

〈特集「受動表現」〉

Passive construction in Xitsonga (S53) ツォンガ語 (S53) 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ツォンガ語(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 Xitsonga, a southern Bantu language spoken in 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 Xitsonga (S53), a Southern Bantu language spoken in Limpopo, South Africa. Xitsonga is spoken by about 3 million people as their home language. The passive morpheme in Xitsonga is *-iw-*, which attaches to the verb stem. In all examples, the first line represents the Xitsonga orthography and the second line a morphological analysis. Glosses of each morpheme are shown in the third line. Note that Xitsonga write the subject markers separate from the verb, which is an orthographic convention, and does not mean that the subject markers are independent from the verb.

2. Basic data

The basic passive form¹ is shown in (1). The agent in the passive is introduced with *hi* ‘by’. The subject of a passive can be an inalienable noun *nkondzo* ‘3.foot’ as in (2) or an alienable noun *xipaci* ‘7-wallet’ as in (3).



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¹ Subject markers in Xitsonga 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) Basic Passive [Item 1-1]

Magezi u biwile hi Nhlengana.

Magezi u b-iw-il-e hi Nhlengana

Magezi SM1 hit-PASS-PST-FV by Nhlengana

‘Magezi was hit by Nhlengana.’

(2) Inalienable head noun [Item 1-2]

Nkondzo wa Magezi wu kandziyiwiile hi Nhlengana.

Nkondzo wa Magezi wu kandziy-iw-il-e hi Nhlengana

3.foot ASSC3 Magezi SM3 step-PASS-PST-FV by Nhlengana

‘Magezi’s foot was stepped on by.’

(3) Alienable head noun [Item 1-3]

Xipaci xa Magezi xi yiviwiile hi Nhlengana.

Xi-paci xa Magezi xi yiv-iw-il-e hi Nhlengana.

7-wallet ASSC7 Magezi SM7 steal-PASS-PST-FV by Nhlengana

‘Magezi’s wallet was stolen by Nhlengana.’

‘Magezi had his wallet stolen by Nhlengana.’

The intransitive verb *rila* ‘to cry’ may not be passivized as in (4a). The passive form *ririwa* is lexicalized with the meaning ‘to mourn’ as in (4b).

(4) Intransitive [Item 1-4]

- a. *Vusiku bya tolo, n’wana u ririle. Hikokwalaho, a ndzi kotangi ku etlela.*

vu-siku bya tolo, n’wana u rir-il-e. Hikokwalaho, a ndzi kotangi ku

CL14-night ASSC14 last, 1.baby SM1 cry-PST-FV. So, NEG 1SG cannot to

etlela

sleep

‘Last night, the baby cried. So, I couldn’t sleep at all.’

- b. *n’wana u ririwile.*

n’wana u ririw-il-e

1.child SM1 mourn-PST-FV

‘The child was mourned.’

The agent in a passive construction such as *hi Magezi* ‘by Magezi’ can be omitted as in (5). When a sentence has a general agent as in (6), in which the sentence means that people in Canada speak French, the passive construction can be used. The passive in (7) shows that an inanimate item can be the subject.

- (5) new building [Item 1-5]

Muako wu ntshwa wu akiwile (hi Magezi).

mu-ako wu ntshwa wu ak-iw-il-e (hi Magezi)

1-building ASSC1 new SM1 build-PASS-PST-FV by Magezi

‘A new building was built (by Magezi).’

- (6) General agent [Item 1-6]

Xifurwa xa vulavuriwa eKhanada.

xi-furwa xa vulavul-iw-a e-Khanada.

7-france SM7 speak-PASS-FV in-Canada

‘French is being spoken in Canada.’

- (7) [Item 1-7]

Xipaci a xi yiviwile hi Magezi.

xi-paci a xi yiv-iw-il-e hi Magezi.

7-wallet PST SM7 steal-PASS-PAST-FV by Magezi

‘The wallet was stolen by Magezi.’

The example in (8) shows that passive is possible in a sentence with a stative meaning, which lacks the agent. Xitsonga allows emotion verb such as *rhandza* ‘to love’ to be passivized as in (9). The message verb in (10) can also be passivized.

- (8) [Item 1-8]

Xifaniso xi hayekiwile ekhumbini.

xi-faniso xi hayek-iw-il-e e-khumb-ini

7-picture SM7 hang-PASS-PST-FV LOC-wall-LOC

‘A picture was hung on the wall.’

- (9) Emotion verb [Item 1-9]

Magezi u rhandziwa hi Nhlengana.

Magezi u rhandz-iw-a hi Nhlengana.

Magezi SM1 love-PASS-FV by Nhlengana

‘Magezi is loved by Nhlengana.’

- (10) Message verb [Item 1-10]

Nhlengana u byeriwile “Languta lexi!” eka Magezi.

Nhlengana u byer-iw-il-e “Languta le-xi!” eka Magezi

Nhlengana SM1 tell-PASS-PST-FV “look.at this-7 to Magezi

‘Nhlengana was told “Look at this!” to Magezi.’

When a sentence has two clauses as in (11), the subject of a passive clause *Magezi* can be omitted in the second clause if it is a subject as in (11a). The object *Magezi* of an active clause has the same semantic role as the

subject of a passive, but the second clause is required to overtly express the object of the preceding clause.

(11) Biclausal sentences [Item 1-10a]

- a. *Magezi a vitaniwile hi Nhlengana, naswona u le kamareni ya Nhlengana sweswi.*

Magezi a vitan-iw-il-e hi Nhlengana, naswona u le kamar-eni ya
 Magezi SM1 call-PASS-PST-FV by Nhlengana, and SM1 LOC room-LOC ASSC9
 Nhlengana sweswi.

Nhlengana now

‘Magezi was called by Nhlengana, and is in Nhlengana’s room now.’ [Item 1-10a]

- b. *Nhlengana u vitanile Magezi, naswona Magezi u le kamareni ya Nhlengana sweswi.*

Nhlengana u vitan-il-e Magezi, naswona Magezi u le kamar-eni ya
 Nhlengana SM1 call-PST-FV Magezi, and Magezi SM1 LOC room-LOC ASSC9
 Nhlengana sweswi.

Nhlengana now

‘Nhlengana called Magezi, and Magezi is in Nhlengana’s room now.’ [Item 1-10b]

3. Conclusion

This short paper has described the passive construction in Xitsonga. Most examples in the survey are compatible with passive constructions. The intransitive verb in (4) cannot be passivized, but the passivized form is possible with a lexicalized meaning.

Abbreviations

- 1, 2, 3, ...: Noun class numbers
- 1SG, 2PL, ...: Person and Number
- COMP: Complementiser
- 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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