao Guilherme<sub>i</sub>.     [117c]  
 See PST1pl ACC him to William  
 "We have seen William."

\*O Miguelito ofereceu- lhe<sub>i</sub>     um caramelo a Mafalda<sub>i</sub>.     [117d]  
 The PN     offer PST3sg DAT him a sweet to PN  
 "Miguelito has offered her a sweet."

\*Já     os<sub>i</sub> vimos     alguns<sub>i</sub>.     [117e]  
 Already ACC see PST1pl some  
 "We have already seen some people."

\*Já     lhe<sub>i</sub>     demos     a carta a alguém<sub>i</sub>.     [117f]  
 Already DAT him give PST1pl the letter to somebody  
 "We have already given somebody the letter."

Returning to the question posed earlier in connection with the syntactic status of the prepositional pronouns and the OM, it is important to recall that the OM always functions as an object of the verb and it is anaphorically bound to a lexical NP that encodes the discourse function of TOP. As we see in (118b), this means that the OM cannot be removed without rendering the sentence ungrammatical. On the other hand, free pronouns do not function as arguments of the verb. They serve a discourse function and therefore anaphorically linked to the discourse function of FOC. Hence, as we see in (118a), when the prepositional pronoun is omitted, the sentence remains grammatical, though it is no longer carries an emphatic meaning.

Já     o     vimos     hoje.     [118a]  
 Already ACC him see PST1pl today  
 "We already saw him today."

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\*Já vimos a ele hoje. [118b]  
Already see PST1pl to him today

To summarize, as is the case with independent pronouns in Tsonga, the generalization about subject and prepositional personal pronouns in European Portuguese is that their use is regulated by discourse/pragmatic factors rather than syntactic ones. With regard to clitic doubling in this language, the OM and the free pronouns have specific functions. While the former fulfils the syntactic function of object, the later have emphatic, or contrastive meaning.

### 4.4 Main differences

The analysis of SM and OM in Tsonga and European Portuguese was meant mainly to highlight the differences which exist between these two languages. Such differences will serve as a background for the analysis to be undertaken in chapter 6. In what follows, by way of conclusion to this chapter, we summarize the differences.

Tsonga and European Portuguese differ with respect to SM and OM in following respects. Firstly, in Tsonga the SM is a pronominal clitic which occupies a pre-verbal position whereas in European Portuguese it is realised by means of post-verbal inflections. Secondly, while in Tsonga the OM always occupies a pre-verbal position regardless of whether a clause is simple, negative, or subordinate, in European Portuguese the OM is either placed before or after the verb, depending on the type of the clause in which it

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occurs. In European Portuguese the third forms of the OMs have separate accusative and dative forms. The former are used for representing direct objects and the latter indirect objects. By contrast Tsonga OMs lack case differentiation. Fourthly, in European Portuguese the OM is always an incorporated pronoun which is anaphorically linked to the discourse function of TOP whereas in Tsonga there are instances in which the OM behaves like an agreement marker. Finally, while in European Portuguese definiteness is expressed by means of definite articles, in Tsonga it is achieved by using the OM together with the matching NP.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Or as Bynon (1990:104) and War (1992:17) remark, clitics cannot be used in isolation, say, for answering a question.
2. A similar observation is found in Bynon (1993:40).
3. For detailed discussions of the properties of clitics, see also Klavans (1979, 1980, 1983, 1985), Zwicky & Pullum (1983), Zwicky (1985), Scalise (1984), Spencer (1991) and Yacoub (1985).
4. I shall consider only studies on object clitics in Bantu languages. For studies on non-Bantu languages and references see Borer (1984, specially chapter 3, 1986), Jaeggli (1982, 1986), Sadock, 1991, specially chapter 3), Spencer (1991, chapter 9) and War (1992).
5. One could argue that (67b) also involves a reanalysis, i.e. the shift from stage 2 to stage 3.
6. Since I am reviewing Bresnan & Mchombo's arguments, here I find it necessary to retain their terminology.
7. Following Trask (1993:84), I use the term "discourse" to refer to "a connected series of utterances by one or more speakers."
8. In the dialect under consideration here *karingani* means "folktale or story." "*Karingani wa karingani*" is an introductory formula used by a narrator at the beginning of a folktale for catching the attention of the audience. It is equivalent to: "I'm going to tell you a story."
9. In the old days, proposing to a girl among the Tsonga people of Mozambique was a complex activity. The woman in the folktale, for instance, was going around different villages looking for a wife for her son. When she found the girl mentioned in the folktale, (who was born with a tail), the woman had to discuss the matter with the girl's family. So, *vamamani* "mothers" here refers to the girl's biological mother plus her maternal aunts, whom she regards as her mothers as well.
10. The object clitic in Tsonga always occupies this position regardless of the type of the sentence involved. For instance, compare (75a) with (92a). As we shall see later, in European portuguese the position of the object clitic depends on the type of the sentences in which it occurs. The differences in terms of the rules governing the placement of the pronominal clitics in Tsonga and European Portuguese may help explain the rules obtaining in PMP.

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11. This may seem to imply that there is only one entity which functions as the "TOP" of this clause. VO "they" is similarly bound to an NP outside of this clause, i.e. *vamamani* "the mothers".

12. The use of the object clitic for expressing definiteness is not unique to Tsonga. In fact, it has been reported in other Bantu languages. For instance, in regard to Zulu, Doke (1935:85) writes,

A definite object is indicated by the presence of the objectival concord in the predicate.

13. The fact that the relative affix -k- is followed by a tense marker, as shown, for instance by the use of the affixes -e in (80a) and -a (81) to indicate the past tense and the present tense, respectively, seems to have led some researchers to believe in the existence of a relative mood in Tsonga, Mayevu (1978:80-81), for example, after an extensive description of the form and function of the relative clause in Tsonga, has this to say:

it was found that the relative predicate could not be conjugated in terms of the other moods because it tends to exclude them to the same extent as the basic moods exclude each other. A verb cannot be found in two distinctive moods at the same time. In view of all these considerations, there appear to be ample reasons to conclude that the relative predicate is a mood by itself which could be rightly termed a relative mood.

Mayevu's position has won some support amongst other Tsonga scholars. For instance, Baumbach (1987:238-243) uses labels such as "conjugation of verbal relative construction." However, considering that the mood of a predicate has been normally associated with the attitude of the speaker towards what is being said or written, or towards the addressee, it is not clear how Mayevu's suggestion would be appropriate or acceptable. Taking into account this fact, I would need more details before being able to agree or disagree with Mayevu's suggestion. I shall not therefore pursue the question of relative predicate mood.

14. For examples and discussion, see Mayevu (1978) and Baumbach (1987:23ff).
15. Some Tsonga speakers find (80c) to be only marginally acceptable.
16. In fact *nga* is the counterpart of -k-.

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17. Note that in yes-no questions, marked by prosodic features such as intonation, object clitics follow the verb.

A Dorca deu-        te        um beijinho?  
The PN give PST3sg DAT you a kiss  
"Dorca gave you a kiss?"

18. When a verbal form in European Portuguese ends with -r, -s, or -z, the accusative object clitics **o**, **a**, **os** and **as** change into **lo**, **la**, **los**, and **las**. For a full account and examples of these changes, see Jones (1990:85-86).

### 5.1 Introduction

The term reflexive construction is generally used to refer to constructions where two NPs within a simple clause are perceived as sharing the same referent, e.g. **Socrates killed himself**. In this example, **Socrates** and **himself** refer to the same entity, and it is **himself** which is used to signal reflexivity (Kimenyi [1980:63-64], and Trask [1993:233]).

As we shall see below, in Tsonga and other Southern Bantu languages reflexivity is expressed by means of verbal prefixes which share the same slot as the object pronominal clitics (OMs) discussed in the previous chapter. In some literature on these languages there has been a protracted debate about the status of these prefixes. Specifically, the debate revolves around the following question: is the reflexive prefix in these languages an object pronominal clitic or a derivational affix? Despite the arguments which have been put forward, the status of the reflexive remains unclear.

The aim of this chapter is to consider the status of the reflexive marker **-it-** and the reciprocal marker **-an-** in Tsonga, and compare them with the devices in European Portuguese which fulfill comparable functions. Before we consider the relevant Tsonga data, a review of the proposals which have been put forward is appropriate at this point.

While working on Chicheŵa and within Lexical Functional Grammar, Mchombo (1993) argues for a distinction between the reflexive and reciprocal

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markers in this language. He is of the opinion that the former should be regarded as an object pronominal clitic or object marker (OM) which, [as in the case of those discussed in the previous chapter], satisfies the object syntactic function of a transitive verb. Whereas the reciprocal marker, on the other hand, is a verbal affix which participates in the derivational morphology and, as such, should be treated together with other verbal affixes, e.g. the applicative and the causative. This argument amounts to saying that the reflexive prefix belongs to syntax whereas the reciprocal falls within derivational morphology. In this regard, Mchombo (1993:11, 12) writes that:

The complementarity in their structural position is significant in that the reflexive occupies the position identified as that of incorporated pronominal arguments whereas the reciprocal patterns with the argument-structure changing morphology. It is thus argued that the reciprocal is fundamentally different from the reflexive. The reciprocal, but not the reflexive, falls within the domain of derivational morphology.

Mchombo continues:

While the reflexive appears to be analyzable as an argument that is bound to an antecedent subject to domain constraints typical of syntactic binding, the reciprocal is argued to be a detransitivizing morpheme which derives reciprocal verbs.

In order to support his claim, Mchombo observes that reciprocal verbs can be nominalized. For instance, in this language it is possible to derive a noun from those verbs, and he gives Chicheŵa examples which include the following:

Tengan-a "take each other" > m-téngan-o "death pact". [119]  
Kondan-a "love one another" > chi-kondan-o "love".

Mchombo (1993:189)

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Mention should also be made here of the fact that the reciprocal is regarded as a detransitivizing affix and, therefore, it can only be associated with transitive verbs. This will feature prominently in our analysis of the Tsonga reflexive and reciprocal.

With regard to the reflexive, Mchombo's arguments may accord with Chicheŵa, but they may not easily accommodate the reflexive formatives found in Tsonga and other Southern Bantu languages. For instance, in Zulu, a Bantu language mainly spoken in South Africa, the reflexive, rather than being merely an incorporated object pronominal, is perhaps better regarded as a derivational affix. Thus, according to Doke (1930:159), in this language

there is a prefixal formative, akin in use to the objectival concords, which is used immediately before the active verb-stems to give the reflexive force. This is sometimes called "the reflexive pronoun", but **it is not a pronoun as it never constitutes a separate word**. Unlike the objectival concords, this formative -**zi-** is invariable for all persons and classes, and thus not concordial in its function. This prefixal formative is, nevertheless, very closely associated with the verb-stem with which it is used, and **one might be tempted to consider that it forms a real reflexive stem** (emphasis added).

The clear reference here that the reflexive -**zi-** in Zulu may fossilize and then become part of the verb-stem (reflexive verb-stem) seems to suggest that it is evolving from being an incorporated pronominal, and is becoming a derivational affix which derives reflexive verbs. Doke provides the following Zulu examples:

Ukudla "to eat" > ukuzidla "to be proud". [120]  
Ukubusa "to govern" > ukuzibusa "to be comfortable".  
Ukukhuza "to correct" > ukuzikhuza "to be temperate".

Doke (1930:159)

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As will be seen in the next section, the Zulu reflexive *-zi-* is very much similar to the Tsonga reflexive *-ti-*.

### 5.1.1 The reflexive formative *-ti-* in Tsonga

In our earlier work on reflexivization in Tsonga, (see Matsinhe [1992]), we have shown that this language uses *-ti-*, *-ek-* and *-xe* to express reflexivity. Here, however, we shall confine our discussion to the reflexive *-ti-*. The main reason for this is that our intention is to assess whether the reflexive *-ti-* has to be treated as an object pronominal clitic, as in Chicheŵa, or as a derivational affix, which derives reflexive verbs as in Zulu. In addition, *-ti-* will then be compared with the reflexives *me*, *te*, *nos*, *vos*, and *se* used in European Portuguese.

Formally, the reflexive *-ti-* in Tsonga, like its equivalent in Chicheŵa and Zulu, shares the same slot in the verbal complex with the OM, as (121) and (122) indicate.

N'wana wa-ril-a hikuva a-ti- lum-ile. [121a]  
1 child 1 cry-PRS because 1-RFL-bite-PST  
"The child is crying because he bit himself."

Xi-ngove xa- mina xi-ti-vas- ile tolo. [121b]  
7 cat 7 of me 7-RFL-hurt PST yesterday  
"My cat hurt itself yesterday."

\* Xi-pfalo xi-ti- pfal-ile. [121c]  
7 door 7 -RFL-close-PST

\* Wa-nuna a-ti-famb-ile. [121d]  
1 man 1-RFL-go-PST

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In our preliminary work on verbal affixes in Tsonga, (cf. Matsinhe [1994:247]), we have suggested that the use of the reflexive *-ti-* in this language is regularly restricted to clauses whose subjects are either [+human] or [+animate]. Consequently, sentence (121c) is impossible in Tsonga, as the subject *xipfalo* "door" is neither [+human] nor [+animate]. However, a closer examination of the Tsonga reflexives reveals that this language does not allow the use of the reflexive *-ti-* for expressing "indefinite agents" and, as a result, examples such as (121c) are not permissible. Syntactically, as we see in (121a) and (121b), the reflexive *-ti-* binds the object to the subject, creating coreferentiality and, therefore, its use is restricted to transitive verbs. For instance, (121a) means that the child bit himself, e.g. while eating porridge. In order to convey this meaning, the reflexive *-ti-* is used, resulting in binding the object to the subject. In other words, the object and the subject refer to the same entity (Trask [1993:233]). It follows then that a reflexive verb cannot be derived from an intransitive verb, e.g. *ku famba* "to go, to walk" in (121d).

Although there is no historical linguistic information which may help explain this fact, the reflexive *-ti-* is homophonous with the pronominal object clitic *-ti-* of class 9.

Ndzi *-ti-* von-ile *ti-nghala* tolo. [122a]  
1 I 9 OM them- see-PST 9 lion yesterday  
"I saw them, the lions yesterday."

Ndzi-*ti-* von-ile tolo. [122b]  
1 I 9 OM them see-PST yesterday  
"I saw them yesterday."

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As mentioned earlier, these facts have led various researchers dealing with Bantu languages closely related to Tsonga to draw parallels between the reflexive formative found in these languages and the OM.

However, what holds Tsonga reflexive *-ti-* distinctly apart from the pronominal object clitic and makes it resemble verbal affixes such as the applicative *-el-*, the causative *-is-*, the passive *-iw-*, and the reciprocal *-an-* is that *-ti-* remains invariable for person and class. For example, *n'wana* "child" in (121a) and *xingove* "cat" in (121b) require the reflexive *-ti-* despite belonging to classes 1 and 7 respectively. In addition, as mentioned above in connection with (121a) and indicated in (125b) below, unlike the OM, the reflexive formative *-ti-* alters the predicate argument structure of the verb it is attached to, giving rise, in some instances, to semantically different verbs, i.e. "new lexemes". The meanings of such verbs gradually fossilize, and eventually enter the lexicon of the Tsonga language as independent lexical items which have to be learnt during the process of acquiring the language. The existence of many lexicalized reflexive verbs shows that the reflexive verbs can, in principle, be derived from non-reflexive transitive base verbs. Consider for example, the verbs in (123) based on Ntsanwisi (1968:51).

Ku dya "to eat" > ku tidya "to eat oneself" > "to be proud". [123]

Ku khoma "to catch, to hold, to touch" > ku tikhoma "to catch oneself, to touch oneself" > "to control oneself".

Ku tiva "to know" > ku titiva "to know oneself", "to be conceited"

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The claim that the lexicalization of reflexive verbs is a gradual process is supported by the fact that while verbs such as *ku tidya* "to be proud, to be snobbish" and *ku titiva* "to be conceited" are no longer used in a reflexive context, *ku tikhoma* can be used in reflexive and non-reflexive contexts. For instance, compare (124a) with (124b).

Tolo mamana a-ti-khom- ile. [124a]  
Yesterday 1a mother 1-RFL-touch-PST  
"The mother touched herself yesterday."

Tolo mamana a a-kwat-ile, kambe a-ti-khom- ile. [124b]  
Yesterday 1a mother IMP 1-angry-PST but 1-RFL-control-PST  
"Although the mother was angry yesterday, she controlled herself."

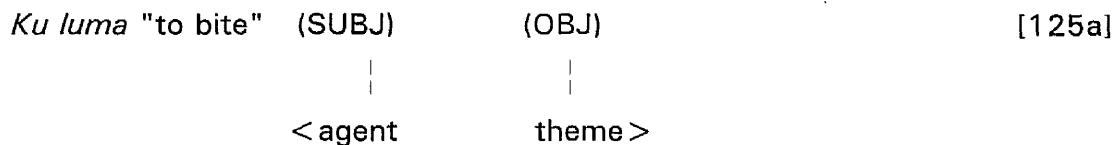
By way of contextualising (124a), we may point out that one afternoon, *Ester* was playing a game with her sister *Miriyamu*. She described wild animals to *Miriyamu* who was expected to identify them, by disclosing their names to *Ester*. Among other rules of the game, *Miriyamu* was not supposed to touch herself while trying to discover a name of an animal. At some stage of the game, she forgot about this rule and touched herself. *Ester* told her that she had been disqualified and *Miriyamu* replied, uttering (124a), telling *Ester* that the previous day she had played with their mother who touched herself, without being disqualified. In this example, the reflexive verb *ku tikhoma* "to touch oneself" is semantically still related to the non-reflexive verb *ku khoma* "to catch, to touch" in (123). By contrast, the reflexive verb *ku tikhoma* "to be well-behaved, to control oneself" in (124b) has lost this relationship.

If we subscribed to Mchombo's view - i.e. that the reflexive is an

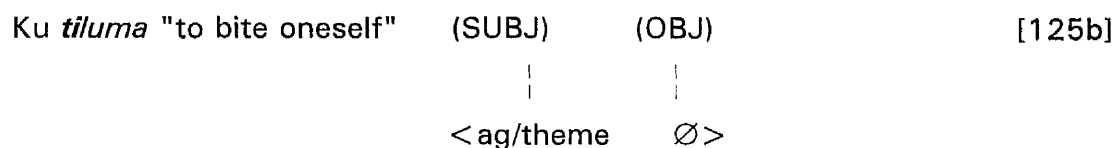
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incorporated object pronominal clitic and, consequently, has to fall within the domain of syntax; it would be difficult for us to account for lexicalized Tsonga verbs such as the ones in (123) and (124a). Furthermore, recall that in section 4.1, we pointed out that sequences of verb plus clitic never lexicalize.

As mentioned earlier, syntactically, when *-ti-* is attached to a base verb, it signals coreferentiality between the subject and the object. In other words, the presence of an object is an essential prerequisite for the reflexive to be attached to a base verb. Thus, in (121a) the verb *ku luma* "to bite" is transitive and, as such, requires an object which is normally associated with the <theme> thematic role, as we see (125a) (cf. [121a]).



It is the object (theme) which is bound to the subject when the reflexive verb *ku tiluma* "to bite oneself" in (121a) is derived, by attaching the reflexive prefix *-ti-* to the base verb *ku luma* "to bite". (125b) indicates the predicate argument structure of the reflexive verb *ku tiluma* "to bite oneself".



Taking into account its syntactic effects on a verb to which it applies,

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as in (125a), Grimshaw (1982:106) suggests that reflexivization should be regarded as a morpholexical operation which applies a reflexive lexical rule to the predicate argument of a verb, and whose effect is to bind one argument to another. Here the generalization is that, given a transitive two-place predicate, a reflexive predicate can be derived from it by binding its object to the subject. Hence reflexivization can be regarded as a process which transforms a transitive verb into an intransitive one. Grimshaw's suggestion is echoed by Bresnan (1982:166-169, 387) and by Levin (1982:629-631), who terms reflexivization "intransitivization". Given this, one prediction is that reflexive verbs in Tsonga can be derived from verbs which are inherently transitive or, as will be seen later, verbs derived by transitivizing affixes viz. the applicative *-el-* and the causative *-is-*. The implication here is that, as we have already seen, verbs such as *\*ku tifamba* in (121d) are impossible in Tsonga. The verb *ku famba* "to go, to walk" lacks an object and, consequently, reflexivization is impossible.

As mentioned earlier, reflexive verbs may however, be derived from inherently intransitive Tsonga verbs like *ku famba* "to go, to walk" in (121d), provided that they are first transitivized. In what follows, the applicative *-el-* and the causative *-is-* will be dealt with in association with the reflexive *-ti-*.

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### 5.1.1.1 The reflexive formative -ti- and the applicative -el- in Tsonga

Because of its transitivizing effect on the verbs it is attached to, when the applicative affix -el- is attached to an intransitive base verb like *ku famba* "to go, to walk" in (121d), it introduces the object which is essential for reflexivization to take place (cf.[45]). Consequently, the reflexive applicative verb *ku tifambela* "to go for oneself, to walk willingly, to go for one's own benefit" is derived. Compare (121d) with (126).

Wa-nuna a-ti-famb-el- ile. [126]  
1 man 1-RFL-go-APPL-PST  
"The man has gone willingly."

Example (126) denotes that the man has gone somewhere for himself or for his own benefit, i.e. he has gone willingly. This implies that the object introduced by the applicative -el-, which is bound to the subject (agent) bears the <beneficiary> theta role. This example also suggests that reflexive applicative verbs can be freely derived from base verbs whether transitive or intransitive. (127) represents the predicate argument structure of the reflexive verb *ku tifambela* "to go willingly".

<i>Ku tifambela</i> "to go willingly"	(SUBJ)	(OBJ)	[127]
	<ag/benef	Ø>	

As in the case of reflexive verbs derived from inherent transitive verbs, reflexive applicative verbs tend to lexicalize and gradually acquire a new

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meaning which is unrelated to the meaning of the base verb. Such meanings have to be learnt by Tsonga learners. Consider the verbs in (128) based on Ntsanwisi (1968:53):

*ku khoma*  
"to catch"  
hold"      *ku tikhoma* "to touch oneself" > to control oneself. [128]  
                 *ku khomela* "to catch for, to hold" > "to forgive" > to  
                 *ku tikhomela* "to hold oneself", "to hold for one's own  
                 benefit."

*Ku tlula*  
"to jump"      *ku titlula* "to omit oneself from a list" > "to  
                 exclude oneself from a group."  
                 *ku tlulela* "to jump for" > "to attack" > "to cross a  
                 border illegally" > "to emigrate" > *ku titlulela* "to make  
                 oneself safe", "to put oneself out of danger."

*Ku vona* "to see" > *ku tivona* "to see oneself" > *ku tivonela* > "to see for oneself" > "to defend oneself."

Reflexive applicative verbs such as the ones in (128) can be freely formed from non-reflexive base verbs. While many such verbs are already listed in the lexicon of the language (that is, they have lexicalized completely) others such as *ku tivonela* have not yet lexicalized completely. Thus, some can be used both in their literal and non-literal meanings, as can be more clearly seen in the examples in (129) recorded from a conversation between two sellers in a market.

A: Mundzuku ndzi-ta-famba kaya ndzi-ya-ti-von- el- a [129]  
Tomorrow 1 I-FUT-go 5 home 1 I-go-RFL-see-APPL-PRS

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ntukulu wa-mina.

1 grandchild 1 of me

"Tomorrow I will go home to see my grandchild for myself."

**B:** Mawaku! Kambe loko u- nga-phindzul- i

If only but if 1 you-NEG-wake up very early-NEG

u- ta- ti- von-el- a hikuva swi-bomba swa-tal-a.

1 you-FUT-RFL-see-APPL-PRS because 8 bus 8 full-PRS

"If only I could (I wish I were you). But if you do not wake up very early, you will get into trouble because buses are full."

The speaker **A**, after learning that her daughter had had a baby at their home village, tells her friend **B** that she wants to see her grandchild "for herself" and, therefore, is planning to go home the following day. She uses the reflexive applicative verb *ku tivonela* which means "to see for oneself". In response to speaker **A**, speaker **B** warns her that buses are full and that the speaker **A** should, therefore, wake up very early so as to allow enough time to catch a bus. In order to warn **A**, **B** uses the same verb, but with a very different meaning.

### 5.1.1.2 The reflexive formative -ti- and the causative -is- in Tsonga

After dealing with the use of the reflexive formative -ti- in association with the applicative -el-, its occurrence with the causative -is- will now be discussed. First, consider the examples in (130).

Maria a-dy- is- a n'wana xi-ketsa.

[130a]

PN 1-eat-CAUS-PRS 1 child 7 pineapple

"Mary is feeding the child with a pineapple."

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Maria a-ti-dy- is- a xi-ketsa. [130b]  
PN 1-RFL-eat-CAUS-PRS 7 pineapple  
"Mary is feeding herself with a pineapple."

In chapter three we saw that adding the causative affix to a verb opens a new argument position (cf.[58]). The verb *ku dya* "to eat" is transitive and, as a result, selects an object. When the causative formative *-is-* is attached to this verb, the causative verb *ku dyisa* "cause to eat, to feed" in (130b) is derived and the causer, e.g. *Maria* "Mary" is introduced. In syntactic terms, the verb *ku dya* "to eat" becomes ditransitive, as it selects two objects. Comparison of example (130a) with (130b) indicates that it is the causee, *n'wana* "child", which is suppressed when the reflexive formative *-ti-* is attached to the causative verb *ku dyisa* "to cause to eat, to feed", to derive the reflexive causative verb *ku tidyisa* "to cause oneself to eat, to feed oneself".

Given the transitivizing effect already referred to, *-is-* can also be used with intransitive base verbs. This means that it supplies an intransitive base verb with the object which is a prerequisite for reflexivization to occur.

Makhombosani a-yetlele. [131a]  
PN 1-sleep-PRS  
"Makhombosani is sleeping."

Makhombosani a-yetlel-is- a n'wana. [131b]  
PN 1-sleep-CAUS-PRS 1 child  
"Makhombosani is making the baby sleep."

Makhombosani a-ti- yetlel-is- a. [131c]  
PN 1-RFL-sleep-CAUS-PRS  
"Makhombosani is making herself sleep."

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Example (131b) shows that the causative *-is-* provides the verb *ku yetlela* "to sleep" with the causee *n'wana* "child" which is suppressed when the reflexivization applies, giving rise to the reflexive causative verb in (131c). Thus, the causative *-is-* is indeed comparable to the applicative *-el-* in that it has a transitivity effect. However, the applicative affix *-el-* and the causative affix *-is-* differ in terms of the theta roles associated with the syntactic arguments they introduce. For instance, compare (57) with (58) in chapter 3.

Like the examples discussed earlier, reflexive causative verbs often acquire a new meaning through a gradual lexicalization process. Such a meaning has to be learnt by Tsonga children or other learners. For instance, depending on the context, *ku yetlelisa* "to cause to sleep" may be used in its literal sense as in (131b), as well as to mean that "Makhombosani is tricking the child". Likewise, (131c) may either be taken literally (as in the glosses) or to indicate that "Makhombosani is deceiving herself about something". In addition to the examples in (131), consider the following:

	{ "to cause to die" > <i>ku tifisa</i> "to feign death." [132] "to want something badly."
<i>Ku fa</i> "to die" > <i>ku fisa</i>	

*Ku yendla* "to make" > *ku yendlisa* "to cause to make" > *ku tiyendlisa* "to pretend, to be boastful."

<i>Ku dya</i> "to eat" > > <i>ku dyisa</i>	{ "to cause to eat" > "to support" > <i>ku tidyisa</i> "to able to support oneself." "to poison through food or drink."

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So far the Tsonga reflexive formative **-ti-** has been dealt with, arguing that it is nothing other than a verbal affix which, like the applicative and the causative affixes, alters the predicate argument structure of the verbs it is attached to. As we have shown, what lends weight to our argument is that the Tsonga reflexive formative **-ti-** can co-occur with the applicative and the causative affixes. Recall that in Tsonga it is not possible to attach any element to the object pronominal clitic (OM), e.g. an affix. Or, as Sadock (1991:53) observes, "The clitic does not support further derivational or inflectional morphology, and does not seem to allow a subsequent suffixal clitic either."<sup>1</sup> The implication here is that, if Mchombo's proposals were applied to Tsonga, the concatenation of the applicative **-el-**, causative **-is-** and the reflexive **-ti-** would remain a mystery. Now we shall turn our attention to the reciprocal affix **-an-**.

### 5.1.2 The reciprocal formative **-an-** in Tsonga

This section will mainly be concerned with the status of the Tsonga reciprocal formative **-an-**. Specifically, the question to be examined is whether it has to be treated in conjunction with the reflexive formative **-ti-** and other verbal affixes which alter the predicate argument structure of the verbs they attach to, or separately.

In our preliminary work on verbal affixes in Tsonga (cf. Matsinhe [1994]), we have shown that reciprocalization is morphologically effected by

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attaching the affix **-an-** to a verb. We have also observed that this affix alters the predicate argument structure of the verb it is attached to, by binding the object <theme>. Reciprocal verbs cannot therefore be derived from intransitive base verbs. These facts have led to the conclusion that the reciprocal **-an-** resembles the reflexive **-ti-**. It has however been observed that these affixes are semantically different in the sense that the action expressed by a reciprocal verb is always performed by two or more participants, who act upon each other (reciprocally) whereas the action expressed by a reflexive verb does not necessarily involve more than one participant, as has already been seen.

However, a closer examination of the Tsonga data has revealed that, when the reciprocal **-an-** is attached to a verb, the object of the base verb is not always bound to the subject. It may be expressed as an associative or oblique element. This depends, inter alia, on gender conflict resolution (where the subject and the object of the base verb belong to different noun classes) and on the natural topic-comment structure (cf. Hawkison & Hyman [1974]). To make this clearer, consider the examples (133).

Gaveyani na Bokiswani va-veng- **an-** a. [133a]  
PN and PN 2 -dislike- RCP-PRS  
"Gaveyani and Bokiswani hate each other."

Swi-dakwa swa-ban-an-a.<sup>2</sup> [133b]  
8-drunkards 8-beat-RCP-PRS  
"The drunkards are beating each other."

Xi-ngove xi-nyeny-an-a ni khondlo. [133c]  
7 cat 7 -hate-RCP-PRS with 5 mouse  
"The cat and the mouse hate each other."

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Muhlotti a-nyeny-an-a ni yingwe. [133d]  
 1 hunter 1-hate-RCP-PRS with 9 leopard  
 "The hunter and the leopard hate each other."

The verb *ku venga* "to dislike" in (133a) is transitive and, consequently, it selects an object <theme> for its predicate argument structure, as shown in (134a).

<i>Ku venga</i> "to dislike"	(SUBJ)	(OBJ)	[134a]
	<agent	theme>	

When the reciprocal affix *-an-* is attached to the verb *ku venga* "dislike", the object is bound to the subject <agent>, and the verb *ku vengana* "to dislike each other" is derived, as (134b) indicates.

	SUBJ/OBJ	SUBJ/OBJ	
<i>Ku vengana</i> "to dislike each other"	A	< = = = > B	[134b]
	< ag/th	ag/th >	

As mentioned earlier, semantically, a reciprocal verb involves more than one participant. That is, the action expressed by this verb involves more than one subject and, therefore, the subject marker (SM) has to be plural. For instance, in (133a) Gaveyani and Bokiswani dislike each other reciprocally or mutually and, consequently, they take the SM *va-* of class 2. The representation in (134b) suggests that **A** (Gaveyani) and **B** (Bokiswani) may be

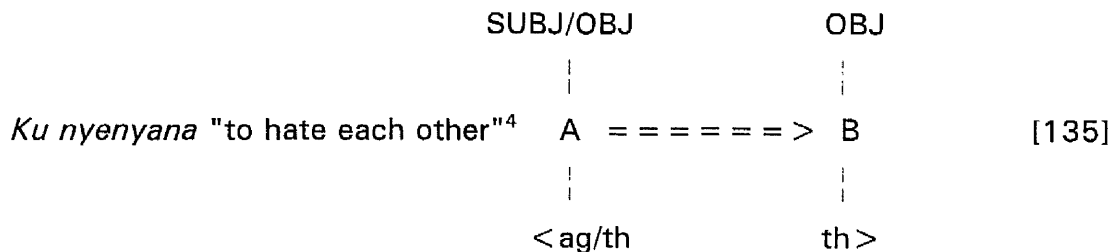
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regarded as being both <agents> and <themes> of the action expressed by the reciprocal verb *ku vengana* "to dislike". Likewise in (133b), *swidakwa* "drunkards" perform and experience the action expressed by the reciprocal verb *ku banana* "to beat each other" and selects the subject concord **swa-** of class 8.<sup>3</sup>

However, when the subject and the object of the base verb belong to different noun classes, a gender conflict arises (cf. examples [36]). In other words, if both subject and object of the base verb were to fulfil the subject function of the reciprocal verb, a decision with regard to the subject agreement marker to be used would have to be made. In (132c) *xingove* "cat" and *khondlo* "mouse" belong to classes 7 and 5 respectively. In order to solve the gender conflict, when the reciprocal verb *ku nyenyana* "hate each other" is derived, *khondlo* "mouse" is expressed as an oblique argument, and *xingove* "cat" remains as the sole subject of the reciprocal verb. Here we may posit that *xingove* "cat" is given preference over *khondlo* "mouse" because it is the topic. Hence, with regard to the meaning of the example (133c), the semantic implication is that *khondlo* "mouse" does not have the same degree of participation as compared to *xingove* "cat" in the action expressed by the reciprocal verb *ku nyenyana* "hate each other" - i.e. it cannot be taken to be the initiator of the action expressed by this verb. In much the same way as in (133c), in (133d) *muhloti* "hunter" and *yingwe* "leopard" belong to class 1 and class 9 respectively. When the reciprocal verb *ku nyenyana* "to hate each other" is formed, *muhloti* "hunter" is given preference over *yingwe* "leopard"

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because it is the topic and is [+human]. What seems to be the case here is that a human animate entity is in general more likely to be treated as a topic than a non-human animate entity. This implies that the latter is much less involved in the action expressed by the reciprocal verb *ku nyenyana* "to hate each other". The point which is being made here is that in sentences of this kind, the oblique NP is not as involved in the action expressed by the reciprocal verb as the topic and, consequently, the representation in (135) is proposed for sentences such as (133c) and (133d).



As was the case of the reflexive verbs in Tsonga, reciprocal verbs tend to enter the lexicon of this language and lexicalize gradually, giving rise to verbs with a different meaning which have to be learnt during the process of acquiring Tsonga, as illustrated in (136).

*Ku twanana* "to hear each other" > "to live amicably together". [136]  
*Ku tirhana* "to work each other" > "to fight each other".

Here it is of interest to observe that another aspect which distinguishes reflexive Tsonga verbs from reciprocal Tsonga verbs is nominalization. That is, while it is impossible to derive a noun from a reflexive verb, this is possible with reciprocal verbs, as indicated in (137).

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*Nhengeletano* "gathering, meeting" < *ku lhengeletana* "assemble, [137]  
come together, meet".

*Ntwanano* "agreement" < *ku twanana* "to live amicably together."<sup>5</sup>

*Xipfumelelwano* "consensus" < *ku pfumelelana* "to reach a mutual  
consensus."

*Mphikizano* "competition" < *ku phikizana* "to compete with each other."

With regard to reciprocal verbs, and taking the examples in (137) into  
consideration, we may therefore argue that Tsonga is similar to Chicheŵa.

We mentioned earlier that reciprocalization only applies to transitive  
base verbs. Only when they have been transitivized by the applicative *-el-*, or  
the causative *-is-*, can intransitive verbs serve as a basis for reciprocalization.  
In what follows, the use of these affixes in association with the reciprocal  
affix *-an-* will be considered.

### 5.1.2.1 The reciprocal *-an-* and the applicative *-el-* in Tsonga

As we have already seen, the applicative affix *-el-* has a transitivizing  
effect on the verb it is attached to in the sense that it increases the valency  
of that verb by one object. Such an object is either added to a transitive verb,  
transforming it into a di-transitive, or to an intransitive, making it transitive (cf.  
[57]).

\* Timbuti ta-yim- *an-* a. [138a]  
9 goat 9 stand-RCP-PRS

Timbuti ta-yim- *el- an-* a. [138b]  
9 goat 9-stand-APPL-RCP-PRS  
"The goats are waiting for each other."

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The verb *ku yima* "to stand" in (138a) is intransitive and, as such, lacks the object which is required for reciprocalization to take place. Hence verbs like *\*yimana* do not exist in Tsonga. However, when the applicative *-el-* transitivizes the verb *ku yima* "to stand", reciprocal verbs such as *ku yimelana* "to stand for/wait for each other" do occur in Tsonga. To summarize, the affix *-el-* introduces the object which is a precondition for reciprocalization to take place in Tsonga. This suggests that reciprocal applicative verbs can be freely derived from base verbs whether transitive or intransitive. Now we consider the use of the reciprocal affix *-an-* together with the causative affix *-is-*.

### 5.1.2.2 The reciprocal *-an-* and the causative *-is-* in Tsonga

As we have already indicated, like the applicative *-el-*, the causative affix *-is-* is a transitivizing affix in the sense that it increases the valency of the verb to which it is attached by one object. We have also seen that these two affixes only differ in terms of the thematic roles associated with the object they introduce (cf. [58]). Consider example (139).

Nghala ni mhisi swi-tsham-**is-** **an-** a hansi.<sup>6</sup> [139]  
9 lion and 9 hyena 8 -sit-CAUS-RCP-PRS 16 ground  
"The lion and the hyena are causing each other to sit on the ground."

In example (139) the causative affix *-is-* increases the valency of the verb *ku tshama* "to sit" by creating an argument position, which is here occupied by the <agent/theme> *mhisi* "hyena". It is this argument that is affected when the reciprocal affix *-an-* applies, and the reciprocal causative

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verb *ku tshamisana* "cause each other to sit" is formed.

Before leaving the reflexive *-ti-* and the reciprocal *-an-* and proceeding to the discussion of Portuguese reflexives, it is worth observing here that we have maintained that the reflexive and the reciprocal are similar in that they both apply to transitive verbs. The prediction then is that the reflexive *-ti-* and the reciprocal *-an-* will always be in complementary distribution - i.e. these affixes will never co-occur. Thus, as we see in (140), a combination such as \*reflexive + reciprocal does not occur in Tsonga.<sup>7</sup>

\* *-ti-* *V<sub>stem</sub>* [ ] *-an-*

[140]

### 5.2 Reflexivization in European Portuguese

As Table 2 in the previous chapter indicates, European Portuguese has a set of reflexive pronouns, viz *me*, *te*, *nos*, *vos*, and *se*. In accordance with the person involved, reflexivity in this language is therefore expressed by attaching one of these pronouns to a verb. Syntactically, these pronouns change the predicate argument structure of the verb to which they are attached, by binding the object <theme> to the subject <agent> under coreferentiality. As we see in examples (141), depending on the type of the clause in which they occur, reflexive pronouns may occupy a pre-verbal position or a post-verbal position. Hence reflexive pronouns are subject to the rules governing the placement of object pronominal clitics in this language.

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O menino feriu- se. [141a]  
 The sg. boy hurt PST3sg RFL-3sg himself  
 "The boy hurt himself."

Os meninos feriram- se. [141b]  
 The pl. boys hurt PST3pl RCP/RFL3pl each other/themselves  
 "The boys hurt each other."  
 "The boys hurt themselves."

João: Parece que estás a engordar, Maria. [141c]  
 John: Seem-PRS that be-PRS2sg PRP put weight INF Mary  
 "It seems that you are putting on weight, Mary."

Mary: Pode ser. Nunca me pesei.  
 Can be. Never me RFL weigh PST1sg  
 "It's possible. I've never weighed myself."

João: Bom, também não é caso para te preocupares.  
 John: Well also not is case for you-RFL worry PRS2sg  
  
 Podes sempre fazer ginástica ou fazer dieta  
 Can PRS2sg always do INF gymnastic or do INF diet  
 "Well, it is not a case to worry about. You can always do gymnastics or put yourself on a diet."

As happens with the reflexive formative *-ti-* in Tsonga, when a reflexive pronoun is attached to a verb in European Portuguese, the object <theme> is bound to the subject <agent>, under coreferentiality between the <agent> and the <theme>. For instance, the verb *ferir* "to hurt" in (141a) is transitive and, therefore, contains an object <theme> in its predicate argument structure, as (142a) indicates.

<i>Ferir</i> "to hurt"	(SUBJ)	(OBJ)	[142a]
	<agent>	theme>	

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When the reflexive pronoun *se* is attached to this verb, the object is bound to the subject <agent> *menino* "boy", and the reflexive verb *ferir-se* "to hurt oneself" in (141a) is derived, creating coreferentiality between the <agent> and the <theme>. The predicate argument structure of the reflexive verb *ferir-se* "to hurt oneself" can therefore be represented as follows:

<i>Ferir-se</i> "to hurt oneself"	(SUBJ)	(OBJ)	[142b]
	<ag/theme	Ø>	

Formally, except for the third person (singular and plural), the reflexive pronouns in European Portuguese are identical to the accusative and the dative object pronominal clitics. However, they differ in their function and meaning. That is, while the former are coreferential with their antecedents in the same simple clause the latter pick up a noun phrase previously mentioned in the discourse. For instance, compare the reflexive pronoun *me* used by Mary in her response to John's remark in (141c) with the pronominal clitic *me* in (143).

Ela deu-	<b>me</b>	uma rosa no	dia dos	namorados.	[143]
She give PST3sg	DAT me	a rose	in the day of the	valentines	
"She gave me a rose on St Valentine's day."					

As the glossing suggests, *me* "me" in (141c) functions as a reflexive pronoun and, as such, is coreferential with the subject Mary. On the other

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hand, in (143) it is a dative object pronominal clitic which represents a situationally recoverable indirect object. This means that, in this example, the dative pronominal object clitic *me* "me" and the subject independent pronoun *e/a* "she" are not coreferential.

If we consider reflexivization in Tsonga, on the one hand, and Grimshaw's (1982:106) suggestion referred to earlier, on the other, reflexivization in Portuguese may be regarded as a process whereby a transitive verb is transformed into an intransitive one. One of the consequences is that reflexivization may not apply to intransitive verbs in European Portuguese and, in fact, verbs such as \**cair-se* "fall oneself" do not exist in this language. However, this generalization does not hold for all intransitive verbs in European Portuguese, as the following examples indicate.

A pedra moveu-se. [144a]  
The stone move PST 3sg RFL 3sg itself  
"The stone has moved."

A Rita sentou- se. [144b]  
The PN sit PST3sg RFL3sg herself  
"Rita sat down."

The contrast between *\*cair-se* "to fall", and the verbs *mover-se* "to move" and *sentar-se* "to sit" may be explained in terms of their predicate argument structures, i.e. *cair* "to fall" is an unaccusative verb and, as such, contains a <theme> in its predicate argument structure, but it does not have an <agent>. On the other hand, *mover-se* "to move" and *sentar-se* "to sit" are unergative in the sense that they have an <agent> but they lack a <theme> in their predicate argument structure. In order to include these

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facts, the generalization made above needs the following reformulation: unaccusative reflexive verbs are not allowed in European Portuguese.<sup>8</sup>

The plural forms of the reflexive pronouns in Standard Portuguese, i.e. **nos**, **vos** and **se** may also express reciprocity. For example, as the glosses suggest and depending on the context, (141b) may be taken reflexively (that is to mean that there was a group of boys and each of them hurt himself) or reciprocally (viz. there was a group of boys and all of them hurt one another). In other words, this means that the action expressed by a reciprocal verb necessarily involves more than one participant. By contrast, an action expressed by a reflexive verb does not.

Although from the syntactic point of view, as the examples in (143) suggest, the reflexive pronouns in European Portuguese are comparable to the Tsonga reflexive formative **-ti-** in the sense that in both languages reflexives bind the object to the subject, creating coreferentiality, the facts concerning reflexives are basically different in the two languages insofar as European Portuguese allows the possibility of using reflexive pronouns as a way of signalling "indefinite agents" whereas Tsonga does not make use of the reflexive formative **-ti-** for this purpose.<sup>9</sup> Compare examples (145) and (147) with example (121c) in Tsonga.

O livro vende- se muito bem [145]  
The book sell PRS3sg RFL itself very well  
"The book sells very well."

Moreover, the two languages differ with regard to the position occupied by the reflexives in the verb form. While the Tsonga reflexive formative **-ti-** has

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a fixed position (prefixed), the reflexive pronouns in European Portuguese are governed by the same rules which govern the distribution of the object pronominal clitics described in chapter 4. That is, they may follow the verb as in (141a) and (141b) or precede it as in (141c), depending on the type of sentence in which they occur. These differences seem to have implications for the placement of the reflexive pronouns in PMP. For instance, consider sentence (146), recorded from a conversation between two Tsonga friends.

Ele disse à mulher que cortou- se com<sup>10</sup> faca. [146]  
He tell PST3sg to the woman that cut PST RFL3sg himself with knife  
"He told his wife that he cut himself with a knife."

In European Portuguese, as already seen, when a clause contains a subordinating conjunction such as **que** "that" an object pronominal clitic occupies the pre-verbal position. Consequently, the reflexive pronoun **se** in (146) should be placed before the verb, and we should have: (*ele disse à mulher que se cortou com a faca* "he told his wife that he cut himself with the knife.") Compare the position of **se** in (146) with the positions of **me**, and **te** in (141c), which are determined by the presence of the adverb of negation **nunca** "never" and the preposition **para** "for" respectively. However, for the Tsonga native speaker, the position of the reflexive pronoun remains constant, regardless of the type of sentence in which it occurs. Apart from their position in a sentence, the reflexive pronouns in European Portuguese differ from **-ti-** because this reflexive formative does not reflect number and

## REFLEXIVIZATION IN TSONGA AND EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

person whereas the former do.

When used with verbs which indicate a state of an entity, e.g. *abrir* "open", *fechar* "to close", *molhar* "to wet", *partir*, *quebrar* "to break" and *rir* "to laugh"; *se* regularly denotes spontaneity. In such cases, the presence of an agent is ruled out (cf. Matsinhe [1994:167-168]).

A porta fechou- se (\* pela criança). [147]  
The door close PST3sg RFL3sg itself (\* by the child)  
"The door closed (\* by the child)."

Example (147) may be paraphrased as *a porta fechou-se por si só* "the door closed on its own".<sup>11</sup>

### 5.3 Main differences

In this chapter we have considered the status of the reflexive *-ti-* and the reciprocal *-an-* in Tsonga, comparing them with their counterparts in European Portuguese.

We have seen that the Tsonga reflexive formative *-ti-* shares the same position with the OMs in the verbal morphology, but remains invariable, regardless of class, number and person, and that with respect to its phonological shape, it is comparable to the OM *-ti-* of class 9.

Concerning its status, we have suggested that *-ti-* is nothing more than a derivational affix which, like the applicative *-el-*, causative *-is-* and the reciprocal *-an-* affixes, changes the predicate argument structure of the verbs it is attached to, giving rise to verbs with different meanings. With regard to

## REFLEXIVIZATION IN TSONGA AND EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

Tsonga, although historical linguistic information is not available, it is synchronically evident that, as happens with applicative and causative verbs, reflexive and reciprocal verbs tend to undergo a gradual lexicalization process and, eventually, enter the lexicon of this language as new lexical items whose meaning has to be learnt during the process of acquiring Tsonga. Thus, the reflexive **-ti-** and the reciprocal **-an-** affixes can be regarded as a means of lexical innovation in Tsonga. Considering these facts, we have argued that the reflexive affix **-ti-** cannot be regarded as an OM.

As regards the differences between Tsonga and Portuguese, we have seen that these languages differ in some important respects. Firstly, contrary to the Tsonga reflexive affix **-ti-** in Tsonga, the Portuguese reflexive pronouns **me, te, nos, vos** and **se** "agree" with their antecedents in person and number. Secondly, while the former maintains a constant position in the verb morphology, the latter are subject to the same rules that govern the placement of the object pronouns and, consequently, they may immediately precede or follow the verb. This leads to the conclusion that, in terms of their syntactic behaviour the reflexive and the reciprocal are not distinguishable from direct and indirect object pronouns. The differences presented here are particularly important, for they seem to interfere with the placement of reflexive pronouns in PMP.

Finally, we have also seen that Tsonga uses the affix **-an-** to express reciprocity whereas European Portuguese uses the plural forms of the reflexive pronouns, viz. **nos, vos**, and **se**.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. In order to elucidate his point, Sadock remarks that while it is possible to have *Pat'd not* or *Pat wouldn't*, it is impossible to have *pat'dn't*, as the clitic 'd blocks further morphology.
2. Although it is not relevant to our discussion here, I would like to observe that the reciprocal suffix in this example is reduplicated. It is not clear why this is the case. Despite the fact that *veng-* in (133a) is also monosyllabic, there is no reduplication of the reciprocal affix *-an-*.
3. Swidakwa "drunkards" are [+ human] and therefore should belong to class 2. But because they denote a bad behaviour or habit, they select the prefix *swi-* of class 8 for agreement (see section 2.1.1.5).
4. What is involved in (135) may also be regarded as a semantic/pragmatic issue and not merely a surface syntactic matter.
5. See note 2.
6. *Nghala* "lion" and *mhisi* "hyena" are members of the *swihari* "animals" large family and, consequently, they use *swi-* of class 8 for agreement, despite the fact that they belong to class 9.
7. In general terms, morpholexical operations that have similar effects on the predicate argument structure of the verb to which they apply or that affect a thematic role which is a precondition for another morpholexical operation to apply may not apply concurrently in Tsonga (cf. Grimshaw [1990:154]).

\* N'wana a- ti- lumi-iw- ile  
1 child 1- RFL-bite PASS-PST

\* -ti-Vstem [\_\_\_\_\_] -iw-

Reflexivization, as indicated earlier, binds the object to the subject. The implication here is that the presence of the subject <agent> is a precondition for reflexivization to apply to a verb. On the other hand, passivization suppresses the subject <agent> which is required by the reflexivization and, as a result, the sentence given above is ungrammatical.

8. See Bresnan & Kanerva (1989) for a discussion and references on unaccusative and ergative verbs.

9. However, I would like to observe here that Tsonga uses the stative affix *-ek-* in agentless constructions or for signalling "indefinite agents". Hence, the following example derived from (121c) is permissible in Tsonga.

Xi-pfalo xi-pfal-*ek-* ile.  
7 door 7 close-STATV-PST  
"The door closed (on its own)."

See Matsinhe (1994) for further discussion.

10. Here one further noteworthy fact is the omission of the definite article *a* "the" in example (146).
11. Doke (1930:138), and Stanchev (1990:19) refer to similar verbs respectively in Zulu and Bulgarian as quasi-passives or pseudo-passives.

## **6. OBJECT PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN POPULAR MOZAMBIKAN PORTUGUESE (PMP)**

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### **6.1 Introduction**

Thus far in our study, we have described the functions of the subject and object pronominal clitics of Tsonga and European Portuguese.

In this chapter we shall concentrate on the use and functions of the object pronominal clitics in PMP. Specifically, we shall consider the results obtained from the questionnaire we administered to 50 respondents. Since the responses to the questionnaire were not uniform, it is necessary to show the variation found in the different answers provided by the respondents in terms of percentages. Thus, in what follows, after looking at variables such as education, gender, and the languages spoken at home, we consider the tables which present such variations; and by way of summary, while focusing on case and position of the object pronominal clitic, we consider the figures globally. Some respondents provided us with answers such as "I don't know" or negative and positive answers for the same question. We regard this type of answer as spoiled. The tables include the rates of "spoiled answers."

#### **6.1.1 Education, gender and language variables**

With regard to education, as remarked in chapter 1, all the informants completed *nona classe*, "9th class", a level which, at the time of the field work for this study, was regarded as the highest in the general secondary education

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system,<sup>1</sup> a requirement, for instance, for joining the labour market or enrolling in professional training courses. Concerning the gender variable, 54% (27) of the respondents were male, while 46% (23) were female. As for the language variable, the majority of informants, i.e. 54% (27) spoke only Tsonga at home, while 46% (23) spoke both Tsonga and Portuguese.<sup>2</sup>

## 6.2 Replacement of lexical direct object

While (148a) gives the stimulus sentence for (2.1a) of the questionnaire, (148b) illustrates the expected European Portuguese response.

Eu dei            uma abóbora à Rosa. [148a]  
I give PST3sg a pumpkin to Rose  
"I have given a pumpkin to Rose."

Eu dei- a à Rosa. [148b]  
I give PST3sg ACC it to Rose  
"I have given it to Rose."

Table 3 below shows that 62% of respondents used the accusative pronominal clitic in accordance with the rules in European Portuguese, as shown in (148b). However, although choosing the right position, 20% of respondents used the wrong case. That is, as (149a) indicates, they used the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" though they placed it postverbally as is correct.

Eu dei- lhe à Rosa. [149a]  
I give PST3sg DAT to Rose  
"I have given her/it to Rose."

## OBJECT PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN PMP

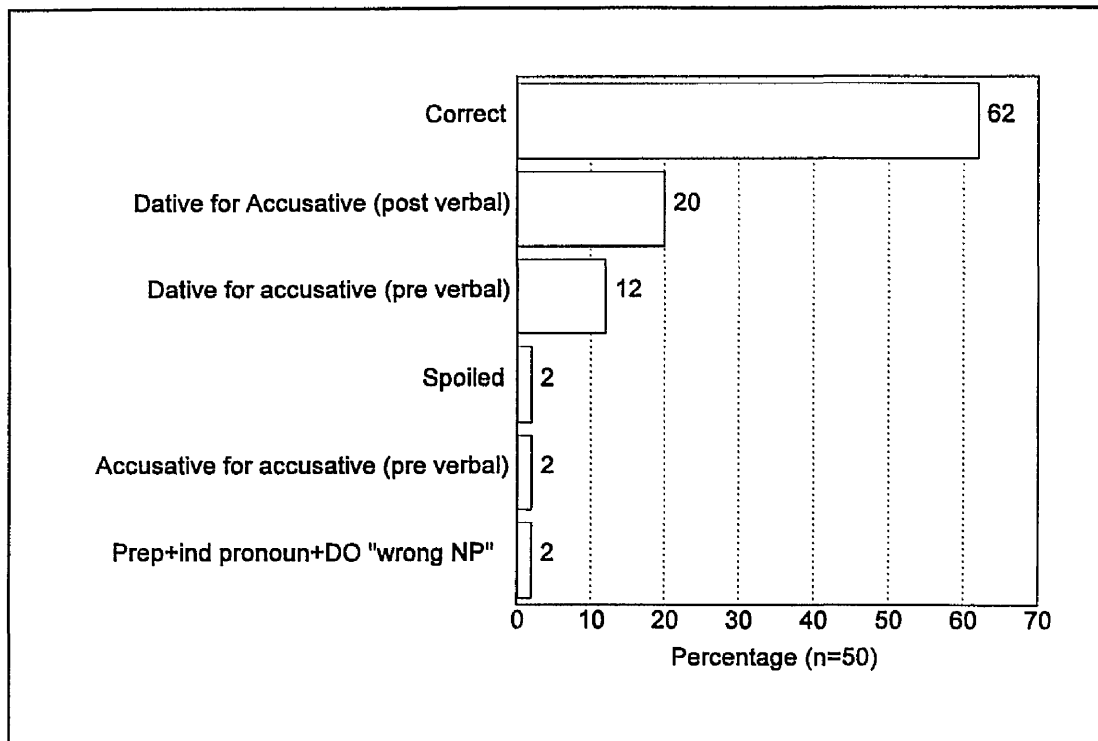


Table 3: Sentence 2.1 (a)

Furthermore, Table 3 shows that 12% comprises respondents who chose the "wrong" case as well as the wrong position, as (149b) illustrates.

Eu lhe dei            à Rosa. [149b]  
I DAT give PST3sg to Rose  
"I have given him to Rose."

Apart from the 2% which accounts for spoiled questionnaires, there is another 2% that represents respondents who used the right case with the wrong position. That is, they used the accusative pronominal clitic *a* "it" in the pre-verbal position. Finally, there are respondents (2%) (1) who made the wrong substitution, i.e. instead of using the accusative pronominal clitic to replace the

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direct object lexical NP, they replaced the indirect object lexical NP with a preposition followed by an independent pronoun, as in (150).

Eu dei a ela uma abóbora. [150]  
I give PST3sg to her a pumpkin  
"I gave to her a pumpkin."

In (151a) and (151b), we give the stimulus sentence for 2.1(b) and the version of the answer in European Portuguese, respectively.

O coelho queimou a casa do leão. [151a]  
The hare burn PST3sg the house of+the lion  
"The hare has burnt the lion's house."

O coelho queimou- a. [151b]  
The hare burn PST3sg ACC it  
"The hare has burnt it."

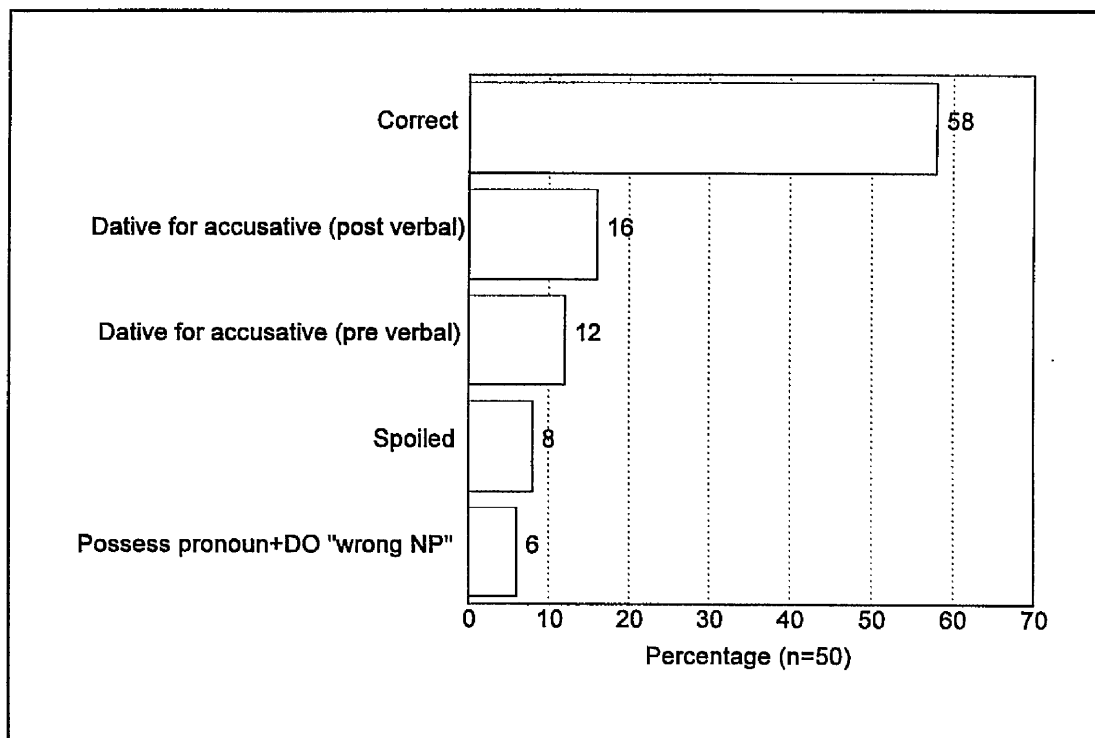


Table 4: Sentence 2.1 (b)

## OBJECT PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN PMP

In sentence 2.1(b), as Table 4 indicates, a large majority of informants correctly used the accusative pronominal clitic *a* "it", as indicated in (151b). Hence we have 58% against 16% and 12%, representing respondents who used the dative object pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" in postverbal and pre-verbal positions respectively:

O coelho queimou- *lhe*. [152a]  
The hare burn PST3sg DAT him  
"The hare has burnt him."

O coelho *lhe* queimou. [152b]  
The hare DAT burn PST3sg  
"The hare has burnt him."

While a further 8% accounts for spoiled questionnaires, 6% covers respondents who used the independent possessive pronoun *dele* "his" to replace the possessor NP. In other words, they replaced the wrong NP:

O coelho queimou *a casa dele*. [153]  
The hare burn PST3sg the house of-him  
"The hare has burnt his house."

As regards 2.1(c), (154a) shows the stimulus sentence and (154b) gives the European Portuguese version of the expected answer.

Os meninos descreveram *o ladrão ao polícia*. [154a]  
The boys describe PST3pl the thief to+the policeman  
"The boys have described the thief to the policeman."

Os meninos descreveram- *no ao polícia*. [154b]  
The boys describe PST3pl him to police  
"The boys described him to the policeman."

As (154b) shows, in 2.1(c) we have the phonologically conditioned allomorph of the accusative clitic *o* "him". As regards the responses to this

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question, Table 5 indicates that here only 32% of the respondents used the correct variant of the accusative pronominal clitic as shown in (154b), in accordance with the rules obtaining in European Portuguese.

62% of the respondents used the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" instead. Among them, 24% placed this pronominal clitic in the postverbal position whereas 38% placed it in the pre-verbal position. (155a) and (155b), respectively, illustrate the pre-verbal and postverbal positions.

Os meninos *lhe* descreveram ao polícia. [155a]  
The boys DAT him describe PST3pl to-the police  
"The boys described him to the police."

Os meninos descreveram- *lhe* ao polícia. [155b]  
The boys describe PST3pl DAT him to-the police  
"The boys described him to the police."

For sentence 2.1(c), 2% represents spoiled questionnaires and 4% comprises respondents who made the wrong substitution, i.e. they replaced the indirect object lexical NP by the preposition *a* "to" followed by the independent pronoun *e/ele* "him":

Os meninos descreveram o ladrão *a* ele. [156]  
The boys describe PST3sg the thief to him  
"The boys described the thief to him."

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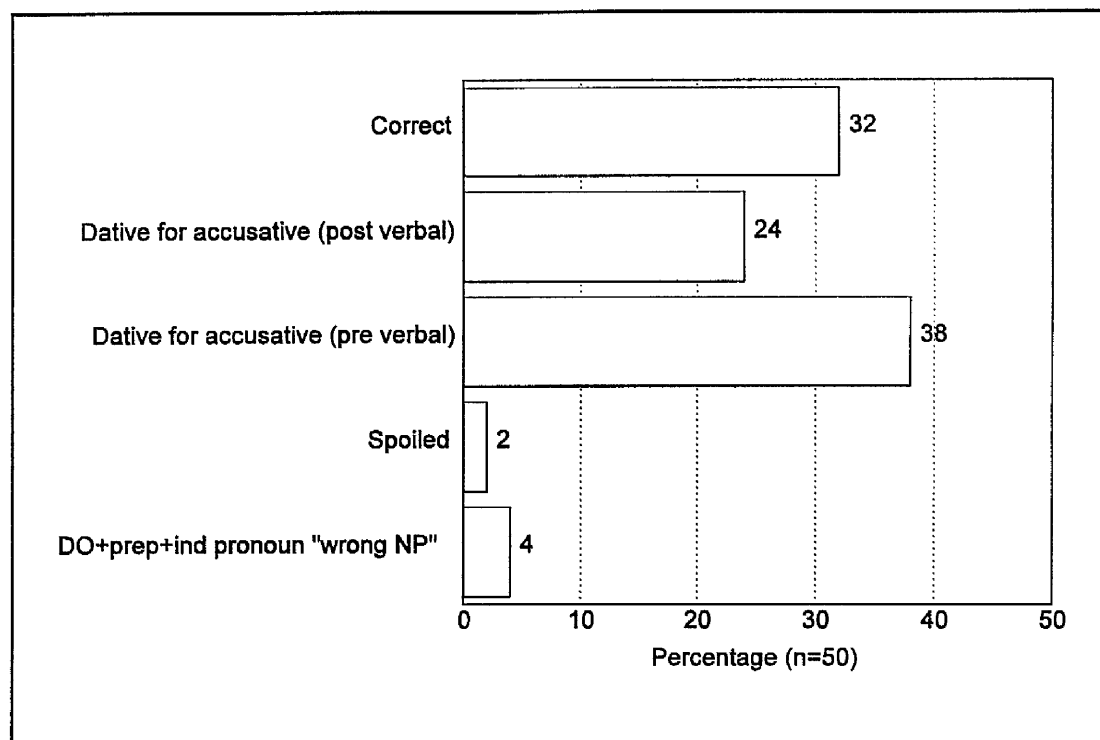


Table 5: Sentence 2.1 (c)

Examples (157a) and (157b) represent, respectively, the stimulus sentence and the expected answer in European Portuguese for sentence 2.1(d).

O povo entregou o ladrão ao rei. [157a]  
 The people hand PST3sg the thief to+the king  
 "The people handed the thief over to the king."

O povo entregou- o ao rei. [157b]  
 The people hand PST3sg ACC him to-the king  
 "The people handed him over to the king."

In Table 6 we show the percentages of the answers for 2.1(d).

## OBJECT PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN PMP

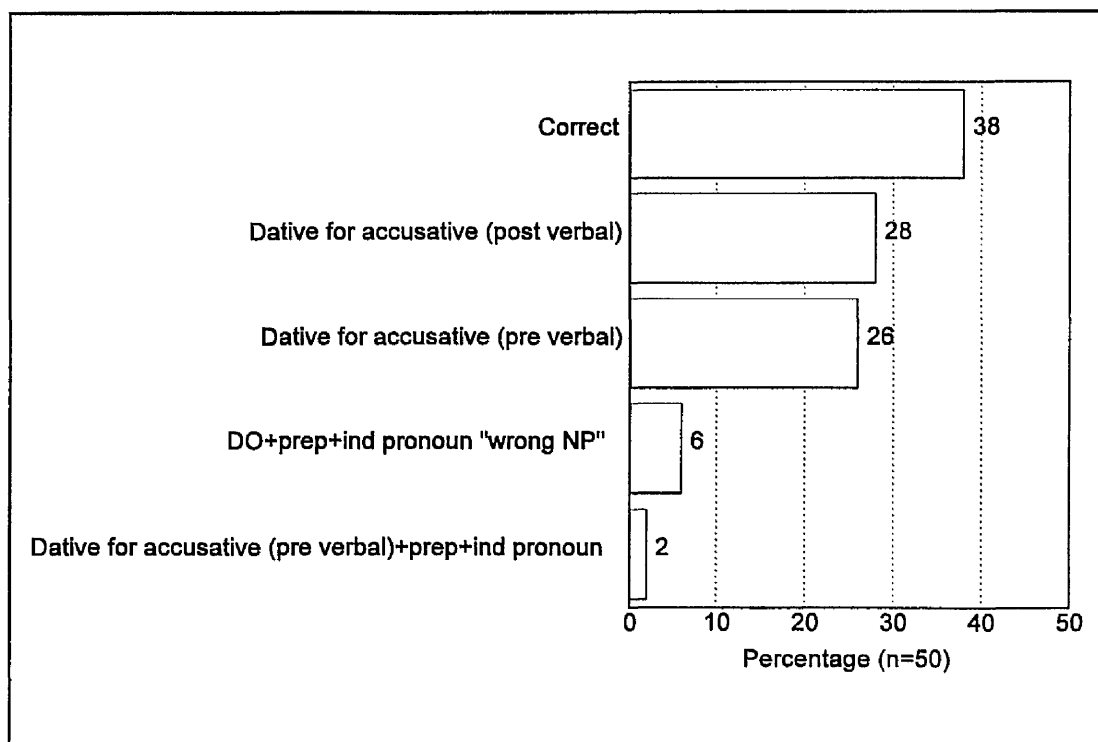


Table 6: Sentence 2.1 (d)

38% of the respondents correctly used the accusative pronominal clitic *o* "him". Against this rate, we find 54% of respondents who used the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him", as indicated in (158). 28% of these respondents placed the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" in the postverbal position, i.e. they used the "wrong" case in correct position -as we see in (158a). The remaining 26% placed it in the pre-verbal position and, therefore, both the case and position are "wrong" - as in (158b):

O povo entregou- *lhe* ao rei.  
 The people hand PST3sg DAT to-the king  
 "They handed him over to the king."

[158a]

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O povo lhe entregou ao rei. [158b]  
The people DAT hand PST3sg to-the king  
"The people handed him over to the king."

6% of respondents, instead of replacing the direct object lexical NP, replaced the wrong lexical NP, i.e., the indirect object lexical NP by the preposition *a* "to" followed by the independent pronoun *e/e* "him", as we see in (159).

O povo entregou o ladrão a ele. [159]  
The people hand PST3sg the thief to him  
"The people handed the thief over to him."

A 2% minority replaced both lexical NPs by pronouns. That is, they used the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" in the pre-verbal position to replace the direct object lexical NP and replaced the indirect object lexical NP by the preposition *a* "to" together with the independent pronoun *e/e* "him":

O povo lhe entregou a ele. [160]  
The people DAT him hand PST3sg to him  
"The people handed him to him."

Since on the face of it, (160) might be a case of clitic-doubling, we asked the respondents who used it to explain what it means. They said that the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" replaces the lexical direct object *ladrão* "thief" and the independent pronoun *e/e* "him" represents the lexical indirect object *rei* "king", i.e the referents of the two pronouns differ. When asked when they

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would use (160), the respondents in question answered that they would use it for contrasting or focusing, for instance, to contrast the chief with someone else to whom the thief has not been handed over.

While (161a) represents the stimulus sentence for 2.1 (e), (161b) illustrates the European Portuguese expected response to this sentence. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that (161b) involves a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the pronominal clitic *a* "it".

O povo fez uma casa para o rei [161a]  
The people built PST3sg a house for the king  
"The people built a house for the king."

O povo fê-la para o rei. [161b]  
The people do PST 3sg ACC it for the king  
"The people built it for the king."

As Table 7 shows, in 2.1(e) only 6% of the respondents complied with the rules of European Portuguese - as in (161b). On the other hand, the vast majority of the respondents selected the wrong lexical NP. Thus, 16% replaced the indirect object lexical NP by the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him", placing it in the postverbal position:

O povo fez-lhe uma casa.<sup>3</sup> [162a]  
The people build PST3sg DAT him a house  
"The people built him a house."

32% represents the respondents who placed the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" in the pre-verbal position. As with (162a), here the wrong NP has been pronominalized:

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O povo lhe fez uma casa. [162b]  
 The people DAT him built PST3sg a house  
 "The people built him a house."

16% accounts for spoiled questionnaires and, compared with other sentences in (2.1), this is one of the highest rates of spoiled questionnaires. Finally, a further 30% of respondents replaced the wrong lexical NP but, as (163) indicates, used a different pronominalisation strategy from the one used in (162), in the sense that here the indirect object lexical NP is replaced with the PP *para ele* "for him":

O povo fez uma casa para ele. [163]  
 The people built PST3sg a house for him  
 "The people built a house for him."

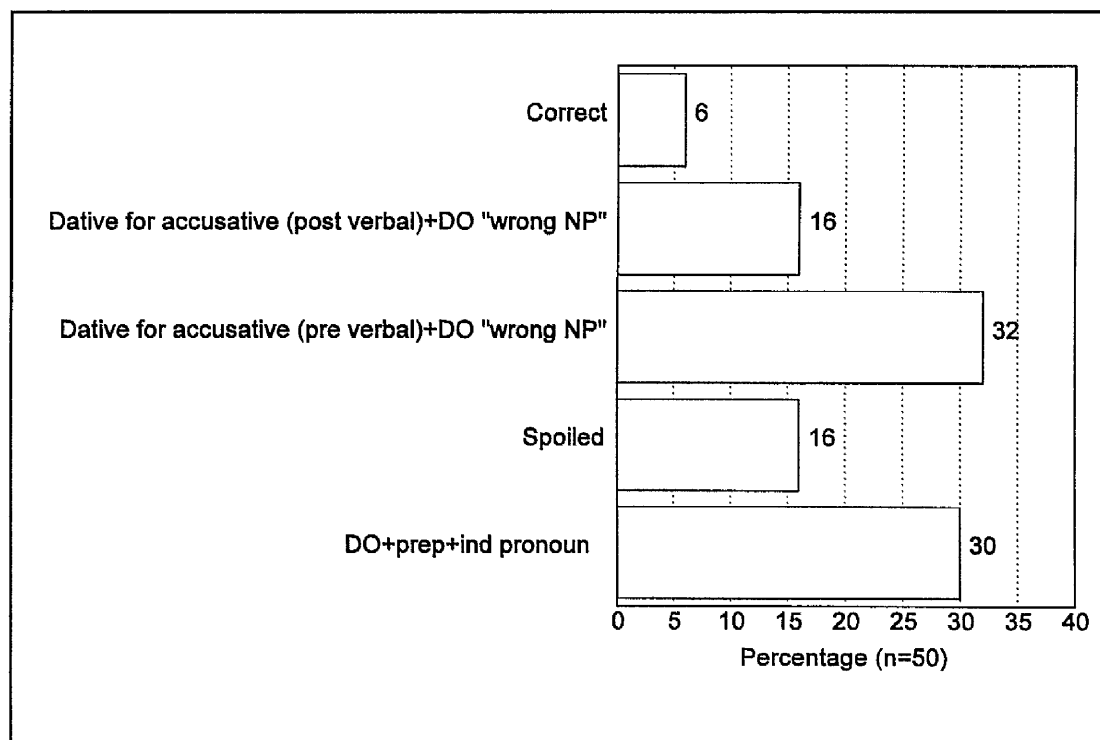


Table 7: Sentence 2.1 (e)

## OBJECT PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN PMP

It is not clear why the vast majority of respondents selected the wrong lexical NP in 2.1(e). One hypothesis is that since the DO and IO are indefinite and definite, respectively, the DO is more likely to represent new information and the IO given information, which in turn may have made the IO seem more likely to be pronominalised. However, this is clearly not the whole story, since a similar distribution of definiteness and indefiniteness in example (148) had a far less drastic effect on the expected response. We shall return to this issue later.

Sentence 2.1(f) involves future tense as well as a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the accusative pronominal clitic *a* "it/her" (see [107a] and [107b]). While (164a) represents the stimulus sentence, (164b) represents the expected response in European Portuguese.

O marido dará uma capulana à mulher. [164a]  
The husband FUT3sg a piece of clothing to+the wife  
"The husband will give a piece of clothing to his wife."

O marido dá-la-á à mulher. [164b]  
The husband give ACC it FUT3sg to+the wife  
"The husband will give it to the wife."

# OBJECT PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN PMP

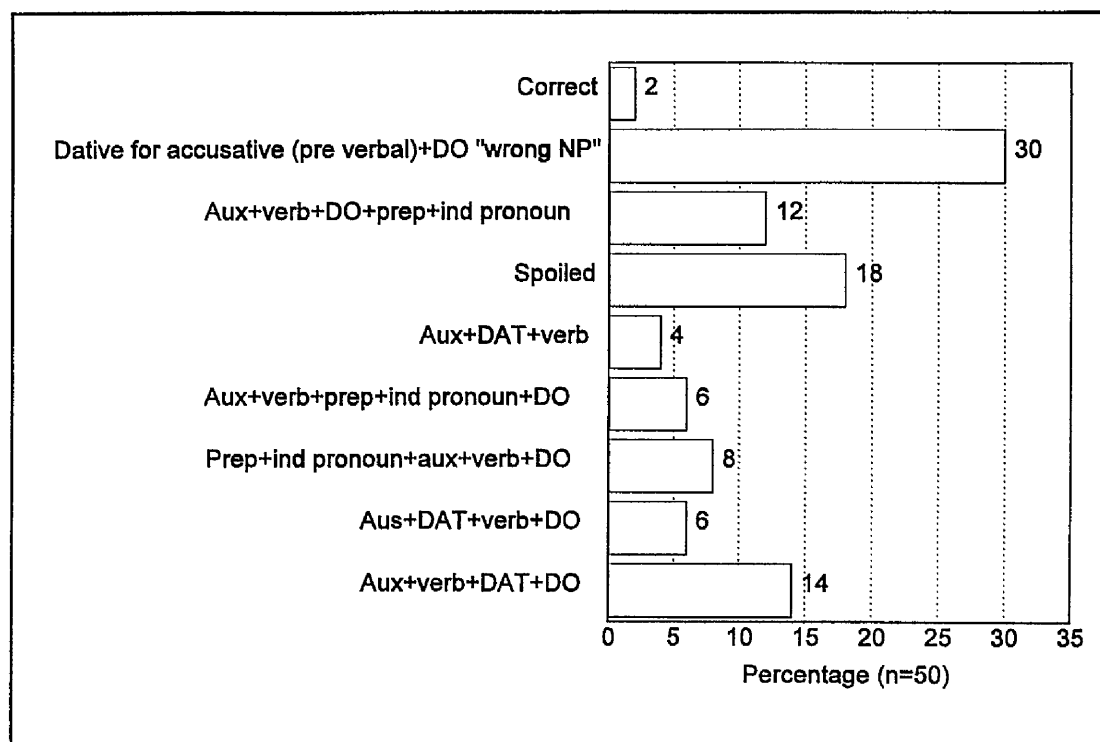


Table 8: Sentence 2.1 (f)

As Table 8 shows, only 2% of the informants used the accusative pronominal clitic /a "it" in the way indicated in (164b). The great majority of the respondents pronominalised the wrong NP. Thus, 30% of the total answers provided represents the use of the dative pronominal clitic /he "her" in the pre-verbal position to replace the indirect object lexical NP *mulher* "wife", as in (165).

O marido lhe dará uma capulana. [165]  
 The husband DAT her FUT3sg a piece of clothing  
 "The husband will give her a piece of cloth."

Apart from the use of the dative pronominal clitic /he "him" to replace the

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wrong lexical NP pre-verbal position, what characterizes the answers in 2.1(f) is the use of a periphrastic construction.<sup>4</sup>

O marido vai dar uma capulana a ela. [166a]  
The husband go PST3sg give INF a piece of clothing to her  
"The husband will give a piece of clothing to her."

O marido vai lhe dar [166b]  
The husband go PRS3sg DAT her give INF  
"The husband will give her."

O marido vai dar a ela uma capulana. [166c]  
The husband go PRS3sg give INF to her a piece of clothing  
"The husband will give her a piece of clothing."

O marido a ela vai dar uma capulana. [166d]  
The husband to her go PRS3sg give a piece of clothing  
"The husband will give a piece of clothing to her."

O marido vai lhe dar uma capulana. [166e]  
The husband go PRS3sg DAT give INF a piece of clothing  
"The husband will give her a piece of clothing."

O marido vai dar-lhe uma capulana. [166f]  
The husband go PRS3sg give DAT a piece of clothing  
"The husband will give her a piece of clothing."

As Table 8 indicates, the answers in the periphrastic construction in (166) fall into two groups: On the one hand, we find instances of the use of the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "her" (24%) and, on the other hand, cases of the use of the prepositional phrase *a ela* "to her" (26%). Each of these groups may be further broken down into 3 sub-groups, depending on the position of the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "her" and the prepositional phrase *a ela* "to her". Thus, for the first group we find 14%, representing the answers in which the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "her" is placed immediately after the main verb *dar* "to

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give", followed by the lexical NP direct object *uma capulana* "a piece of clothing" - as in (166f). 6% accounts for the occurrence of the dative pronominal clitic */he* "her" between the auxiliary verb *ir* "to go" and the main verb *dar* "give" - as in (166e). The remaining 4% represents instances where, although the dative pronominal clitic is placed between the main verb and the auxiliary, the lexical NP direct object is not present in the sentence; compare (166b) with (166e). As for the second group, 12% represent cases in which the PP *a e/a* "to her" is placed in the sentence final position, as in (166a). 6% accounts for instances where the PP *a e/a* "to her" immediately follows the main verb, as in (166c). Finally, 8% represents the use of the PP *a e/a* "to her" between the subject and the auxiliary verb -as in (166d). To summarize, what seems to be the pattern in sentence 2.1(f) is the use of a periphrastic construction with the dative pronominal clitic */he* "her", or the PP *a e/a* "to her", replacing a lexical indirect object NP - which is not what was asked for.

As in the case of 2.1(f), 2.1(g) involves future tense and a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the accusative pronominal clitic (see [107a], [107b]). First consider the relevant table.

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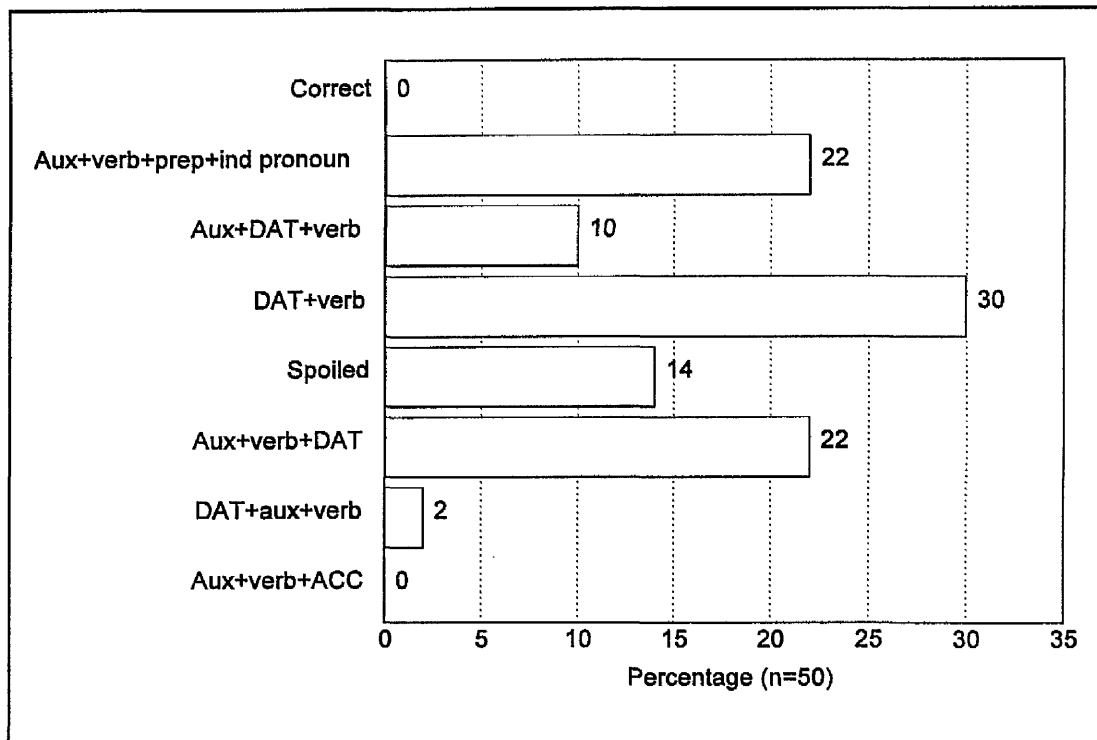


Table 9: Sentence 2.1 (g)

Whereas (167a) represents the stimulus sentence, (167b) illustrates the expected response in European Portuguese.

Amanhã visitarei o chefe da aldeia [167a]  
 Tomorrow visit FUT1sg the chief of+the village  
 "Tomorrow I shall visit the chief of the village."

Amanhã visitá-lo- ei. [167b]  
 Tomorrow visit ACC him FUT1sg  
 "I shall visit him tomorrow."

What emerges from Table 9 is that less than 1% of the answers provided conform to the rules in European Portuguese which apply to sentences such as (167b). In much the same way as 2.1(f), 2.1(g) contains one of the highest

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figures of spoiled questionnaires - that is, 14% and the use of the periphrastic construction, as illustrated in (168).

Amanhã vou visitar a ele. [168a]  
Tomorrow go PRS1sg visit INF to him  
"I shall go to visit him tomorrow."

Amanhã vou lhe visitar. [168b]  
Tomorrow go PRS1sg DAT visit INF  
"I shall go to visit him tomorrow."

Amanhã vou visitar- lhe. [168c]  
Tomorrow go PRS1sg visit INF DAT  
"I shall go to visit him tomorrow."

Amanhã lhe vou visitar. [168d]  
Tomorrow DAT go PRS1sg visit INF  
"I shall go to visit him tomorrow."

Amanhã vou visitá- lo. [168e]  
Tomorrow go PRS1sg visit INF ACC  
"I shall go to visit him tomorrow."

Three types of answers are recognizable from the periphrastic construction in (168): (1) the use of a preposition with an independent pronoun - as in (168a), and this accounts for 22% of the total; (2) the use of the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him", which in turn may be broken down into three sub-types of answers, depending on the position of the dative pronominal clitic in the sentence: (i) the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" is placed between the auxiliary verb *ir* "to go" and the main verb *visitar* "to visit", as in (168b), and this represents 10% of the answers provided; (ii) the dative pronominal clitic is attached to the main verb, as in (168c), which comprises 22% of the answers given; and (iii) the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" is placed immediately

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before the auxiliary verb *ir* "to go", as in (168d), and this constitutes only 2%; (3) we find the use of the correct variant of the accusative pronominal clitic, *lo* "him", attached to the main verb, as in (168e) which accounts for so few answers that it reflects 0% in the table.

On the whole, as (169) illustrates, it is the use of the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" in the pre-verbal position, which carries the highest figure in table 9, i.e. 30%. This may therefore be taken as representative of the types of answers in sentence 2.1(g).

Amanhã *lhe* visitarei.  
Tomorrow DAT visit FUT1sg  
"I shall visit him tomorrow."

[169]

After dealing with the sentences in (2.1) individually, we shall attempt to make generalizations about the percentages shown in the tables. We shall mainly be concerned with two issues: firstly, the choice of the pronominal clitic, i.e., the case, and secondly, the position of the pronominal clitic in the sentence.

Regarding case selection, in sentences (2.1[a]-2.1[d]), as the relevant tables show, while there seems to be a tendency to use the dative pronominal clitic where European Portuguese would use the accusative pronominal clitic; it is also noteworthy that the percentage of the use of the accusative pronominal clitic in accordance with the rules governing the use of object pronominal clitics in European Portuguese, already fully discussed in chapter

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4, is quite high. In contrast, in sentences (2.1[e]-2.1[g]), broadly speaking, the respondents made the wrong selection, that is, they pronominalized the indirect object lexical NP. This may account for the low percentages of correct answers found in these sentences. They either did not understand the instructions or the problem is that sentences (2.1[e]-2.1[g]) involve future and phonologically conditioned variants of the pronominal clitics in question. In (2.1[f] and 2.1[g]), there is also the tendency to use a periphrastic construction. It should be noted here in European Portuguese the periphrastic future is normally used for expressing an action, which takes place in an immediate future (cf. Cunha & Cintra [1984]). As for the position assigned to the object pronominal clitic in the sentence, if we exclude the postverbal position which occurred in the "correct" responses and those in which the pronominal clitic is flanked by the verb stem and the verb suffix, we may argue that the pre-verbal position is preferred to the postverbal position. This is generally the case where the respondents made the correct pronominalization.

### 6.3 Replacement of lexical indirect object

As the questionnaire in the appendix indicates, in (2.2) respondents were asked to replace the lexical NP indirect object with the indirect object pronominal clitic, i.e. dative pronominal clitic.<sup>5</sup> In what follows, we consider the tables which show the percentages for each sentence in (2.2); and by way of

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summary, we view the figures for (2.2) collectively.

In (170a) and (170b) we give the stimulus sentence and the expected response in European Portuguese, respectively, for 2.2 (a).

Eu dei uma abóbara à Rosa [170a]  
I give PST1sg a pumpkin to+the Rose  
"I gave a pumpkin to Rose."

Eu dei- lhe uma abóbara. [170b]  
I give PST1sg DAT lhe a pumpkin  
"I gave her a pumpkin."

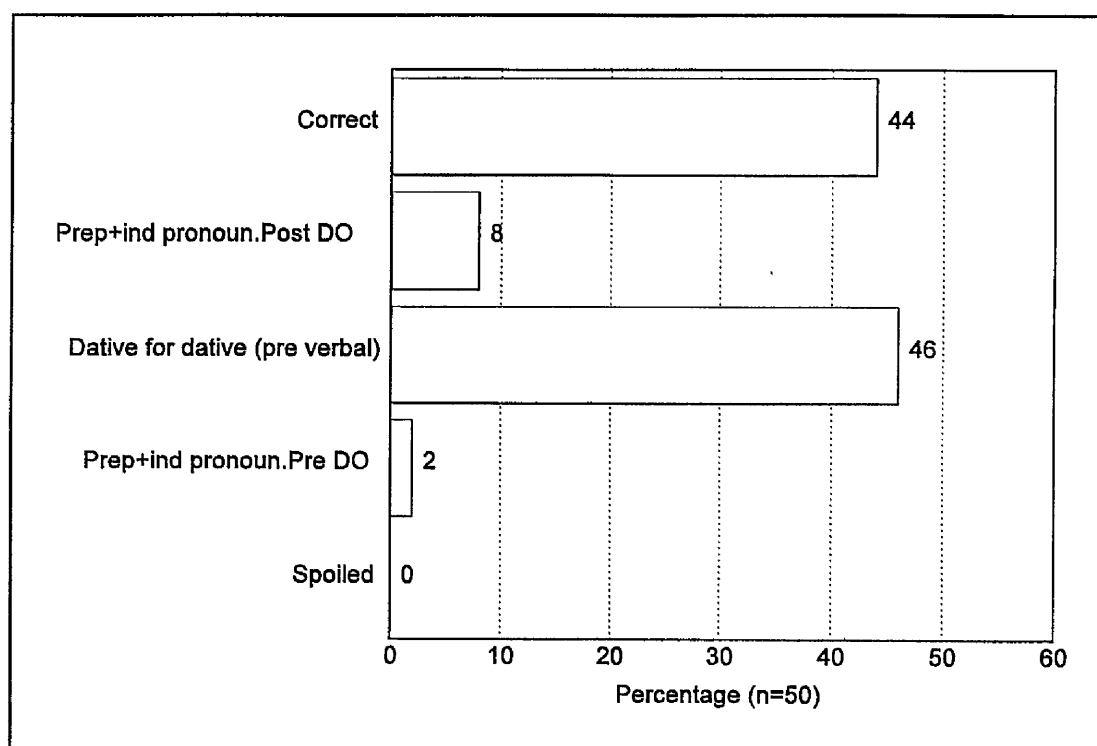


Table 10: Sentence 2.2 (a)

Table 10 shows that the respondents in 2.2(a) fall into two categories. Firstly, there are those who chose the "right" pronominal clitic, i.e. *lhe* "her";

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these constitute 90% of the total. However, only 44% of them placed the dative pronominal clitic *le* "her" correctly in postverbal position, as indicated in (170b). The remaining 46% used it in the pre-verbal position, as in (171).

Eu lhe dei uma abóbora. [171]  
I DAT give PST1sg a pumpkin  
"I gave her a pumpkin."

Secondly, 10% of respondents used a preposition with an independent pronoun. In this category, 8% placed the PP after the lexical NP direct object *uma abóbora* "a pumpkin" as in (172a), whereas 2% placed it before this lexical NP, as in (172b).

Eu dei uma abóbora a ela. [172a]  
I give PST1sg a pumpkin  
"I gave a pumpkin to her."

Eu dei a ela um abóbora. [172b]  
I give PST1sg to him a pumpkin  
"I gave to her a pumpkin."

In 2.29a) less than 1% represents spoiled questionnaires.

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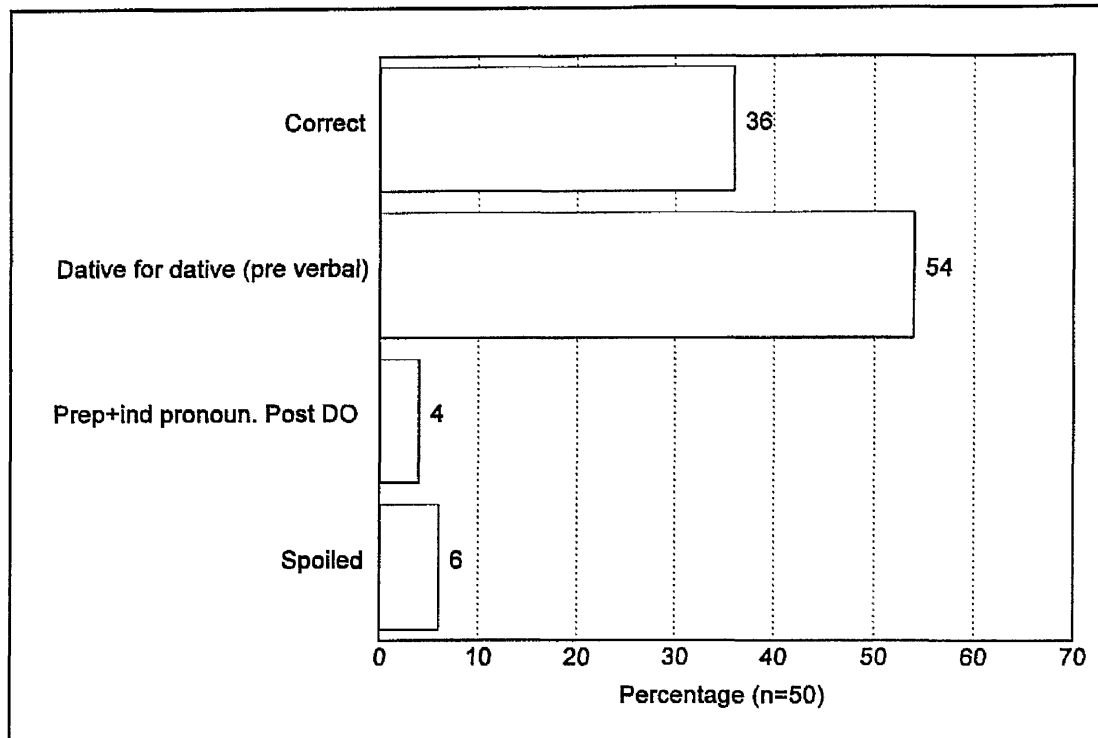


Table 11: Sentence 2.2 (c)

While (173a) gives the stimulus sentence for 2.2 (c), (173b) illustrates the expected answer in European Portuguese.

Os meninos descreveram o ladrão ao polícia. [173a]  
 The boys describe PST3pl the thief to+the policeman  
 "The boys described the thief to the policeman."

Os meninos descreveram- lhe o ladrão. [173b]  
 The boys describe PST3pl him the thief  
 "The boys described the thief to him."

In much the same way as in Table 10, what is evident in Table 11 representing the next relevant example, is that 90% correctly chose the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him". 36% of this figure attached it to the end of the verb, as

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prescribed by the European Portuguese rules that govern the placement of pronominal clitics. The remaining 54%, placed it in the pre-verbal position, as illustrated in (174).

Os meninos lhe descreveram o ladrão. [174]  
 The boys DAT describe PST3pl the thief  
 "The boys described the thief to him."

A 4% minority used a preposition with an independent pronoun immediately after the lexical NP direct object *o ladrão* "the thief".

Os meninos descreveram o ladrão a ele. [175]  
 The boys described the thief to him  
 "The boys described the thief to him."

6% for sentence 2.2(c) covers spoiled questionnaires, which is quite high compared with 0% for sentence 2.2(a).

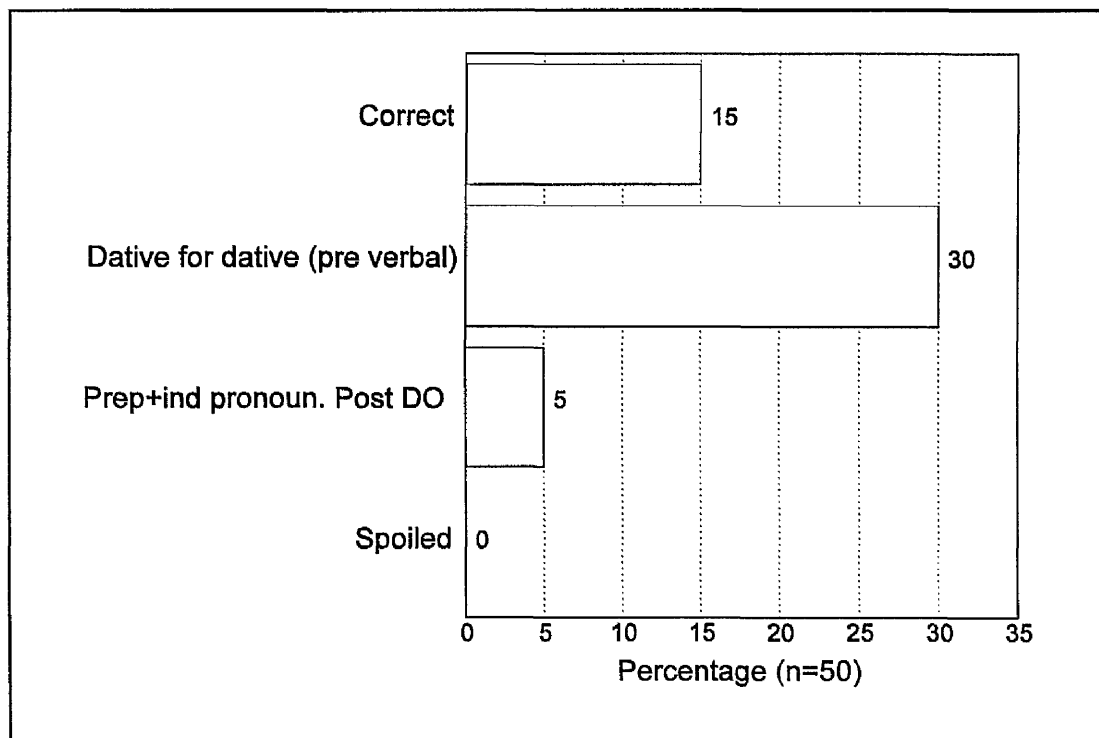


Table 12: Sentence 2.2 (d)

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Sentence (176a) represents the stimulus sentence of 2.2 (d) whereas (176b) illustrates the expected answer in European Portuguese.

O povo entregou a ladrão ao rei. [176a]  
The people hand PST3sg the thief to+the king  
"The people handed over the thief to the king."

O povo entregou- lhe o ladrão. [176b]  
The people hand PST3sg DAT him the thief  
"The people handed him over the thief."

Table 12 shows a pattern which is similar to those we have seen so far, in the sense that the majority of respondents used the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him". This accounts for 45% of the answers provided. However, with regard to the placement of this pronominal clitic, only 15% placed it in the correct position, as indicated in (176b); whereas 30% of respondents used the right case with the wrong word order, as we see in (176c).

O povo lhe entregou o ladrão. [176c]  
The people DAT him hand PST3sg the thief  
"The people handed him over the thief."

A further 5% of respondents used the PP "to him", instead of the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" as in (177),

O povo entregou o ladrão a ele. [177]  
The people hand PST3sg the thief to him  
"The people handed the thief over to him."

and a small minority of less than 1% accounts for spoiled questionnaires.

With regard to sentence 2.2(e), (178a) and (178b) represent the stimulus

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sentence and expected answer in European Portuguese, respectively.

O povo fez uma casa ao rei. [178a]  
The people built PST3sg a house to+the king  
"The people built a house for the king."

O povo fez- lhe uma casa. [178b]  
The people build PST3sg DAT him a house  
"The people built him a house."

The number of respondents who used the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" correctly, as indicated in (178b), comprises 18% of the total (see Table 13 below). 56%, which is the highest figure for sentence 2.2(e), used the right case with the wrong word order, as in (179).

O povo lhe fez uma casa. [179]  
The people DAT him built a house.  
"The people built a house for him."

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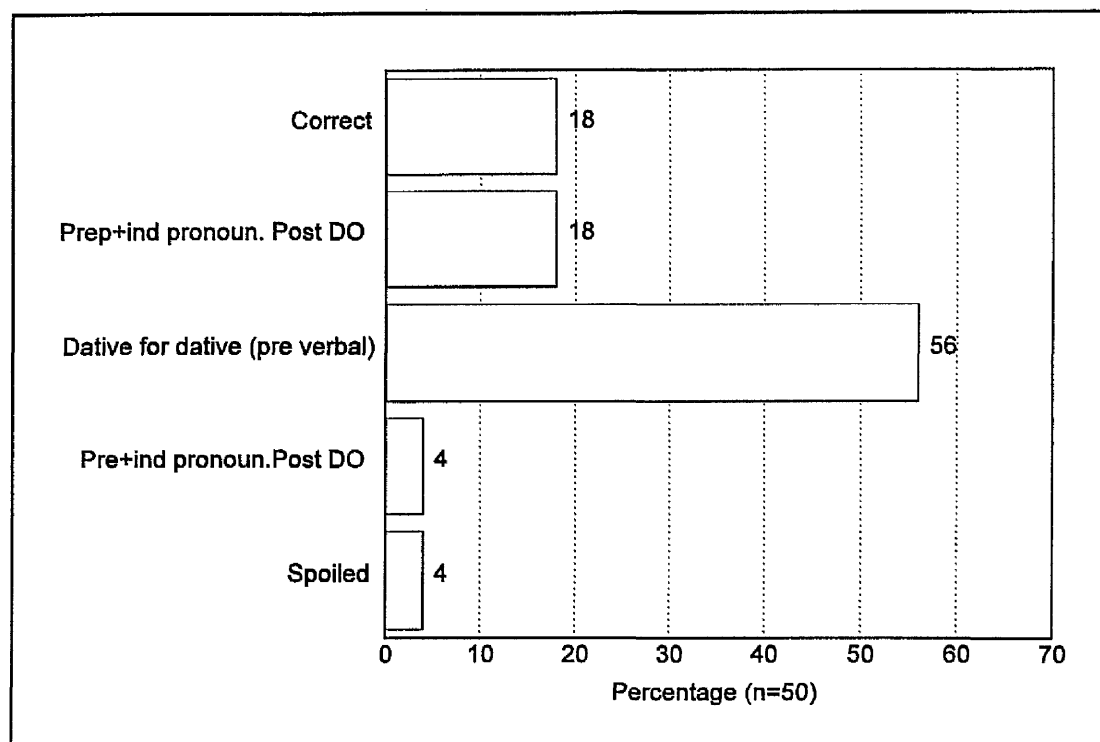


Table 13: Sentence 2.2(e)

There is another 18% which represents the use of a preposition together with an independent pronoun immediately after the direct object lexical NP, as indicated in (180).

O povo fez uma casa para ele. [180]  
 The people built a house for him  
 "The people built a house for him."

Sentence (180) is marginally acceptable in European Portuguese but would presuppose a context where the indirect object lexical NP *rei* "king" is contrasted with somebody else. The remaining 8% covers 4% who used the PP *a e/e* "to him", as indicated in (181), and 4% spoiled questionnaires.

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O povo fez uma casa a ele. [181]  
The people build a house to him  
"The people built to him a house."

Finally, we look at sentence 2.2(f), for which the stimulus sentence is given in (182a) and the expected response in European Portuguese in (182b).

O marido dará uma capulana à mulher. [182a]  
The husband give FUT3sg a piece of clothing to+the wife  
"The husband will give a piece of clothing to the wife."

O marido dar- lhe- á uma capulana. [182b]  
The husband give DAT her FUT3sg a piece of clothing  
"The husband will give her a piece of clothing."

Table 14 shows that, as in the case of the other sentences which involve either future or conditional (cf. 2.1[f] and 2.1[g]), in 2.2(f) the lowest figure, here less than 1%, comprises answers which conform to the rules governing the use of pronominal clitics in European Portuguese for this type of sentence. It is also in this type of sentence that the highest figures for spoiled questionnaires occur, in the present case 14%.

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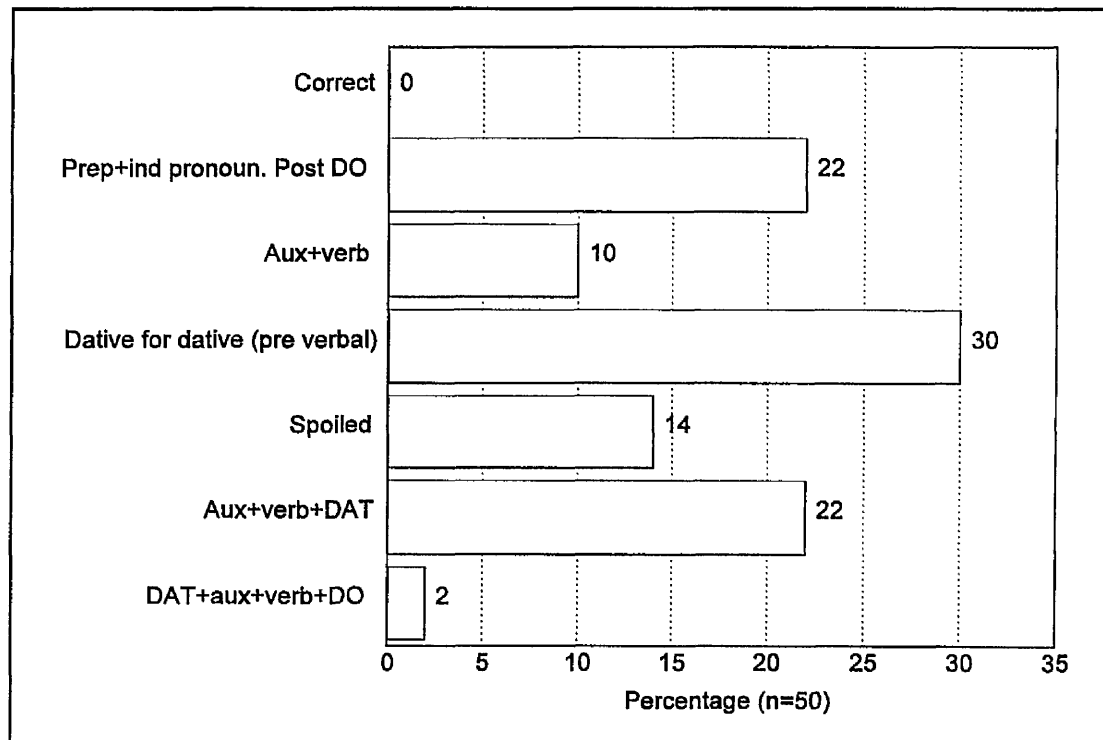


Table 14: Sentence 2.2(f)

Furthermore, parallel to the other sentences of this type which we referred to above, Table 14 shows the tendency for using a periphrastic construction (cf. Table 8). Depending on the position of the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "her", three types of answers are identifiable here. Firstly, the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "her" is inserted between the auxiliary verb *ir* "to go" and the main verb *dar* "to give" (10%), as in (182c).

O marido vai lhe dar.  
 The husband go PRS3sg DAT her give INF  
 "The husband is going to give her."

[182c]

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Secondly, the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "her" is attached to the main verb *dar* "to give" (22%), as in (182d).

O marido vai dar- lhe.<sup>6</sup> [182d]  
The husband go PRS3sg give INF DAT her  
"The husband is going to give her."

Thirdly, the dative pronominal clitic is placed immediately before the verb complex, which is followed by the lexical NP direct object *uma capulana* "a piece of clothing" (2%), as in (182e).

O marido lhe vai dar uma capulana. [182e]  
The husband DAT go PRS3sg give INF a piece of clothing  
"The husband is going to give her a piece of clothing."

However, it is the placement of the dative pronominal clitic in the pre-verbal position with the verb in the future tense that accounts for the highest figure in Table 12, i.e. 30%, as (183) indicates.

O marido lhe dará uma capulana. [183]  
The husband DAT her give FUT3sg a piece of clothing  
"The husband is going to give her a piece of clothing."

It should be observed with regard to (182d) that, when the direct object is known, it can be dropped in European Portuguese, without rendering the sentence ungrammatical.

After dealing with the tables showing the figures for the separate answers to the sentences in (2.2), we can now attempt to consider the

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percentages globally. All in all, what emerges from the tables for (2.2) is that respondents incorrectly used the dative pronominal clitic in the pre-verbal position. This is reinforced also by the "wrong" replacements of the previous section. In the sentences involving phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the clitic, there is a tendency to use the periphrastic construction.<sup>7</sup>

### 6.4 Choice of object pronominal clitics

In the last section of the questionnaire, sentences containing accusative and dative pronominal clitics were presented to the respondents who were asked to pass judgement on them. As was done with the sentences of (2.1) and (2.2), in what follows we give the tables displaying the figures for individual sentences; and, as a conclusion to this section, we consider the figures for sentences (2.3) as a whole. Following the procedure adopted so far, we begin by giving the stimulus sentence and then considering the responses provided by the respondents.

Sentence 2.3(a) contains the third person accusative pronominal clitic (polite) *o* "him/you" used either to mean "him" or as a polite pronoun of address, as indicated in (184).<sup>8</sup>

Eu vi-        o        ontem.  
I see PST1sg ACC him yesterday  
"I saw you yesterday."

[184]

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As Table 15 below shows, 18% of respondents said that they would use the accusative pronominal clitic *o* as indicated in (184). However, the majority of the respondents chose the dative pronominal clitic instead of the accusative; these fall into two groups. The first comprises 42% who chose to use the wrong case with the right word order, as (185a) illustrates.

Eu vi- lhe ontem. [185a]  
I see PST1sg DAT him yesterday  
"I saw him yesterday."

The second group accounts for 36% and represents respondents who chose to use the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" in the pre-verbal position, as in (185b).

Eu lhe vi ontem. [185b]  
I DAT him see PST1sg yesterday  
"I saw him yesterday."

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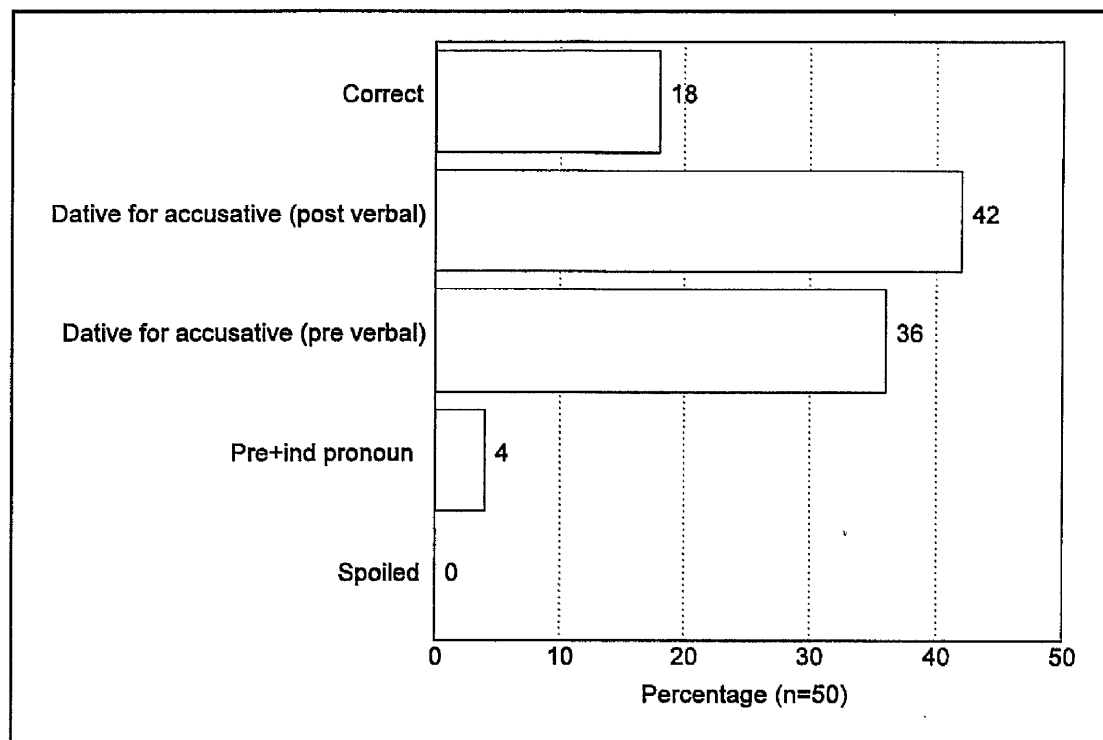


Table 15: Sentence 2.3 (a)

4% represents the number of respondents who used neither an accusative pronominal clitic nor the dative one, but the PP *a e/e* "to him".

Eu vi        a ele ontem. [186]  
 I see PST1sg to him yesterday  
 "I saw him yesterday."

Finally, Table 15 shows that less than 1% accounts for spoiled questionnaires.

As for sentence 2.3(b), it contains a second person accusative pronominal clitic (familiar).

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Eu vi- te ontem.  
I see PST1sg ACC you yesterday  
"I saw you yesterday."

[187]

Table 16 shows that 50% accepted the pronominal clitic as correct in conformity with the rules of European Portuguese.

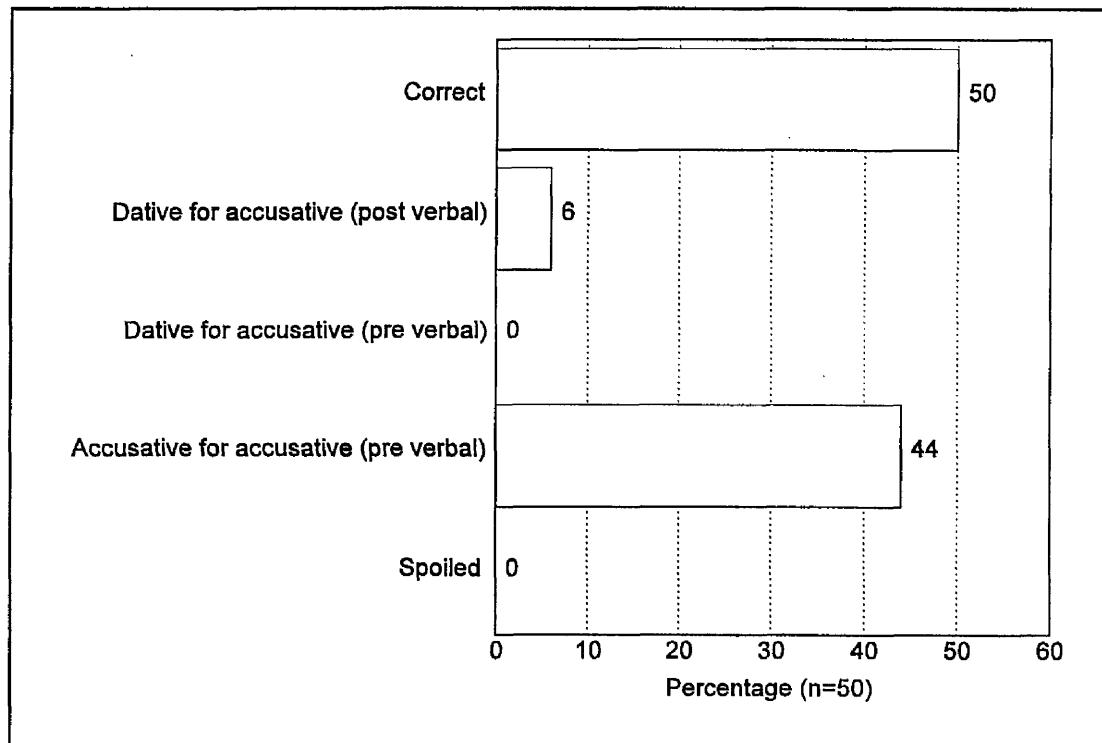


Table 16: Sentence 2.3 (b)

Two groups of respondents used the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him". One of them, which comprises 6%, used it in the postverbal position, as illustrated in (188a).

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Eu vi- lhe ontem. [188a]  
I see PST1sg DAT him yesterday  
"I saw him yesterday."

The second group constitutes a minority of less than 1% which used the dative pronominal clitic */he* "him" in the pre-verbal position. This is indicated in (188b).

Eu lhe vi ontem. [188b]  
I DAT him see PST1sg yesterday  
"I saw him yesterday."

The choice of the dative pronominal clitic */he* "him" in (187) may be attributed to the fact that the respondents intended a polite form but picked the wrong case. A large figure, 44%, represents respondents who, although they chose the pronominal clitic correctly, placed it in pre-verbal position, which is not acceptable in European Portuguese.

Eu te vi ontem. [189]  
I ACC you see PST1sg yesterday  
"I saw you yesterday."

The last figure shown in Table 16 is less than 1% and represents spoiled questionnaires.

In sentence 2.2(c) we have a negative sentence which contains the third person plural accusative pronominal clitic *os* "them".

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O leopardo não os fez mal. [190]  
The leopard not ACC them do PST3sg harm  
"The leopard did not harm them."

As Table 17 below indicates, the vast majority of the respondents, i.e. 70%, chose to use the dative pronominal clitic *lhes* "them", instead of the accusative *os* "them", as indicated in (191).

O leopardo não lhes fez mal. [191]  
The leopard not DAT them do PST3sg harm  
"The leopard did not do any harm to them."

By contrast, only an 18% minority responded positively to sentence 2.3(c).

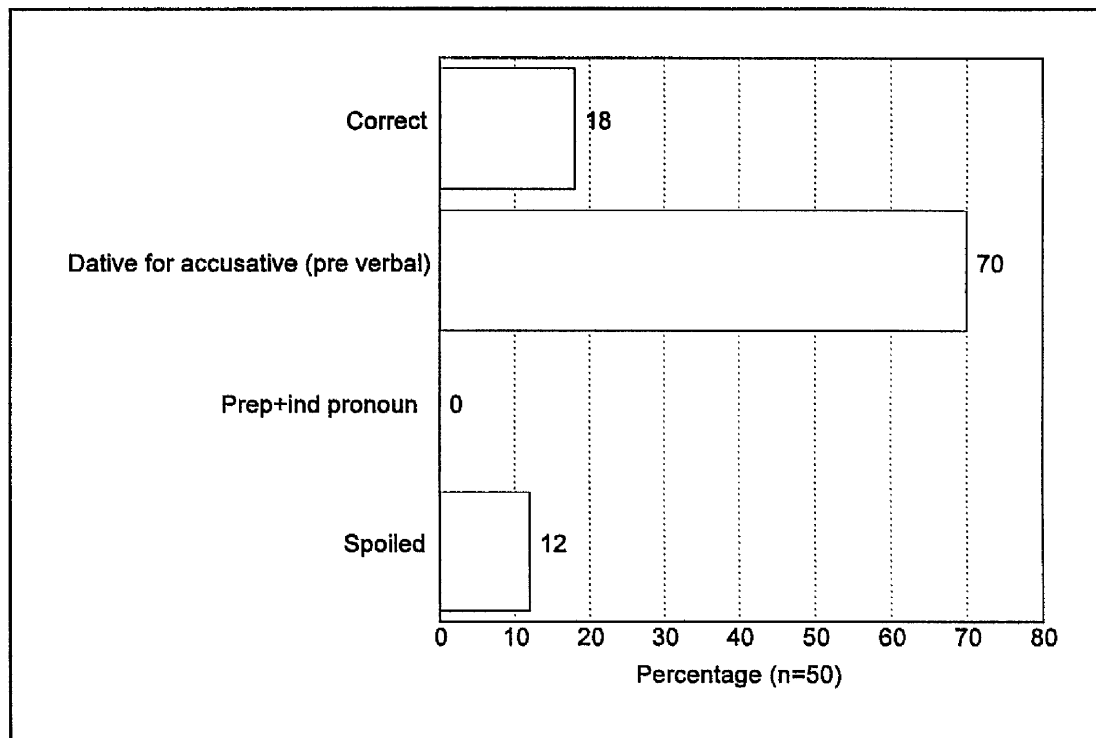


Table 17: Sentence 2.3 (c)

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While 12% represents spoiled answers, less than 1% represents the choice to use the preposition *a* "to" together with the independent pronoun *e/es* "them".

O leopardo não fez mal a eles. [192]  
The leopard not do PST3sg harm to them  
"The leopard did not do any harm to them."

Sentence 2.3(d) contains the third person singular dative pronominal clitic */he* "him".

A gazela deu-lhe uma maçaroca. [193]  
The gazelle give PST3sg DAT him a corncob  
"The gazelle gave her/him a corncob."

Table 18 below shows that in sentence 2.3(d) 42% accepted the post-verbal dative pronominal clitic *le* "him", as indicated in (196), as correct. In contrast, 50% chose to use it in the pre-verbal position, giving rise to example (194).

A gazela lhe deu uma maçaroca. [194]  
The gazelle DAT him give PST3sg a corncob  
"The gazelle gave her/him a corncob."

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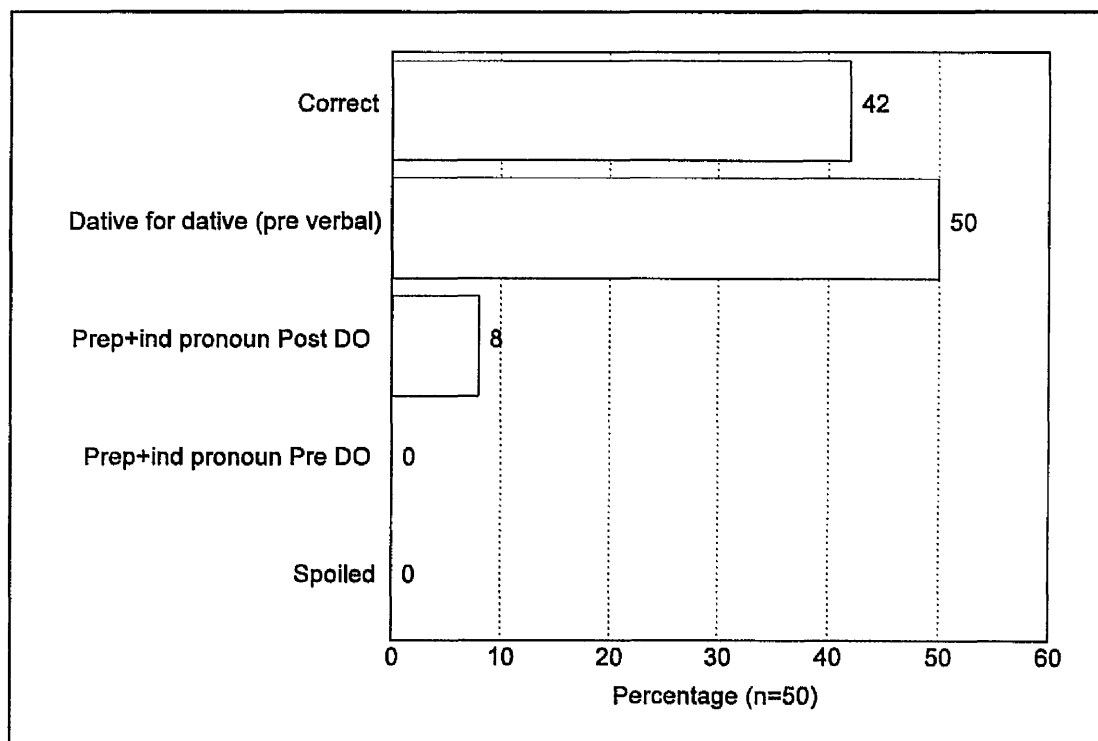


Table 18: Sentence 2.3 (d)

Concerning the use of the preposition *a* "to" together with the independent pronoun *ela* "her". Two categories of respondents chose to use the preposition *a* "to" together with the independent pronoun *ela* "her" after the lexical NP direct object *uma maçaroca* "a corncob" see (195a); there were 8% such responses.

A gazela deu uma maçaroca a ela. [195a]  
 The gazelle give PST3sg a corncob to her  
 "The gazelle gave a corncob to her/him."

The second group comprises less than 1% of respondents, who placed the PP *a ela* "to her" immediately before the lexical NP direct object *uma maçaroca* "a

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corncob", as in (195b).

A gazela deu a ela uma maçaroca. [195b]  
 The gazelle give PST3sg to her a corn-cob  
 "The gazelle gave a corn-cob to her/him."

The remaining minority of less than 1% represents spoiled questionnaires.

In sentence 2.3(e), we also have a third person singular dative pronominal clitic /he "him", as indicated in (196a).

O rato deu-lhe uma chapada. [196a]  
 The mouse give DAT him a slap  
 "The mouse gave her/him a slap."

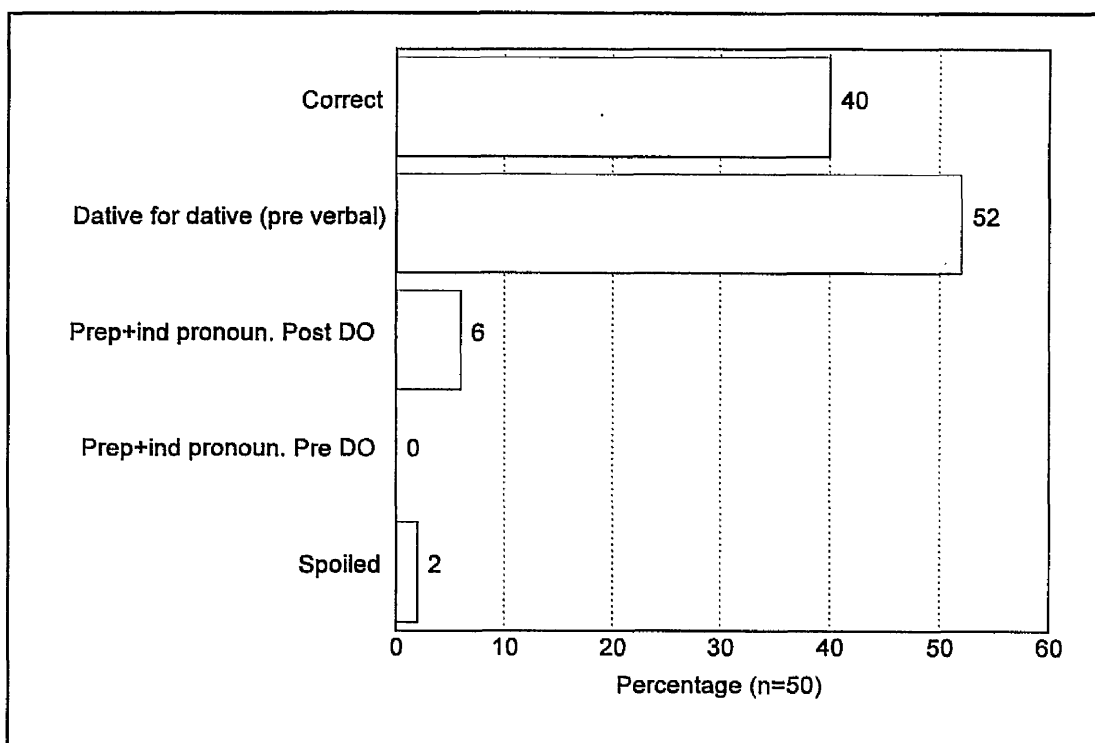


Table 19: Sentence 2.3 (e)

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The figures in Table 19 parallel those in Table 16 which may be ascribed to the overall structural similarity between the two examples. 40% represents the acceptance of the postverbal dative pronominal clitic as illustrated in (199a), while 52% preferred to place the dative pronominal clitic in the pre-verbal position, giving (196b).

O rato lhe deu uma chapada. [196b]  
The mouse DAT give PST3sg a slap  
"The mouse gave her/him a slap."

As is the case in 2.3(d), in 2.3(e) respondents who chose to use the PP *a ela* "to her" fall into two groups. The first comprises 6% who placed the PP immediately after the lexical NP direct object *uma chapada* "a slap" (cf. 197a).

O rato deu uma chapada a ela. [197a]  
The mouse give PST3sg a slap to her  
"The mouse gave a slap to her."

As for the second, it placed the PP immediately before the lexical NP direct object *uma chapada* "a slap"; this choice accounts for less than 1% (cf. 197b).

O rato deu a ela uma chapada. [197b]  
The mouse give PST3sg to her a slap  
"The mouse gave slap to her."

2%, the last figure that appears in Table 19, covers the spoiled questionnaires.

Concerning sentence 2.3(f), we have the phonologically conditioned

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variant of the accusative pronominal clitic *lo* "it".

O João fê- lo ontem de manhã. [198]  
 The John do PST3sg ACC it yesterday of morning  
 "John did it yesterday morning."

As we see in Table 20, only 2% accepted sentence (198) as correct. On the other hand, there were 72% spoiled questionnaires. The high percentage of spoiled questionnaires may be attributed to the occurrence of phonologically conditioned clitics (cf. Table 22 below). The remaining 26%, as Table 18 shows, covers the use of the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" either in the pre-verbal position, as in (199a) or in the postverbal position, as in (199b).

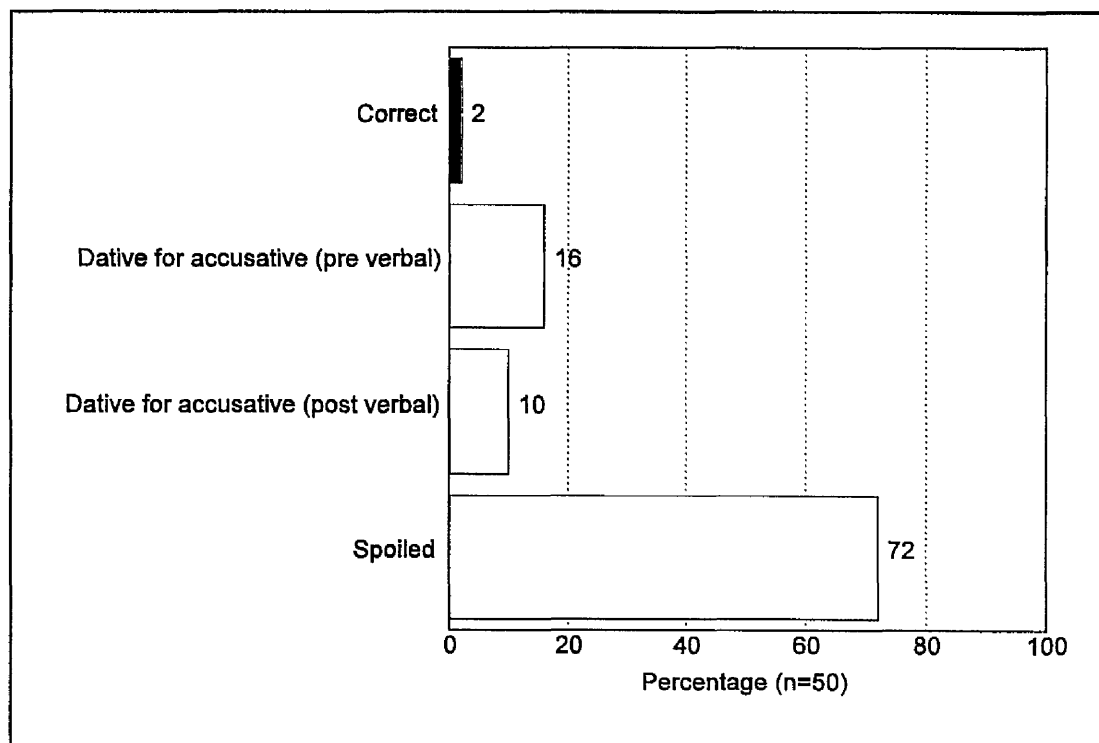


Table 20: Sentence 2.3 (f)

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O João lhe fez ontem de manhã. [199a]  
The John DAT him did PST3sg yesterday of morning  
"John did it yesterday morning."

O João fez lhe ontem de manhã. [199b]  
The John did PST3sg DAT yesterday of morning  
"John did it yesterday morning."

16% of these represents response as (199a) and 10% accounts for response similar to (199b).

In sentence 2.3(g), we have the dative first person pronominal clitic *nos* "us".

A tia mostrou- nos o caminho. [200]  
The aunt show PST3sg DAT us the way  
"Aunt showed us the way."

Table 21 below shows that more than half of the respondents, i.e 56%, found the position of the pronominal clitic *nos* "us" in (200) unacceptable. Instead, they chose to place it in the pre-verbal position, as (201) illustrates.

A tia nos mostrou o caminho. [201]  
The aunt DAT show PST3sg the way  
"Auntie showed us the way."

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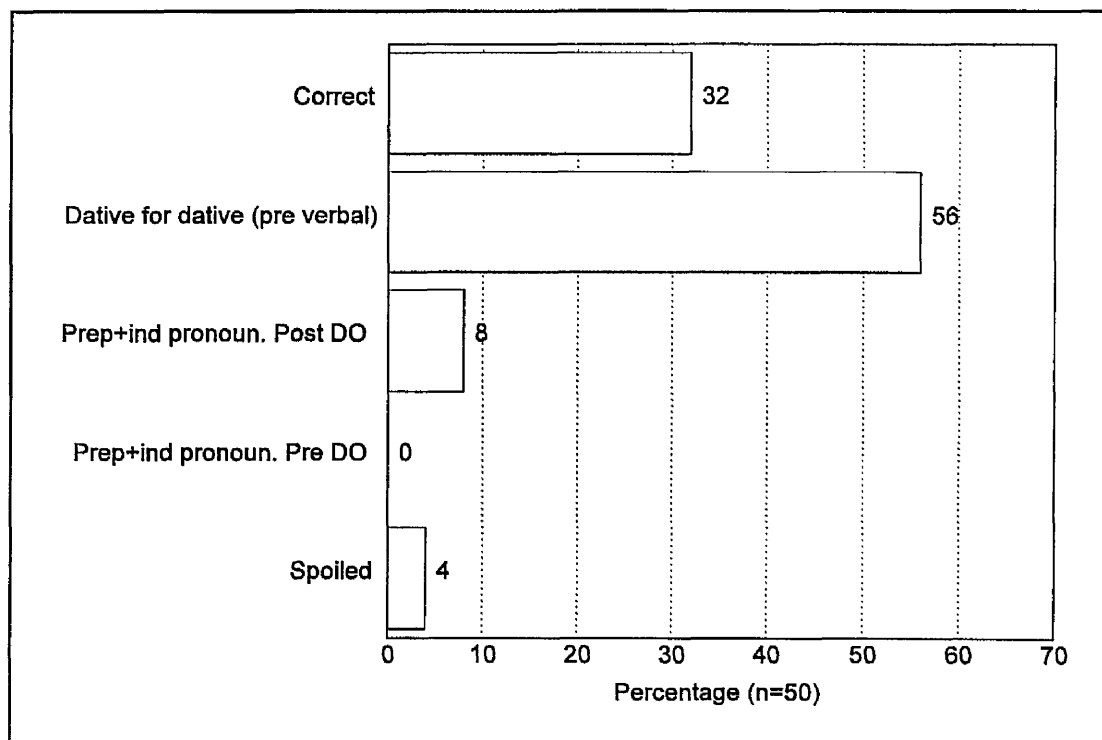


Table 21: Sentence 2.3 (g)

8% represents respondents who chose to use the PP *a nós* "to us" immediately after the lexical NP direct object *o caminho* "the way", as in (202).

A tia mostrou o caminho a nós. [202]  
 The aunt show PST3sg the way to us  
 "Auntie showed the way to us."

It should be noted here that (202) is acceptable in European Portuguese a contrastive meaning. On the other hand, less than 1% placed the PP *a nós* "to us" immediately before the lexical NP *o caminho* "the way", as illustrated in (203) (cf. 197b).

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A tia mostrou a nós o caminho. [203]  
 The aunt show PST3sg to us the way  
 "The aunt showed the way to us."

The last figure displayed in Table 21, i.e. 4%, represents spoiled questionnaires.

As mentioned above, respondents tended to use a periphrastic construction in sentences where the future or the conditional are involved. This is what we find in 2.3(h) and 2.3(i). First consider the former, repeated as (204), and the relevant figures in Table 22.

Amanhã visitá-lo- ei. [204]  
 Tomorrow visit ACC him FUT1sg  
 "Tomorrow I shall visit him."

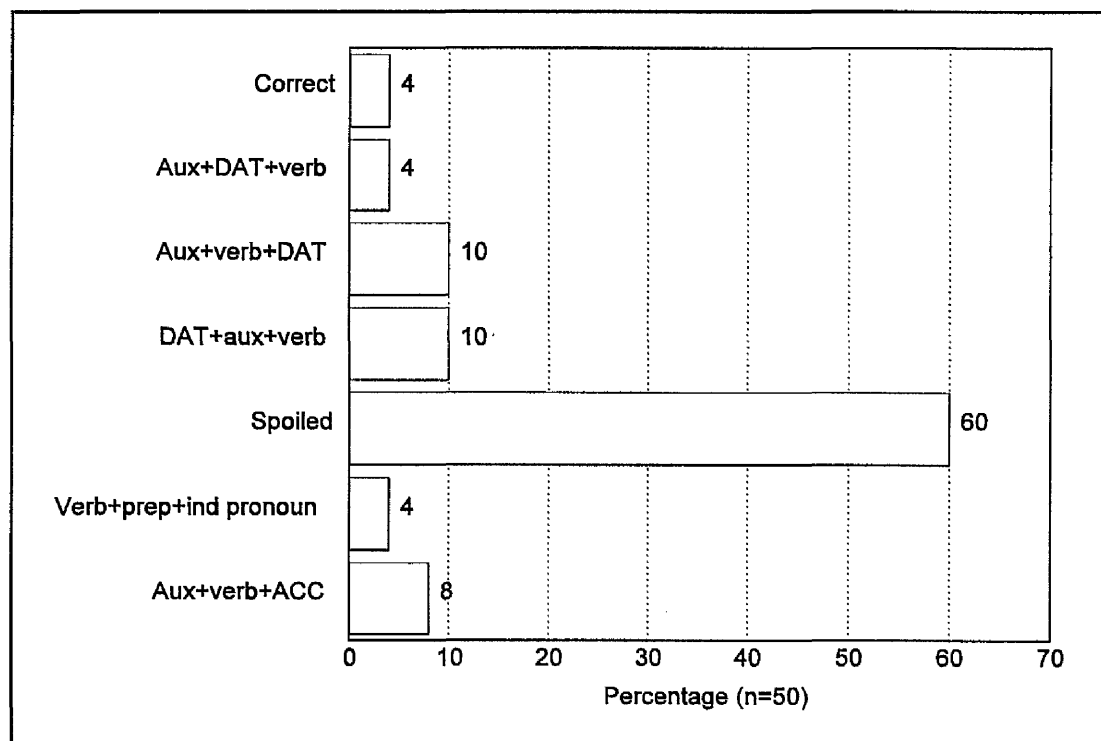


Table 22: Sentence 2.3 (h)

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32% of the respondents in 2.3(h) (see Table 23) used the periphrastic construction together with the dative pronominal clitic */he* "him". 4% of these placed it between the auxiliary verb *ir* "to go" and the main verb *visitar* "to visit", as in (205a).

Amanhã vou      lhe    visitar. [205a]  
Tomorrow go PRS1sg DAT him visit INF  
"Tomorrow, I shall go to visit him."

10% of the respondents attached the dative pronominal clitic to the main verb *visitar* "to visit", as indicated in (205b).

Amanhã vou      visitar- lhe. [205b]  
Tomorrow go PRS1sg visit INF DAT  
"Tomorrow, I shall go to visit him."

Another 10% placed the dative pronominal clitic */he* "him" immediately before the auxiliary verb *ir* "to go", as in (206).

Amanhã lhe vou      visitar. [206]  
Tomorrow DAT go PRS1sg visit INF  
"Tomorrow, I shall go to visit him."

As was the case of sentence 2.3 (f), sentence 2.3(h) registered a high percentage of spoiled questionnaires. This may also be ascribed to the occurrence of the phonologically conditioned clitic */o* "it". Finally, 8% used a periphrastic construction together with the pronominal clitic */o* "him", as shown in (207).

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Amanhã vou visitá-lo. [207]  
Tomorrow go PRS1sg visit INF ACC him  
"Tomorrow, I shall go visit him."

As we saw earlier in some sentences (cf. 197), there are also respondents who used the PP *a e/e* "to him"; this represents 4% of the total.

Amanhã visitarei a ele. [208]  
Tomorrow visit FUT1sg to him  
"Tomorrow I shall visit him."

Turning to 2.3(i), we begin by giving its version in European Portuguese (209), and then proceed to look at the figures in Table 23.

Se eu tivesse duas enxadas, emprestar-te-ia uma. [209]  
If I have SBCJ-PST1sg two hoes, lend ACC you COND1sg one  
"If I had two hoes, I would lend you one."

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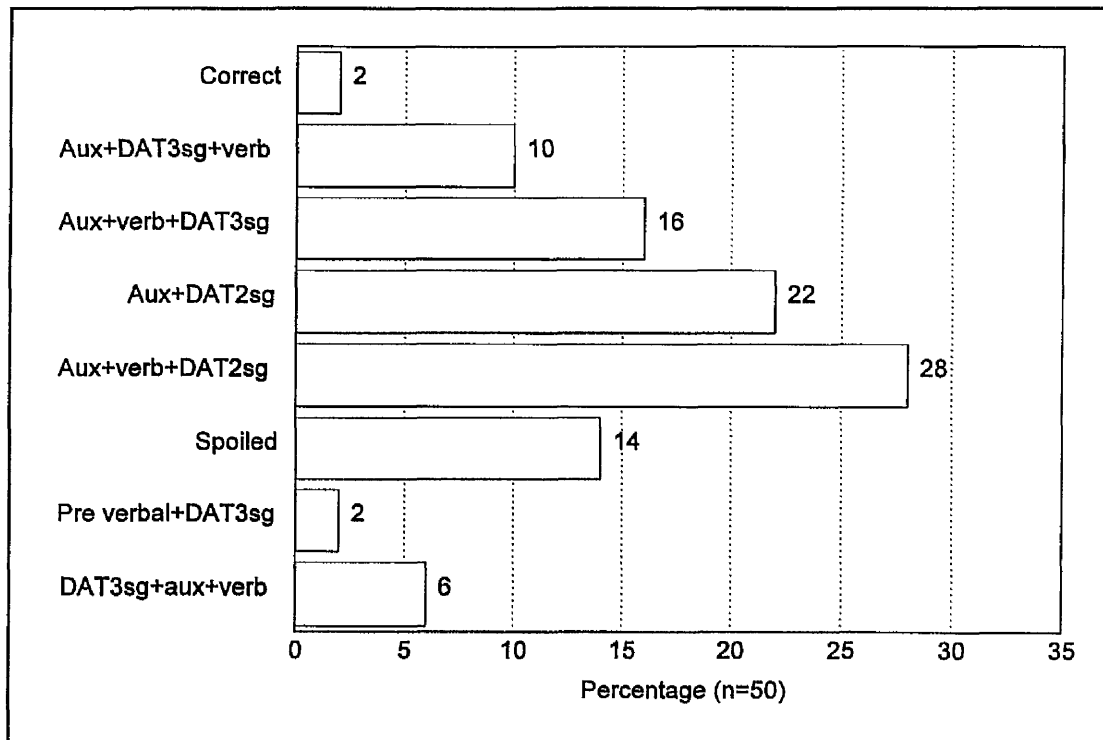


Table 23: Sentence 2.3 (i)

Although sentences 2.3(h) and 2.3(i) involve similar structures, the figures in the latter show that the respondents performed better here than in the former. For instance, while in 2.3(h) 60% accounts for spoiled questionnaires, in 2.3(i) they only comprise 14%. However, only 2% found 2.3(i) acceptable. As is the case in sentence 2.3(h), in 2.3(i) respondents mostly used a periphrastic construction. 28% attached the dative pronominal clitic *te* "you" to the main verb *emprestar* "to lend", as in (210a).

Se eu tivesse duas enxadas, ia emprestar-te uma. [210a]  
 If I have SBCJ-PST1sg two hoes, go PST1sg lend INF DAT you one  
 "If I had two hoes, I would lend you one."

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While using a sentence similar to (210a), 22% of respondents placed the dative pronominal clitic *te* "you" between the auxiliary verb *ir* "to go" and the main verb *emprestar* "to lend", as illustrated in (210b).

Se eu tivesse duas enxadas, ia te emprestar uma. [210b]  
 If I have SBCJ-PST1sg two hoes, go PST1sg ACC lend INF one  
 "If I had two hoes, I would lend you one."

34% used the dative pronominal clitic *le* "him" instead of *te* "you". Moreover, the positions which the former occupies in the sentence are similar to those occupied by the latter. 10% placed the dative pronominal clitic *le* "him" between the auxiliary verb *ir* "to go" and the main verb *empréstar* "to lend", as in (211a).

Se eu tivesse duas enxadas ia lhe emprestar uma. [211a]  
 If I have SBCJ-PST1sg two hoes go PST1sg DAT lend INF one  
 "If I had two hoes, I would lend you one."

6% placed the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" immediately before the auxiliary verb *go* "ir", as in (211b); and 16% placed it after the main verb, as in (211c).

Se eu tivesse duas enxadas lhe ia emprestar uma. [211b]  
If I have SBCJ-PST1sg two hoes DAT go PST1sg lend INF one  
"If I had two hoes, I would lend you one."

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Se eu tivesse duas enxadas ia emprestar lhe uma. [211c]  
If I have SBCJ-PST1sg 2 hoes go PST1sg lend INF DAT one  
"If I had two hoes, I would lend you one."

2% did not use a periphrastic construction, but used the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" together with the main verb *emprestar* "to lend", as shown in (212).

Se eu tivesse duas enxadas, lhe emprestava duas. [212]  
 If I have SBCJ-PST1sg two hoes DAT him lend PST1sg two  
 "If I had two hoes, I would lend you one."

When we consider the responses in (2.3) collectively, we see that, as regards order, except for the sentences which involve phonologically conditioned allomorphs - as in 2.3(f) and 2.3(h) - broadly speaking, what characterizes the responses in (2.3) is the use of the pronominal clitic in the pre-verbal position. This even applies to instances where respondents selected the appropriate case. For instance, see Tables 17, 19, 20 and 22. These findings are confirmed by the wrong pronominalization discussed above and by the spontaneous recorded speech of PMP.

Concerning the choice of case, similarly to what we saw earlier, in (2.3) there are no instances of using an accusative pronominal clitic where a dative pronominal clitic would be required. Instead, there is a predominant use of the latter in contexts where the former would be appropriate in European Portuguese.

As already remarked, in sentences involving phonological variants, the

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percentage of spoiled questionnaires is quite high and the respondents tend to use a periphrastic construction, particularly where future and conditional are involved.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, in (2.3), the percentages of responses which comply with the rules governing the use and functions of pronominal clitics in European Portuguese is relatively high. This is perhaps to be expected, given that (2.3) allows informants to accept an existing sentence (rather than forcing them to modify it) and given that the sentences presented to them do all comply with rules of European Portuguese.

After discussing the percentages of the results obtained from questionnaires, in the next section, we shall consider the significance of such percentages with regard to PMP.

### 6.5 The significance of the results of the questionnaire for PMP

We have investigated one particular grammatical domain, i.e. object pronominal clitics, and found recurrent and systematic deviations from European Portuguese. Some of these at least can be explained in terms of interference of Tsonga. Thus, as regards case, we saw in chapters 3 and 4 that dative pronominal clitics in European Portuguese encode a beneficiary argument, which is inherently human and definite. On the other hand, nouns that denote human beings in Tsonga inherently belong to class 1. Given this, it would seem that the informants associate the functions of the dative

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pronominal clitics in European Portuguese with Tsonga noun class 1. In other words, it seems probable that informants view the dative pronominal clitic as the marker of human feature. The following facts appear to validate the explanation offered here: firstly, there are no instances of the use of an accusative pronominal clitic in contexts where a dative pronominal clitic would be required. Secondly, in sentences such as 2.1(a) and 2.1(b) which involve inanimate nouns, the informants mostly used the accusative pronominal clitic in accordance with the rules obtaining in European Portuguese (cf. Tables 3 and 4). Concerning the tendency to use pronominal clitics preverbally, it may be related to the fact that, as we saw in chapter 4, in Tsonga they always occupy a pre-verbal position whereas in European Portuguese pronominal clitics may be used preverbally or postverbally depending, *inter alia*, on the type of sentence involved. It should be observed here that the use of the dative in contexts in which the accusative would be used in European Portuguese, and the systematic placement of pronominal clitics in the pre-verbal position are not unique to PMP. They have also been found in the Portuguese spoken by native speakers of Bantu languages in which the rules governing the functions and placement of pronominal clitics parallel those which exist in Tsonga. Marques (1985:26-27), for instance, reports that, in Portuguese as spoken by native speakers of Kikongo, Kimbundu and Umbundu - Bantu languages mainly spoken in Angola - there is the recurring use of the dative pronominal clitic *lhe* "him" in contexts in which European Portuguese requires an accusative

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pronominal clitic, and the preference for the pre-verbal position. As for the use of the periphrastic construction in sentences involving future and conditional, it seems to parallel aspectual (progressive) and tense markers in Tsonga in the sense that most markers of these grammatical categories in this language occur in pre-verbal position. This may encourage users of PMP to prefer **aux+verb** to **verb+inflection**. Furthermore, we would like to mention here that spontaneous PMP data and our informal observations as teachers confirm the facts described here.

Turning to the significance of the results of the questionnaire for PMP, it is generally known that when languages come into contact via bilingual speakers as is the case pertaining to Tsonga and European Portuguese, interference is likely to occur (cf. Rozencveig [1976]). In the attempt to acquire the target language, the learner may build on his linguistic experience from the source language and carry over the rules and structures of his language into the target language (Weinreich [1953], Appel & Muysken [1987:84ff], Lehiste [1988] and Romaine [1989:52]). It is, however, important to distinguish between individual second language learners and entire or partial communities. For, while the effects of the former are nil, those of the latter may have long-term structural effects. This implies that in order for the interference of Tsonga to have a long-term structural effect and lead to the formation of a new variety of Portuguese in Mozambique, there should be a bilingual community. Sasse (1992:61) argues that

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in cases of long-term collective bilingualism there is usually a drift towards a certain kind of compound bilingualism which amounts to the formula "one form - two substance systems." This is brought about by the fact that, in a totally bilingual community, both languages are transmitted by the same persons over generations in an identically sociocultural setting. The result is that interference phenomena cease to be spontaneous, individual and ad hoc and begin to be transmitted from one generation to the next. The ideal goal over the long term in such a situation is a total isomorphism of the two languages.

Besides the structural interference described above, it has also been suggested in some literature that, in their attempt to master the target language, learners go through different stages characterized by specific linguistic features which comprise learning strategies. Selinker (1972), Appel & Muysken (1987:83-92) and Selinker (1992) refer to such stages as *interlanguage*. It may therefore be the case that PMP represents a stage through which Tsonga speakers go before mastering European Portuguese. However, if we take the level of education of the respondents into consideration, we would expect them to have gone beyond those stages and reached a level of proficiency in European Portuguese which is close to that of native speakers. But, on the other hand, as Appel & Muysken (1987:92) observe, most learners, especially when they do not have access to native speakers of the target language [target-language community], rarely do reach such a level. Instead, their learning process terminates at one of the intermediate stages and, in such cases, the features of interlanguage fossilize. "When the interlanguage of many learners fossilizes at the same point for a certain structure, a new variety of the target language can develop."<sup>10</sup> Given this, the functions and

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placement of pronominal clitics in PMP may be taken to represent a particular structure which has fossilized and that may evolve over time into a distinct language variety. Ultimately, then, PMP may develop into a Mozambican variety of Portuguese, as is the case of Brazil, for instance. It is this issue that we shall deal with in the next section in association with the implications of PMP for Portuguese in Mozambique.

### **6.6 The results of the questionnaire and future prospects of European Portuguese in Mozambique**

In order to consider the possibility of PMP developing into a distinct Mozambican variety of Portuguese which, as is the case in Brazil, may 'supplant' European Portuguese, we shall first consider the sociolinguistic factors which may come into play in that process. Chief among them are: duration of contacts between European Portuguese and Bantu languages, number of bilingual speakers, degree of bilingualism and the domains which each language covers, the attitudes in the population to the two varieties of Portuguese as well as the continued availability of European Portuguese.

Concerning duration, Thomason & Kaufman (1988:67), and Sasse (1992:60-61) seem to argue for a causal relationship between the duration and intensity of the contact situation and the extent of structural interference. In the case of Mozambique, as we saw above, although the contacts between

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European Portuguese and the Bantu languages, including Tsonga, can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century, when the Portuguese settlement of the country started, interference may have been intensified by the departure of nearly all native speakers of European Portuguese on Independence and the fact that more and more Mozambicans have come to replace native speakers of European Portuguese in the public life and administration after the departure. Taking this into consideration, it may therefore be reasonable to argue that intensive contact in the minds of single speakers and certain sections of the community between Portuguese and the Bantu languages of Mozambique, including Tsonga, is fairly recent due to increase in the number of bilingual speakers and the disappearance of the model, i.e. European Portuguese. There is therefore still a long period of time to be covered before we may think of having a variety of Portuguese which can be typically associated with Mozambique.

As for bilingual speakers with some command of Portuguese, as we saw earlier, they make up only 23.3% of the population and, as we saw in Figure 4, Portuguese there are mainly confined to the major urban centres. Given all this, we may argue that the level of bilingualism cannot be regarded at this stage as a major contributing factor in the formation of a Mozambican variety of Portuguese.

Among all the sociolinguistic factors which may influence the direction and the outcome in a situation of languages in contact such as the one we are

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dealing with here, it is the domains in which the languages involved are employed and the attitudes of the speakers towards the respective languages which seem to play a decisive role. It is to these factors that we now turn. As we saw in chapter 1, although it is spoken by a minority of 24.4%, of which 1.2% are mother tongue speakers, apart from being the sole medium of instruction in Mozambican schools, Portuguese is the official language of the country and, as such, is used in government spheres, including administration and the judiciary. As a result, Portuguese is always perceived as the language of power, which gives access to jobs and therefore to a better life. In fact, people learn from experience that in order for their children to get on in the school system and in society, they have to learn Portuguese in the home - which in many instances is the PMP variety - before even entering school where are exposed to European Portuguese through the textbooks (Matsinhe [1993:7-9]). Given the foregoing, what is likely to happen is that PMP will not take over the official functions of Portuguese in Mozambique. Instead, PMP may develop and be used outside the official spheres. In other words, there would be the low variety (PMP), which children learn in the home, alongside the high variety (European Portuguese) in a diglossic situation. The school books and the high literature would be in European Portuguese. If this were to happen, it would not be unique to Mozambique, as similar cases have been reported elsewhere. Diez (1981), for instance, in her study of the changes taking place in European Portuguese in Macao, shows that, despite the fact that Portuguese

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is spoken by a 3% minority and that it has acquired some specific features which may be ascribed to Chinese influence and that it has words whose origin can be attributed to the patois once spoken in the territory, it has neither been developed into a new variety of Portuguese nor 'supplanted' by Chinese. Diez argues that this is the case because Chinese and Portuguese are used in different domains. For instance, while the former covers spheres which include local trade and the home, the latter covers spheres that include the administration of the territory and education.

Turning to the Brazilian situation referred to above, the sociolinguistic history of Brazil is different from that of Mozambique. This may explain why a variety of Portuguese typically identified with Brazil has developed and 'supplanted' European Portuguese. In Brazil, European Portuguese was subjected to contact with the local languages (da Silveiro Bueno [1963]). However, what seems to have contributed to the development of a Brazilian variety of Portuguese is the fact that, after Brazil had become a sovereign country, steps were taken conducive to the integration of a local spoken variety in the mainstream of language use in Brazil. As Baxter (1992:19-21) reports, after independence from Portugal in 1822, Brazilian writers embarked on a process of moving away from European Portuguese, by incorporating some features of the local spoken variety of Portuguese in their works. It was only in the 1930s, however, a century after independence, that attempts to codify Brazilian spoken Portuguese were made. As regards the use of Portuguese in

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schools, emerging varieties were recognized and, consequently, the use of prescriptive grammars based on European Portuguese was discouraged. It is "linguistic nationalism" (Baxter 1992:35) which helped promote the spoken Brazilian Portuguese to a written language. By contrast, in Mozambique there has never been any attempt to promote PMP. Whenever it comes to language issues, particularly in education, resources have always been channelled into improvement and dissemination of European Portuguese, without taking into consideration the emerging variety.

The direction which the contacts between Tsonga and European Portuguese will take and the ultimate outcome remain to be seen. But, taking into account the fact that the respondents for this study included parents and teachers who speak PMP, one can logically infer that they will transmit it to their pupils and, consequently, help spread it. However, if the sociolinguistic factors, especially the status and the institutional support which European Portuguese enjoys, do not change, PMP is likely to overlap and compete with the Bantu languages in terms of domains of use.

Besides unwittingly helping to spread it, teachers who, when not using standard textbooks, use PMP rather than European Portuguese may also help create a fertile ground for pupils to experience academic difficulties and be thrown into confusion resulting in a high drop-out rate. In fact, there seems to be a competition between European Portuguese, on which the syllabus used in Mozambican schools is based, and PMP, which represents the variety used

by most bilingual speakers.

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### NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. The term general secondary education is used here in opposition to technical or vocational training, where people are trained for a specific profession.
2. As remarked earlier, in Mozambique it is no longer possible to speak of a single variety of Portuguese. Thus, speaking Portuguese at home does not necessarily mean speaking European Portuguese.
3. Although not appropriate to the context under consideration, sentence (162) is acceptable in European Portuguese.
4. This construction uses a pre-verbal marker (i.e. before the main verb) of futurity.
5. Because they have no indirect object, sentences 2.2(b) and 2.2 (g) were excluded.
6. When used as a response to (185a), this sentence does not conform to the rules in European Portuguese.
7. There is likely to be more of a problem with the order of elements in future and conditional than with the morphophonemic alternation. Also, the periphrastic alternative is similar to Tsonga to the extent that the future marker precedes the main verb (see not 4).
8. In fact, sentence (184) is ambiguous, as it may mean either "I saw him yesterday." or "I saw you yesterday."
9. See notes 4 and 7.
10. Although what I am stating here may be generally true, I have also to consider that there are variations in the responses I dealt with above.

## **7. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The language situation in Mozambique raises problems which have been made more acute by the departure of the small community of first-language speakers of European Portuguese who up to independence in 1975 held the key positions in public administration and education. The thesis was undertaken in order to provide the linguistic groundwork for any future language policy. Its subject matter, the grammar of pronominal clitics, was chosen because it is in this domain that the grammars of Tsonga and Portuguese differ most profoundly and most systematically, and because here the degree of uncertainty and hence of grammatical variation is also most prominent when native speakers of Tsonga communicate with each other in Portuguese.

The major part of the thesis was devoted to a comparison of the principles governing the use and the placement of subject and object pronominal clitics in Tsonga and European Portuguese. In these languages, a pronominal clitic represents a noun phrase which is contextually given. Thus, before discussing the selection and placement of pronominal clitics, it was appropriate to outline the noun classification systems of the two languages. In Tsonga, noun classes correspond to grammatical gender, which is to a large extent semantically based. On other hand, in European Portuguese, with the exception of a small set of human nouns, the assignment of nouns to a specific gender is purely grammatical and hence semantically arbitrary.

Turning to their use, each language uses pronominal clitics for marking both anaphoric agreement and grammatical agreement but the principles which

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govern their placement differ in important respects. When used anaphorically, a pronominal clitic functions as an incorporated pronoun, representing the syntactic function of subject or of object, and the noun to which it is linked fulfils the discourse function of topic. In the case of grammatical agreement, a pronominal clitic serves as an obligatory agreement marker, without any referential function. Furthermore, grammatical agreement is local in the sense that the clitic and the corresponding noun phrase occur in the same simple clause. By contrast, anaphoric agreement is not local and, therefore, the clitic and the matching noun phrase may occur in different clauses. In European Portuguese object pronominal clitics fall into accusative and dative groups, which are used for representing direct objects and indirect objects respectively. Hence in this language the selection of a clitic depends on the syntactic function of the corresponding noun phrase, whereas in Tsonga the form of a clitic is determined only by the class of the corresponding noun.

Concerning the principles governing the placement of clitics in the verbal complex, in Tsonga object pronominal clitics always occupy a pre-verbal position, whereas in European Portuguese they may be placed in a pre-verbal or post-verbal position, depending on the type of sentence in which they occur. In the case of verbs which take both direct and indirect object, in European Portuguese object pronominal clitics representing both these functions can co-occur. The indirect object, which follows the direct object, is always introduced by a preposition, and usually represents a noun which is [+ human], or [+

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animate]. In Tsonga, however, only one object pronominal clitic can occur at one time and there is no distinction between direct object clitics and indirect object clitics. As regards the order of two full NP objects in Tsonga, this is determined by semantic and discourse factors. Thus, an object NP incorporating a noun which is [+ human] or [+ animate] normally immediately follows the verb.

While in European Portuguese the placement of reflexive pronouns is subject to the same principles which govern the placement of object pronominal clitics, in Tsonga, although the reflexive formative *-ti-* shares the same slot with the object pronominal clitics in the verbal morphology, it functions as a derivational affix rather than as an object pronominal clitic. It should therefore be treated on a par with other derivational affixes, such as the applicative, causative, and the reciprocal affixes. There are several reasons for this suggestion, chief among them being the following three. First, the reflexive formative, like the applicative, causative and the reciprocal affixes, alters the predicate argument structure of the verb it is attached to. Secondly, while the presence of a clitic in the verbal complex blocks further derivations, the Tsonga reflexive formative can co-occur with the applicative or the causative affixes. Thirdly, there are no Tsonga lexicalized forms with unpredictable meanings consisting of the verb and the clitic, whereas the reflexive formative can lexicalize and give rise to verbs with a different meaning.

In Tsonga and European Portuguese independent pronouns represent

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the discourse function of focus and, therefore, are used for contrasting, emphasizing, or focusing and can only be related to syntactic functions through binding. Hence in clitic doubling in European Portuguese, while the pronominal clitic represents the syntactic function of object, the prepositional personal pronoun with which it co-occurs carries a contrastive, emphasizing, or focusing meaning and, as such, its presence in a sentence is not obligatory. The second, sociolinguistic, part of the thesis was devoted to the analysis of the Portuguese data involving the use and placement of pronominal clitics by native speakers of Tsonga. It showed that there is some degree of variation in speaker responses in this domain and that, despite a nine year education in and through European Portuguese, in their day-to-day usage speakers deviate from the norm of their schoolbooks. Interestingly, however, their deviations show common characteristics, which appear to be due to interference from Tsonga. Thus, in examples involving a noun phrase which is [+ human], speakers tend to replace the direct object by a dative pronominal clitic, instead of using the accusative pronominal clitic as required in European Portuguese.

Regarding the placement of object pronominal clitics, there is a recurring preference for the pre-verbal position. Moreover, where European Portuguese, in clauses containing future tense or conditional verb forms, places a pronominal clitic between the verb stem and the tense suffix, Tsonga speakers use a periphrastic construction. There is, admittedly, a periphrastic future in European Portuguese but Tsonga speakers show a marked preference for this

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structure, which bears a closer resemblance to the order of elements in future tense clauses in Tsonga.

Although the present thesis has been concerned specifically with the relationship between Tsonga and European Portuguese, its findings may represent what is happening in Mozambique as a whole as regards contact between Portuguese and the Bantu languages spoken there. Despite the fact that these languages are not mutually intelligible and particular Bantu languages may have their own peculiarities, broadly speaking these languages are grammatically very similar. With regard to the future prospects of European Portuguese in Mozambique, while it remains to be seen what the final result will be, the emergence of a local spoken variety of Portuguese - Popular Mozambican Portuguese (PMP) - is a reality. However, in terms of the domain of use, the disappearance of the model (in the form of first language speakers of Portuguese) from the Mozambican linguistic scene and the fact that teachers and the schools masters cannot handle the norm of the schoolbooks in their everyday use of the language may lead to a diglossic situation in Mozambique with PMP on the one hand and European Portuguese on the other (cf. Batibo [1992:90] and Ferguson [1959]), the former being used in the home and latter as the language of high literature. Unless the linguistic factors pertaining to language use in Mozambique change, this situation is likely to prevail.

Finally, even though the majority of the Mozambican population, living in rural areas, use Bantu languages rather than any form of Portuguese in their

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

everyday lives, it seems reasonable to assume that acknowledging PMP to be an acceptable variety of Portuguese in the Mozambican context will enable a larger proportion of the population to participate effectively in the ongoing transformation of the economic and political structures of the country.

## **APPENDIXES**

## LOANWORDS

Afrikaans	Tsonga	Gloss
bansela	basela	tip
beker	bikiri	jug
brug	bulaho	bridge
broek	buluku	trousers
djas	djasi	overcoat
dorp	doropā	city/town
draad	darada	fence/borde
hemp	hembe	shirt
kerk	kereke	church
palk	phake	carton
tafel	tafula	table
vadoek	faduku	handkerchie
venster	fasitela	window

**Appendix 1:** loanwords from Afrikaans integrated into class 5

## LOANWORDS

English	Tsonga
bible	bibele
boat	boti
box	bokisi
book	buku
bucket	baketi
bus	basi
chain	chini
christmas	khisimusi
flyingmachine	fulanimatchini
jail	djele
kiss	khisi
paper	phepha
parcel	phasela
pass	pasi
peaches	petchiso
pipe	phayiphi
plank	pulangu
pocket	phakethi
silk	silika
socks	sokisi
soldier	sotchwa
tea	tiya
ticket	thikithi
lamp	lambu
tie	thai
tin	thini
watch	watchi
wheel	wili
wire	wayela

**Appendix 1.1:** loanwords from English integrated into class 5

## LOANWORDS

Portuguese	Tsonga	Gloss
fósforo	fofo	match box
canga	kange	yoke
corda	goda	rope
correio	kureya	post office
injecção	djasawu	injection
pão	pawa	bread

**Appendix 1.2:** loanwords from Portuguese integrated into class 5

## LOANWORDS

Afrikaans	Tsonga	Gloss
skuld	xikweneti	debt
skelm	xikelemu	bandit/thief
sker	xigere	scissors
skottel	xikotela	container
skroef	xikurufu	screw
span	xipani	pair of oxen
speld	xipeneti	pin
spoor	xiporo	railways
spyker	xipikiri	nail
steen	xitini	brick
straat	xitaratu	street/road
skei	xikeyi	yoke-pin

### Appendix 2: loanwords from Afrikaans integrated into class 7

English	Tsonga
slate	xilete
speller	xipela
spoke	xipoko
stall	xitolo
stamp	xitambu
station	xititchini
Steam	xitimu
steamer	xitimela

### Appendix 2.1: loanwords from English integrated into class 7

Portuguese	Tsonga	Gloss
escada	xikada	step
escravo	xikarawa	slave

### Appendix 2.2: loanwords from Portuguese integrated into class 7

## LOANWORDS

Afrikaans	Tsonga	Gloss
kerk	kereke	church
knoop	kilambu	button

### Appendix 3: loanwords from Afrikaans integrated into class 9

English	Tsonga
cup	khapi
pension	penceni
dish	ndhichi
ring	ringi

### Appendix 3.1: loanwords from English integrated into class 9

**Appendix 4: questionnaire**

**0: Place of the interview**

**1. Informant's profile**

- 1.1. Name
- 1.2. Education
- 1.3. Occupation
- 1.4. Language spoken at home
- 1.5. Age
- 1.6. Sex
- 1.7. Marital status (not essential)

**2. Questions**

**2.1 Study the following sentences carefully and then replace the lexical direct objects with direct object pronouns:**

- (a) Eu dei uma abóbora à Rosa. (I gave a pumpkin to Rose).
- (b) O coelho queimou a casa do leão. (The hare has burnt the lion's house).
- (c) Os meninos descreveram o ladrão ao polícia. (The boys described the thief to the police).
- (d) O povo entregou o ladrão ao rei. (The people handed the thief over to the chief).
- (e) O povo fez uma casa ao rei. (The people built a house for the chief).
- (f) O marido dará uma capulana à mulher. (The husband will give a piece of cloth to his wife).
- (g) Amanhã visitarei o chefe da aldeia. (Tomorrow I shall pay a visit to the village chief).

**2.2 Study the sentences (a-e) carefully again and replace the lexical indirect objects with indirect object pronouns:**

**NB. Sentences (b) and (g) have no lexical indirect object. So ignore them.**

## QUESTIONNAIRE

**2.3** Study the following sentences and say if this is the way you would say them. If not how would you say them. (I can also read them to you if you want me to):

- (a) Eu vi-o ontem. (I saw him yesterday).
- (b) Eu vi-te ontem. (I saw you yesterday).
- (c) O leopardo não os fez mal. (The leopard did not do them any harm).
- (d) A gazela deu-lhe uma maçaroca. (The gazelle gave him a corncob).
- (e) O rato deu-lhe uma chapada. (The rat gave him a slap).
- (f) O João fê-lo ontem de manhã. (John did it yesterday morning).
- (g) A tia mostrou-nos o caminho. (Aunt showed us the way).
- (h) Amanhã visitá-lo-ei. (Tomorrow I shall visit him).
- (i) Se eu tivesse duas enxadas emprestar-te-ia uma. (If I had two hoes, I would lend you one).

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