

<特集「受動表現」>

## The Passive expression in isiXhosa (S41)

コーサ語(S41)の受動表現

William G. Bennett<sup>1</sup> & Thanduxolo E. Fatyi<sup>2</sup>  
ベネット・ウィリアム, ファチ・タンドウシヨロ

<sup>1</sup> Faculty of Humanities, Rhodes University  
ローズ大学人文学部

<sup>2</sup> Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Western Cape  
西ケープ大学人文科学部

**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コーサ語(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 isiXhosa, 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.

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.15026/0002001061>

**キーワード:** コーサ語, 受動表現, バントゥ系

**Keywords:** isiXhosa, passive, Bantu

### 1. Introduction

The aim of this short paper is to give an overview of passives and related constructions in isiXhosa, a Nguni language of South Africa, southernmost of the Bantu languages, and one target of the JSANTU project. The example in (1) shows a basic active sentence in unmarked SVO order. The example in (2) is the passive counterpart.

- (1) ú<sup>+</sup>Bónélwà ù-béth-é úÀndíswà  
1a.Bonelwa 1a.SBJ-beat-PERF 1a.Andiswa  
'Bonelwa beat Andiswa'
- (2) úÀndíswà ũ-béth-íwè (ngù-Bónélwà)  
1a.Andiswa 1a.SBJ-beat-PASS.PERF (COP.1a-Bonelwa)  
'Andiswa was beaten (by Bonelwa)'

Three key points of distinction leap out immediately, which give the example in (2) the same character typical of passive constructions throughout the syntactic literature. First, the passive shifts the recipient of the beating to the usual subject position at the start of the sentence, where it triggers usual subject agreement on the verb:



本稿の著作権は著者が保持し、クリエイティブ・コモンズ 表示 4.0 国際ライセンス(CC-BY)下に提供します。  
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.ja>

Andiswa moves from postverbal position in (1) to preverbal in (2). Second, the agent of the beating (Bonelwa) is shifted out of subject position, being either dropped or optionally included in a by-phrase. Third, the passive verb in (2) bears distinct morphological marking. In this particular instance, the form of the passive morphology is complicated by imbrication, a broader morphophonological phenomenon that sometimes fuses sequences of root+suffixed syllables together. The disjoint perfect in Xhosa is usually marked with *-ile*, and the passive marked by the verb extension *-w-*, but the passive perfective form in (2) combines these two morphemes into a single morphophonological unit *-iwe*.

Once we have a rudimentary grip on the morphology of the language, the same passive suffix can also be seen in both of the personal names Andiswa and Bonelwa. These are convenient exemplars, as they show us from the outset that the passive *-w-* extension is readily combinable with other verb extensions like the causative *-is-* and the applicative *-el-*. There is, however, a further extension *-ek-* which we shall call the ‘middle’, and which is quite close in meaning (but not necessarily in syntax) to the passive extension.

- (3) isónkà sí-lúm-ék-à ng-àmázinyò  
 7.bread 7.SBJ-bite-MID-FV INSTR-6.teeth  
 ‘bread is bitten with the teeth’

While the verb in this sentence does not carry the “true” passive suffix *-w-*, it is an acceptable paraphrase for a passive sentence in English. It can also be paraphrased with the passive *-w-*, and we will discuss the relationship between middles and passives later in the paper.

## 2. Xhosa background

The label ‘Xhosa’ (or isiXhosa) generally denotes any of a family of related dialects historically spoken in the area now designated as the Eastern Cape. There are numerous distinct named dialects of isiXhosa, historically associated with different regions and/or clans, though urbanization in the latter half of the 20th century has shuffled the edges distinguishing these traditional categories. Some isiXhosa speakers identify themselves as belonging to a narrower group, e.g. Hlubi, Mpondomise, Mpondo, Bhaca, Xesibe. However, individual preferences for identity-charged labels are of course poorly correlated with linguistic variables. Many urban speakers (particularly those from outside of the traditional Xhosa areas, e.g. Cape Town, Johannesburg) do not expressly align their idiolects with these traditional dialect labels.

All of the data presented in this paper comes from the intuitions and speech of the second author, who is a mother-tongue speaker of isiXhosa born and raised in the area around Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown, or iRhini). This lect falls into the latter category mentioned above, and therefore exists in a liminal space of being obviously distinctly authentic, but without any more detailed provenance available.

Xhosa is generally considered to be part of the Nguni language group, and bears copious similarities to Zulu, Ndebele, and Swati. Makhanda lies just outside of the fringes of the historical Xhosa heartlands, and as such there is no specific traditional label associated with the variety of Xhosa spoken in the area. The majority of local residents are L1 Xhosa users, and many are functionally monolingual, or at least Xhosa-dominant. At the same time, the lexis features quite a lot of English and Afrikaans loanwords, many of which appear to be “old” enough that speakers may not necessarily be consciously aware of their loanword origins. Given that the region has been home to contact between English, Afrikaans, and Xhosa for the past ~150 years, this is to be expected – though thoroughly detailed research into the lexical strata of isiXhosa remains to be done.

The Xhosa tonal system is of enormous complexity, and has been the subject of much previous description and analysis. (For a sample of these works, see Lanham 1958, Downing 1990, 2011, Claughton 1992, Cassimjee 1998). As previous work has noted, there is considerable variation in the phonetic realization of sequences of consecutive high tone syllables. Downing (1990) analyzes this as the result of rightward spreading of H tone, derivationally followed by optional delinking of H from one or more syllables at the left edge of the resulting span. Phonetically, these sequences usually display a gradual rise over successive syllables, with the pitch peak somewhere within the last syllable of the string. Consequently, Xhosa's tone system has many characteristics of pitch-accent systems rather than pure tonal systems (Roux 1998, Downing 1990, 2011).

Our examples transcribe tone based on the first author's transcription of recordings of the second author's speech, accompanied by visual inspection of the pitch contours in each example. This means that a high tone which spreads across three syllables might be pronounced and transcribed variously as [à ǎ á], [ǎ ǎ á], [ǎ á ^á], [ǎ á â], etc, depending on the precise timing of the pitch rise and peak in relation to the segment edges. Additionally, the rate of f0 declination is not constant, which means that pitch falls have similar variability. In our tone transcriptions, we have tried to err in the direction of faithfulness to the pitch contours, so we have not tried to normalize tone sequences across examples. This means that the same tonal melody may be transcribed somewhat differently from one example to the next.

For specificity, we also note that we are presenting examples in the standard isiXhosa orthography, and we refer readers to other sources for transliterating to IPA. Regular penultimate lengthening is not represented in orthography, and is beyond the scope of this paper. As such, we mark vowels as long only where they would not otherwise be expected on the basis of spelling or phrase structure. Where tones are omitted, it is because examples are ungrammatical, or because they are examples that we only collected grammaticality judgments for, rather than recording them for tonal analysis.

### 3. Morpho-phonological form of the passive

The basic form of the passive suffix is *-w-*, as has been noted in previous grammatical descriptions (McLaren 1942, etc.). However, there are several morphological and phonological restrictions that lead to other allomorphs, which we survey here.

One phonological wrinkle is the occurrence of labial palatalization in passive forms. This is illustrated in (4) below, where we can see the verb root *-lum-* 'bite' changes to *-luny-* (IPA [-lɯŋ-]) when the passive *-w-* is attached. (For further details about this alternation, see Bennett & Braver (2020) and sources therein.)

- (4) isónkâ    sǐ-lúny-ŵ-à            ngǎmá-zinyò  
 7.bread 7.SBJ-bite-PASS-FV INSTR.6-teeth  
 'bread is bitten with the teeth'

The same labial~palatal alternations can also happen in nouns with locative or diminutive suffixes. In passives, the palatalization may apply across intervening segments or syllables, with the condition that it never applies to bilabials that are the first consonant in a stem (nor does it extend into prefixes). This is why *bethiwe* in (2) above does not change to *\*jethiwe*, and is also why the root *-b-* 'steal' does not undergo the change in (5). Instead, in monosyllabic roots the passive appears with an additional vowel *i*, which separates the surface [w] from the bilabial in the root. This vowel insertion creates a second passive allomorph, *-iw-*.

- (5) iwólêthì y-ǎ-b-íw-à ngù-Ándíswà  
 9.wallet 9.SBJ-PST-steal-PASS-FV COP.1a-Andiswa  
 ‘the wallet was stolen by Andiswa’

The passive *-w-* also participates in a set of morphophonological alternations known as ‘imbrication’ (Bastin 1983, Mathonsi & Naidoo 2012, Harford & Malambe 2017). In Xhosa, this phenomenon manifests as a sort of coalescence that fuses certain morpheme combinations together. For example, the perfect is usually marked with *-ile* in disjunctive contexts (6); however, the perfect form of a passive verb combines this with the passive *-w-* to form *-iwe* (7). Imbrication can also fuse the passive (and certain other suffixes) with certain verb roots. This is shown in (8), where the /w/ of the passive replaces the last /l/ of the root /-bulal-/ ‘murder, slay (a person)’, yielding the passive stem *-bulawa* (the transparently expected form *\*-bulalwa* is judged to be ungrammatical here).<sup>1</sup>

- (6) ísiFrêntshì bá-sí-théth-ílè è-Khánâdà  
 7.French 2a.SBJ-7.OBJ-speak-PERF LOC-Canada  
 ‘they have been speaking French in Canada’
- (7) ísiFrêntshì sí-théth-íwè è-Khánâdà  
 7.French 7.SBJ-speak-PASS.PERF LOC-Canada  
 ‘French was being spoken in Canada’
- (8) úBónélwà ú-búláwà ngù-Ándíswà  
 1a.Bonelwa 1a.SBJ-murder.PASS.FV COP.1a-Andiswa  
 ‘Bonelwa is slain by Andiswa’

Imbricated perfect+passive verbs trigger palatalization, even though the [w] is not adjacent to the palatalizing labial when imbrication takes place. This is shown below with the verb root *-xhom-* ‘hang’.

- (9) úmfânèkisò ũ-yá-xhôngy-w-à é-lúdòngèni  
 3.picture 3.SBJ-PRES-hang-PASS-FV LOC-11.wall  
 ‘the picture is hanging on the wall’
- (10) ũmfânèkisò ù-xhôngy-íwè é-lúdòngèni  
 3.picture 3.SBJ-hang-PASS.PERF LOC-11.wall  
 ‘the picture was hung on the wall’

The passive is normally the last extension on a verb. The example in (11) shows passive *-w-* following causative *-is-*, and (12) shows passive following applicative *-el-*.

<sup>1</sup> It is often unclear whether the final vowel in these forms should be regarded as part of the fused combination, or whether it remains distinct. We gloss the form *bulawa* as a single morph, but it could alternately be rendered as [-bulaw-a], with *-a* as the final vowel morpheme.

(11) ūrntwāna w-â-khāl-îs-w-à, ngòkú ã-ndí-z-ángè ndi-lál-é  
 1.child 1.SBJ-PST-cry-CAUS-PASS-FV now NEG-1SG-come-NEG.PERF.SUB 1SG-sleep-SUB  
 ‘the child was crying, and now I couldn’t sleep’

(12) phězôlô bé-sí-khál-élwê ngũ-mntwānà  
 yesterday IMPF-1PL-cry-APPL.PERF.PASS 1a.COP-child  
 ‘last night, we had a baby crying’

#### 4. Tone and Prosody of passives

Previous work on Xhosa tonology analyzes verb stems into two classes, which underlyingly carry high or low tone, respectively (Downing 1990, 2011). However, previous descriptive work recognizes three distinct tone classes of verbs: low, high, and falling (Lanham 1958, etc.). Claughton (1992) analyzes this as an underlying difference in association: some verbs have H associated underlyingly with the initial syllable of the root, while others have an underlyingly doubly-linked H, thereby unifying both High and Falling verbs as having the underlying tone melody /H/. This aligns elegantly with an earlier proposal by Meeussen that the High vs. Falling contrast is due to the loss of a historical vowel length contrast that interacted with rightward H tone spreading and phrase-final adjustment rules, such that H-tone verbs with a long vowel are realized in modern Xhosa as [cvc̄v̄], while H-tone verbs with a short vowel are realized as [cvc̄v̄]. While this analysis offers a very tidy solution to explaining the tone contours of individual CVC-shaped verb roots, not every falling tone is clearly explainable in this way. Consider the paradigm below, all paraphrases for ‘Andiswa’s wallet was stolen (by Bonelwa)’.

- (13) ‘Andiswa’s wallet was stolen (by Bonelwa)’
- a. îwóléthi ká-Ándiswà y-â-b-îw-à (remote past, passive)  
 9.wallet of-Andiswa 9.SBJ-PST-steal-PASS-FV
  - b. îwóléthi ká-Ândiswà y-ă-b-îw-à ngùBónélwà (rem. past, passive, by-phrase)
  - c. îwóléthi ká-Ándiswà ÿ-b-îwè ngùBónélwà (perfect+passive)
  - d. îwóléthi ká-Ándiswà ũ-yí-<sup>↑</sup>b-îlè ùBónélwà (perfect, active, OM)
  - e. îwóléthi kă-Ândiswà w-â-yì-b-à ùBónélwà (remote past, active, OM)

The verb root /-b-/ ‘steal’ (PB \*yib-) illustrated in (13) carries a high tone underlyingly. This is not visible in its GDX<sup>2</sup> citation form [úkúbà], but it is evident from its extended forms: causative /úkúbísà/, applicative /úkúbélà/, reciprocal /úkúbánà/, middle /úkúbékà/, and passive /úkúbíwà/. These verb extensions are normally toneless, and are only realized with high tone as the result of a preceding H spreading onto them. However, the [i] in yabiwa is an epenthetic vowel that only appears with monosyllabic verb roots, and is presumably inserted due to a two syllable minimality requirement. The fact that we find yâbîwà rather than yâbíwà in (11a) cannot be due a difference in how the root H is associated at the underlying level, because the morpheme introducing it does not have any underlying vowels, and the vowel it surfaces on is not present in the underlying representation.

Traditional Bantu tonology presumes an underspecified H vs Ø contrast. In this frame of reference the distinction between High and Falling verbs is mooted: both must have an underlying H. Furthermore, Xhosa tonology—like Bantu more generally—largely revolves around two main themes: rightward spreading of H tone,

<sup>2</sup> All citation forms are taken from the Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa (Tshabe et al. 2006), abbreviated as GDX.

and de-linking of H before H. This sets up a conundrum for the analyst: across (13c–e), we multiple morphemes with underlying Hs in a row: the 3rd-person subject markers /i-/ & /u-/, the object marker /yi-/, and the verb /-b-/ all carry H tones. Across (13a–d), the pitch reliably peaks on the penult, and rises on the antepenult, but the precise contours do not neatly sort themselves into clear sequences of Hs and Ls. Nor should they: previous work has repeatedly noted optional de-linking from the left end of a span of high tone syllables (Downing 1990, Claughton 1992, etc.). This means that most lexical words in most of our example set—regardless of the underlying tone specifications—end up with a high tone on the penult, which is generally preceded by a gradient rise, and followed by a sudden fall. The example in (14) shows a different verb in the same frame from (13).

- (14) í<sup>↑</sup>wólèthì kǎ-Ándiswà y-â-<sup>↑</sup>tháth-w-à (ngù-Bónèlwà)  
 9.wallet of-Andiswa 9.SBJ-PST-take-PASS-FV (1a.COP-Bonelwa)  
 ‘Andiswa’s wallet was taken (by Bonelwa)’

While Claughton (1992) identifies ‘steal’ /-b-/ as having a falling tone, and ‘take’ /-thath-/ as having a high tone, both end up with a rising-falling contour in this frame sentence. That does not entail that their pitch contours are identical or indistinguishable, however; it may well be that certain details of the timing of changes or peaks are predictably different based on underlying tone. This information is not visible from conventional H/L tone marking, though, suggesting a need for future work to examine pitch contours and tone perception directly rather than relying on standard tonological assumptions (along the lines taken by Roux 1998, e.g.).

### 5. Syntax of passive constructions

Passives are commonly characterized (in comparison to parallel active constructions) by the loss or removal of the external argument (most typically an agent), and the promotion of an internal argument (patient, experiencer, or theme, most often) to the role and/or position of the syntactic subject. The pair of sentences in (15)–(16) show the same passive marking illustrated at the start of the paper, but with a different frame. The sentences in (17) and (18) illustrate the complexity involved in translating English passive constructions into Xhosa. (17) shows the remote past counterpart of (15), which changes the morphology around the passive suffix but does not change its English translation. (18) shows that the same argument structure can be paraphrased as an active clause, but with marked word order (a fronted object and a postverbal subject).

- (15) isá<sup>↑</sup>khîwò èsî-tshà ù-s-á<sup>↑</sup>kh-ílé ùÁndiswà  
 7.building 7-new 1.SBJ-7.OBJ-build-PERF 1a.Andiswa  
 ‘a new building was built by Andiswa’
- (16) isá<sup>↑</sup>khîwò èsî-tshà s-á<sup>↑</sup>kh-íwé ngù-Ándiswà  
 7.building 7-new 7.SBJ-build-PERF.PASS 1a.cop-Andiswa  
 ‘a new building was built by Andiswa’
- (17) isá<sup>↑</sup>khîwò èsî-tshà s-â:kh-îw-à ngù-Ándiswà  
 7.building 7-new 7.SBJ-PST.build-PASS-FV 1a.cop-Andiswa  
 ‘a new building was built by Andiswa’
- (18) isá<sup>↑</sup>khîwò èsî-tshà ú-yâ-s-ákh-á ùÁndiswà  
 7.building 7-new 1.SBJ-PRES-7.OBJ-build-FV 1a.Andiswa  
 ‘a new building is being built by Andiswa’

A full analysis of all these choice points is outside the scope of this paper, but we offer a few remarks based on the data set we have recorded.

The removed agent in a passive may be attached as an optional by-phrase. Most commonly the by-phrase is ordered last in the clause, though other orders are possible (21).

- (19) ùÁndíswà w-á-béth-w-à (ngùBónélwà)  
 1a.Andiswa 1a.SBJ-PST-hit-PASS-FV (1a.COP-Bonelwa)  
 ‘Andiswa was hit (by Bonelwa)’
- (20) ùnyáwò lùká-<sup>4</sup>Ándíswà lù-nyáth-élwé ngù-Bónélwà  
 11.foot 11.of-Andiswa 11.SBJ-step.on-APPL.PASS.PERF 1a.COP-Bonelwa  
 ‘Andiswa’s foot was stepped on by Bonelwa’
- (21) Acceptable alternative placements of the by-phrase (underlined> in (19):
- ùnyáwò lùnyáthélwè ngùBónélwà lùká-Ándíswà
  - ngùBónélwà, ùnyáwò lùká-Ándíswà lùnyáthélíwè
  - lùnyáthélíwè ngùBónélwà ùnyáwò lùká-Ándíswà
  - kùnyáthélíwè ngùBónélwà ùnyáwò lùká-Ándíswà
  - kùnyáthélíwè ùnyáwò ngùBónélwà lùká-Ándíswà

The examples in (21d-e) are expletive constructions (see Carstens & Mletshe 2015). The basic characteristics of expletives are: (a) that the verb appears clause-initially, and is marked by a default/expletive subject marker ku-, and (b) the subject appears post-verbally (though not necessarily in the IAV position). When passivized, expletive constructions drop the subject argument. Although these initial verbs tend to use the conjoint form, the imbricated perfect/passive morph -iwe is perfectly acceptable, as illustrated in (24).

- (22) kú-théth-w-à è-Khánàdà ísìFréntsì  
 EXPL-speak-PASS-FV LOC-Canada 7.french  
 ‘French is spoken in Canada’
- (23) kúthéthwà ísìFrénchì èKhánàdà ‘French is spoken in Canada’
- (24) kúthéth<sup>↑</sup>íwè èKhánàdà ísìFréntsì ‘French was spoken in Canada’

## 6. An aside on Middles and their relation to Passives

Xhosa has two different verb extensions that can be faithfully translated into English passives: the “true” passive /-w-/, and /-ek-<sup>3</sup>. The latter is known variously as the ‘neuter’, ‘middle’, ‘quasi-passive’, and ‘stative’ (Doke 1984, Dubinsky & Simango 1996, Khumalo 2009, etc.). We opt for the term ‘middle’, as the sense of these constructions is best translated to English as a so-called ‘middle construction’ (25).

- (25) The package tears/opens/cuts/rips easily

The key features of these constructions are (i) that the experiencer or patient of the verb appears in the

<sup>3</sup> Some verbs use /-akal-/ instead of /-ek-/, with the same meaning. For example, \*boneka is an unacceptable word, for reasons of morphological blocking – it must be bonakala instead, which behaves as expected.

syntactic subject position (demonstrated by agreement), (ii) that the verb is not interpreted like a causative (i.e. the subject is not the agent or causer), and (iii) that it is not possible to include a by-phrase with an external causer (e.g. (26) becomes ungrammatical if by Andiswa is added at the end). These are features shared with middle constructions in Xhosa, as shown in (26).

- (26) úÁndý ù-béth-êk-à ká-rínândi  
 1a.Andy 1a.SBJ-hit-MID-FV ADV-nicely  
 ‘Andy is nice to hit’ (~> ‘Andy hits nicely’, ‘it is nice to hit Andy’)

Crucially, the subject Andy in (27) cannot be interpreted as the agent of the beating; the meaning of the middle extension is that Andy is the victim. This characteristic is shared by the passive, which is likely part of why there is such semantic overlap possible between the two constructions.

Previous work has noted that middles are incompatible with a by-phrase in at least Chichewa (Dubinsky & Simango 1996) and Ndebele (Khumalo 2009), and we find the same generalization holds true in Xhosa. This is illustrated by the comparisons in (27–32) below. As a baseline, passive and middle forms are interchangeable with nearly identical meanings. When a copula+noun follows, it is interpreted as a by-phrase causer with the passive (30), whereas it is strictly ungrammatical with the middle (31). This does not seem to follow from general limitations on what can follow a middle-marked verb; the pair in (32)-(33) shows that a noun with the instrumental preposition can appear here, and can be interpreted nearly identically in some contexts.

- (27) isonka siyalunywa ‘the bread is bitten’  
 (28) isonka siyalumeka  
 (29) isonka silunywa yinja/lizinyo ‘the bread is bitten by the dog/tooth’  
 (30) \*isonka silumeka yinja/lizinyo  
 (31) isonka silunywa ngezinyo ‘the bread is bitten with the tooth’  
 (32) isonka silumeka ngezinyo/(#)ngamazinyo

Interestingly, the availability of instrumental nouns after middles can yield apparent contradictions to the generalization that middles are incompatible with a by-phrase. For nouns of class 6, like *amazinyo* ‘teeth’, the instrumental form (underlying /ŋga=ama-zipno/) and the copular form (underlying /ŋgu=ama-zipno/) are both reduced to *ngamazinyo* [ŋgamazinyo]. This leads to a grammatical sentence with the former, which is homophonous with an ungrammatical alternative where *ngamazinyo* is interpreted as a by-phrase adding an external agent or causer.

A further slight difference between passives and middles arises in an idiomatic expression of negation. Xhosa allows intransitive verbs to be passivized in a construction meaning something like “don’t X” or “no X-ing”. This is shown in (33), the text of a sign prohibiting swimming at a beach with dangerous currents.

- (33) a-ku-quj-w-a apha  
 NEG-2SG-swim-PASS-FV here  
 ‘you cannot swim here’

On the basis of the second author’s intuitions about this particular example, we identify and gloss the *-ku-*

here as an allomorph of the 2nd-person singular subject prefix, rather than as an expletive subject of noun class 15/17. Unexpectedly, the final vowel of the verb in (34) is -a, rather than the usual negative concord final vowel -i. This appears to be a quirk related to the passive extension specifically. The equivalent middle (34), by contrast, illustrates the usual double-marking of negation (prefixal *a-* and suffixal *-i*).

- (34) a-ku-qubh-ek-i                      apha  
 NEG-2SG-swim-MID-NEG.V    here  
 ‘no swimming here’

The interpretation of negative imperative passives like that in (33) is crucially different from how they are composed semantically in English which would lead us to expect this sentence to mean something like the hypothetical, ungrammatical, \*you cannot get swum here. This suggests that the interpretation of passives in Xhosa is fundamentally not equivalent to how they work in English. Other examples show the same kind of semantic difference. The active sentence in (35) can be reasonably paraphrased with ‘sleep’ as a passive in (36). The alternate order in (37) shows that the passivized and negated verb *àkùlálwàngà* does not need to be in the IAV position.

- (35) phězòlò,    úmntwânà    èbé-khál-à                      khângè    ndi-kwâzi    tú:    úkù-lálà  
 yesterday,    1.child            1.SBJ.IMPF-cry-FV    not.at.all    1SG-know    EMPH    INF-sleep  
 ‘last night, the baby cried so I couldn’t sleep at all.’ (lit. ‘I didn’t know how to sleep’)

- (36) phězòlò,    úmntwânà    èbé-khál-à,                      à-kù-lál-w-ângà  
 yesterday,    1.child            1.SBJ.IMPF-cry-FV    NEG-EXPL-sleep-PASS-NEG.PERF  
 ‘last night the baby was crying, so it was impossible to sleep’

- (37) phězòlò    à-kù-lál-w-ângà                      ngókùyá    úmntwânà    èbé-khál-à  
 yesterday    NEG-EXPL-sleep-PASS-NEG.PERF    because    1.child            1.SBJ.IMPF-cry-FV  
 ‘last night the baby was crying, so it was impossible to sleep’

### Abbreviations

- ADJ: adjectival
- COP: copula
- EXP: expletive subject agreement
- FUT: future tense
- FV: default final vowel -a
- INSTR: instrumental prefix
- LOC: locative
- MID: middle/stative/‘neuter’
- NEG: negation
- OBJ: object
- PASS: passive
- PERF: perfect

PRES: present tense

PROG: progressive/imperfective aspect

PST: remote past tense

SBJ: subject

(Note: dots are used for fusional allomorphs requiring multiple labels in the gloss)

#### 参考文献

- Bastin, Yvonne (1983). *La finale -IDE et l'imbrication en bantou*. Tervuren: Annales du Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale.
- Bennett, Wm. G., and Aaron Braver. (2020). Different speakers, different grammars: Productivity and representation of Xhosa labial palatalization. *Phonological Data and Analysis*, 2(6), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.3765/pda.v2art6.9>
- Carstens, V., & Mletshe, L. (2015). Radical defectivity: Implications of Xhosa expletive constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 46(2), 187-242.
- Cassimjee, F. 1998. *Isixhosa tonology: an optimal domains theory analysis*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Cloughton, John (1992). *The tonology of Xhosa*. Doctoral dissertation, Rhodes University, Grahamstown (=Makhanda), South Africa.
- Doke, Clement M. (1984). *Textbook of Zulu Grammar*. (6th ed.). Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.
- Doke, Clement M. (1954). *The Southern Bantu Languages*. Handbook of African Languages. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Downing, Laura J. (1990). Local and metrical tone shift in Nguni. *Studies in African Linguistics* 21: 261-317.
- Downing, L.J. 2011. Bantu tone. In M. van Oostendorp, C.J. Ewen, E. Hume and K. Rice (eds.) *The Blackwell companion to phonology*, Chapter 114. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0952675713000079>
- Dubinsky, Stanley & Silvester R. Simango. (1996). Passive and stative in Chichewa: Evidence for modular distinctions in grammar. *Language* 72(4). 749-781. doi: 10.2307/416101.
- Harford, C., & Malambe, G. (2017). An Optimality Theoretic perspective on perfective imbrication in siSwati. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 26(4), 277–291.
- Khumalo, Langa. (2009). The Passive and Stative Constructions in Ndebele: A Comparative Analysis. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 18(2): 154–174.
- Lanham, Len. W. (1958). The tonemes of Xhosa. *African Studies*. 17.2: 65-81.
- Mathonsi, N. and Naidoo, S. (2012). Imbrication triggered by the suffix -ile in isiZulu. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 32(2):167–173.
- McLaren, James. (1942). *A Xhosa grammar*. Cape Town: Longman, Green, and Co.
- Roux, Justus C. (1998). Xhosa: A tone or pitch–accent language?. *South African Journal of Linguistics*, 16:sup36, 33-50, DOI: 10.1080/10118063.1998.9724401
- Tshabe, Sonobo L., et al. 2006. *The Greater Dictionary of IsiXhosa*. Volumes 1–3, previously published in 1989, 2003. Alice, ZA: University of Fort Hare.

Appendix: list of examples

1.	Andiswa was hit by Bonelwa. /béthà/ 'hit'	uAndiswa wabethwa nguBonelwa uAndiswa ubethiwe nguBonelwa uAndiswa uyabethwa ngubonelwa ùÁndísàwà úyéwábèthwà ngùBónélwà
2.	Andiswa's foot was stepped on by Bonelwa. /nyáthèlà/ 'tread on'	únyàwò luka-Andiswa lunyathelwe nguBonelwa unyawo luka-Andiswa lunyathelwa nguBonelwa unyawo luka-Andiswa lunyatheliwe nguBonelwa unyawo luka-Andiswa belunyathelekile nguBonelwa
3.	Andiswa's wallet was stolen by Bonelwa. /'ba/ 'steal' (underlying H)	iwolethi ka-Andiswa yabiwa nguBonelwa iwolethi kaAndiswa ibiwe nguBonelwa iwolethi kaAndiswa uyibile uBonelwa iwolethi kaAndiswa wayiba uBonelwa
4.	Last night, the baby cried. So, I couldn't sleep at all. /lálà/ 'sleep' /khâlà/ 'cry'	phézòlò, úmntwânà èbèkhâlà khángè ndikwâzi tú: úkùlâlâ phezolo, umntwana ukhalile khange ndikwazi tu: ukulala
5.	A new building was built (by Andiswa). /âkhà/ 'build'	Ìsâkh↑iwò ésitshà sâkh↑iwé nguAndiswa Isakhiwo esitsha usakhile uAndiswa Isakhiwo esitsha uyasakha uAndiswa Isakhiwo esitsha sakhiwa nguAndiswa
6.	French is being spoken in Canada. /thêthà/ 'speak'	isiFrentshi sithethwa eKhanada isiFrentshi sithethiwe eKhanda isiFrentshi bayasithetha eKhanada isiFrentshi basithethile eKhanada
7.	The wallet was stolen by Andiswa. /'bà/ 'steal' (underlying nonfinal H)	iwolethi yabiwa nguAndiswa iwolethi ibiwe nguAndiswa iwolethi uyayiba uAndiswa iwolethi wayiba uAndiswa
8.	A picture is/was (hung) on the wall. /xhòmà/ 'hang'	ùmfânèkìsò ùxhònyîwè élúdòngèni ùmfânèkìsò úyáxhònywà élúdòngèni
9.	Andiswa is loved by Bonelwa. /thándà/ 'love'	ùÁndísàwà ùthándwà ngùBónélwà ùÁndísàwà ùthándiwè ngùBónélwà ùÁndísàwà ùthándékílè kùBónélwà ùÁndísàwà úyàthándwà ngùBónélwà
10.	Bonelwa said "... " to Andiswa. /thì/ 'say'	uBonelwa wathi ... ku-Andiswa uBonelwa ebessithi ... ku-Andiswa uBonelwa uye wathi ... ku-Andiswa

11.	Andiswa was called by Bonelwa, and is in Bonelwa's room now. /bîzà/ 'call'	uAndiswa uye wabizwa nguBonelwa, usegumbini lika Bonelwa ngoku uAndiswa wabizwa nguBonelwa, usegumbini lakhhe ngoku uAndiswa ubiziwe ngubonelwa usegumbini lakhe ngoku
12.	Bonelwa called Andiswa, and Andiswa is in Bonelwa's room now. /fòwùnèlà/ 'phone (v.)'	uBonelwa wafonelwa ngu-Andiswa, kwaye usegumbini lika Bonelwa ngoku uBonelwa ufowuneliwe nguAndiswa, kwaye usegumbini lika Bonelwa ngoku uBonelwa ebefowunelwe ngu-Andiswa, kwaye usegumbini lakhe ngoku

謝辞

This work was mainly supported by JSPS KAKENHI Promotion of Joint International Research (Fostering Joint International Research (B)) 21KK0005. This study was also supported by JSPS KAKENHI (B) 23K25319, and the ILCAA joint research project 'Diachronic Perspectives on Language Description and Typology in Bantu (jrp000292).

執筆者連絡先 : w.bennett@ru.ac.za, fatyithasky@gmail.com

原稿受理 : 2024 年 12 月 1 日