

ABSTRACT

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TRANSITIVITY IN KALANGA

by

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This thesis examines transitivity as a grammatical aspect of the Kalanga language. The investigation is done using two theoretical frameworks: Relational Grammar (RG) and Hopper and Thompson's (1980) Transitivity Theory. RG theory is used to explain the difference between transitive and intransitive sentences on the basis of syntactic primitives called grammatical relations (GRs). Sentences that contain verbs that take the GR direct object are classified as transitive, while those that have verbs that cannot take this GR are intransitive. This study shows that making a clear - cut dichotomy between transitive verbs on one hand and intransitive verbs on the other hand using RG theory does not fully explain the complex phenomenon of transitivity. It is on this basis that this study also uses Hopper and Thompson's (1980) Transitivity theory to explain transitivity as a matter of degree in Kalanga, not as a dichotomy as what RG does. The number of transitivity parameters the clause has on the High Transitivity (HT) column measures the degree of transitivity of that clause. A prototypical transitive sentence shows that it has all the 10 parameters in the HT column while a prototypical intransitive sentence scores negative values in the same column. In between the two poles is a range of clauses with varying degrees of transitivity, showing that there is a transitivity continuum. It is shown that high transitivity is a characteristic of storyline clauses of narratives. The study goes further to examine the intransitive verb group. It was found that Kalanga intransitive verbs can be split

into unaccusatives and unergatives by using the following diagnostic tests. Unergative verbs can be used with both the potential verbal extension **-ik-** and the applied extension **-il-** while unaccusative verbs cannot. Also, unergative verbs can undergo locative inversion both in the active and passive forms while unaccusative verbs can only do so in the active form, and transitive verbs only in their passive form. These tests make it possible to place verbs in the three classes of transitives, unergatives and unaccusatives. The findings of this study shed more light into the grammar of the Kalanga language in particular and the domains of syntax and semantics in general.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A	Agent
AG	Agent
AGR	Agreement marker
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APPL	Applicative
CAUS	Causative
CDU	Curriculum Development Unit
CHO	Chomeur
C1	Initial 1 stratum
C2	Initial 2 stratum
DO	Direct Object
Exist.	Existential marker
GB	Government and Binding
HLG	Honours in Linguistics
HT	High Transitivity
IO	Indirect Object
LOC	Locative
LT	Low Transitivity
NON CAUS	Non - Causative
NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
OBLO	Oblique Object
OM	Object Marker
PASS	Passive
PAT	Patient
Pot. ext.	Potential Extension
PRES	Present Tense
PST	Past Tense
RG	Relational Grammar
RH	Relational Hierarchy
SUBJ	Subject
TH	Thematic Hierarchy
Th	Theme
THC	Thematic Hierarchy Condition
TV	Terminal Vowel
V	Verb
V1	Unergative Verb
V2	Unaccusative Verb
*	indicates an ungrammatical construction
#	indicates a semantically deviant construction

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 AREA OF INVESTIGATION

This study focuses on an investigation of transitivity in the grammar of Kalanga, a Bantu language predominantly spoken in the western parts of Zimbabwe.

The term "transitivity" refers to a category that is used in the grammatical analysis of sentence constructions consisting of transitive verbs which take direct objects and intransitive verbs which do not take direct objects (Crystal 1991). In other words, traditionally, the notion of transitivity is based on simple structural principles, which state that a transitive verb is accompanied by a direct object and an intransitive verb is not. Besides these grammatical rules concerning the presence or absence of an object in a transitive or intransitive construction, respectively, there is nothing to suggest that transitivity is a matter of degree. Hopper and Thompson (1980) propose 10 parameters that can be used to determine the degree of transitivity of clauses or sentences. These transitivity parameters imply the existence of a transitivity continuum, with high transitivity on one end and low transitivity on

the other. In other words, this Transitivity Theory places transitive verbs on the high end of the transitivity continuum while intransitive verbs rank low on the same scale. The term transitivity is used in this study as an umbrella term covering the notions of transitivity and intransitivity.

The researcher uses Hopper and Thompson's theoretical framework in investigating transitivity as a continuum in Kalanga. The 10 transitivity parameters are used as a classification scheme of sentences in order to determine the transitive prototype in the Kalanga language. This theory is used in conjunction with Relational Grammar (RG) theory (Rosen 1984, Postal and Perlmutter 1984, among others) which explains transitivity from a syntactic point of view. These crucial theories are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

In order to make a comprehensive study of transitivity in Kalanga, this study incorporates the closely related areas of split intransitivity and passivization. Split intransitivity refers to the dichotomy that exists between what are called unaccusative and unergative verbs within the intransitive verb class (Perlmutter 1978). Possible

tests for each type of these groups are suggested and contrasted with tests that are used in other languages. When a sentence is transformed from its active form into its passive form for whatever reason or by whatever means, as shall be seen in Chapter 5, we say the process of passivization has taken place. In addition to examining the types of passives in Kalanga, the study will also attempt to show that this construction can be used to test split intransitivity in this language.

1.1 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

A hypothesis is an indispensable tool of research. It is a statement that directs investigation. There must be implications for testing the stated relations. A hypothesis is a prediction that can be shown to be correct or incorrect. It forms a bridge between theory and investigation. In order to formulate a research hypothesis, there must first be a problem, which is usually presented in the form of a question. In this study the underlying question is: What is the nature of transitivity in the grammar of the Kalanga language? The general hypothesis of this study has been formulated with the above question in mind as follows: Transitivity can be explained both as a dichotomy and a matter of degree in Kalanga.

This hypothesis acted as a guideline in the analysis of data gathered from the Kalanga language.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is a worthy undertaking since it appears that there is insignificant or no linguistic work of this kind in the Kalanga language. Hachipola (1998:11) observes that:

... as Kalanga is an important minority language at least in terms of the area its speakers cover, there is need to study the language, both at linguistic and literary levels.

Hachipola further notes that there is scant written literature that can be used in teaching the Kalanga language, citing two Grade 1 to 3 manuals, Atibaleni and Tjinyunyi Babili prepared by the now defunct Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture. The researcher also noted that there is very minimal literature in Kalanga that could be used as reading, study or reference material. It can justifiably be said that there is a dire need for linguistic research and publication in this language.

From a cross-linguistic point of view, the notion of

transitivity needs further research. This is supported by Hopper and Thompson (1982:4) who remark that "...single language studies of the morphosyntax and semantics of transitive clauses are required..." What this suggests is that what may be possible in one language may not be the same with another language as far as transitivity is concerned. Still on the same note, Machobane (1989:3) recommends that "...the need for further research in order to cover [transitivity parameters] is undoubtedly essential." This study is therefore significant both for the Kalanga language and crosslinguistically.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

A pilot study was carried out using Kalanga data gathered during the Field Linguistics course (HLG 007) offered by the Department of Linguistics at the University of Zimbabwe when the researcher was doing a one-year Special Honours programme in Linguistics in 1997. During the practical sessions of this course, students worked with a first language speaker of Kalanga. These sessions provided the researcher a chance to have a fairly good linguistic knowledge of the Kalanga language in the following, among other areas:

- basic vocabulary and word meanings

- phonetics and phonology
- basic word structure
- phrase and sentence structure.

Some of this linguistic data - in the form of verbs, phrases and sentences - helped the researcher to make preliminary assumptions about the nature of the Kalanga language and to formulate the research hypothesis.

In a study of this nature, texts of different sizes were required to provide enough clauses, phrases and sentences for analysis. A number of methods were employed in the collection of additional data. The relatively little Kalanga literature provided passages from which some clauses were picked and classified as transitive and intransitive. However, this method did not help much in providing enough clauses, as the researcher could not access as many Kalanga texts as needed.

1.3.1 FIELDWORK

Consequently, the researcher embarked on intensive fieldwork in the Bulilimamangwe district in order to collect supplementary data. A number of interviews were held with first language speakers of Kalanga. The

informants were identified with the help of knowledgeable research assistants from the areas visited. The interviews were tape-recorded. The interviewees were responding to questions about the history of the Kalanga people, their language, socio-cultural activities, developmental programmes in their areas and other topics of general interest. The researcher also tape-recorded some news bulletins and radio programmes from Radio 4 of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). All the tape recordings were first transcribed from the tapes onto paper and then translated into English by first language speakers of Kalanga. More than 40 texts of varying lengths were produced. Some of these were used in this research.

Since the researcher needed some background information about the Kalanga people and their language, questionnaires were used to this end. Of the 110 questionnaires that were administered to the respondents, 103 were completed and returned. This high response can be attributed partly to the use of assistants well known in the areas and partly to the enthusiasm the Kalanga people have in wanting their language studied, hoping that such studies as this one may help in the elevation of the status of their language. Some of the information from the questionnaires is found in

the next section.

1.3.2 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The next stage was the linguistic analysis of the data gathered. Transitivity was investigated using the RG theory first. Implications for the structure of sentences were noted. The crucial observation was this theory's failure to show that there exists a transitivity continuum. The same sentences were subjected to the model suggested by Hopper and Thompson. This theory failed to show that there is a dichotomy. The number of parameters to which the clauses were positive on the High Transitivity (HT) column made it possible to determine the degree of transitivity of each sentence analyzed. Sentences with more parameters in the High column were classified as being closer to cardinal transitivity than those scoring fewer parameters in the same column.

Observations made during the analysis showed that the RG theory tended to lump verbs as either transitive or intransitive while Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Theory provided a transitivity continuum.

The researcher also selected sentences that were used to

show the existence of two sub-classes of the intransitive verb class. Verbs which showed change of state of the patient or theme, were classified as unaccusative while those that were agentive in nature belonged to the unergative subgroup.

1.4 THE KALANGA LANGUAGE

Kalanga is a Bantu minority language predominantly spoken in the southwestern parts of Zimbabwe, in Bulilimangwe district in the Matebeleland South province. According to the 1992 national census (Hachipola 1998:5), there are 158 143 Kalanga people living in this district. This population figure represents just over 1% of the 11.5 million people in Zimbabwe. This excludes the Kalanga people living in Kezi, Nyamandlovu, Tjolotjo and Matobo districts where they are in minorities, the dominant group in these areas being Ndebele speakers. This study uses data collected from the Kalanga people living in Bulilimangwe district. It was also coincidental that the informants used in the pilot project are from this area. As will be seen in subsequent sections, the term Kalanga is used to refer both to the people and the language they speak. It is important to note from the outset that the Kalanga that is spoken in Zimbabwe is slightly different

from the Kalanga found in the northeastern and central parts of neighbouring Botswana. The Botswana variety is TjiLilima or simply Lilima.

Scholars such as Van Waarden (1988), Wentzel (1983), Fortune (1959) and Chigwedere (1985) provide linguistic and historical evidence that shows that before the border between Zimbabwe and Botswana was drawn, the Kalangas in these two countries formed a large, homogenous group of people who spoke Kalanga as a dialect of the Shona language. Doke (1931) also assumes that Kalanga is a dialect of Shona. However, long periods of separation from each other have led to diverse linguistic and cultural development that can be used to argue that Kalanga and Lilima are distinct languages rather than dialects of Shona. This is the position taken in this study.

1.4.1 KALANGA DIALECTS

Scholars have presented fascinating information about the dialects of the Kalanga language. Fortune (1959) presents the Kalanga cluster as comprising the Kalanga, Nambya, Lilima, Twamamba, Rozwi and Lemba dialects. In addition to Fortune's classification of the Kalanga dialects, Wentzel (1983) identifies Pfumbi, Lembethu (Rembetu) and Jaunda

(Jawunda) as minor sub dialects which have fallen into disuse. He further names Romwe, Peri and Talahundura as those dialects that have almost become extinct.

Evans (1991) identifies and describes the dialects of Kalanga as TjiLilima, the Botswana dialect; TjiNnu, the Zimbabwean variety in the Plumtree area; TjiNambya, the variety spoken in the Hwange area of Zimbabwe and TjiNthu, a variety that has borrowed lexical items from both TjiLilima and TjiNnu. This last dialect is spoken by small groups throughout the area covered by the Kalanga people in both Zimbabwe and Botswana. Evans further asserts that the Kalanga language had 10 dialects most of which are now dead.

However, the researcher's observation and findings were that the Kalanga people in Bulilimangwe now refer to themselves just as speakers of the Kalanga language. There were no groups of people who claimed to be speakers of the Lemba or Rozwi dialects, for example. A possible explanation for this is that the other dialects might have completely died or been incorporated into the variety of Kalanga which appears to have been the most prestigious dialect.

1.4.2 THE TERM KALANGA

A number of suggestions have been put forward as to what the term Kalanga means. The researcher found two plausible explanations which are going to be discussed here. Wentzel (1983) and Chigwedere (1985) say the term Kalanga means people living in the land of the sun. Both argue that the morpheme ka means "of" and langa means "the sun", therefore ka-langa means "of the sun". Wentzel (1983:16) asserts that the Kalanga originated "from East Africa from somewhere near Lake Tanganyika, from a place, which was possibly called Uranga." Chigwedere supports this assertion. While this explanation sounds good and plausible, the Kalanga people interviewed showed complete ignorance of the origin and the meaning of the name of their tribe and language. Most think that the term simply means "tribe". What the researcher observed was that the respondents seem not to worry much about the meaning of this term. However, a few people said Kalanga means the "people of a ruler called Langa". This concurs with Chigwedere's other assertion that, most probably, one of the rulers of this tribe might have been called Langa.

Since finding the exact origin and meaning of the name of this language from the interviewees proved problematic,

further research is therefore recommended in this direction. The oral traditions collected by the Kalanga native speaker, Masola Kumile and published by Wentzel P.J. (1983) as *Nhau dzabaKalanga: a History of the Kalanga*, gives an interesting and useful account of the rulers of the Kalanga people, but it does not explain the origin and meaning of this term. So, from the above discussion, it can be deduced that the term Kalanga can either mean the "people of the sun" or "the people of Langa" as far as we know.

1.4.3 THE STATUS OF KALANGA

Although it is not the purpose of this study to delve into language planning and policy in Zimbabwe, it is important to say something briefly about the status of the Kalanga language in this country. This helps the reader to place the Kalanga language in its rightful place both at regional and national levels. Hachipola (1998) and Thondhlana (2000), among others have made valuable contributions to the subject of language planning and policy in Zimbabwe from different angles.

The best way to understand the status of Kalanga as it stands today is to revisit Doke's (1931) recommendation

number 9 which partly reads:

That the following procedure be adopted with regard to Kalanga or Western Shona group of dialects: (a) That unified Shona be not applied in this area. (b) That Kalanga be recognized for literary and educational purposes, but not as an official language. (c) That an orthography be adopted for Kalanga as proposed in paragraph 162. (d) That no school books ... be published in the Lilima or Nambya. (e) That, in view of the extension into the Tati Concession and Bechuanaland of the Kalanga and Lilima peoples, the native education department of the Bechuanaland be approached to participate in the preparation, production, and cost of the educational literature in Kalanga (Doke 1931:99 - 100).

1.4.3.1 KALANGA AS A MINORITY LANGUAGE

The term minority language is used to refer to languages spoken by small tribes in Zimbabwe. Hachipola (1998) has identified the minority languages of Zimbabwe as Kalanga, Hwesa, Sotho, Shangani, Tonga of Mudzi, Venda, Tonga, Chikunda, Doma, Chewa, Khoisani (Tshwawo), Barwe, Tswana, Fingo (Xhosa), Sena and Nambya. Not much has been written about the status of African languages spoken in Zimbabwe since Doke's (1931) recommendations that eventually made Shona and Ndebele the only official indigenous languages.

It can be said that Doke's recommendations had far reaching consequences on the status of minority languages up to this time. Successive governments have promoted the use and development of only Shona and Ndebele at the expense of a

number of important indigenous languages, which have been relegated to minority language status. Kalanga is one such language with this status, although it enjoys an official minority language status together with Shangani, Tonga, Venda, Chewa and Nambya, which is supposed to be a dialect of the same language as Kalanga. As an official minority language, it is used as medium of instruction in schools where it is predominantly spoken, as opposed to unofficial minority languages which do not have this function.

1.4.3.2 KALANGA IN EDUCATION AND THE MEDIA

The present language policy allows Kalanga to be used in the education system at the elementary school level in areas where it is predominantly spoken. Kalanga is also used in broadcasting news and some developmental programmes by Radio 4 of the education channel of the ZBC.

It is the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture's policy that Kalanga be used as a medium of instruction from Grade 1 to Grade 3 in Bulilimangwe because it is a predominant language there. This is also the case with Nambya, Shangani, Tonga and Venda in areas where they are predominantly spoken. In Bulilimangwe, Ndebele takes over from Kalanga from Grade 4 onwards. However, the

researcher found that not all schools use Kalanga as required by the policy of the ministry. There are areas in which Kalanga is the major language but Ndebele is used as a medium of instruction, contrary to the policy. Two main reasons can account for the fact that in some schools Kalanga is never used at all. Education officers interviewed in Bullilimamangwe said that there are not enough trained Kalanga speaking teachers to take up teaching posts in areas where they are greatly needed. They added that even the few that graduate from teacher training colleges shun rural schools. The ministry ends up deploying Ndebele and, at times, Shona speaking teachers in these schools. Teachers and parents in the areas visited vehemently condemned this situation. They argued that children were disadvantaged at an early stage in their education as they were forced to learn new concepts in a language that is not their mother tongue.

The other problem, which is faced in the teaching of Kalanga is the shortage of teaching materials. Besides the two manuals published by the CDU mentioned in Section 1.2, there is nothing more to use in schools. According to former editors at the Literature Bureau and the CDU in Bulawayo, there is a lot of Kalanga literature that can be

used to construct books of grammar and all kinds of literary genres in this language. They said publishers are unwilling to invest in publishing Kalanga books as they are not used in schools and other institutions. Gatawa (1998:9) has this to say about the attitude of publishers towards minority languages:

Publishing houses are not eager to develop materials of minority groups because they are not viable in terms of the yardstick of profitability.

This situation could benefit from an official policy change that makes the teaching of the Kalanga language as a subject compulsory, say up to Grade 7, to begin with.

Despite the constraints mentioned above, the Kalanga people wish that the status of their language could be elevated in the field of education. An overwhelming 92% of the respondents said they would like to see a situation where Kalanga is taught up to tertiary level. Their argument is that, during the colonial era, Kalanga was taught from Sub A to Standard Six. They do not understand why the present government has not come up with a new policy that can improve the status of their language two decades after independence. They also questioned the wisdom of the government's intention to introduce a new policy that will

require all schools in the country to teach Shona and Ndebele, thus raising the status of the two languages to that of English.

Kalanga and other minority languages have found their way into the electronic media, but they are used only by Radio 4, ZBC's educational channel. The people in Bulilimangwe like the Kalanga programmes, but they feel that the airtime should be increased. According to some Radio 4 broadcasters interviewed at ZBC's Montrose studios in Bulawayo, the programmes they propagate are very popular with the listeners. However, they said they cannot reach all their intended listeners since there are some remote areas where reception is poor.

Kalanga and other minority languages, both official and unofficial, are not used in the print media. Only reports in Shona and Ndebele are published in Kwayedza, a weekly paper owned and published by the government. The respondents expressed the wish to read stories written in Kalanga in this paper.

1.4.3.3 KALANGA AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

Ndebele, Tswana and the Kalanga of Botswana are the main

neighbouring languages of Kalanga in the areas where the research was conducted. When languages come into contact with each other, the less prestigious is most likely to be influenced. In an attempt to show how Kalanga has been influenced by its neighbours, Kulube (1995:32-35) identifies some common noun class features between Kalanga and Tswana, and Kalanga and Ndebele. He suggests that both Tswana and Ndebele influenced Kalanga due to close contact with each other. The question of how Kalanga was influenced by its neighbouring languages cannot be exhausted in these introductory remarks of this study. Further research is recommended from the morphosyntactic, phonological and semantic perspectives.

The researcher observed that there is a diglossic situation in Bulilimamangwe. The term diglossia was first used by Ferguson (1959) to describe a situation in which two varieties of the same language, a High variety and a Low variety, exist side by side throughout a speech community, each variety being used in specific situations. Fishman (1967) later extended the concept diglossia to include two or more different languages being used in different situations in society. Fishman's type of diglossia is what exists in Bulilimamangwe. For instance, it was noticed

during the research that most Kalanga people would greet strangers in Ndebele, only to switch to Kalanga on realization that the strangers were Kalanga and not Ndebele speakers. This is because Ndebele and Kalanga are accorded different statuses, the former being a High variety and the latter being a Low variety. These languages are assigned different functions in society. The High variety is used in most formal situations whereas the Low variety is used in informal ones. In Bulilimangwe district, Ndebele is the High variety and Kalanga is the Low. This explains why most Kalanga people living in towns like Bulawayo would like to be identified as Ndebele because Ndebele is the more prestigious variety in that region.

The researcher's observations indicate that there are specific situations in which Kalanga speakers use Kalanga and Ndebele. Meetings, political gatherings, seminars and workshops, for instance, are usually addressed in Ndebele even if the majority of the people are Kalanga speakers. The researcher witnessed this at Ndiweni Clinic near Plumtree where a group of Kalanga women was undergoing a course on how to take care of AIDS patients in their areas. The lessons were conducted in Ndebele by both Ndebele and Kalanga instructors without any problem. The women

switched to Kalanga when they were given group work and when the researcher was interviewing them.

1.5 ORGANISATION

Chapter 2 lays the foundation on which the analysis of the concept of transitivity is based. It discusses the Relational Grammar (RG) theory and Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity theory which are used to explore the nature of transitivity in Kalanga. The analysis of Kalanga data begins in Chapter 3. Using selected sentences, it is demonstrated that in order to account for the transitivity prototype, we use Hopper and Thompson's theory which treats the whole concept of transitivity as a scale from a semantic point of view. On the other hand, RG theory tends to lump the verbs or sentences into two broad categories, that is from a syntactic perspective. In other words, the purpose of this chapter is to propose that transitivity in Kalanga can be treated as a matter of degree rather than just as two distinct groups of transitive and intransitive verbs or sentences.

A more detailed analysis of the intransitive verb group is made in Chapter 4. **1**Contrary to what is generally thought about this verb class, the tests proposed in the

discussions in this chapter indicate a split in this verb group. So, the term in the Kalanga language and makes recommendations about the study of this aspect in this language. The Kalanga potential extension *-ik-* and the applicative extension *-il-* are used as tests for split intransitivity whereas the causative extension *-is-* fails as a potential test. Chapter 5 discusses passivization in Kalanga. The syntactic view of passivization as a matter of object promotion and subject demotion is compared with the semantic view which explains the same process as agent defocusing. It is also shown that the process of passivization can be used to make a distinction between the different types of verbs discussed in this study. The final chapter draws conclusions about the nature of transitivity in the Kalanga language and makes recommendations about the study of this aspect in this language.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this study has been stated in the foregoing chapter: it is to explore the notion of transitivity and its related areas in the Kalanga language. Before this is done in subsequent chapters, it is important to revisit the concept of transitivity in more detail than given in the background section. To this end, this section makes a detailed discussion of the two theories that attempt to explain the notion of transitivity in linguistic theory.

The theoretical frameworks of transitivity under spotlight here are the Relational Grammar (RG) theory and Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity theory. The former represents the traditional view while the latter is what this study considers to be the "current" view of the notion of transitivity. The traditional view explains transitivity on the basis of the number of NPs or arguments that a verb takes. In other words, the presence or the absence of a

direct object is crucial in determining whether a sentence or clause is transitive or intransitive. The theory that Hopper and Thompson (1980) have suggested describes transitivity as a continuum, suggesting that verbs are classified on a transitivity scale, with high transitivity at one end and low transitivity at the other. In between high and low transitivity, there are verbs with varying degrees of transitivity depending on the number of transitivity parameters they possess in the High Transitivity (HT) column. Although the two models appear to be incompatible on the surface, the researcher finds them to play complementary roles in explaining the notion of transitivity as is demonstrated in this study. One model is syntactic and the other is semantic. In this sense, the traditional view has a modern counterpart in the syntactically oriented RG.

2.1 THE TRADITIONAL VIEW OF TRANSITIVITY

The traditional view of transitivity emanates from syntax, a branch of Linguistics that deals with the structure of phrases, clauses and sentences. The model relies on the structure of clauses and sentences rather than on their meaning, in order to classify verbs as either transitive or intransitive. The classification of verbs into the two

classes depending on the number of NPs or arguments a verb takes, is an integral component of traditional grammar.

2.1.1 TRADITIONAL GRAMMAR

Crystal (1987) traces the fundamentals of traditional grammar to the ancient grammars of Greek and Latin. These grammars placed strong emphasis on the correctness and purity of grammar in language use and study. Traditional grammar emanated from the beliefs that grammarians of ancient times had concerning the use of language in speech and written forms; these forms had to follow laid down rules.

Traditional grammar therefore prescribes rules of grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation, which must be strictly followed. Any deviation from these rules is considered weird and therefore incorrect. Traditional grammar is prescriptive in nature and its proponents are referred to as either prescriptivists or purists.

Descriptive grammar, on the other hand, offers descriptions of linguistic diversity in languages. Unlike traditional grammar, descriptive grammar is less concerned with setting strict and standard rules of language usage. It is

because of the extreme differences between prescriptivism and descriptivism that the notion of traditional grammar is often used pejoratively. Criticism of it stems mainly from the way it prescribes rules in the use of languages. However, it appears that "...both approaches are important, and have more in common than is often realized..." (Crystal 1987:3).

2.1.2 RELATIONAL GRAMMAR (RG) THEORY

It has already been stated that one of the two theoretical frameworks of this study is Relational Grammar (RG). It is the purpose of this section to explain what this theory is all about and how it helps in explaining transitivity in general and in Kalanga in particular.

The basic principle of RG theory is that, in natural languages, there exist grammatical relations, which have a crucial role to play in those languages. Grammatical relations indicate syntactic connections between a verb and the NPs that the verb takes (Perlmutter and Rosen 1984). In other words, grammatical relations show the functional role of NPs in relation to a verb in a construction. It can be said that the terms grammatical relation and functional relation (role) are the same thing. RG theory treats

grammatical relations as primitives, that is, they are primary or basic entities. These relations are subject (SUBJ), direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO). The English sentences in (1) below are used to illustrate the grammatical relations SUBJ, DO and IO. English is used for the benefit of the reader in this chapter before Kalanga sentences are analyzed:

1(a) Yemulani slapped Lumbidzani.

(b) Lumbidzani jumped.

(c) Lumbidzani gave Kudzani a book.

In (1a), the functional roles of the NPs *Yemulani* and *Lumbidzani* are that of SUBJ and DO respectively, in relation to the verb *slap*. Since the syntactic relations in this sentence are that there is a SUBJ and a DO, the verb *slap* is transitive. On the other hand, in (1b), there is only one NP, *Yemulani* which is the SUBJ of the sentence. So, the verb *jump* is intransitive since it takes only one NP. Sentence (1c) shows that there is a SUBJ, *Lumbidzani*, a DO *book* and an IO, *Kudzani*, all in relation to the verb *give*. In this construction, there are two NPs after the verb. A verb like *give* is called a ditransitive verb because it has two NPs after it. In other words there are

what can be called one-place verbs, two-place verbs and three-place verbs depending on the number of NPs a verb takes. In this case, *jump* is a one-place verb, *slap* a two-place verb and *give* a three-place verb.

Grammatical relations can be represented on a scale called the Relational Hierarchy (RH). RG theorists use the RH to show the order of NPs in a construction in terms of which NP is most likely to undergo a process or one that must undergo the process if a GR lower than it does. The SUBJ is the highest grammatical relation on the RH scale followed by the DO and then the IO.

The RH can be presented as follows:

2. RH = SUBJ > DO > IO (Trithart 1975)

The NP that undergoes certain grammatical processes, for example passivization as shall be explained later in detail, ranks highest while the least likely ranks lowest. For example, if sentence (1a) is passivized, it becomes either one of these:

3(a) Lumbidzani was slapped by Yemulani.

(b) Lumbidzani was slapped.

The SUBJ "Yemulani" controls agreement in the active form (1a) and it is the NP that makes the process of passivization possible by being demoted to the object position. It can be deleted completely with the result of sentence (3b). According to these sentences, it is clear that the grammatical relation SUBJ must be the highest on the RH since it is the one undergoes the process of passivization.

Different scholars have presented the same RH in different ways. However, this does not in any way distort the concept of grammatical relations as primitives of syntactic theory. Perlmutter and Postal (1984:81) have given the RH as:

4. Hierarchy of Grammatical Relations:

Highest:	SUBJ	1	
	DO	2	
	IO	3	
Lowest	Non term Relations	=	(Chomeur, Oblique Relations etc)

The numbers 1, 2, and 3 indicate the levels of the

grammatical relations in their order of hierarchy. The relation Chomeur (Cho) means "unemployed" in French. It is used in RG theory to refer to an NP whose role in a construction has been taken over by another NP. For instance, in the passive sentence (2a) above, the underlying SUBJ "Yemulani" has its subject function taken over by the DO "Lumbidzani" from the active sentence. As a result, the SUBJ of the active sentence, that is "Yemulani", is demoted to a chomeur.

According to Perlmutter and Postal's RH, "1" is the SUBJ, "2" the DO and "3" the IO. Arguments bearing grammatical relations are represented as diagrams in the form of arcs as shown in (4) below; hence, SUBJ is 1-arc, DO is 2-arc, etc. The relations SUBJ and DO are referred to as head of 1-arc and head of 2-arc and IO is 3-arc, respectively. The following diagrams illustrate the notion of 1-arc and 2-arc in the sentence *Yemulani slapped Lumbidzani* (1a):

4 (a) Active form:

slap Yemulani Lumbidzani

(b) Passive form:

slap Yemulani Lumbidzani

The structures of the above sentences have a number of successive levels called strata. Grammatical relations change from one stratum to the next as indicated by the coordinates C1 and C2 in the diagrams above. The coordinate C1 in the active sentence shows that the arcs are of the first stratum while the passive form has the same arcs and others which belong to the second stratum C2. These diagrams illustrate that an NP which is an initial 1, and in this case "Yemulani", becomes a final chomeur and the NP that is an initial 2, that is "Lumbidzani", becomes final 1. This information from the above two stratal diagrams can be put in one diagram as shown below:

(c)

slap Yemulan Lumbidzani

What these diagrams show is that, in RG theory, there are initial grammatical relations and final grammatical relations, which are distinct from each other. As can be seen from 4(c), the grammatical relations change from one stratum to the other, that is, from initial 1 to Cho and from initial 2 to final 1. In other words the first stratum is the basic or lexical level while the second is produced by passivisation.

Using the terms related to the stratal diagrams, transitivity may be defined as:

A stratum is transitive if and only if it contains both a 1-arc and a 2-arc. A stratum is intransitive if and only if it contains 1-arc and no 2-arc (Perlmutter and Postal 1984).

One other grammatical relation which can be added to the RH shown in (2) above is the Oblique Object (OBLO). This is an NP that is not a SUBJ, DO, or IO. It is usually preceded by a preposition in English and some Bantu languages including Kalanga, as is shown later. In their study of grammatical relations in Bantu languages, Hyman and Duranti (1982:218) discuss the relations SUBJ, DO and OBLO, among others. They use the following sentence from the Haya language to illustrate these relations:

5. Kato a- ka- teel' omwana n énkoni
 Kato he PST beat child with stick
 "Kato beat the child with a stick."

In the above sentence, the SUBJ is Kato, the DO omwana "child" and the OBLO enkoni "stick". So, considering the OBLO, the first RH is slightly altered and ends up as:

6. RH = SUBJ > DO > IO > OBLO (Hyman and Duranti 1982)

The two RHs in (2) and (6) are compatible, it is just that the latter adds the relation OBLO.

It would appear that the crucial relations in the study of transitivity according to RG theory are SUBJ and DO of a sentence. When a sentence has both a SUBJ and an OBJ, it is transitive and when it has only a SUBJ, it is intransitive. Consider some examples from Bantu languages in (7) below:

7.(a). SWAHILI

Mama a- li- pika chakula
 Mama 3s PST cook food

"Mama cooked food..." (Bentley 1998:180)

(b) KIKUYU

N- da- rug- ire irio
1s PST cook PST food
"I cooked food..." (ibid)

The two sentences can be analysed as follows:

8.	SUBJ	V	DO
SWAHILI	Mama	pika "cook"	chakula "food"
KIKUYU	N- "I" da pst	-rug-ire "cook"	irio "food"

Therefore, RG theory can be used to classify the verbs used in the Swahili and Kikuyu examples as transitive since they take DOs after them. The traditional analysis would also give the same results. This description using RG terminology is important because it shows the relations NPs have with their verbs in a construction, leading to whether they are classified as transitive or intransitive. Actually, RG would require more evidence before classifying these verbs as transitive, such as whether the OBJ becomes the SUBJ under passivisation as stated earlier.

The selected sentences illustrating grammatical relations

in some Bantu languages cited in this section are indicators as to the basic nature of transitivity in the RG framework. This makes it possible to make generalizations concerning how traditional grammar in general and RG theory in particular can be used to explain the basic notion of transitivity in Kalanga.

While it would appear to be easy to classify verbs as either transitive or intransitive using RG theory, it also seems that the theory fails to fully account for the nature of transitivity of sentences like (9) below in the manner that the Transitivity Theory does:

9. The man hates the boy.

The grammatical relations in this sentence are SUBJ and DO. The verb *hate* is a transitive verb from the syntactic point of view, together with *slap* used in *Yemulani slapped Lumbidzani* in (1a). If the Transitivity Theory is considered, it would be noticed that sentence (1a) is more transitive than sentence (9) because the former suggests action being transferred from the Agent (AG) to the Patient (PAT). An AG is an entity that initiates the action expressed by the verb while a PAT undergoes the action

expressed by the predicate. Despite the same syntactic relations the NPs have with their verbs, which make the sentences qualify to be classified as transitive, semantically, it can be said that *slap* is more transitive than *hate*. This suggests that some verbs are more transitive than others in a language. RG framework fails to account for this as it is mainly concerned about the relations that elements in a construction have to each other. It appears that some of the verbs that are classified as transitive verbs using RG theory may not qualify totally for this class if the effectiveness of the expression of action is taken into account, but they do qualify in the syntactic sense, when passivization is taken into account. Similarly, Lyons (1968:359) notes that:

The notional basis for the system of transitivity has superimposed upon it in various languages many transitive constructions which do not satisfy conditions of the ideal system. For example, **Wealth attracts robbers** is a perfectly acceptable transitive sentence in English, in spite of the fact that **wealth** is an inanimate noun. It may very well be that sentences like this should be thought as 'parasitic' upon the more 'normal' type of transitive sentences with an animate subject.

The Transitivity Theory proposed by Hopper and Thompson offers ways that distinguish degrees of transitivity, but

RG, as shown above, captures the fact that verbs of varying transitivity pattern alike in terms of syntax. For example, sentences (1a) and (9) show the same syntactic behaviour, that is, with respect to passivization, RG groups them together, as opposed to the semantic theory like Hopper and Thompson's. The two have complementary roles in exploring transitivity. The next section presents a brief overview of Hopper and Thompson's approach and its implications for the investigation of transitivity in Kalanga.

2. HOPPER AND THOMPSON'S (1980) TRANSITIVITY THEORY

In their paper titled *Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse*, Hopper and Thompson (1980) provide largely convincing evidence which demonstrates that transitivity is a crucial property that clauses or sentences possess in varying degrees. They identify and describe 10 semantic parameters (Table 1 below) which can be used to determine the degree of transitivity of sentences and clauses. These parameters act "...as a scale according to which clauses can be ranked (Hopper and Thompson 1980:251).

Table 1: HOPPER AND THOMPSON'S (1980) TRANSITIVITY PARAMETERS

PARAMETERS	HIGH TRANSITIVITY	LOW TRANSITIVITY
A. PARTICIPANTS	two or more participant, A & O	1 participant
B. KINESIS	action	non action
C. ASPECT	telic	atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non punctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non volitional
F. AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
G. MODE	realis	irrealis
H. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O not individuated

It is on the basis of these parameters or variables that Hopper and Thompson's model determines how close to cardinal transitivity clauses are. Cardinal transitivity refers to the ideal type of transitivity, what is also termed the transitive prototype or exemplar. This model claims that transitivity and intransitivity share one axis, with the respective prototypes found at opposite ends as is demonstrated in chapter 3. At this juncture, it is important to look at each of the 10 parameters and see how they relate to transitivity. Once again, English will be used for the sake of clarity before the data in the Kalanga language are analysed.

A. PARTICIPANTS

According to this parameter, there must be two participants, an AG (initiator of action) and a PAT (an entity on which the action is applied) for the transfer of action to take place. This means that a clause with two participants is higher in transitivity than a clause with only one participant. Let us consider the following sentences:

10(a). Lumbidzani cleaned the plates.

(b) Lumbidzani slept.

Sentence (10a) contains a relatively transitive verb because it conforms to the requirements of having two participants ("Lumbidzani" and "the plates") while the verb in (10b) is relatively intransitive since it takes only one participant ("Lumbidzani"). It has been established earlier that RG theory describes transitivity in terms of the number of NPs a verb takes in a construction. This is similar to the requirements of the parameter Participants of the Transitivity Theory.

B. KINESIS

The parameter Kinesis refers to the degree of physical activity in the event to which the verb refers. It shows how the action is transferred from one participant to the other. Action verbs are thus classified as being more transitive than non-action or stative verbs. For example:

11(a) Yemulani kissed Thabani.

(b) Yemulani loves Thabani.

(11a) is higher in transitivity because the verb *kiss* expresses a higher degree of physical activity than the verb *love* in (11b). This also relates to the parameter Affectedness of O discussed below in the sense that in (11a) the object is more affected physically than the object in (11b).

C. ASPECT

Telicity refers to the completeness of action. A telic clause is higher in transitivity than an atelic one in which the action is not complete. The reason for this is that there is a sense of a completed goal in a telic action, "...the action is viewed from its endpoint, the

activity is completed and the transferral is carried out in its entirety" (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252). The difference between a telic and an atelic action is shown in these examples:

12(a) Lumbidzani killed a chicken.

(b) Lumbidzani is killing a chicken.

The action is complete in (12a) while it is partially complete in (12b). Therefore, (12a) is more transitive than (12b) according to this parameter.

C. PUNCTUALITY

This parameter refers to a situation in which there is no transitional period from the beginning to the end of an action. An action that is carried out at a moment is higher in transitivity than an action which is ongoing. The following sentences illustrate this point:

13(a) Yemulani hit Thabani.

(b) Yemulani carried a basket.

The verb hit in (13a) expresses an action that is complete, undivided and punctual, whereas carried in (13b) suggests

an ongoing activity. So, (13a) is more transitive than (13b).

E. VOLITIONALITY

If the AG acts purposefully, the PAT is more affected than in a situation where the action is not volitional. Consider these examples:

14(a) The man drove the bus.

(b) The man forgot the book in the bus.

According to this parameter, (14a) is more transitive than (14b) because it suggests that the man willfully engaged in the action of driving the bus whereas it would be ridiculous to suggest that forgetting the book on the bus was a volitional act (14b). Clauses that have volitional action are higher on the transitivity continuum than those with non-volitional action.

F. AFFIRMATION

What this parameter suggests is that actions that happen; that is, affirmative actions, are more transitive than those that do not happen, that is actions that are negative. Let us look closely at the following examples:

15 (a) Thabani snatched Yemulani's bag.

(b) Thabani did not snatch Yemulani's bag.

According to this parameter, the former sentence is more transitive than the latter. This is because something actually happened in (15a) and not in (15b).

G. MODE

This parameter seems similar to parameter H illustrated below. Clauses that express real world events (realis) are more transitive than those in a fictional world (irrealis) are. Examples of such sentences are given below:

16(a) Lumbidzani hugged Kudzani.

(b) Lumbidzani intended to hug Kudzani.

When considering the action of the verb *hug*, the action expressed in (16a) is realis while that in (16b) is irrealis since the hugging did not take place. According to this parameter, sentence (16a) is more transitive than sentence (16b).

H. AGENCY

Actions that are caused by participants that are high in

Agency are more effectively transferred than those which are low in Agency as these sentences illustrate.

17(a) Lumbidzani shocked Thoko.

(b) The story shocked Thoko.

Sentence (17a) expresses a perceptible event with perceivable results since it has an AG that is high in Agency while the action in (17b) seems to be more of a case of mental state. Therefore, (17a) is higher in transitivity than (17b) according to the requirements of this parameter. Although the two sentences involve mental states, it is just that Lumbidzani has the potential to be more active than the story in shocking Thoko.

I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O

According to this parameter, the more the OBJ is affected, the more transitive the clause is. If the OBJ is not totally affected, low transitivity is registered. So, sentence (18a) below has high transitivity because the action is completely carried over to the OBJ while (18b) has low transitivity because the action does not totally affect the OBJ.

18(a). Lumbidzani broke the vase.

(b) Lumbidzani liked the vase.

This parameter is similar to parameter B discussed earlier.

J. INDIVIDUATION OF O

Another parameter that is concerned with the OBJ is Individuation of O. If the OBJ is highly individuated in a clause, that clause has high transitivity and if the clause has a generic object, it has low transitivity. Individuation is further subdivided into a set of features, which determine whether the patient is highly individuated, or not. Proper nouns are highly individuated objects as are human (animate), concrete, singular, count and referential or definite nouns. On the other hand, non-individuated objects are common, inanimate, abstract, plural, mass and non-referential or indefinite. The following examples illustrate the difference between a highly individuated and a non-individuated object.

19(a) Lumbidzani kicked Yemulani.

(b) Lumbidzai drank some wine.

Sentence (19a) has a more individuated object because it

has the characteristics of a highly individuated object described earlier, which the object in (19b) lacks.

The question of whether the patient is animate or inanimate is crucial in the effectiveness of transfer of action. According to this parameter, the sentences in (20) below differ in their degrees of transitivity in the sense that the patient Yemulani is more likely to feel what happens because it is animate than the patient stone since it is inanimate. This is despite the fact that both patients are individuals.

20(a) Lumbidzani pushed Yemulani

(b) Lumbidzani pushed a stone.

This therefore suggests that sentence (20a) is more transitive than sentence (20b) since the action affects an animate patient more than an inanimate patient.

From the foregoing illustration of transitivity parameters, it can be said that the more parameters a clause has in the High Transitivity (HT) column (Table 1), the higher it is in transitivity. In other words, a clause is closer to the transitive prototype depending on how many features it has in the HT column. Conversely, clauses that score more

features in the Low Transitivity (LT) column are not close to cardinal transitivity. There is no absolute number, however; the more positive features, the closer to the prototype.

Hopper and Thompson's insightful observations have implications for the study of transitivity in Kalanga. Before the application of their ideas to Kalanga data in the next chapter, it is important to make brief comments about the findings made on this subject in a few languages.

2.3 TRANSITIVITY IN SELECTED LANGUAGES

The publication of Hopper and Thompson's paper on the Transitivity Theory generated a lot of interest which led to the investigation of the applicability of the theory in different languages. Certain works that were done in the various languages in response to the aforementioned theory were edited by Hopper and Thompson and published as a book entitled *Syntax and Semantics: Studies in Transitivity*. By and large, the Transitivity Theory proved to be valuable in explaining aspects of transitivity which had been hitherto unexplained from the syntactic point of view. There was general acknowledgement that the theory offered (and still offers) a fresh approach to the study of transitivity. The

researcher was not able to find works that use data from Bantu languages to show that transitivity can be described in terms of a continuum. What follows is a brief review of the works done on transitivity in certain languages.

Analyses of six Australian languages made by Austin (1982) reveal that transitivity in these languages is not a matter of simply making a neat dichotomy between transitive and intransitive verbs as was commonly believed to be the case before his study. His findings indicate that cognate objects are low in the transitivity parameter 'individuation'. A cognate object is a participant that "has the same historical derivation as the verb that governs it or is semantically dependent upon the action of the verb" (Crystal 1987), for example, *song* as in *sing a song*. Austin's findings show that there are some clauses that cannot be classified as purely transitive or purely intransitive in the languages he studied. Most of these clauses are the ones with cognate objects. They are placed somewhere between the two ends of the transitivity scale. These findings are of importance to this research as they support the idea of a transitivity continuum.

Kalmar's (1982) study of transitivity in a Czech folktale

shows that the 10 transitivity parameters suggested by Hopper and Thompson are relevant to this language. However, Kalmar concludes that there is no correlation between foregrounding and transitivity in Czech. Foregrounding means the singling out of some clauses as having more essential information than others have. Hopper and Thompson suggest that high transitivity correlates with foregrounding. Kalmar's tests of significance illustrate that transitivity correlates with sequentiality or the temporal ordering of events rather than with foregrounding. The significance of Kalmar's findings is that not all that Hopper and Thompson recommend about the nature of transitivity applies to all languages. For instance I argue in this research that foregrounding correlates with high transitivity in Kalanga while backgrounding correlates with low transitivity as is demonstrated in section 3.3 of this study. The results reinforce the claim that foregrounding is an essential feature of discourse analysis as it gives the main points or the backbone of a text.

Lichtenberk (1982) investigates individuation hierarchies in Manam, an Austronesian language spoken in some islands of New Guinea. His findings are relevant to this study in that he discovers that individuation of the object is a

matter of degree and not a question of yes or no. Some types of participants are more individuated than others, for example animate versus inanimate, specific more than non-specific ones and single versus plural ones. This means that clauses that contain more highly individuated objects are more transitive than those with less highly individuated objects. Litchtenberk gives more content to Hopper and Thompson's concept of individuation.

Shayne's (1982) work on Western Apache, a language spoken in San Carlos in Arizona in the United States of America, shows that, in this language, high transitivity is marked by the prefix *yi-*. Shayne notes that if a sentence is assigned the high transitivity feature for agency, *yi-* must be prefixed to the verb. Only 4 parameters are relevant to the Western Apache data. The parameters are Participants, Agency, Kinesis and Affectedness of O. If a verb is prefixed by *yi-*, that verb has some degree of physical activity directed to the object. The importance of Shayne's findings is twofold for this study. First, it shows that in some languages, high transitivity is morphologically marked. Second, not all the 10 transitivity parameters apply in all languages. The researcher benefited from these conclusions in that he did

not try to force Kalanga data to make conclusions about the nature of transitivity in this language.

Another study that is relevant to this research is that carried out by Hyman and Duranti (1982). They study the object relation in Bantu. They suggest tests that help in determining the types of relations NPs have with their verbs. The tests are word order, passivisation and cliticization. In other words, a true object in Bantu languages must have access to the position immediately after the verb, must have access to subject position through subjectivization and must be able to be expressed as a clitic object marker in the verb. All this information is necessary in this study since it gives object properties in Bantu which can be generalized to Kalanga. Once we are able to identify the Bantu object and its characteristics, we can then say the sentence or clause in which it appears is transitive, at least from the syntactic point of view.

Herbert's (1982) work on the Okanagan minority language spoken in the Lake Nicola area in America identifies a strong correlation between perfectivity and transitivity. In this language, perfective clauses rank high on the

transitivity scale since they correlate with parameters in the HT column such as object being totally affected, two or more participants and so on. Herbert identifies the affix -n as the perfective marker in this language. Perfective clauses are the same as telic clauses as the action of the verb is viewed from the endpoint of the event or situation being described.

In Japanese, Sugamoto (1982) shows that the affix **-o** indicates high transitivity of sentences as it marks NPs which are definite and highly affected by the action of the verbs in the clauses. Conversely, the affix **-ga** marks clauses with low transitivity.

As has already been noted earlier in this section, languages that have an overt case marking system make it easier to show the difference between clauses with high transitivity and those with low transitivity. Okanagan and Japanese have been cited in this study in order to emphasize this point on case marking and its link with low and high transitivity.

The study on transitivizing affixes in Sesotho (a Southern Bantu language spoken in Lesotho) by Machobane (1989) is

also significant for the purposes of this study since it sheds more light from a syntactic perspective. Machobane explores the applicative and causative affixes in Sesotho, showing that their use as verb extensions results in transitive verbs becoming ditransitive and intransitive verbs becoming transitive. The following data from Sesotho are significant to the study of the Kalanga verbal system, as explained below. The hyphen (-) indicates the morpheme boundaries.

21(a). Bana ba- pheh- a nama
 children AGR cook TV meat

"Children are cooking meat."

(b) Me o- pheh- is- a bana nama
 mother AGR cook CAUS TV children meat

"My mother makes the children cook meat."

(c) Bana ba- pheh- el- a me nama
 children AGR cook APPL TV mother meat

"Children are cooking meat for my mother."

In the above examples, sentence (21a) is a transitive sentence with only one NP after the verb, but, as it turns into causative and applicative sentences in (21b) and (21c), respectively, the number of NPs after the verbs

increases. The last two sentences have become ditransitive since the number of NPs have increased to two after the verbs.

Similarly, NPs are added when the causative and applicative extensions are used with an intransitive verb, as shown in the following examples:

22(a). Lintja li- hol- a kapela
 dogs AGR grow TV fast
 "Dogs grow fast."

(b). Nkhono o- hol- is- a lintja
 grandmother AGR grow CAUS TV dogs
 "Grandmother makes dogs grow."

(c) Lintja li- hol- el- a serobeng
 dogs AGR grow APPL TV barn LOC
 "The dogs grow up in the barn."

The NPs lintja 'dogs' and serobeng 'in the barn' are added to (22b) and (22c) respectively because of the causative and applicative extensions. The otherwise intransitive verb hola 'grow' now can take an NP after it in the causative and applicative forms. Using the traditional notion of transitivity, it can be said that the causative

and applicative affixes have transitivized an intransitive verb.

The above findings on Sesotho are important to this study in the sense that Sesotho and Kalanga are both southern Bantu languages which share common linguistic features. The study of the causative and applicative extensions of Kalanga transitive and intransitive verbs produces similar results as the ones from Sesotho above.

2.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has made a number of important observations on issues that are pertinent to the study of transitivity in general. It has been noted that both the traditional and modern views of transitivity are crucial in an attempt to make a comprehensive study of this phenomenon. It has also been demonstrated through studies carried out in a few languages of the world that the 10 transitivity parameters generally help in describing transitivity as a matter of degree despite the fact that in some languages, not all the 10 features are relevant. It has also been seen that causative and applicative affixes result in the transitivization of intransitive verbs in Sesotho (and in other Bantu languages). All this information is relevant

background information leading to the presentation and analysis of Kalanga data in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

DEGREES OF TRANSITIVITY IN KALANGA

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The main focus of this chapter is to analyse Kalanga sentences and show how transitivity can be identified and explained in this language. The sentences are taken from the texts that were collected during research in Bulilimamangwe and from the pilot project conducted at the University of Zimbabwe with speakers whose mother tongue is Kalanga. I begin by providing the syntactic evidence for transitivity in the Kalanga language. The RG theory which has been discussed in previous chapters is used to illustrate that word order is crucial in distinguishing between transitive and intransitive sentences in Kalanga. Although the RG theory makes it possible to make a clear distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses in Kalanga (and in other languages), I have observed that it needs to be complemented with the Transitivity Theory in order to make possible a fuller understanding of

transitivity. The Transitivity Theory makes it possible to account for those clauses that may be more transitive than others despite having only one NP, for instance, since it views transitivity in terms of the prototype. Therefore, this chapter makes use of Hopper and Thompson's 10 transitivity parameters to show that transitivity is a matter of degree in Kalanga. The chapter also provides evidence in support of the claim that high transitivity correlates with foregrounding. Before this is done it is important to show how the syntactic view accounts for transitivity in Kalanga.

3.1 SYNTACTIC EVIDENCE OF TRANSITIVITY IN KALANGA

It has already been shown in the previous chapter how the syntactic theory of RG can be used to explain the notion of transitivity in a language. This section illustrates the transitive-intransitive dichotomy between clauses in Kalanga from a syntactic perspective. It has already been noted that this notion of transitivity is what is generally known and easily understood by many people.

3.1.1 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

It has been established in the last chapters that a transitive clause must have two NPs, the SUBJ and the DO.

The Kalanga sentences below possess these two grammatical relations.

23. Tate ba- ka lob- a mbisana

father AGR PST beat TV boy

"Father beat the boy."

24. Bayisana ba- no pful- a bhola

boys AGR pres kick TV ball

"The boys are kicking the ball."

25. Ta- ka ti dl- a nyama

we PST AGR eat TV meat

"We were eating meat."

26. Mbisana wa- ka bon- a nsikana

boy AGR PST see TV girl

"The boy saw the girl."

27. Lumbidzani u- no d- a Yemulani

Lumbidzani AGR PRES like TV Yemulani

"Lumbidzani likes Yemulani."

Sentences (23) to (27) above satisfy the requirements for transitive clauses from the RG framework. The structure of these sentences is such that there is a SUBJ, followed by a

Verb and a DO occupying the position immediately after the verb. The post verbal NP is a DO since an Object Marker (OM) can replace it as illustrated below. In terms of stratal diagrams showing grammatical relations, all the sentences have a 1-arc and a 2-arc. The verbs loba 'beat', bona 'see', dla 'eat', pfula 'kick' and da 'like' are therefore transitive verbs as they take direct objects after them.

The above sentences may be rephrased without the direct object being directly expressed. This is because the syntax of Kalanga has a provision for the use of an OM in the place of the direct object. The same sentences are restructured below, this time with the OM:

28. Tate ba- ka mu- lob- a
 father AGR PST OM beat TV

"Father beat him."

29. Bayisana ba- no li- pful a
 boys AGR PRES OM kick TV

"The boys are kicking it."

30. Ta- ka ti- i dl- a
 we PST AGR OM eat TV

"We were eating it."

31. Mbisana wa- ka mu- bon- a
 boy AGR PST OM see TV

"The boy saw her."

32. Lumbidzani u- no mu- d- a
 Lumbidzani AGR PRES OM like TV

"Lumbidzani likes her."

Sentences (28) to (32) have two NPs, a SUBJ and an OM. They are transitive despite the fact that there is no specific direct object after the verbs. The OM in each case acts as the object in each of the above examples. However, for the meaning of the sentence to be unambiguous, the direct object should be mentioned in earlier discourse. This is because the OM is not specific, for it could mean anyone or anything belonging to the noun class it refers to. For instance, the OM *mu* in (28), (31) and (32) refers to different people in each case. One would have to refer to sentences (23), (26) and (27) to know that the OM means mbisana 'boy', nsikana 'girl' and *Yemulani*, respectively. Similarly, the OMs *li* (29) and *i* (30) refer to bhola 'ball' and nyama 'meat' stated in sentences (24) and (25) respectively. The syntax of Bantu languages in general allows the use of the OM especially when the direct object

has been mentioned before. In this case it is used exophorically, that is, referring to an entity that is outside the clause, but it can still refer to a sentence-internal topic, as in Chichewa, according to Bresnan and Mchombo (1987). The OM is then used as an assumed element, taken for granted by the interlocutors or by the writer and the reader.

As can be noted in the transitive sentences that have been analysed above, transitivity cannot be described as a continuum within RG theory. All the above sentences are classified as transitive on the basis of possessing two NPs. They have the same status, they satisfy one criterion. There is no way that can be used to describe some clauses as being more transitive than others. Also, when it comes to accounting for OMs and passivization (as will be shown chapter 5), it is necessary only to refer to transitivity without subdividing it further. The next section looks at intransitive clauses in Kalanga.

3.1.2 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Intransitive clauses do not take direct objects. The clauses have only one NP, the SUBJ, as these sentences reveal. A criterion that can be used to identify the NPs

in the following sentences as subjects is the subject agreement marker in each case:

33. Banhu ba- njinji ba- ka f- a
people AGR many AGR PST die TV

"Many people died."

34. Mme ba- ka lal a
mother AGR PST sleep TV

"Mother has slept."

35. Lumbidzani wa- ka nd- a
Lumbidzani AGR PST go TV

"Lumbidzani went."

36. Mwana wa- ka lil- a
child AGR PST cry TV

"The child cried."

37. Yemulani u- no nyemwelel- a
Yemulani AGR PRES smile TV

"Yemulani is smiling."

There are no direct objects in the above sentences, as can be observed from their structure. RG theory classifies the sentences as intransitive. As already stated concerning the nature of transitivity in section 3.2.2 above, RG

theory cannot be used to classify some clauses as being more or less intransitive than others. The clauses are classified as intransitive without ranking them in any order as the semantic transitivity theory attempts to do.

3.2 SEMANTIC TRANSITIVITY

The Transitivity Theory of Hopper and Thompson uses the prototype approach which treats transitivity as a matter of degree. According to Tsunoda (1991:72) a transitive prototype has two or more participants, that is, the agent and the patient. The agent's action is directed at the patient and causes a change of state in it. Similarly, Lakoff (1977:244) identifies 14 properties of the prototypical agent-patient sentences, which are:

- the presence of an agent which does something
- the presence of a patient which undergoes a change to a new state
- the change in the patient results from the action by the agent
- the agent's action is volitional
- the agent is in control of what he does
- the agent is primarily responsible for what happens
- the agent is the energy source in the action; the patient is the energy goal (that is, the agent is directing his

energies toward the patient)

- there is a single event (there is spatio-temporal overlap between the agent's action and the patient's change)
- there is a single, definite agent
- there is a single definite patient; the agent uses his hands, body, or some instrument
- The change in the patient is perceptible
- The agent perceives the change
- The agent is looking at the patient

Closely related to Lakoff's properties are Hopper and Thompson's 10 transitivity parameters. It has already been shown what each parameter entails, but they will be referred to in detail in this chapter when they are used to analyze Kalanga sentences with the aim of describing the transitive prototype. Other scholars like Givon (1985) and Jacobsen (1991) have also proposed similar transitivity properties although they are fewer than Hopper and Thompson's and Lakoff's features. It is evident from the properties proposed by the above scholars, among others, that semantic transitivity is better described using the arguments or thematic roles Agent (AG), Patient (PAT) and Theme (Th). Before the transitive prototype is explored

from a semantic angle, it is important to identify and briefly describe the different thematic roles used in linguistic theory.

3.2.1 THEMATIC ROLES

In the analysis of syntactic transitivity we have been referring to such grammatical relations as SUBJ and DO. In sentence (23) for example (repeated below for convenience), it has been established that the NP tate 'father' is the SUBJ and the NP mbisana 'boy' is the DO.

38. Tate baka loba mbisana. "Father beat the boy."

In terms of thematic roles, tate 'father' is the AG and mbisana 'boy' is the PAT. Thematic roles are the semantic relations between verbs and their arguments in a sentence or clause (Jackendoff 1972). In other words, the verb loba 'beat' in the above sentence theta-marks the arguments tate 'father' and mbisana 'boy' as AG and PAT respectively. Thematic roles help to demonstrate the interface between syntax and semantics.

The number of thematic roles in linguistic theory differs since there is no consensus among scholars as to the final

list of these roles. For the purposes of this study the following roles shall be briefly described: Agent, Patient, Theme, Beneficiary, Maleficiary, Instrument, Experience, Location, Goal and Source (Jackendoff 1972).

The Agent is a participant that consciously and voluntarily effects the action that is expressed by the verb while the participant that undergoes the action expressed by the verb is the Patient, as we have seen in the above transitive sentences. A Theme is an entity that either undergoes motion, is in a state, or changes state. Just like a Patient, a Theme does not voluntarily initiate action. There is no agreement in linguistic theory as far as the distinction between the two thematic roles is concerned, as some scholars argue that they perform the same role (Dowty 1991:549). I find it convenient to treat the two thematic roles differently. A Beneficiary is a participant that benefits from the action that is expressed by the verb. The NPs that come after the applied extension in the Sesotho sentences in section 2.4 above are examples of beneficiaries. The opposite of a Beneficiary is a Maleficiary, an entity that is disadvantaged by the action expressed by the verb. An Instrument refers to an object that is used to carry out the action that is expressed by

the verb. A participant can have the role of an Experiencer in a construction. This denotes a participant that experiences some psychological state that is expressed by the predicate. The thematic role Location, as the term suggests, refers to the place where an event takes place or where an entity is. The relation Source refers to the entity from which another entity moves while Goal is the endpoint of the entity whose action is expressed by the verb.

The thematic roles discussed above form a Thematic Hierarchy (TH) which is an arrangement of the roles in relation to each other. Again there is disagreement as to the order in which these roles should take in the TH. This study uses the following TH which is an adaptation from Jackendoff (1972)

39.THEMATIC HIERARCHY (TH)

Agent>Beneficiary/Maleficiary>Goal/Source/Experiencer>

Instrument>Theme/Patient>Location

The TH means that the Agent takes precedence over the Beneficiary or Maleficiary and the Beneficiary or Maleficiary takes precedence over the next role and so on

in that order for such purposes as determining access to subjecthood in active clauses. In other words, there cannot be a situation in which the PAT has access to subjecthood over the AG in an active sentence. The familiar roles Agent and Patient are made use of frequently in this study since transitivity is concerned more about how the action is transferred from the former to the latter. The role Theme is also of importance to the study when some types of intransitive verbs come under discussion.

3.2.2 THE TRANSITIVE PROTOTYPE IN KALANGA

The term "prototype" needs some general explanation before it is applied to the notion of transitivity. A prototype is a central member of a category. It is an exemplar of a category. Other entities are classified according to their similarity to the prototype; the closer the entity to the prototype, the more central its member status within a category. Since similarities between entities depend upon the number of features that they share, it can be said that membership into a certain category is a graded concept. This means that an entity that has the most number of features in common with the prototype is regarded as being closest to the prototype of the category in

question. Thus some members of the category can be classified as being more central or prototypical than others, which can be described as being peripheral. Taylor (1991:76-77) gives very interesting examples of how the degree of category membership can be expressed. Using the category "bird", he shows that there are degrees of membership into this category. He illustrates that a robin, for instance, is a more typical member of the category "bird" than a turkey because turkeys "can't fly, they don't sing, they are quite large, and they are raised in captivity for food" (Taylor 1991:77). What this means is that the category "bird" has different degrees of category membership, some members are more central than others. The difference of category membership between these two types of birds can be noticed in the sentences below, taken from Taylor (1991:76):

40. (a) A robin is a bird *par excellence*.
(b) A turkey is a bird *par excellence*.

Sentence (40b) is awkward not because a turkey is not a bird, but because the hedge *par excellence* draws it closer to being a prototypical example of the category bird. This is contrary to the features that account for the "bird"

prototype. According to this classification, a turkey has its own degree of membership into the "bird" category which is different from that of a robin which is a more central member than a turkey. This implies that different species of birds have different degrees of membership in the "bird" category.

Another example from Taylor (ibid) indicates that entry into a category can be treated as a matter of degree. Still on the category "bird", it can be seen that a bat cannot be used as the best exemplar of this category although it shares some features with birds. A look at the following sentences shows the degree of membership of a bat in the category "bird":

41. (a) #Strictly speaking, a bat is a bird.
(b) Loosely speaking, a bat is a bird in that it has wings and can fly.

The sense expressed in sentence (41a) is wrong because the hedge *strictly speaking* treats the entity "bat" as a central member of the category "bird" which is not actually the case. On the other hand, (41b) is acceptable since the phrase *loosely speaking* gives room for treating the entity

"bat" as a peripheral member of the category "bird". Although a bat is a mammal, it can also be taken as a kind of a bird because of the features it shares with birds, that is, having wings and being able to fly.

The contention that different entities have different degrees of category membership may be extended to other to other categories. For instance, one may say that shacks, huts, bungalows and villas and so on have different degrees of membership into the hyponym or category "house".

A parallelism can be drawn between the above analogy and the notion of transitivity as a matter of degree. An assumption can be made that what is true about the degrees of category membership of the category "bird" as shown above is also true with the notion of transitivity. This is because, in both cases, the number of features that an entity or a clause has in common with the prototype is crucial in determining the degree of category membership.

A closer examination of the transitive sentences that have been used to illustrate how grammatical relations help account for syntactic transitivity in section 3.2.1 above reveals that they can be graded on a transitivity scale.

The same sentences are used here in order to show how transitivity is treated from a semantic point of view in contrast to syntactic transitivity. They are repeated below together with a brief analysis of the number of transitivity parameters they possess in the High Transitivity (HT) column of Hopper and Thompson's table.

42. Tate baka loba mwana. "Father beat the child."

There are two participants in this sentence, A and O. The action expressed by the predicate is telic or complete. This means that the action of beating is seen from the endpoint. The action expressed by the verb is punctual, that is, the action of beating is done and completed without a transitional period. The AG willfully initiates the action. In other words the AG volitionally initiates action. The action is both affirmative and realis, that is, the action of beating actually took place. The AG is high in agency, that is, the action is perceptible, it is physically carried out by the AG and experienced by the OBJ. The OBJ is totally affected and highly individuated. Therefore, sentence (42) possesses all the 10 parameters in the HT column. This is an example of a prototypically transitive clause in the Kalanga language. In this

context, the verb loba "beat" is a transitive verb *par excellence* as it satisfies all the conditions of semantic transitivity set by Hopper and Thompson's theory. The table below is a summary of the parameters in which the verb loba "beat" has positive values:

Table 2 Parameters for loba "beat"

Parameter	HT	LT
Participants	+	-
Kinesis	+	-
Aspect	+	-
Punctuality	+	-
Volitionality	+	-
Affirmation	+	-
Mode	+	-
Agency	+	-
Affectedness of O	+	-
Individuation of O	+	-

Two questions may be asked at this juncture: Do all the transitive sentences discussed in section 3.2.1 possess the same number of transitivity features? If not, what is the difference? Answers to these and other questions are provided in the analysis of the rest of the transitive sentences which have been met before, beginning with sentence (43):

43. Bayisana bano pfula bhola. "The boys are kicking the ball."

Although there are two participants, the AG and the PAT in

the above sentence, the action expressed by the verb does not possess all the transitivity parameters in the HT column. For instance, the action is not telic and punctual since the kicking of the ball is still in progress. The same applies to the participants. Although the O is affected by the action of the verb and individuated, it is not affected and individuated in the same degree as the O in (42) above. This is because the O in (42) mwana "child", is animate while the O in (43), bhola "ball", is inanimate. According to the Transitivity Theory, a clause with an animate O is more transitive than the one with an inanimate O. Also the action in (43) is volitional, affirmative and what happens is a reality; that is, the boys are engaged in the action expressed by the verb. The positive and negative variables this sentence possesses are shown in the table below:

Table 3 Parameters for pfula "kick"

Parameter	HT	LT
Participants	+	-
Kinesis	+	-
Aspect	-	+
Punctuality	-	+
Volitionality	+	-
Affirmation	+	-
Mode	+	-
Agency	+	-
Affectedness of O	-	+
Individuation of O	+	-

Judging by the number of transitivity parameters (42) and (43) possess in the HT column of the transitivity scale, it can be concluded that (42) is more transitive than (43). RG theory does not make this grading because the prerequisite for syntactic transitivity is for the clause to have two participants, the SUBJ and the DO, which both sentences satisfy and nothing else. But when the actions in the two sentences are viewed from a semantic point of view, it is now possible to say that one sentence is more transitive than the other. Let us consider another example which has the same number of transitivity features as (43).

44. Taka tidla nyama. "We were eating meat."

As can be seen in the sentence, there are two participants. The AG is high in potency and initiates the action of eating. This action is volitional and the action affects the O. The event described is in the affirmative and actually happened. This sentence is positive to seven parameters in the HT column, just as the sentence that precedes it. It is atelic, non-punctual and the O is not highly individuated, since nyama "meat" is a common noun which is inanimate.

Table 4 Parameters for dla “eat”

Parameter	HT	LT
Participants	+	-
Kinesis	-	+
Aspect	+	-
Punctuality	-	+
Volitionality	+	-
Affirmation	+	-
Mode	+	-
Agency	+	-
Affectedness of O	-	+
Individuation of O	+	-

Sentences whose actions do not physically affect the DO are less transitive than those that have action verbs. Sentences that contain “psych” verbs tend to affect the AG rather than the PAT. (45) below is an example of such sentences found in Kalanga.

45. Mbisana waka bona nsikana. "The boy saw the girl."

In this sentence, the PAT nsikana "girl" is not affected by the action of the verb bona "see". It is therefore marked in the Low Transitivity column for the parameter Affectedness of O. Contrary to the requirements of this

parameter for high transitivity, the verb affects the AG and not the O. It is the boy who actually experiences the situation expressed by the verb and is therefore affected. Furthermore, there is no action that is transferred from the AG to the PAT or O despite the fact that there are two participants in the construction. The verb is thus ranked as non- action for the parameter Kinesis. The event of seeing the girl as expressed in the sentence suggests that it was an accidental act, not something volitional. If it had been volitional, it could have expressed some preplanning before going to see the girl, something like *"The boy went to see the girl"* or *"The boy looked at the girl"*. The AG is low in potency as there is no action that it initiates. The sentence possesses the following parameters in the HT column:

Table 5 Parameters for bona "see"

Parameter	HT	LT
Participants	+	-
Kinesis	-	+
Aspect	+	-
Punctuality	-	+
Volitionality	-	+
Affirmation	+	-
Mode	+	-
Agency	-	+
Affectedness of O	-	+
Individuation of O	+	-

Taking the above features into consideration, it cannot be said that the verb bona "see" has the same degree of transitivity with loba "beat", for instance. The actions expressed in these verbs can be further compared with actions of stative verbs which have few transitivity features in the HT column. (46) is an example of a sentence in which a stative verb is used.

46. *Lumbidzani uno da Yemulani.* "Lumbidzani likes Yemulani."

It has been established that this sentence is transitive because it satisfies the prerequisite of syntactic transitivity, that is, having two participants, the SUBJ and the OBJ. While da "like" qualifies as a transitive verb from the above analysis, it cannot be taken as a transitive prototype because it falls far short of a number of transitivity features in the HT column. Just like (44) above, the action in sentence (45) does not affect the PAT. Rather, it is the AG in this case *Lumbidzani* who undergoes a psychological experience expressed by the verb. *Yemulani* might not even know that *Lumbidzani* likes her. There is also no visible action that is initiated by the AG which is transferable to the PAT. There seems to be no definite endpoint in *Lumbidzani's* liking of *Yemulani*, hence the

action is atelic. The action is non punctual. The verb expresses an ongoing activity that does not have an impact on the PAT in any way. The AG is low in potency since no physical and perceptible action is carried on from the AG to the PAT. Therefore the sentence has has the following parameters in the HT column:

Table 6 Parameters for da “like”

Parameter	HT	LT
Participants	+	-
Kinesis	-	+
Aspect	-	+
Punctuality	-	+
Volitionality	+	-
Affirmation	+	-
Mode	+	-
Agency	-	+
Affectedness of O	-	+
Individuation of O	+	-

The analyses made above show that the five Kalanga sentences can be graded according to the degree of transitivity of each sentence depending on the number of transitivity features each sentence possesses in the HT column. The order can be represented as follows, starting with the sentence with the highest number of characteristics in the HT column:

47. Kalanga sentence

Parameters in HT column

(a) Tate baka loba mbisana

10

(b) Bayisana bano pfula bhola	7
(c) Taka tidla nyama	7
(d) Mbisana waka bona nsikana	5
(e) Lumbidzani uno da Yemulani	5

From the above table, we have three clear groups of sentences which are arranged in accordance with the number of transitivity parameters they have in the HT column. The first group consists of sentence (47a) whose number of parameters in the HT column is ten. It has already been noted that this is an example of a prototypical transitive sentence. In the second category there are two sentences, (47b) and (47c) with seven parameters each. Finally, sentences (47d) and (47e) comprise five parameters each. There is no problem in determining these three degrees of transitivity as one can simply count the number of transitivity features each group has in the the HT column. The problem arises when one wants to determine which sentence is more transitive between two that have the same number of transitivity features in the HT column. It has already shown above that (47b) and (47c) have the same degree of transitivity because they have the same type of transitivity parameters in the HT column. This is not however the case with sentences (47d) and (47e) which

despite having the same number of transitivity parameters, differ in one parameter. The difference occurs in the parameter Aspect. Telic actions are more transitive than atelic ones. By virtue of this parameter, (47d) is therefore more transitive than (47e). One might argue that the two sentences differ in that one is in the past tense, implying the completeness of action and the other in the present tense, suggesting non-completeness of the action. This can be supported by the fact that if sentence (47e) is put in the past tense, the action becomes telic, that is, the liking had an endpoint just like the seeing in sentence (47d). Then in this case, the sentences will have the same degree of transitivity.

The degrees of transitivity of the clauses analysed above can be represented as follows, where the sign > is used to mean "higher in transitivity than":

48. loba>pfula>dla>bona>da

So far, transitive sentences in Kalanga have been analysed and it has been shown that they can be graded on a scale depending on the number of the transitivity parameters they have in the HT column. Taking the foregoing analyses of

transitive verbs into account, it can be assumed that when intransitive sentences are examined in terms of degrees of transitivity, they occupy the lower ranks of the transitivity continuum since they have only one participant, the Theme (Th) or AG, instead of the two or more participants required for them to score high on the transitivity scale. Contrary to this logical assumption, it appears that some intransitive clauses have more features in the HT column than some transitive sentences. To demonstrate this, the same intransitive sentences that were used in the syntactic analysis in section 3.2.2 above are examined using Hopper and Thompson's model.

49. Banhu banjinji baka fa. "Many people died."

Since the statement has only one participant, it is intransitive. The verb fa "die" implies a change of state, that is, from being alive to being dead. Consequently, the parameters Affectedness of O and Individuation of O cannot be considered in this sentence because there is no O. The only participant present is a Th. The event of dying is however telic and punctual because the past tense used in the statement implies a completed act. The act of dying is non-volitional, at least from the sense expressed in the

sentence. The event is affirmative and actually happened. This analysis reveals that the statement has only four parameters in the HT column namely Aspect, Punctuality, Affirmation and Mode as shown in the table below:

Table 7 Parameters for fa “die”

Parameter	HT	LT
Participants	-	+
Kinesis	-	+
Aspect	+	-
Punctuality	+	-
Volitionality	-	+
Affirmation	+	-
Mode	+	-
Agency	-	+
Affectedness of O	-	+
Individuation of O	-	+

Subjecting the following intransitive sentence to the same analysis as above shows the same results.

50. Mwana waka lila. "The child cried."

The SUBJ is more agentive in this sentence than in the previous one. The event in this statement is telic, punctual, affirmative and a reality, just like in sentence (49) above. Both sentences have six parameters in the Low Transitivity column and four in the HT column. For the reason that the two sentences have six parameters in the LT column, they are regarded as being far from the transitive

prototype. The following sentence is even further down the ladder of transitivity:

51. Mme baka lala. "Mother has slept."

This sentence has only two parameters in the HT column. These are Affirmation and Mode. There seems to be a problem with the parameter Volitionality. It is not clear whether the AG mme "mother" has slept on her own volition. My informants agreed with me in suggesting that people usually do not have control over sleeping. One normally goes to sleep without making a decision of whether to do so or not. This is, however, not to rule out the possibility that one can decide to sleep either early or late depending on a number of circumstances. Also one may decide to just lie on a bed, in the form of taking a siesta. It appears that in Kalanga the idea of lying on the bed and actually going to sleep are expressed by the same verb lala "sleep". The context in which sentence (51) was used makes it a non-volitional act because it expresses the idea of the Th naturally going to sleep, something that is dictated by means beyond one's control. In addition, it is atelic, non-action, non-agentive and non-punctual. Since there is no OBJ, this rules out considering the remaining two

parameters, Affectedness of O and Individuation of O. So, the sentence has two parameters in the HT column and eight in the LT column as indicated below:

Table 8 Parameters for lala “sleep”

Parameter	HT	LT
Participants	-	+
Kinesis	-	+
Aspect	-	+
Punctuality	-	+
Volitionality	-	+
Affirmation	+	-
Mode	+	-
Agency	-	+
Affectedness of O	-	+
Individuation of O	-	+

Hence sentence (50) is even further down the transitivity scale than the preceding sentences (49) and (48). This also seems to be the case with sentence (52) below:

52. Yemulani uno nyemwelela. "Yemulani is smiling."

There are two clear parameters that the sentence registers in the HT column. These are Affirmation and Mode. These two have been seen to be present in all sentences discussed above because they express actions which are actual and not fictitious. The third possible parameter is Volitionality.

There seems to be a problem with this parameter as far as the act of smiling is concerned. It is difficult to actually ascertain whether *Yemulani* smiled out of her own wish or it just happened naturally without her control. It seems that it is possible for one to decide whether to smile or not, and also that the act of smiling can just occur without thinking of it. I therefore treat this statement as either volitional or non-volitional. My informants concurred with me on this assessment of the act of smiling. It is clear that the sentence is non-action, non-punctual, atelic and non-agentive. There is no O, so there is no Affectedness of O and Individuation of O. Depending on how one takes the parameter Volitionality, this sentence can be said to have either seven or eight parameters in the LT column and either three or two parameters in the HT column. The number of features this sentence scores in the HT column places it very close to the bottom of the transitivity scale, far away from the transitive prototype.

Although most sentences that have been classified as intransitive using the syntactic model have been shown to have less features in the HT column than their transitive counterpart, there are some exceptions. A close analysis

of sentence (53) reveals this.

53. Lumbidzani waka nda. "Lumbidzani went."

Although there is only one participant in this sentence, it seems it is different from the other four intransitive sentences discussed above. The application of Hopper and Thompson's method of investigating transitivity shows that sentence (53) is telic and punctual as it expresses an action that is completed. It also suggests that Lumbidzani wilfully initiated the movement. The verb nda "go" suggests motion. There is some action in the sentence since the only participant, Lumbidzani, is agentive. The action is affirmative and it really happened. This intransitive sentence has six transitivity features in the HT column as shown in Table 9 below:

Table 9 Parameters for nda "go"

Parameter	HT	LT
Participants	-	+
Kinesis	+	-
Aspect	+	-
Punctuality	+	-
Volitionality	+	-
Affirmation	+	-
Mode	+	-
Agency	-	+
Affectedness of O	-	+

Individuation of O

-

+

Depending on the number of transitivity features each sentence possesses in the HT column, the five intransitive sentences can be ranked on the transitivity scale as follows:

54. Kalanga sentence

Parameters in the HT column

(a) Lumbidzani waka nda.	6
(b) Banhu banjinji baka fa.	4
(c) Mwana waka lila.	4
(d) Yemulani uno nyemwelela.	3
(e) Mme baka lala.	2

These examples show that even intransitive verbs can be rated with respect to transitivity. The verbs in the sentences can be represented in descending order on the transitivity scale as follows:

55. nda>fa/lila>nyemwelela>lala

One thing that is worth noting here is that the verb nda "go" in (54a) above has as many HT parameters as some transitive verbs discussed earlier. If the verb nda "go" is compared with bona "see" in sentence (45) above, it can

be seen that the former has more parameters in the HT column than the latter. This presents a situation where a sentence that has only one participant is as high on the transitivity scale as sentences with two. According to the semantic classificatory procedure, the action expressed in sentence (53) is more transitive than the action in sentence (45). It appears that the action implied in the verb nda "go" makes it more transitive than bona "see" despite the fact that it is an intransitive verb, as it takes only one NP. The verb in (53) also proves to be more transitive than the one in (46) from a semantic point of view. The conclusion that can be made here is that some verbs that are classified as intransitive verbs using the RG theory exhibit semantic characteristics of transitive verbs. They actually have more transitivity features in the HT column than some which have two participants. This shows how the Transitivity theory can be used as a classification scheme in determining the degree of transitivity in sentences or clauses. In other words, the theory makes it possible to determine which sentences are closest to the transitive prototype and which others have varying degrees of transitivity, depending on the number of transitivity parameters they score in the HT column of the transitivity scale. It can be noted that this

classification approach does not lump sentences of different degrees of transitivity together but attempts to unbunch them on the scale according to the number of transitivity parameters they have in the HT column. However, sentence (53) fails to come closer to cardinal transitivity on the basis of having only one participant. This reduces its potential of entry into the proximity of the transitive prototype although it exhibits more transitivity features than some verbs that have two participants.

Nevertheless, all ten sample sentences discussed in this section can be placed on a transitivity continuum, starting from the one with the most transitivity features and ending with the one that scores the least number in the HT column. The scale of the verbs as used in the sentences is provided in (56) below:

56. loba>pfula>dla>nda>bona>da>fa/lila>nyemwelela>lala

The idea that transitivity can be treated as a matter of degree can also be noted by considering what may be termed the intransitive prototype. This can be achieved by considering the number of transitivity parameters that

sentences have in the LT column. This means that sentences that have more parameters marked in the LT column are nearer the intransitive prototype than those with few features in the column. Thus, if the number of transitivity parameters the above sentences have in the LT column is considered, the result is a scale that puts the sentence with the most number of parameters in this column on the highest end of the scale. The resulting scale has the intransitive prototype at the highest end and the transitive prototype at the lowest end. The order in (56) is therefore reversed and the scale becomes as shown in (57) below, where the sign < means "is less transitive than":

57. lala<nyemwelela<fa/lila<da<bona<nda<dla<pfula<loba

As can be noted in (54e), the intransitive prototype has negative values for all except two parameters in the HT column. Those which have positive values are Mode and Affirmation. Thus the idea of transitivity as a continuum is still expressed in scale (57) despite the fact it begins with an intransitive verb. In (56) the scale of transitivity is viewed from loba "beat" which represents the transitive prototype while in (57) the notion is viewed

from lala "sleep" which is the intransitive prototype. Although Tsunoda (1999) says that the notion of intransitivity has been negatively defined, usually from the view of transitivity, it can be argued that it does not matter from which angle one views this issue. Whether one begins by searching the transitive prototype, one ends up looking at the intransitive prototype and the reverse is also true as is shown in (56) and (57) above. It seems the general trend in the literature has been to treat intransitivity as secondary to transitivity. I contend that the same results can be obtained even if one begins by seeking to establish what may be called the intransitive prototype.

3.3 HIGH TRANSITIVITY AS A FEATURE OF STORYLINE CLAUSES

Hopper and Thompson also make important observations in their study of discourse. They demonstrate that there are foregrounded clauses that give the most relevant information in a story or discourse and backgrounded clauses which do not make any contribution to the storyline. They also argue that foregrounded (storyline) clauses are high in transitivity. This means is that clauses that have more information in discourse, that is, foregrounded clauses, are more likely to be more transitive

than the rest of the clauses which are backgrounded. In an attempt to confirm this point using Kalanga data, I asked my chief informants to identify foregrounded clauses in the folktale **Bulembwe baGudo** "The Foolishness of Baboon". This was after I explained what foregrounded and backgrounded clauses are. They did this independently and when we discussed their findings, which were not very different, we ended up with the following foregrounded clauses which are presented in bold type:

58. Ntolontolo kwakuliyapo bakwinya bakabedanana kwazwo.

"Long ago there were friends who loved each other very much."

Bakwinya babo kwakuli Gudo naHulo.

"These friends were Baboon and Hare."

Bakabenda bose kugwizi benotjela vula, behaka mitjelo yayipedlo 5
negwizi, bezana bose benda kunobona bakamu belibose.

"They go to fetch water from the river, look for fruit near the river, play together and visit their relatives together."

Kwakatikala kuti nelimwe huba Gudo akakumbila Hulo kuti bapelekedzane
kunobona nkadzi wuwe. 10

"It happened one day that Baboon asked Hare to accompany him to go and see his girlfriend."

Bakanda bekanda bakadzina baba nehala.

"They walked and walked until they got hungry."

Bakagala pasi kwenti bakatanga zuwilana. 15

"They sat under a tree and started talking to each other."

Baligele bakajalo kukapinda tjimwe kotjikala nezila yababenda nayo.

"While they were seated, a cart [driven by a man] passed by."

Bakadabila nlume wakona ekama.

"They called the man and he stopped." 20

Bakakumbila nda naye kuti abasiye belipedlo nenzi wakona. **Ndala woyo akabvuma.**

“They asked for a lift from the man. The old man agreed.

Gudo waye akambala sudu ntswa Hulo akambala wovaroni

“Baboon put on a brand new suit while Hare an overall.”

25

Hulo akati: ‘Nkwinya wangu, ha uhaka kuti tiwanane,**ndokumbila kuti tutjintjane zwimbalo zwedu’**

“Hare said: ‘My friend if you want to keep the friendship, let us exchange our clothes.’”

Gudo aka bvuma, bekatjintjana.

“Baboon agreed, and they exchanged.”

30

Hulo akabudza Gudo kuti wovaroni yakamufanila kwazwo.

“Hare told Baboon that the overall fitted him very well.”

Gudo nebulembwe akafala kwazwo.

“Because of his foolishness, Baboon was very happy.”

Ndala woya wakasekelela ntome etjiwa bulembwe baGudo.

35

“The old man laughed at Baboon’s foolishness.”

Bakanda basingalebesani badzina bapinda kunzi woyo.

“The travelledent without talking to each other until they got to the [girls’] home.

Hulo ndiye wakati ‘Tapinda’ bekabvumigwa pinda.

40

“Hare asked for permission to enter the home and they were allowed.”

Ning’ina wenkadzi waGudo akabapindisa kung’umba yebasikana.

“The young sister of Gudo’s girlfriend took them to the girls’ house.”

Bakapiwa zwitulo bekagala pasi. **Basikana bose bekunzi bakauya.**

“They sat on the stools that they were given. All the girls came [to see them].

45

Hulo ayesingazibe kuti waGudo ndiwupi. Akabva abona kuti kune wumwe nskikana ayetjinaka kupinda bamwe.

“Hare did not know Baboon’s girlfriend. He realised that there was one girl who was the most beautiful.”

50

Gudo akati eleba kuti nsikana woyo ndiye nkadzi wuwe, Hulo akahaya kuti angatini kuti antole nsikana woyo.

“When Baboon said that was his girlfriend, Hare tried to find a way of getting in love with that girl.”

Lubaka gokuti banu bande kudziminda gukaswika. 55
“It was now time for everyone to go to the fields.”

Basikana babo bekanda nebakwinya baba.

“The girls went with their friends.”

Pakati kweminda ipapo kwakune mohome ulipedlo kwenti.

“In the middle of the field there was a hole near a tree.”

Banhu bakati betjihakula **Hulo akabona nyoka yakafa.** 60

“When they were weeding, Hare saw a dead snake.”

Gwakaswika lubaka gokutola nkadzi waGudo manje.

“It was now time to take Baboon’s girlfriend.”

Akatola nyoka yeya akayiposela kusi kule.

“He took the snake and threw it far away [without anyone seeing him].” 65

Hulo akawakala etjiti: “Hatiboneni kuti unamasimba manjinji ndiyani pakati kwangu nenkwinya wangu.”

“Hare then said: ‘Let us see who is more powerful between Baboon and me.’”

Zwimandala zwikati: “Towabona tjini?”

“The girls said: ‘How can that be done?’” 70

Hulo ekati: “Akutolema, imi naGudo tinoyenda tihanduke netjatingabona kuhango muwe nemumwe.

“Hare said: ‘It is not difficult. Baboon and I will go into the forest and come back with anything that we will have found.’”

Bakayenda. Hulo akahanduka akasenga nyoka yeya yawakaposela. 75

“They went. Hare came back carrying the dead snake he had thrown away.”

Gudo akatjenama ngobe ayengasabuya netjinu.

“Baboon came back empty - handed.”

Zwimandala zwikanseka zwikanlakidza tjime tjulu tjinogala nyoka 80
inopedza mhulu.

“The girls laughed at him and showed him a place where there was a snake that killed calves.”

Wakanda. Nyoka yakona yayililele.

“He went. The snake was asleep.” 85

Akazama yibhata ikanluma zwimilo akatiha senhu etatiwa nehumba enda kubamwe.

“He tried to catch it but it bit his nose and he ran like a person being chased by a lion.”

Bakanseka badzina balala pasi.

90

“The jeered him.”

Nkadzi waGudo wakanlamba akanda kuna Hulo ngobe wayekumbula kuti une masimba.

“Baboon’s girlfriend rejected him and loved Hare as she thought that Hare was more powerful than Baboon.”

95

Ndiko kupela kwelungano.

“That is the end of the story.”

It should be noted that the first lines of the story consists of backgrounded clauses since they do not contribute to the main story, but give the scene -setting of the story. This is the same with other unbolded clauses in the story because they either make comments about the events in the story or they set the scene for the main storyline. As has already been stated, the storyline clauses are bolded in the story. They give the sequential events of the story. Most of the verbs in these clauses are relatively high in transitivity. I apply the Transitivity theory’s method of analysis to five foregrounded clauses and five background clauses in order to illustrate the point of relative transitivity. Take the clause **Gudo aka kumbila Hulo...** “Baboon asked Hare...” (line), for instance. It has two participants, the AG and the

PAT.. The action expressed by the verb is telic, punctual, volitional affirmative and real. The object is not directly affected, but it is individuated. These parameters are illustrated in table below:

Table 10 Parameters for kumbila “ask”

Parameter	HT	LT
Participants	+	-
Kinesis	-	+
Aspect	+	-
Punctuality	+	-
Volitionality	+	-
Affirmation	+	-
Mode	+	-
Agency	-	+
Affectedness of O	-	+
Individuation of O	+	-

The above parameters can be compared with those of a backgrounded clause **Kwaka tikala nelimwe huba** “One day it happened that...” (line). There is only one participant in this clause. The verb does not imply any action taking place. It is a stative verb that indicates a condition. The parameters for this verb are shown below:

Table 11 Parameters for tikala “happen”

Parameter	HT	LT
Participants	-	+
Kinesis	-	+
Aspect	+	-
Punctuality	+	-

Volitionality	-	+
Affirmation	+	-
Mode	+	-
Agency	-	+
Affectedness of O	-	+
Individuation of O	-	+

The above backgrounded clause possesses only four parameters in the HT column while it has been shown that the foregrounded clause analysed earlier has seven parameters in the HT column. Considering the number of transitivity features each of the two clauses possesses, it can be said that the foregrounded clause is more transitive than the backgrounded clause. Analyses of more foregrounded and backgrounded clauses taken from the same folktale show that relative transitivity correlates with foregrounding. The results of the analyses of the aforesaid clauses are given in Tables 12 and 13 below:

Table 12: Foregrounded clauses: Parameters in the HT column

Bakanda "They went"	kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency
Bakagala pasi "They sat down."	kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency
Bakadabila nlume "They called the man."	participants, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency
Basikana bakauya "The girls came."	kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode

Table 13: Backgrounded clauses: Parameters in the HT column

Baligele bakajalo "While they were seated	volitionality, affirmation, mode
Hulo abe budza Gudo "Hare was telling Baboon."	participants, volitionality, affirmation, mode, individuation
Ndala wakasekelela "The old man smiled."	aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode
Hulo akabva abona nyoka. "Hare saw a snake.'	participants, aspect, affirmation, mode

From the above results, it can be concluded that the correlation between foregrounding and high transitivity provides further evidence to support the notion of a transitivity continuum in Kalanga.

3.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has established a number of crucial points as far as transitivity can be investigated in Kalanga. It has been shown that if the RG theory is used to investigate transitivity in Kalanga (and any other language in general), the result is two clear-cut groups, one of transitive sentences and the other of intransitive sentences. The sentences in both categories are not graded at all. It is possible to group any given number of sentences into these two distinct categories by simply considering whether the sentences have direct objects after the verb (transitive) or they have no direct objects after the verb (intransitive). My observations have revealed

that this syntactic notion of transitivity is what most people know about transitivity in general. It has also been demonstrated that using the Transitivity theory goes a step further by defining transitivity in terms of the prototype. This theory, through the use of the 10 transitivity parameters, makes it possible for transitivity to be seen as a gradient phenomenon. Contrary to the syntactic view, which does not allow degree of membership in the transitivity category, the Transitivity Theory can classify sentences as being more or less transitive than others depending on the number of parameters with positive values a sentence possesses in the HT column. This semantic approach to transitivity classifies a sentence like (42) as a prototypical transitive sentence. This means that this sentence acts as a point of reference of the other nine sentences, each having its own degree of transitivity on the continuum. It was also been argued that the framework classifies transitive sentences that appear to be deviations from the transitive prototype such as (46) by placing them further away from it despite the fact that they may have two participants. It has also noted that such deviant transitive sentences may score less number of positive values for parameters in the HT column than some intransitive verbs but this does not undermine

their transitive status. However, their transitive status is slightly weakened because they have non-action verbs whereas those intransitive sentences that have agentive verbs behave like transitive verbs with some of the transitivity parameters.

In short, what has been demonstrated in this chapter is that the prototype approach makes it possible to illustrate degrees of transitivity while the use of grammatical relations fails to do so. However, there are syntactic processes which are sensitive only to the two-way distinction, so that this classification scheme is also valuable. It has also been demonstrated that high transitivity is a characteristic of foregrounded or storyline clauses. This is further evidence for regarding transitivity as a matter of degree in Kalanga. Having demonstrated the notion of degrees of transitivity in Kalanga in this chapter, the next chapter examines the closely related area of split intransitivity.

CHAPTER 4

SPLIT INTRANSITIVITY IN KALANGA

4.0 INTRODUCTION

So far it has been established that the verbs of the Kalanga language, like any other natural language, can be split into transitive and intransitive verbs. It has also been shown that verbs in Kalanga can be graded on a transitivity continuum, with prototypically transitive verbs on one end of the scale and the intransitive prototypes on the other end. Between the two reference points is a range of verbs with varying degrees of transitivity, reflecting that transitivity is a matter of degree. This classification has been made possible by the use of semantic parameters.

This chapter examines intransitive verbs in the Kalanga language more closely. The focus is on split

intransitivity (also called unaccusativity), a concept that describes the division of intransitive verbs into two subclasses, unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs. This notion was first formalised by Perlmutter (1978) as the Unaccusative Hypothesis which states that there are two groups of the intransitive verb class, unaccusative verbs, and unergative verbs. According to the RG framework within which split intransitivity or unaccusativity was first couched, the single NP of an unaccusative verb is an initial 2, patterning like an object of a transitive verb while the single NP of an unergative verb is initial 1, that is, like the subject of a transitive verb. From a semantic point of view, unaccusative verbs are defined as those verbs which have subjects that are prototypically patients and unergative verbs as having subjects that are prototypically agents. These two definitions suggest that the distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs can be accounted for partly on syntactic terms and partly on semantic terms. This is another area that shows the interface between syntax and semantics.

So, the major purpose of this chapter is to examine evidence from the Kalanga language that is relevant to split intransitivity or the Unaccusative hypothesis.

4.1 CONFIGURATION OF SPLIT INTRANSITIVITY

The syntactic frameworks that have provided useful explanations of split intransitivity include RG (Rosen, 1984; Perlmutter, 1984), Government and Binding (GB) (Burzio, 1986) and Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) (Bresnan and Kanerva, 1989). As stated earlier, this study uses the RG framework to explain syntactic phenomena about the Kalanga language.

It should be noted that it is impossible to make the unergative-unaccusative distinction without knowing the argument structure of verbs. For instance the types of NPs in the following sentences help in classifying the verb mela "grow" as unaccusative and hinga "work" as unergative.

- 59.(a) Tjimanga tja mel- a
 maize AGR germinate TV
 "Maize has germinated."
- (b) Nda- ka hing- a mu- Jobheki
 I PST work TV in Johannesburg
 "I worked in Johannesburg."

Both verbs in the above constructions are intransitive, as they cannot be followed by direct objects. This classificatory characteristic has already been established in earlier chapters. What is to be established is what type each intransitive verb is; that is, whether unaccusative or unergative. In order to determine this, the subjects in each sentence have to be examined closely to see if they behave the same, for instance, if they are both agentive. In (59a) the NP tjimanga "maize" is the surface subject of the sentence. In semantic terms this NP is a patient as it does not initiate action but undergoes the action expressed by the verb. In the RG framework it is called initial 2. It can therefore be tentatively concluded that the verb mela "grow" in sentence (59a) is unaccusative considering the definition given in section 4.0 This however needs to be confirmed by syntactic tests that are suggested below. On the other hand, the NP ndi "I" in (59b) is an initial 1 of this sentence, just like the subject of a transitive verb. It is agentive in semantic terms. This NP initiates the action expressed by the verb. It is different from the NP tjimanga "maize" in (59a) because the latter does not initiate the action expressed by the verb. ndi "I" is what in RG terms is called initial 1. Similarly, it can be concluded that the

verb hinga "work" is unergative because the characteristics of the single NP in the construction are the same as those described in the definition of this verb class in section 4.0. Taking into account the explanations given above, the two Kalanga verbs may be represented as follows:

60. (a) mela; initial 2 Unaccusative
 (b) hinga; initial 1 Unergative

When this semantic analysis is applied to sentences and phrases that contain intransitive verbs, it is possible to make a distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs in Kalanga texts. The table below shows the classification that was made from a sample of forty intransitive sentences and phrases. What the researcher did was to look closely at the NP used in each intransitive sentence. Sentences that contained initial 1 type of NPs were put in one group and those that had initial 2 NPs were placed in a separate group. All verbs in Column A of the table below had initial 1 NPs and those in Column B had initial 2 NPs. According to the semantic notions of agentive and non - agentive NPs, the verbs in Column A have

been classified as unaccusative while those in Column B have been classified as unergative.

61. Table 14: Sample of Unaccusative and Unergative Verbs in Kalanga

Column A		Column B	
yitika	'happen'	swika	'arrive'
gala	'stay'	nda	'go'
wa	'fall'	ha	'come'
fa	'die'	vima	'hunt'
thimula	'sneeze'	mila	'stop'
kula	'grow'	hinga	'work'
mela	'germinate'	tobela	'follow'
tswa	'burn'	tiha	'run away'
lala	'sleep'	bva	'leave'
bola	'rot'	bhuda	'come out'
tjila	'live'	gwa	'fight'
tetema	'shake'	zana	'play'
bila	'boil'	bhukutja	'swim'
woma	'dry'	lebeleka	'talk'
swaba	'wilt'	muka	'get up'
tanga	'begin'	simuka	'stand up'
nyikama	'dissolve'	deluka	'drop off'
nhuwa	'stink'	tembezela	'pray'
nyamalala	'disappear'	kohola	'cough'
		bukula	'bark'
		tjuluka	'jump'
		ngina	'enter'

Although this is a mostly reliable way for making a distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs, the

researcher proposes three syntactic tests that can be used to confirm the two divisions. Before the tests are discussed, I shall give an example of how the syntax of Italian illustrates the distinction between these verb groups.

In Italian, the unergative - unaccusative split is shown by the selection of aspectual auxiliary. The following Italian sentences show that they are differently marked:

62.(a) UNERGATIVE

Giovanni ha telefonato (avere)

Giovanni has telephoned

"Giovanni has telephoned."

(ha is a form of avere)

(b) UNACCUSATIVE

Giovanni e arrivato (essere)

Giovanni is arrived

(e is a form of essere)

"Giovanni arrived." (Burzio 1986:20)

From the above data, it can be seen that the two kinds of intransitive verbs are marked differently: the verb in (62a) takes a form of the auxiliary avere 'have' while the

one in (62b) is preceded by a form of the auxiliary essere 'be'. According to Burzio's study of Italian syntax, verbs that take the aspectual auxiliary avere 'have' are unergative while those that take the auxiliary essere 'be' are unaccusative. Burzio's assertion can be interpreted using the RG framework as follows- Giovanni in sentence (62a) is a deep structure subject; it is initial 1, that is, the single NP of an unergative verb whereas in sentence (62b), it is a deep structure object, that is an initial 2, the single NP of an unaccusative verb.

Perlmutter (1978) proposes another diagnostic test for split intransitivity in Italian, the ne-cliticization test. The use of ne- is limited to one kind of intransitive verb, as these sentences reveal:

63. (a) UNERGATIVE

*Ne	hanno	telefonato	due. (avere)
of-them	have	telephoned	two

"Two of them have telephoned."

(hanno is a form of avere)

(b) UNACCUSATIVE

Ne	sono	arrivate	due. (essere)
of-them	have	arrived	two

(sonno is a form of essere)

"Two of them arrived." (Perlmutter 1989)

These two sentences show that the clitic ne- can only be used with a deep structure object, in this case 'two of them' in sentence (63b). If it is used with a deep structure subject as in (63a), it results in an ill-formed construction. Once this information about where to use the clitic ne- in Italian is known, then it becomes easy to divide intransitive sentences into those containing unaccusative verbs and those with unergative verbs in this language.

It appears straightforward to determine the distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs in Italian if one knows the two rules demonstrated above. Unaccusative verbs take the aspectual auxiliary essere while unergative verbs take avere. The clitic ne- can be used only with intransitive verbs that have direct objects as their surface subjects, that is, unaccusative verbs. The next section examines the possibility of finding tests for split intransitivity in Kalanga, along similar lines as shown in the Italian examples above.

4.2 THE -IK- VERBAL EXTENSION

A possible way of attempting to make the distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs clearer in Kalanga is finding which group of verbs takes the **-ik-** potential verbal extension. The **-ik-** extension in Kalanga expresses the possibility of an event taking place. To illustrate this, acceptability or unacceptability of constructions with the **-ik-** extension is considered with each verb group. Different verbs were chosen at random from Table 2 above and Kalanga speaking informants were asked to construct sentences using these verbs. The sentences which were judged as being acceptable in this language were placed in one group and the unacceptable ones in another own group. Interestingly, there is a contrast in the acceptability of **-ik-** that correlates with sentences in (64) versus those in (65) below.

64.(a) Ko- swik- ik- a ka Bulawayo yini?
It arrive pot.ext. TV loc Bulawayo question

"Is it possible to get to Bulawayo?"

(b) Ko- nd- ik- a ipapa?'
it go pot.ext TV there

"Is it possible to go there?"

(c) Ko- vim- ik- a vula dzi- n- a?

it hunt pot.ext. TV rain AGR rain TV

"Is it possible to hunt while it is raining?"

(d) Ko- hing- ik- a kuna hoba?

It work pot.ext TV there is noise'

"Is it possible to work when there is noise?"

e) Ko- tih- ik- a ne- bana yini?

It run pot.ext TV with children question

"Do you think it is possible to run away with the children?"

(f) Ko- tembezel- ek- a pasi kwe- nti.

It pray pot.ext. TV under of tree

"It is possible to pray under a tree."

(g) Ko- bukutj- ik- a kutonola zwinkapa?

It swim pot.ext. TV cold like this

"Is it possible to swim when it is cold like this?"

From the discussions and analysis I had with my informants, it was concluded that constructions (64a-g) are well-formed and acceptable sentences in Kalanga. It can be said that the **-ik-** extension is possible with the verbs used in the above sentences. This extension seems to be always used with the element ko- 'it' at the beginning of each verb. For instance, in **Koswikika kaBulawayo yini?** "Is it possible

to get to Bulawayo?", the speaker may be doubting the possibility of getting to Bulawayo under certain circumstances. It implies that there may be some constraints or problems that lead the speaker to ask this question. In a similar way, one might say **Kanyi kwenyu koswikika yini?** "Is it possible to get at your home?" The answer to this question may simply be **koswikika** meaning either it is safe or possible to arrive at this particular homestead.

The verbs that take the **-ik-** extension are initial V 1 verbs as they take NPs that are subjects or agentive. Such verbs have been termed unergative on semantic grounds. So, it can be concluded that **-ik-** can be used with unergative verbs. On the other hand, we also considered whether the **-ik-** can be used with the other type of intransitive verb, that is, the kind of verb which in RG terms is an initial 2 verb. The result was the following unacceptable constructions:

65. (a) *Ko- f- ik- a ku- Goli
 it die pot ext TV in South Africa
 "It can be able to die in South Africa."

(b) *Ko- bol- ik- a nyama yini

it rot pot ext TV meat question

"Is it possible for meat to rot?"

(c) *Ko- totem- ek- a

it shiver pot ext TV

"It can be able to be shivered."

(d) * Ko- bil- ik- a

it boil pot.ext TV

"It can be boiled."

(e) *Tjimanga tjo- mel- ek- a

maize AGR germinate pot ext TV

"Maize can germinate."

(f) *Ko- wom- ik- a

it dry pot ext TV

"It can be dried."

The above sentences were judged as unacceptable in Kalanga by my informants despite the fact that they are structurally possible. It is semantically and syntactically unacceptable to say, for instance, ***Kofika kaTokwana yini?** 'Is it possible to die at Tokwana?' Neither is it possible to say ***Nama inobolika** 'Meat can rot.' This

means the potential extension **-ik-** cannot be used with this group of verbs in Kalanga. These verbs take NPs that are initial 2. Such verbs have been classified as unaccusative. Basing the argument on the constraint that the **-ik-** verbal extension has with this type of intransitive verb, it may be concluded that this is one of the ways of distinguishing unergative from unaccusative verbs within the intransitive verb class in Kalanga.

It appears that the following generalization about the use of the **-ik-** potential extension in Kalanga can be made; it is possible with some intransitive verbs but not with others. It seems the potential extension cannot be used with verbs expressing change of state but with those that have agentive NPs. It can therefore be suggested that the potential extension **-ik-** be used as a test for split intransitivity in Kalanga. To a great extent this test helps in making the unaccusative-unergative distinction, although there may be some problems with some ambivalent verbs which can be classified either as unaccusative or unergative depending on how they are used.

This is contrary to Chabata (1997) who says that this extension can only be used with transitive verbs but not

with intransitive verbs in Shona. Although Chabata's work is based on Shona, it can be argued that his findings should be more or less similar to the findings in Kalanga since the two languages are very closely related as mentioned earlier in this study. Chabata's observation seems to be influenced by the behaviour of one type of the intransitive verb group, that is, the unaccusative type which cannot take this verbal extension as illustrated in (65a-f) above. He therefore generalizes without considering the unergative verb class which contains verbs that are agentive in nature. It can be argued that the potential extension **-ik-** is possible with unergative verbs because they are higher on the transitivity scale than unaccusative verbs. A possible explanation for this difference between the two verbs is that unaccusative verbs have theme arguments while those for unergative verbs are agent-like.

Another verbal extension, namely the causative extension, was considered with the aim of trying to find out whether it can be used to make the distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs in Kalanga. The findings seem to suggest that this verbal extension cannot be reliably used

to account for split intransitivity . Details are provided in the next section.

4.3 CAUSATIVISATION

Causativization implies to make someone or something do something; for instance, to make cook, cultivate, run, work, go, etc. There are three types of causatives that have been identified in the literature. These are morphological, analytic and lexical causatives (Comrie 1981). This study restricts itself to the morphological causative because it is the only type relevant to split intransitivity in Kalanga.

From the Kalanga texts gathered, the morphological causative was found to be **-is-** in this language, just as in most Bantu languages. The causative morpheme becomes **-es-** when there is vowel "o" or "e" in the root word, because of vowel harmony. The morpheme **-is-** is suffixed to the root of the verb. This causative extension increases the valence of the verb. This means that if the original sentence had only one NP, it takes another NP in its causativized form and if it had two NPs it, it ends up with three NPs when it is causativized. Before looking at the behaviour of intransitive verbs with respect to the notion

of causativisation, I begin by showing what happens to transitive sentences when they are causativized. Although this section is about intransitive verbs, I present transitive sentences just for comparison's sake. The data below show that an additional NP is also added when a transitive sentence is causativized.

66 (a) i. NON CAUS

Mme ba- ka bhik- a hadza
 mother AGR PST cook TV sadza

"Mother cooked sadza."

ii. CAUS

Mme ba- ka bhik- is- a Lumbi hadza
 mother AGR PST cook CAUS TV Lumbi sadza

"Mother made Lumbi cook sadza."

(b) i. NON CAUS

Nsikana wa- ka kwal- a lukwalo
 girl AGR PST write TV letter

"The girl wrote a letter."

ii. CAUS

Mudiyi wa- ka kwal- is- a nsikana lukwalo
 teacher AGR PST write CAUS TV girl letter

"The teacher made the girl write a letter."

(c) i. NON CAUS

Bahingi ba- no bak- a ngumba
workers AGR PRES build TV house

"The workers are building a house."

ii. CAUS

Tate ba- no bak- is- a bahingi ngumba
father AGR PRES build CAUS TV workers house

"Father is making the workers build a house."

(d) i. NON CAUS

Bomme ba- ka vun- a tjimanga
women AGR PST harvest TV maize

"The women harvested the maize."

ii. CAUS

Nlimi wa- ka vun- is- a bomme tjimanga
farmer AGR PST harvest CAUS TV women maize

"The farmer made the women harvest the maize."

(e) i. NON CAUS

Bayisana ba- ka kam- a mwizi
boys AGR PST milk TV sheep

"The boys milked the sheep."

ii. CAUS

Nlume wa- ka kam- is- a bayisana mwizi
man AGR PST milk CAUS TV boys sheep

"The man caused the boys to milk the sheep."

There are a number of important points to make here. The causative verbs of the transitive verb bases take two NPs after them. In other words a new NP has to be added in the causative construction. This new NP comes either in the preverbal position as the subject of the causative construction or in the post verbal position as a causee object. In (66a) the NP Lumbi is introduced as the causee object following the verb, while the original object of the transitive non-causative verb hadza "sadza" comes after the causee. In the causative construction, the original object hadza "sadza" still maintains its status despite the fact that it does not immediately follow the verb. The causee cannot appear as the direct object because Kalanga allows only one direct object in a clause. In examples (66b-e), the new NP is introduced in the subject position of causative sentences and the original subject of the non-causative sentence is the first NP after the causative verb. Thus the original subject becomes the causee object positioned immediately after the causative verb and the original object or the basic object comes after the causee. For the reason stated earlier in this paragraph, the latter object is still the direct object of the causative construction.

If the order of the causee object and the direct object is changed, the result is an unacceptable structure in Kalanga. The following sentences are thus ungrammatical in Kalanga since the basic object precedes the causee object:

67. (a) *Nlume wa- ka kam- is- a mwizi bayisana
 man AGR PST milk CAUS TV sheep boys
 "The man made the boys milk the sheep."

b) *Nlimi wa- ka vun- is- a jimanga bomme
 farmer AGR PST harvest CAUS TV maize women
 "The farmer caused the women to harvest the maize."

c) *Tate ba- no bak- is- a ngumba bahingi
 father AGR PRES build CAUS TV house workers
 "Father is making the workers build the house."

d) *Mudiyi wa- ka kwal- is- a lukwalo nsikana
 teacher AGR PST write CAUS TV letter girl
 "The teacher made the girl write a letter."

(e) *Mme ba- no bhik- is- a hadza Lumbi
 mother AGR PRES cook CAUS TV sadza Lumbi
 "Mother caused Lumbi to cook sadza."

Something more must be said about the transitive causative in terms of semantic propositions. In the acceptable causative sentences above, there appear to be two agents in each construction. Take a sentence like **Nlume waka kamisa bayisana mwizi** "The man caused the boys to milk the sheep." The argument is that the causative verb kamisa "cause to milk" has two agents, nlume "man" whose patient is bayisana "boys" and bayisana "boys" whose patient is mwizi "sheep". The NP bayisana "boys" is both a patient and an agent in the same causative construction; it has dual roles. A general rule can be formulated when considering the arguments in the transitive causative. The causee, for example bayisana "boys", becomes an indirect object and the patient, for instance mwizi "sheep", the direct object. In other words, transitive causatives are double object causatives.

The causativization of the intransitive sentence results in the addition of an NP as already stated in the introductory remarks to this section as can be seen in (68) below:

68. (a) i. NON CAUS

Banhu	ba-	ka	hing-	a
people	AGR	PST	work	TV

"People worked."

ii. CAUS

Nlume wa- ka hing- is- a banhu
man AGR PST work CAUS TV people

"The man caused the people to work."

(b) i. NON CAUS

Mme ba- no nd- a
mother AGR PRES go TV

"Mother is going."

ii. CAUS

Mme ba- no nd- is- a bana
mother AGR PRES go CAUS TV children

"Mother is causing the children to go."

(c) i. NON CAUS

Lumbidzani wa- ka bhud- a.
Lumbidzani AGR PST go out TV

"Lumbidzani went out."

ii. CAUS

Lumbidzani wa- ka bhud- is- a bana.
Lumbidzani AGR PST go out CAUS TV children

"Lumbidzani caused the children to go out."

(d) i. NON CAUS

Bana	ba-	no	tembezel-	a
children	AGR	PRES	pray	TV

"The children are praying."

ii. CAUS

Mudiyi	u-	no	tembezel-	es-	a	bana
teacher	AGR	PRES	pray	CAUS	TV	children

"The teacher is making the children pray."

(e) i. CAUS

Banhu	ba-	ka	tih-	a
people	AGR	PST	run away	TV

"People ran away."

ii. CAUS

Masotja	a-	ka	tih-	is-	a	banhu
soldiers	AGR	PST	run away	CAUS	TV	people

"The soldiers made the people run away."

A pattern has emerged from the above sentences. The NON CAUS sentences, that is (i.) in each case, have only one NP. If the sentences are causativized, as in (ii.), in each case an additional NP occurs, either in preverbal / subject position or in the post verbal / object position. What has happened is that sentences that were originally intransitive have been transitivized by changing the verb form into a causative using the suffix **-is-**. This

causative extension has been referred to as a transitivity morpheme by Machobane (1989) for the reason that it makes an intransitive verb transitive. It also allows transitive verbs to take additional NP or complement, as illustrated later in (70).

Since all the causativized sentences are acceptable in Kalanga, it can be said that the causative extension **-is-** can be used with unergative verbs. To a great extent, it also works with unaccusative verbs as shown in (67) below:

67.(a) i. NON CAUS

Mwana	wa-	ka	f-	a
child	AGR	PST	die	TV

"The child died."

ii. CAUS

*Nloyi	wa-	ka	f-	is-	a	mwana
witch	AGR	PST	die	CAUS	TV	child

"The witch caused the child to die."

(b) i. NON CAUS

Mwana	wa	lal-	a
child	AGR	sleep	TV

"The child slept."

ii. CAUS

Mme ba- ka lal- is- a mwana
 mother AGR PST sleep CAUS TV child

"Mother made the child sleep."

(e) i. NON CAUS

Nti wa- ka w- a
 tree AGR PST fall TV

"The tree fell."

ii. CAUS

Tate ba w- is- a nti
 father AGR/has fall CAUS TV tree

"Father has caused the tree to fall."

(f) ii. NON CAUS

Nama ya- ka wom- a
 meat AGR PST dry TV

"The meat dried."

i. CAUS

Mme ba- ka wom- is- a nama
 mother AGR PST dry CAUS TV meat

"Mother dried the meat."

(g) i. NON CAUS

Tjimanga tja- ka mel- a

maize AGR PST germinate TV

"The maize has germinated."

ii. CAUS

Vula dza- ka mel- es- a tjimanga

rain AGR PST germinate CAUS TV maize

"The rain made the maize germinate."

(h) i. NON CAUS

Vula ya- ka bil- a

water AGR PST boil TV

"The water boiled."

ii. CAUS

Nsikana u- no bil- is- vula

girl AGR PRES boil CAUS water

"The girl is boiling water."

The verbs used in the above sentences have been identified as unaccusative verbs earlier. It can be observed that the majority of these Kalanga verbs take the causative *-is-* except the verb fa "die" which cannot be turned into a causative as **f-is-a* "cause to die". It is unacceptable to say **Mme baka fisa mwana* "Mother caused the child to die."

Besides the irregularity noted above, it can be observed in each case that a sentence is turned into a causative

construction there is need to have an additional NP. In other words the result is a transitivized sentence. The causativized sentences in (66) take an additional NP, resulting in transitive sentences. It can therefore be said that, to a very large extent, the causatives of unergative and unaccusative verbs are similar; that is, both types of verbs take the **-is-** morphological causative suffix. So, morphological causativization cannot be used as a reliable syntactic test to show the distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs as it produces similar results to a very large extent. This is unlike the **-ik-** potential extension which can be used with unergative verbs and not with unaccusative verbs.

It has been demonstrated that the morphological causative **-is-** is a transitiviser in Kalanga. This causative extension fails to serve as a test for split intransitivity as it can be used with all kinds of verbs - transitives, unaccusatives and unergatives. The next section examines how another transitivising verbal extension, the applicative morpheme **-il-** can be used to test split intransitivity.

4.4 THE APPLICATIVE AND SPLIT INTRANSITIVITY

The applicative verbal extension in Kalanga was found to be **-il-**. The applicative suffix becomes **-el-** because of vowel harmony when the root word contains the vowel "e" or "o".

When the applicative extension is added to transitive verbs, an additional NP is introduced as shown in the following sentences:

68. (a) NON APPL

Tate	ba-	ka	bulay-	a	mbudzi
father	GR	PST	kill	TV	goat

"Father killed a goat."

APPL

Tate	ba-	ka	bulay-	il-	a	bana	mbudzi
father	GR	PST	kill	CAUS	TV	children	goat

"Father killed a goat for children."

(b) NON APPL

Lumbidzani	wa-	ka	kwal-	a	lukwalo
Lumbidzani	AGR	PST	write	TV	letter

"Lumbidzani wrote a letter."

APPL

Lumbadzani	wa-	ka	kwal-	il-	a	mme
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Lumbidzani AGR PST write APPL TV mother

lukwalo

letter

"Lumbidzani wrote a letter for mother."

It can be noted that, just as in the causative constructions in (66) above, the introduction of a new NP changes the bivalent verbs bulaya 'kill' and kwala 'write' to trivalent verbs. Another thing to note here is the order of the NPs after the applicative verb. The applicative object, that is the beneficiary object, should always come immediately after the verb (Alsina and Mchombo 1988), as shown by the following sentences judged as ungrammatical by my informants:

69. (a) *Tate baka bulayila mbudzi bana

"Father killed a goat for children."

(b) *Lumbidzani waka kwalila lukwalo mme.

"Lumbidzani wrote a letter for mother."

Although such constructions as in (69) above are considered ungrammatical in Kalanga, my observation was that they may be used in speech and the meaning conveyed without any problem. My informants agreed with my observation adding

that their deviation from the grammatically accepted sentences may be done unconsciously when people engage in a conversation. A probable reason may be that the speaker's focus or emphasis may influence the choice of the object to follow the applicative or causative verb or it may just be a natural slip of the tongue. For instance, in (69a), the speaker's focus may be on the kind of animal that father killed for the children, that is mbudzi 'goat' and not ngombe 'cow'. In an attempt to bring out the prominence of the object, the speaker ends up moving it forward into the position of the benefactor in the case of the applicative and in the position of the causee in the case of causativisation. If the speaker notices that she has confused the positions of the two NPs after the verb, she is quick to correct herself. I have also observed that Shona and Ndebele speakers may have constructions with the order of NPs as in (69) but the original or intended meaning is not distorted.

The verbs that are used in sentences (69a and b) are unaccusative and those in (69c and d) are unergative. In the unaccusative examples, it can be noted that the applicative cannot be used as indicated by the unacceptable sentences in each case.

69. (a) NON APPL

Mwana wa- ka kul- a
child AGR PST grow TV

"The child grew."

APPL

*Mwana wa- ka kul- il- a mme
child AGR PST grow APPL TV mother

"The child grew for mother."

(b) NON APPL

Zwimbalo zwa- ka tsw- a
clothes AGR PST burn TV

"The clothes burned."

APPL

*Zwimbalo zwa- ka tsw- il- a tate
clothes AGR PST burn APPL TV father

"Clothes burned for father."

(c) NON APPL

Mme ba- ka hing- a
mother AGR PST work TV

"Mother worked."

APPL

mme ba- ka hing- il- a bana babo
mother AGR PST work APPL TV children her

"Mother worked for her children."

(d) NON APPL

Tate ba- ka zan- a
father AGR PST play TV

"Father played."

APPL

Tate ba- ka zan- il- a bana
father AGR PST play APPL TV children

"Father played for the children."

My informants judged the applicative forms of unaccusative sentences ungrammatical. The unacceptability of these unaccusative sentences can be explained by the fact that these sentences have a Theme argument, so they cannot take a Beneficiary after the verb. This is because the Theme is lower than the Beneficiary on the Thematic Hierarchy. So, a lower thematic role cannot access the subject position when a higher role is relegated to the object position as what happens in the applicative constructions in the above sentences. This is a violation of the Thematic Hierarchy Condition (THC) which states that:

The external argument in an applicative construction must be higher on the thematic hierarchy than the argument introduced by the applicative suffix.
(Alsina and Mchombo 1988)

Therefore the Theme cannot therefore access the subject position instead of the Benefactive since the latter is higher on the TH than the former. This explains why the applicative extension cannot be used with unaccusative verbs. However, the applicative extension can be used with unergative verbs as shown in the applicative constructions in (69c and d) above, which my informants judged correct. Both sentences have an external argument of an Agent which is higher on the Thematic Hierarchy than the Beneficiary which is the applicative object. There is no violation of the THC in these two sentences. So, it can be concluded that the applicative extension works with unergative verbs and not with unaccusative verbs when the applicative object is a Beneficiary. This restriction of the use of the Beneficiary NP to unergative verbs can be used as procedure of identifying unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs.

But, revisiting unaccusative verbs from a different angle shows that there is a condition in which they can be used with the **-il-** extension. This time the applicative object is not a Beneficiary but a Locative as shown in the data below:

70.(a) Zwimbalo zwa- ka tsw- il- a mu- ngumba
 clothes AGR PST burn APPL TV LOC house
 "The clothes got burnt in the house."

(b) Mwana wa- ka kul- il- a ka- Makulela
 child AGR PST grow APPL TV LOC Makulela
 "The child grew up at Makulela."

In these sentences, the external argument is the Theme and the applicative NP is a Locative. They are acceptable because the thematic role Locative is lower on the Thematic Hierarchy than the role Theme. It is within the requirements of the THC that the external argument of a construction must be higher on the Thematic Hierarchy than the applicative NP. These sentences do not therefore violate the THC.

Just like the causative morpheme **-is-**, the applicative extension is a transitivizing morpheme as is shown in the next section.

4.5 SUMMARY

A number of important observations that make our understanding of split intransitivity in Kalanga better have been made in this chapter. It has been shown how the notions of initial 1 and initial 2 can be used to explain the distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs. These notions have been described as rather 'abstract' in that it is difficult for someone without basic knowledge of RG theory to use them in the study of split intransitivity. It has been shown that to a very large extent, both unaccusative and unergative verbs can take the causative morpheme **-is-** without affecting the acceptability of sentences in Kalanga. Two possible tests for split intransitivity have been identified as the **-ik-** and **-il-** verbal extensions in Kalanga. Unaccusative verbs cannot take an applicative NP that is a Beneficiary because of the THC which restricts the Theme argument to precede the Beneficiary. On the other hand, unergative verbs can take the applicative NP which is a Beneficiary. I propose therefore that the **-ik-** extension and the applicative extension **-il-** be used as potential tests for showing the difference between unaccusative and unergative verbs in Kalanga.

CHAPTER 5

THE PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION IN KALANGA

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The passive construction is one of the most important aspects of grammar of most languages. It can be explained both in terms of grammatical roles (syntax) and semantic roles (semantics). This chapter examines the characteristics of the passive and how they are manifested in the grammar of the Kalanga language. The discussion shows that there are at least three types of passives in Kalanga. There are passives that promote the object to subject status, impersonal passives headed by a dummy subject and those that are agentless. It will also be shown that the grammatical subject of a passive sentence coincides with the topic of that sentence.

Different scholars have accounted for the passive in various languages in different ways. Notable among some of the scholars are Trithart (1979), Perlmutter and Postal (1984), Shibatani (1985) and Keenan (1985). Perlmutter and Postal (1984) view the process of passivisation as the promotion of the direct object to subject position while Shibatani (1983) views it as a semantic process. The emphasis in the latter view is that in some passives, the agent NP is defocused or deleted completely. Trithart (1979) says passivisation is a matter of topicalisation while Keenan's (1985) study of the passive of the world's languages reveals that this construction is more important in some languages than in others. The insightful views of these scholars are incorporated in the study of passivisation in Kalanga in the next sections.

5.1 PROMOTION OF THE OBJECT

The passive construction has been described by some scholars as a process that promotes the direct object of an active sentence to the subject position (Perlmutter and Postal 1983, among others). The original subject is demoted to an oblique position. In other words, the direct object of an active sentence becomes the grammatical

subject in the passive. This was found to be true with the Kalanga passive as these sentences illustrate:

71. (a) i. ACTIVE

Nlume wa- ka diy- a bana
man AGR PST teach TV children

"The man taught the children."

ii. PASSIVE

Bana ba- ka diy- iw- a ne- nlume
children AGR PST teach PASS TV by man

"The children were taught by the man."

In the active sentence in (71a.i), the NP nlume "man" is the subject while the NP bana "children" is the direct object. This is a transitive sentence since the verb takes a direct object. However, in the passive form, there is a shift of the two NPs. It is seen in the passive sentence in (71b. ii) that the direct object bana "children" is now the subject of the sentence while the original subject nlume "man" is relegated or demoted to an oblique or chomeur position, the lowest position on the Relational Hierarchy (RH). The sentence cannot have two subjects; the original subject is removed from its position - it is either demoted or deleted. The demotion of the original

subject is signalled in that it now appears in the sentence as an adjunct phrase. An adjunct is a noun phrase that is governed by a preposition, in this case ne "by". On the other hand, the direct object is promoted to the status of the subject; it becomes the derived subject of the passive sentence. It now controls the verb agreement of the passive sentence. This subject NP of the passive sentence corresponds to the PAT of the sentence. This is because the action expressed by the passivized verb impinges on the derived subject of the sentence rather than on the oblique NP. In this case passivisation is viewed as the promotion of the direct object since on the RH the direct object is lower than the subject but in the passive the direct object advances to subject position. The original subject ceases to have any grammatical relation to the verb. This is why passive sentences are sometimes described as "superficially" intransitive because in the process of passivisation there is a reduction of the number of NPs that have a relation to the verb from two to only one. The promotion of direct objects and the demotion of the original subjects can also be seen in the following pairs of sentences:

72. (a) i. ACTIVE

bayisana ba- no kam- a ngombe
boys AGR PRES milk TV cows

"The boys are milking cows."

ii. PASSIVE

Ngombe dzi- no kam- iw- a ne- bayisana
cows AGR PRES milk PASS TV by boys

"Cows are being milked by the boys."

(b) i. ACTIVE

Bomme ba- ka vun- a tjimanga
women AGR PST harvest TV maize

"The women harvested maize."

ii. PASSIVE

Tjimana tja- ka vun- iw- a na- bomme
maize AGR PST harvest PST TV by women

"Maize was harvested by the women."

(c) i. ACTIVE

Nlimi wa- ka hodz- a zwipfuwo
farmer AGR PST fatten TV livestock

"The farmer fattened livestock."

ii. PASSIVE

Zwipfuwo zwa- ka hodz- ew- a no- nlimi
livestock AGR PST fatten PASS TV by farmer

"Livestock was fattened by the farmer.'

(d) i. ACTIVE

Mbwa ya- ka kwib- a nama
 dog AGR PST steal TV meat

"The dog stole meat."

ii. PASSIVE

Nama ya- ka kwib- iw- a ne- mbwa
 meat AGR PST steal PASS TV by dog

"The meat was stolen by the dog."

(e) i. ACTIVE

Bambadzi ba- ka mu- lay- a
 aunts AGR PST OM **counsel** TV

"(Her) aunts counselled her."

ii. PASSIVE

Wa- ke e- lay- iw- a na- bambadzi
 she PST AGR counsel PASS TV by aunts

"She was counselled by (her) aunts."

What has been illustrated in examples (71) and (72) above is that the passive construction is derived from a corresponding active structure which has an agent NP which is the subject. This agent NP is demoted to the lowest position of oblique or chomeur while the object is promoted to the status of subject when the sentence is passivised. This shows that the subject function is different in the active and passive sentences. This is because there are

changes that are taking place in grammatical functions of subject and object.

However, there is no change in semantic roles in the active sentence and its passive form. In other words, the semantic roles of AG and PAT can still be identified in both the active and passive sentence. For instance, in the active sentence **Mbwa yakwiba nama** "The dog stole the meat" the AG is mbwa "dog" and the PAT is nyama "meat". The passive form of the above sentence is **Nama yakwibiwa nembwa** "The meat was stolen by the dog". The AG in this passive sentence is mbwa "dog" and the PAT is nyama "meat" just as in the active sentence. In other words, the agent is still the agent and the patient still the patient in the passive sentence. This is not the case with grammatical relations since the object of the active sentence assumes the role of the subject in the passive sentence while the original subject is relegated to a chomeur position. The only changes that can be noticed in semantic roles are that of position and verbal agreement markers. These are indicators of grammatical relations. In the active sentence, the agent is at the beginning but appears at the end of the passive sentence. Conversely, the patient appears at the end of the active sentence but moves to

sentence initial position when the sentence has been passivised. This difference reveals that semantic roles are more stable than grammatical roles; that is, semantic roles retain their statuses or functions in the passive unlike grammatical relations that assume completely different roles or functions. Put in other words, arguments retain semantic roles but change grammatical relations.

5.2 INADEQUACY OF OBJECT PROMOTION VIEW

The above section has illustrated the view that passivisation involves the promotion of the direct object and the demotion of the subject. But this is not always the case, because the DO may not be advanced to the subject position and yet passivisation takes place. The examples below show that it is possible to have a passive sentence of a transitive sentence where the DO is not promoted to subject position in Kalanga.

(73) i. ACTIVE

Mme	ba-	ka	lob-	a	mbisana
mother	AGR	PST	beat	TV	boy

"Mother beat the boy."

ii. PASSIVE

Kwa- ka lob- iw- a mbisana na- mme
exit PST beat PASS TV boy by mother
"There was beating of the boy by mother." ("The boy
was beaten by mother.")

The direct object mbisana "boy" is not promoted to subject position but the sentence can still be interpreted as a passive sentence although the original subject mme "mother" is relegated to chomeur status as in the passives seen earlier. The dummy subject kwa- takes the subject position. There is no derived subject in the passive sentence above. The object in the underlying structure remains the object in the derived structure because it is not promoted to subject position. This object cannot be marked with an OM. These sentences with an OM were considered ungrammatical by my informants. The underlying subject is present as an oblique subject but it may be completely absent. The presence of such type of a passive shows an inadequacy in the treatment of passivisation as simply a matter of object promotion.

This way of passivisation in which the object is not promoted to subject position can be used to account for passives of intransitive verbs since they do not have any

objects to promote. Active intransitive sentences can be passivised despite the fact that they do not have objects. This is shown in the sentences below:

74. (a) i. ACTIVE

Banhu ba- ka f- a.

people AGR PST die TV

"People died."

ii. PASSIVE

Kwa- ka f- iw- a ne- banhu.

exist PST die PASS TV by people

"There was dying by people." ("People died.")

i. ACTIVE

nsikana wa- ka tjuluk- a.

girl AGR PST jump TV

"The girl jumped."

ii. PASSIVE

Kwa- ka tjuluk- iw- a ne- nsikana.

exist PST jump PASS TV by girl

"There was jumping by the girl." ("The girl jumped".)

(b) i. ACTIVE

Bomme ba- ka tembezel- a.

women AGR PST pray TV

"Women prayed."

ii. PASSIVE

Kwa- ka tembezel- ew- a na- bomme
exist PST pray PASS TV by women

"There was praying by women." ("Women prayed".)

It can be seen that all the passives in (73) and (74) are headed by the dummy subject kwa-, the locative/ existential marker. Harford (1983) has described such kinds of passives as impersonal passives.

While the agent NP is specified in the passive sentences that have been illustrated so far, there are some passives in Kalanga that do not have agents. This type of passives is shown in the next section.

5.3 AGENTLESS PASSIVES

Agentless passives, as the name suggests, are passive constructions that do not have the agent NP. The agent NP is not mentioned for one reason or another. Some of the reasons are discussed and illustrated below. All the agent NPs in (70) and (71) above can be deleted with the sentences remaining grammatically acceptable in Kalanga. (75) below shows the passive sentences provided above, but this time without the agent NPs:

75. (a) Bana ba- ka diy- iw- a.
 children AGR PST teach PASS TV
 "The children were taught."
- (b) Ngombe dzi- no kam- iw- a.
 cows AGR PRES milk PASS TV
 "Cows are being milked"
- (c) Tjimanga tja- ka vun- iw- a.
 maize AGR PST harvest PASS TV
 "Maize was harvested."
- (d) Zwipfuwo zwa- ka hodz- ew- a.
 livestock AGR PST fatten PASS TV
 "Livestock was fattened."
- (e) Nama ya- ka kwib- iw- a
 meat AGR PST steal PASS TV
 "The meat was stolen."
- (f) Wa- ka e- lay- iw- a
 she PST AGR counsel PASS TV
 "She was counselled."

The analysis of texts in which the above passive constructions were used revealed that the agent is defocused if it has been introduced earlier in the

discourse and the communicator feels it is redundant to keep on referring to it. In one of the texts, the respondent was recounting how black people were ill-treated by the colonial government in this country. After mentioning the agent, that is the colonial government, the respondent went on to use agentless passives whenever the action of the government on the black people was mentioned. The following sentences illustrated the point being made above:

76. (a) Ti- dzidz- iw- a
we trouble PASS TV
"We were troubled." (by the colonial government)
- (b) Ti- bhah- w- a
we arrest PASS TV
"We were arrested [by the colonial government]

Sometimes the agent is not mentioned because the communicator feels it is not important to say who performed the action. In this case, the action expressed by the passive verb is of greater importance. The following set of impersonal passive sentences illustrates this:

77. (a) Kwa- ka long- w- a busukwa

exist PST prepare PASS TV beer

"Beer was brewed."

(b) Kwa- ka bulay- iw- ngombe

exist PST kill PASS cow

"A cow was slaughtered."

The respondent who used the above passive sentences was talking about the traditional marriage ceremony that he had. Although agents were not mentioned earlier in the conversation, the listener can use his intuition to interpret the actions expressed by the verbs as having been carried out by some people close to the groom who were happy that he was getting married.

The speaker might also take it for granted that the recipient understands who carried out the action and therefore leaves out the agent in the passive. This is true in the following sentences that were taken from a Kalanga news bulletin from ZBC Radio 4. The report was on a conwoman who had been arrested by the police and brought to court where she was convicted.

78. (a) Mazire wa- ka- bva a- sung- w- a

Mazire AGR PST then AGR arrest PASS TV

"Mazire was then arrested" [by the police].

(b) Wa- ka tubul- igw- a mimwedzi gumi
she PST sentence PASS TV months ten
ne- mibili mu- tolonko
and two in jail

"She was sentenced to two twelve months in jail." (by
the court)

The recipient of the two messages above uses a heuristic strategy in working out the appropriate agent for each sentence. In these cases the agent phrase nemapolisa "by the police" appropriately completes (78a) while that for (78b) is nekhuta "by the court". It would be weird for the listener to interpret sentence (78a) as # **Mazire wakabva asungwa nemwizi** #"Mazire was arrested by the sheep" and (78b) as #**Waka tubuligwa mimwedzi gumi nemibili mutolongo nebayisana** #"She was sentenced to twelve months in jail by the boys."

Another reason why the agent may not be mentioned in the passive sentence is that both the speaker and the hearer do not know the agent. Imagine a situation where someone is checking on his crops and discovers that one of his watermelons is missing and there are signs that someone ate it, or villagers wake up one morning to find their school has been burnt down. In both situations the perpetrators are not known. People usually use the passive without the agent to talk about such situations as these sentences reveal:

79. (a) Bisi la- dl- iw- a
 water melon AGR eat PASS TV
 "The water melon has been eaten."
- (b) Kwele tja- ka pis- iw- a
 school AGR PST burn PASS TV
 "The school was burnt down."

5.4 TOPIC CREATION

So far I have shown that passivisation in the Kalanga language can be explained from two perspectives: the syntactic (Perlmutter and Postal 1984) and semantic (Shibatani 1985) viewpoints. Syntactic and semantic factors probably combine in both of these viewpoints. The

former treats the process as a matter of object promotion while the latter takes passivisation as the defocusing of the agent NP. The third approach to passivisation in general is that it is explained in terms of topic creation or topicalization (Trithart 1979). Topicalization refers to foregrounded aspects in discourse.

According to the proponents of topicality, among them Trithart (1979) and Li and Thompson (1976), the topic of the sentence coincides with the structural or grammatical subject of that sentence. This was found to be the same in Kalanga as the following sentence illustrates:

80. Kwinya wa- ka tol- a nkadzi nkulu
 Subj/topic friend AGR PST take TV woman old
 "(My) friend married an old woman."

The subject of this active transitive sentence is kwinya "friend". This also happens to be the topic of the sentence. The entity kwinya "friend" is the topic of the sentence since it is the entity that is being talked about in the sense of old information. In other words the entity that is the focus of discussion is the topic, that is it is old information unlike what comes after it which is the new information. In this case the new information is nkadzi

nkulu "old woman". This NP comes after the verb. In the passive, the object NP becomes the topic or the grammatical subject as shown in (84) below:

81. Nkadzi nkulu wa- ka tol- ew- a
 subj/topic
 woman old AGR PST take PASS TV
 ne- kwinya
 by friend
 "The old woman was married by (my) friend."

What can be deduced from the above sentences is that topics can be encoded as subjects in Kalanga. In other words we can say that the non- agent NP, that is the object, is promoted to subject status which is the same as the topic of the passive sentence.

5.5 LOCATIVE INVERSION AND PASSIVISATION

Locative inversion is a grammatical function- changing rule that involves for the preposing of a post verbal locative NP and the postponing of the preverbal NP; that is, the subject. In other words the locative NP becomes the

subject of the new sentence while the original subject occupies the post verbal position. Locative inversion does not take place at random. It depends on the type of the verb and whether the sentence is in the active or in the passive form. For instance, all the sentences in (82) below use the transitive verb pfula "kick". It is impossible to have locative inversion with this verb in its active form as demonstrated by the unacceptability of (82b); but if the sentence is passivized, it can now undergo locative inversion as shown in (82c).

82.(a) Bayisana ba- no pful- a bhola
 boys AGR PRES kick TV ball
 ku- kwele
 at school
 "Boys are kicking the ball at school."

(b) ACTIVE

*Ku- kwele ku- no pful- a bhola
 at school AGR PRES kick TV bhola
 bayisana
 boys
 "At school the boys are kicking the ball."

(c) PASSIVE

Ku- kwele ku- no pful- iw- a

at school AGR PRES kick PASS TV

bhola ne- bayisana

ball by boys

"At school the ball is being kicked by the boys."

("The ball is being kicked by the boys at school.")

While transitive sentences undergo locative inversion only when they are passivized, unergatives can undergo locative inversion in both the active and passive forms. Sentences (83a) and (83b) illustrate this.

83. (a) Basikana ba- ka zan- a
girls AGR PST play TV
ku- kwele
loc/a t school

"Girls played at school"

(b) ACTIVE

Ku- kwele kwa- ka zan- a basikana
at school AGR PST play TV girls

"At school the girls played."

(c) PASSIVE

Ku- kwele kwa- ka zan- iw- a ne-
at school AGR PST play PASS TV by

basikana

girls

"The girls played at school."

On the other hand, unaccusative sentences cannot undergo locative inversion in the passive form while they can do so in the active form. Sentence (84c) is thus ungrammatical since it is in the passive form.

84 (a) Tjimanga tja- ka swab- a mu- ntunu
 maize AGR PST dry TV in area

woyo

that

"The maize (crop) dried in that area."

(b) ACTIVE

Mu- ntunu woyo ma ka swab- a tjimanga
in area that AGR PST dry TV maize

"In that area the maize (crop) dried."

(c) PASSIVE

*Mu- ntunu woyo ma- ka swab- iw- a ne-
in area that AGR PST dry PASS TV by

tjimanga

maize

*"In that area was dried by the maize (crop)."

Taking the above sentences into consideration, locative inversion in Kalanga can be represented as in the following table:

85. **Table 15: Locative inversion in Kalanga**

Verb Type	Active	Passive
Transitive	no	yes
Unergative	yes	yes
Unaccusative	yes	no

Locative inversion can therefore be used as a syntactic test to determine the types of verbs in Kalanga but development of this point will be left to future research.

5.6 SUMMARY

This chapter has illustrated in general terms that passivisation can be described as a subject or topic creating rule. This means that the process of passivisation promotes the direct object to subject status. The derived subject controls verb agreement in the passive form while the underlying subject is either demoted to an oblique position or is completely deleted. The derived

subject becomes the topic of the passive sentence. Therefore the subject coincides with the topic of the sentence in this language. The underlying subject may not be mentioned either because it is unknown to the communicators, or it is so definite that both the speaker and the hearer know it. However, the object is not always promoted to subject position as there are exceptions; perhaps subject demotion is a better overall description of passivisation.

It has also been shown that passivisation illustrates an important difference between grammatical relations and semantic roles in linguistic theory. Arguments retain thematic roles but not grammatical roles. This is because thematic roles remain unchanged in the active and passive forms of a sentence; an agent remains an agent and a patient remains a patient. On the contrary, grammatical relations change; the object becomes the derived subject while the original subject ceases to have any relation with the verb in the passive.

I have also demonstrated how the process of locative inversion can be used as a syntactic test for the three verb groups, that is, transitives, unergatives and

unaccusatives. Active transitives and passive unaccusatives cannot undergo locative inversion in Kalanga while the rest is possible as shown in (84) above.

The next and last chapter summarizes the observations and conclusions made in this study.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this study was to make a linguistic inquiry into the concept of transitivity in the grammar of Kalanga in more detail than just making a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in this language. In the process of searching for a better understanding or explanation of transitivity in Kalanga and its related areas of split intransitivity and passivization, crucial observations were made and conclusions suggested by the researcher. It is these observations and conclusions that this final chapter highlights.

Two theoretical frameworks, namely Relational Grammar (RG) and Hopper and Thompson's (1980) Transitivity theory, were used in this dissertation. It has been demonstrated with

examples that RG theory, an offshoot of Chomsky's (1965) Traditional Generative Grammar (TGG) theory, is compatible with the division of verbs into transitive and intransitive types. Verbs that take direct objects are transitive while those that cannot take direct objects are classified as intransitive. My observation was that language practitioners I interviewed could make this two-way distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs from a syntactic point of view.

On the other hand, it has also been shown that transitivity can be explained as a matter of degree in Kalanga by using the semantic approach. The analysis of sentences from the Kalanga language has illustrated that the number of prototypical parameters a sentence possesses measures the degree of transitivity of that sentence. The transitivity parameters are participants, kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency, affectedness of O and individuation of O. In some languages not all the parameters are necessary but this study found that all of them are relevant in exploring the transitive prototype in Kalanga. Sentences that have more of these transitivity parameters marked positive in the High Transitivity (HT) column have been described as being more transitive than

those that have less features marked in the same column. A prototypical transitive sentence scores all the 10 parameters in the HT column while a prototypical intransitive one has all the 10 features positive in the Low Transitivity (LT) column. In between the two poles are sentences of varying degrees of transitivity depending on the number of parameters they have in the HT column. Thus, we can talk of a transitivity scale. My observation was that none of the language practitioners I interviewed were aware of this semantic approach to transitivity. The study also confirms that storyline clauses in narratives contain the most important information in a story. These foregrounded clauses have been found to be generally high in transitivity...This is in contrast to backgrounded clauses which register low transitivity on the transitivity scale. .The difference in transitivity between these two clauses has been used as additional evidence for the existence of a transitivity continuum

The study has also shown that the intransitive verb class in Kalanga can be split into unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs. An attempt was made to find diagnostic tests for split intransitivity. The tests that this study has considered useful are the **-ik-** potential extension, the

applicative **-il-** extension and locative inversion. It was found that the **-ik-** potential extension can be used with unergative verbs only. If it is used with unaccusative verbs, the sentences become ungrammatical. It was also shown that unergative verbs take the applicative **-il-** extension while unaccusative verbs do not. Unaccusative verbs only take the applicative extension if there is a locative NP in the sentence. The causative extension **-is-** was tried but failed as a test because it can be used with both unaccusative and unergative verbs. The study also argues that locative inversion can be used as a test for split intransitivity since it depends on the type of the verb for sentences in which it occurs to be considered grammatical. Locative inversion is unacceptable with an active transitive verb but is possible when the transitive verb is passivized. This process is possible with unergative verbs, both in the active and passive forms. With unaccusative verbs, locative inversion only takes place in sentences that have active forms of verbs and not that with passive verb forms.

The analysis of Kalanga data has identified the morpheme **-iw-** as the basic passive marker in this language. Sentences were used to illustrate passivization as the

promotion of the direct object or topic creation and as the defocusing of the agent. It was observed that passivisation illustrates an important difference between grammatical relations and semantic roles. The difference is the stability of semantic roles which retain their statuses in the passive unlike grammatical relations which change their status; that is, the direct object becomes the subject while the original subject is demoted to an oblique thereby losing its relation with the verb.

This study makes contributions to the areas of syntax and semantics in general and to the Kalanga language in particular. Taking into account the thrust towards the promotion of the study of indigenous minority languages at least by the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) at this university at the time of writing this thesis, the texts which were collected and used in this study can be used for further study of other aspects of the Kalanga verb and all kinds of other aspects in general. It is also hoped that the contents and discussions in this study will generate more interest and further inquiry into the Kalanga language.

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APPENDIX I

LANGUAGE MAP OF ZIMBABWE: ADOPTED FROM DOKE 1931

APPENDIX II

KALANGA LANGUAGE RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Place a tick next to your answer. Where necessary, write your in the space provided.

1. Which is your age range?

- | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 15-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 |
| 51-60 | 61-70 | | |

2. Tick groups which belong to the Kalanga language family.

- | | | | |
|--------|--------|---------|---------|
| Nambya | Lilima | Rozwi | Twamaba |
| Pfumbi | Lemba | lembetu | Jawunda |

Others: Specify:-----

3. Which of these is found in your area?

- | | | | |
|---------|---------|-------|---------|
| Nambya | Kalanga | Rozwi | Tawamba |
| Lilima | Lembetu | lemba | Pfumbi |
| Jawunda | | | |

Others: Specify:-----

4. Explain briefly what the term "Kalanga" means.-----

5. Kalanga has been described as "Western Shona" by some scholars. Do you think this description is appropriate?

- YES NO

Give reasons for your answer.-----

6. How has Kalanga been influenced by

- (a) Ndebele?
most seriously moderately a little
not at all
- (b) Sesotho
most seriously moderately a little
not at all
- (c) Zulu
Most seriously moderately a little
not at all
- (d) Tswana
most seriously moderately a little
not at all

7. Up to what level is Kalanga taught in your area?
from Grade 1 to Grade 3 from Grade 1 to Grade 7
not taught at all

8. Up to what level would you like to see Kalanga taught?
Grade 7 ZJC "O" level "A" level
College and university level

9. In the past twelve months, have you read any of the following written in Kalanga?
novel news bulletin letter
newspaper article Other: Specify:-----

10. Is the air - time given to Kalanga by ZBC Radio 4 adequate?
YES NO.

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEW SHEET

1. In the history of the Kalanga people there is mention of leaders like Madlazwegwendo, Chilisamhulu and chibundule. Would you like to say something about these or any leader that you have heard of?
2. We are talking about Kalanga people. What is your understanding of the term "Kalanga"?
3. The dialects of Shona are Karanga, Ndau, Manyika, Korekore and Zezuru. Can you give me dialects of Kalanga, if any?
4. How has Kalanga been influenced by neighbouring languages such as Ndebele, Sesotho and Tswana?
5. Would you like to comment on the educational policy that restricts the use of Kalanga as a medium of instruction to Grade 3"?
6. Which Kalanga programmes do like most on ZBC Radio 4? Do you think more time should be given to these and other Kalanga programmes?
7. Describe some of the cultural practices of the Kalanga people in this area.
8. Would you like to narrate a short Kalanga folktale? Or a poem?
9. Finally, what do you think must be done to raise the status of Kalanga in this country?