

<特集「受動表現」>

Passive construction in Sesotho (S33) 南ソト語 (S33) の受動表現

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要旨：本稿は、語研論集 14 号(2009)所収の調査票にもとづいて収集した南ソト語(バントゥ系；南アフリカ共和国)の受動表現に関する記述的資料を提供するものである。

Abstract: This article presents descriptive data on various passive constructions in Sesotho, a southern Bantu language spoken in Lesotho and South Africa. The data was collected through the questionnaire “Passive expressions” designed in *Journal of the Institute of Language Research* 14, 2009.

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1. Introduction

The goal of this paper is to describe passive constructions in Sesotho (S33), a Southern Bantu language spoken in the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Republic of South Africa. The passive morpheme is -o-, which attaches to the verb stem.

2. Basic data

The example in (1) shows the basic passive patterns¹ in Sesotho. In (1a), the passive is formed by adding the -o- morpheme after the verbal root. The agent is introduced by *ké*. The corresponding active form is shown in (1b). The subject the passive can appear in a cleft construction (1c), or it can be postposed as in (1d).



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¹ Subject markers in Sesotho are written separate from the host verb in the orthography. In Bantu linguistics, these subject markers are morphologically identified as a prefix attached to the stem. Following the orthographic rendition, however, this paper does not connect the subject marker and the verbal stem with a hyphen.

(1) Simple passive [Item 1-1]

a. Passive

Mpho o otliloe ké Thabo.

Mpho o otlil-o-e ké Thabo

1-Mpho SM1 hit-PASS-FV by Thabo

‘Mpho was hit by Thabo’

b. Active

Thabo o otlile Mpho.

‘Thabo hit Mpho’

c. Cleft of the passive subject

Hó otliloe Mpho ké Thabo

‘It was Mpho who was hit by Thabo’

d. Postposing the passive subject

Motho eá otliloeng ké Thabo, ké Mpho

‘The person who was hit by Thabo, is Mpho’

The subject of the passives in Sesotho may be inalienable parts (2) or alienable parts (3). The passive subject with a possessive construction can be clefted (2b). Postposing the possessive part as in (2c) is possible, and it is also acceptable to use a dummy subject as in (2d).

(2) Inalienable objects [Item 1-2]

a. *Leoto la Mpho le hatiloe ké Thabo.*

Le-oto la Mpho le hatil-o-e ké Thabo

5-foot ASSC5 Mpho SM5 step-PASS-FV by Thabo

‘Mpho’s foot was stepped on by Thabo.’

b. *Ké leoto lá Mpho lé hatiloeng ké Thabo*

‘It was Mpho’s foot that was stepped on by Thabo’

c. *Leoto lé hatiloeng ké Thabo, ké la Mpho.*

‘The foot that was stepped on by Thabo, was that of Mpho’

d. *Hó hatiloe leoto lá Mpho, ké Thabo.*

‘It was stepped on Mpho’s foot by Thabo’

The passive with an alienable object is shown in (3). Cleft constructions with the subject (3b), or the agent phrase (3c) are possible. The passive form is used in a causative meaning in (3d). The cleft with an active sentence is shown in (3e).

(3) Alienable objects [Item 1-3]

a. *Sepache sa Mpho se utsoitsoe ké Thabo.*

se-pache sa Mpho se utsoits-o-e ké Thabo

7-wallet ASSC7 Mpho SM7 steal-PASS-FV by Thabo

‘Mpho’s wallet was stolen by Thabo.’

- b. *Ké sepache sa Mpho sé utsoitsoéng ké Thabo*
'It was Mpho's wallet that was stolen by Thabo'
- c. *Ké Thabo eá utsoitseng sepache sa Mpho.*
'It was Thabo who stole Mpho's wallet'
- d. *Mpho o bile le ho utsoetsoa sepache ké Thabo*
'Mpho had her wallet stolen by Thabo'
- e. *Sepache séo Thabo a se utsoitséng ké sa Mpho*
'The wallet that Thabo has stolen, is Mpho's'

The intransitive verbs such as *llila* 'to cry' or *hloliha* 'to make noise' cannot become a passive as shown in (4).

(4) A case of intransitive verbs [Item 1-4]

- a. *Bosiung bó fetileng, ngoana o hlolihile. Joale, ke ne ké sitoa ho khaleha hóhang*
Bo-siung bó fetileng, ngoana o hlolih-il-e.
14-night ASSC14 last 1.baby SM1 make.noise-PST-FV
Joale, ke ne ké sitoa ho khaleha hóhang
so 1SG PST then cannot to fall.asleep long.time
'Last night, the baby made noise. So, I couldn't sleep at all'
- b. *Bosiu bo feting, ke sitisitsoe ho khaleha ké seboko sa ngoana*
'Last night, I was prevented from sleeping by the baby's cry'
- c. *Ngoana o llile bosiung bo fetileng. Joale ke sitiloe ho khaleha hóhang*
'The baby cried last night. So, I couldn't sleep at all'
- d. *Ke hlotsoe ho khaleha hóhang, bosiu bo feting, ké Ngoana ea llileng*
'I couldn't sleep at all last night. The baby cried.'
- e. *Ke sitisitsoe ho khaleha hohang ké seboko sa ngoana, bosiung bo fetileng*
'I was prevented from sleeping by the baby's cry, last night'

In the example (5a), the agent of the passive is not obligatory. The verb *nyolotsa* 'to construct' in (5b) may require an agent. The active sentence in (5c), the cleft sentence in (5d), and the paraphrase sentence in (5e) are shown for reference purpose.

(5) Optionality of the agent in passive [Item 1-5]

- a. *Moaho ó mocha o ahiloe (ké Mpho)*
Moaho ó mocha o ahil-o-e (ké Mpho)
3.building ASSC3 3new SM3 build-PASS-FV (by Mpho)
'A new building was built (by Mpho)'
- b. *Moaho ó mocha o nyolotsoe ké Mpho*
'A new building was constructed by Mpho'
- c. *Mpho o ahile moaho ó mocha.*
'Mpho built a new building'

- d. *Ké Mpho eá ahileng moaho ó mocha*
'It was Mpho who built a new building'
- e. *Mpho o thusitsoe ké Thabo ho aha moaho ó mocha*
'Mpho was assisted by Thabo to build a new building'

When the agent of a passive is generic, the agent can be omitted as in (6a), but the temporal/ present continuous morpheme of the verb cannot be passivized. The locative can be clefted (6b) or be fronted (6c).

(6) Generic agent [Item 1-6]

- a. *Sefora e ntse e buúoa ká Canada.*
Se-fora e ntse e buú-o-a ká Canada
7-French SM7 still SM7 speak-PASS-FV in Canada
'French is still being spoken in Canada'
- b. *Ké Canada móo Sefora se ntseng se buúoang*
'It is in Canada where French is being spoken'
- c. *Ká hare ho Canada, Sefora se ntse se buúoa*
'In Canada, French is being spoken'

The passive of the verb *utsúa* 'to steal' in (7a) shows that the result of the act of stealing is the absence of the wallet. The agent is clefted in an active sentence in (7b). The sentences with similar meanings are paraphrased in (7c-e).

(7) Results of an action in passive [Item 1-7]

- a. *Sephache se ile sa utsúoa ké Mpho.*
se-phache se ile sa utsú-o-a ké Mpho
7-wallet SM7 be SM7 steal-PASS-FV by Mpho
'The wallet was stolen by Mpho'
- b. *Ké Mpho ea utsoitseng sepache*
'It was Mpho who stole the wallet'
- c. *Sepache se fumanoé hó Mpho*
'The wallet was found in Mpho'
- d. *Ké Mpho eá fumanoeng ka sepache*
'It was Mpho who was found in possession of the wallet'
- e. *Sepache sé utsoitsoéng se fumanoé ho Mpho*
'The stolen wallet was found from Mpho'

The passive subject is a result of the passivized action in (8a). The sentence can be paraphrased as in (8b) and the locative in the passive sentence can be clefted as well as in (8c).

(8) Passivized action for stative [Item 1-8]

- a. *Setšoantšo se fanyehiloe leboténg, ke motho ea itseng.*
 Se-tšoantšo se fanyehil-o-e leboté-ng, ke mo-tho ea itseng
 7-picture SM7 hang-PASS-FV wall-LOC by 1-person rel said
 ‘A picture is hung on the wall (by someone)’
- b. *Setšoantšo sé manehiloe leboténg*
 ‘The picture is displayed on the wall’
- c. *Ké leboténg móo setšoantšo sé manehiloéng*
 ‘It is in the wall where the picture is displayed’

The sensory verb *rata* ‘to love’ can be passivized (9a). The corresponding active sentence is shown in (9b). The remaining sentences in (9c-e) paraphrase the first sentence.

(9) Passive of emotion verb [Item 1-9]

- a. *Mpho o ratao ké Thabo* OR *Mpho oratúoa ké Thabo*
 Mpho o rat-o-a ké Thabo OR Mpho o-ratú-o-a ké Thabo
 Mpho SM1 love-PASS-FV by Thabo Mpho SM1-love-PASS-FV by Thabo
 ‘Mpho is loved by Thabo’
- b. *Thabo o rata Mpho*
 ‘Thabo loves Mpho’
- c. *Ké Mpho eá ratoang ké Thabo* OR *Ké Mpho eá ratuoang ke Thabo*
 ‘It is Mpho who is loved by Thabo’
- d. *Thabo o entsoe mohlankana oa Mpho*
 ‘Thabo was made Mpho’s fiancé’
- e. *Mpho o tla nyaloa ké Thabo*
 ‘Mpho will be married by Thabo’

The messenger verb can also be passivized as in *joetsitsoe* in (10a) and *itsoe* in (10b). The active forms of these verbs are shown in (10c) and (10d).

(10) Messenger verbs and their passives [Item 1-10]

- a. *Mpho o joetsitsoe hore “o a ratao/ ratuo”, ké Thabo.*
 Mpho o joetsits-o-e hore o a rat-o-a/ratu-o-a, ké Thabo
 Mpho SM1 tell-PASS-FV that SM1 love-PASS-FV by Thabo
 ‘Mpho was told that “you are loved”, by Thabo’
- b. *Ho itsoe, ke Thabo, ‘ke a u rata’, ho Mpho*
 ‘It was said by Thabo, ‘I love you’, to Mpho’
- c. *Thabo o joetsitse Mpho hore o a mo rata*
 ‘Thabo told Mpho that he loves her’
- d. *Thabo o itse ‘ke a u rata’, ho Mpho.*
 ‘Thabo said ‘I love you’ to Mpho’

In conjoined sentences, the subject of a passive in the first clause can be the subject of the following active clause as shown in (11a). The object of the active sentence must be repeated in the second clause, however, as in (11b).

(11) Biclausal sentences

- a. *Mpho o bitsitsoe ké Thabo, 'me o ka phaposing eá Thabo hona joale.*
Mpho o bitsits-o-e ké Thabo, 'me o ka phaposi-ng eá Thabo
Mpho SM1 call-PASS-FV by Thabo and SM1 ASSC room-LOC ASSC Thabo
hona joale
now
‘Mpho was called by Thabo, and is in Thabo’s room now’ [Item 1-10a]
- b. *Thabo o bitsitse Mpho, 'me Mpho o ká phaposing eá Thabo hona joale.*
Thabo o bitsits-e Mpho, 'me Mpho o ká phaposing eá Thabo
Thabo SM1 call-FV Mpho and Mpho SM1 ASSC room-LOC ASSC Thabo
hona joale
now
‘Thabo called Mpho, and Mpho is in Thabo’s room now’ [Item 1-10b]

3. Conclusion

This paper has discussed various passive constructions in Sesotho. Various sentences were examined, and the patterns of Sesotho passives were akin to the passives in other Southern Bantu languages. In most examples, the subject the passive can be clefted or postposed. as well.

Abbreviations

- 1, 2, 3, ...: Noun class numbers
1SG, 2PL, ...: Person and Number
AUG: Augment (initial vowel prefixed to a noun class prefix)
CJ: Conjoint (a verbal form obligatorily followed by a post-verbal constituent)
COMP: Complementiser
DJ: Disjoint (a verbal form usually not followed by a post-verbal constituent)
FV: Final Vowel (default inflectional suffix of the finite verb)
INF: Infinitive
LOC: Locative
NEG: Negative marker
OM: Object Marker
PASS: Passive
PERF: Perfect
POSS: Possessive pronoun
SM: Subject Marker

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